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DYNASTIC CONTINUITY IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

By B. A. SALETORE, Ph.D. (Lond.).

In the following paper I shall make an attempt to trace the relationship between the Aravidu, Tuluva, Sàluva and Saṅgama dynasties which ruled over the Vijayanagara Empire, and the connection between the last one and the Hoysala House. We are not concerned here with the question whether or not the founders of Vijayanagara were of Karnātaka or Telugu origin.

I. Hoysala-Saṅgama Continuity.

In the year of their accession to power the five sons of Saṅgama gave public demonstration to their relationship with the royal family that preceded them in supremacy in Southern India, in an epigraph dated 1346 A.D., in which they recorded their pilgrimage to the famous Śrīṅgēri matha. Among other interesting facts mentioned in this important inscription, we find Ballappa Daṇṇayaka given the epithet of aliya or son-in-law. An inquiry into the antecedents of this person settles once for all the question of the relationship of the sons of Saṅgama with the rulers of the Hoysala-rāvaka. But in tracing the lineage of Vallappa or Ballappa Daṇṇayaka one cannot help entering into a digression in order to examine the validity of a statement made by the Rev. Fr. Henry Heras, who writes in his Beginnings of Vijayanagara History thus about Vallappa:—"This Vallapa-daṇṇayaka, the son of the great minister of Ballaṇa III, who became the great minister in the palace of the said Emperor, whose nephew he was on his mother's side, had married a daughter of Harihara I, as he is called Harihara's Aliya; and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan."2

The epigraphs prove that Vallappa was the aliya of Harihara I., but do not suggest in the least that he was the nephew of Ballaṇa "on his mother's side." The reason why Fr. Heras has arrived at an untenable conclusion is probably due to the fact that he has confounded two persons who bore almost the same name and held almost the same office.3 These were Dādiya Sōmaya (or, as he was also called, Sōmeya) and Mayduna Sōmaya.

The following considerations will invalidate any such identification based on a mere similarity in names:

(a) The titles or birudas which the two assumed, and
(b) Their relative position in the history of the times.

(a) The birudas of Mayduna (i.e., sister's husband) Sōmaya were the following:—'Champion over princes who are very fond of their bodies'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift to-day, say "No" to-morrow'; 'champion over princes who, having made a gift, brood on it.'

He is also called a Daṇṇayaka.4

Dādiya Sōmaya is styled a Daṇṇayaka5 but is more commonly called a pradhāna (minister)6 and a makh-pradhāna.7

1 Epigraphia Carnatica, VI, Sg. I, p. 92, Text, p. 348.
2 Heras, The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, p. 92.
3 Heras, Ibid., pp. 90-91.
5 Ep. Car., X, Mr. 28, p. 163.
6 Ibid., Ht. 43, p. 92, Text, p. 206.
7 Ibid., Ht. 75, Text, pp. 45.
(b) Their position—

Mayduna Sōmaya Daṇḍāyaka fought against Leinkampela of Holalakere in 1303 A.D. In the same year we see him as the governor of Bemmatturu-durga (mod. Chitaldroog), and in a battle with Kāṇapila Dēva, the general of the Sēṇa army, he lost his life. 1303 A.D. is, therefore, the last date for Mayduna Sōmaya Daṇḍāyaka.

But Dādiya Sōmaya Daṇḍāyaka lived for 39 years more! A record dated (skaka-varsha) 1240 neya Kālayukta-saṅvatsaraṇa Māgha śu. 12 (=1318 A.D., Saturday, 14th February) informs us that as mahā-pradhāna or great minister, he, together with Māradēvi-dēva, granted to Jōgai Akkalādu-pāṭāṇa-svāmī Parepa Setti a kāmana which is unfortunately illegible. 10 In 1339 A.D., according to another effaced inscription, Dādiya Sōmaya with Rāyaṇa and Bāṇa Jallappa-daṇḍāyaka made a grant which is also illegible. 11

The confusion between the two persons, Dādiya Sōmaya and Mayduna Sōmaya, arises not only because of their names but because of the fact that one of their sons was also called by an identical name. Mayduna Sōmaya’s son was called Siṅgyēya Daṇḍāyaka, and Dādiya Sōmaya’s son was also called Siṅgyēya Daṇḍāyaka. But these two persons were not the same for the following reasons.

Mayduna Sōmaya’s son Siṅgyēya Daṇḍāyaka died in 1322 A.D., while fighting for his master Vīra Pāṇḍya against the latter’s own son Samudra Pāṇḍya. His birudas, we may incidentally note, were the following: ‘An adamantine cage to refugees’; ‘protector of refugees’; ‘an elephant goad to warriors’; ‘champion over youths who are fond of their bodies.’

But the last date for Dādiya Sōmaya’s son Siṅgyēya Daṇḍāyaka is 1338 A.D. He was ruling over Siṅgūni in 1302 A.D. together with Vaichaya Nāyaka. 12 In about 1330 A.D. he is called one of the ministers of Ballāja III. 13 He is called by the same name in 1331 A.D. 14 But in 1337 A.D. he is styled a mahā-pradhāna (great minister). 15 In a record of the next year, too, he is given the same high position. 16

Siṅgyēya Daṇḍāyaka, who was thus the son of Dādiya Sōmaya Daṇḍāyaka, 17 had a younger brother called Vallappa Daṇḍāyaka. We gather this from records of 1336, 1338, 1342 and 1343 A.D. 18 To these we must add those epigraphs which clearly say that he was the son of Dādiya Sōmaya. These range from 1333 to 1346 A.D. 19 Among these is one

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10 Ep. Car., IX, Kn. 69, p. 129, Text, p. 129; Swaminānnu, The Indian Ephemeris, IV, p. 238. Rice gives the date as 1339 A.D.
11 Ep. Car., IX, Ht. 43, loc. cit. I may incidentally note that this Dādiya Sōmaya was not the same as Sōmarasa whom Fr. Heras identifies with the former (Beginnings, p. 91). Sōmarasa is called aramaneya pradhāna (house-minister) in 1318 A.D. Ep. Car., IX, Cp. 73, p. 146. Since an aramaneya-pradhāna and a mahā-pradhāna have never been the same in Karpāṭaka history, we may presume that Sōmarasa was altogether a different person from Dādiya Sōmaya. The references given in this connection in the Beginnings to “Hk” in Ep. Car. should all be to “Ht.”
13 Ibid., Ht. 56, p. 94.
14 Ibid., Ht. 140, p. 108.
16 Ibid., Bp. 10, p. 137.
which tells us that Dādiya Sōmaya Daṇḍāyaka himself was "the minister descended from that king (Ballāla III) (tasya rājāmaya)." The conclusion which may be drawn from this is that Vallappa Daṇḍāyaka was, therefore, also of Hoysala descent.

But this conclusion of ours needs modification, since there are other records, issued by Vallappa himself and by responsible officers of Ballāla III, which call him the younger brother of Siṅgėya Daṇḍāyaka, who is called the son of that Hoysala monarch. The epigraphs which contain this information are mostly in Tamil. They date from 1328 to 1339 A.D. We are told the following in these records:... Virā Vallāla Deva kumārār Dāji Siṅge-daṇḍāyakar tambiyar Vallappa Daṇḍāyakar.  

How can we reconcile these apparently conflicting statements that Vallappa was the son of Dādiya Sōmaya, and that he was brother of Siṅgėya, who was the son of Ballāla III? I confess it is difficult to understand these statements except on the following supposition. We know that, in the course of the Muhammadan invasions, Vira Ballāla III's son, Prince Vira Virūpāksha Ballāja, was captured by the enemy, and that his return to the capital was commemorated by a remission of taxes in 1313 A.D. During the absence of Virūpāksha Ballāja, or for some considerations unknown to us, Ballāla III may have adopted Siṅgėya Daṇḍāyaka as his son or crown-prince. This explains why only Siṅgėya, and not Vallappa, is called the son of Ballāla III.

However that may be, Vallappa's position in Hoysala history deserves notice. He continued to hold the high office of māhā-pradhāna, which his father Dādiya Sōmaya had held before him in 1342 A.D. He is called the chief minister of Ballāla III in 1343 A.D. But, as narrated above, he is called the aḷīya of Harihara I in 1346 A.D. Now, when did he become an aḷīya of Harihara I? According to the Rev. Fr. Heras, he married a daughter of Harihara "earlier than this date" (i.e., that referring to the death of Ballāla III, or, in other words, before 1343 A.D.) But I am inclined to place the date of this marriage—if it took place at all—in 1346 A.D. No inscription before 1346 A.D. ever refers to him as aḷīya, but in that year there are at least three records which call him aḷīya Vallappa. One of these is the Śrīṅgērī record already cited above. The second is in Tamil, and it calls him Ariya (aḷīya) Vallappa Daṇḍāyaka. Evidently the word aḷīya is a Tamil form of the Kannada aḷīya. A copper-plate grant in the Śrīṅgērī matha, also dated in the same year, confirms the evidence of these records.

From the above considerations we may conclude that Vallappa was the son of Dādiya Sōmaya, that, therefore, he was directly connected with the Hoysala dynasty, and that he was the aḷīya of Harihara I.

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24 Ibid., Ht. 75, 96.
25 Heras, Beginnings, p. 92. Fr. Heras also writes: "... and from this marriage we know of a son named Tanan." (Ibid.) While it is true that the record gives us the name of Tanan, it does not say anything about the marriage. Nothing about the marriage can be made out from this disjointed epigraph. See Ep. Car., X, Mr. 18, p. 160.
26 Ep. Car., X, P. II, Mr. 61, p. 104.
28 We cannot determine the exact relationship in this connection too, since aḷīya may stand for son-in-law or nephew.
II. Saṅgama-Sāluva Continuity. (A)

Winning over Vallappa to their side was a diplomatic achievement which had its effect on the rise of the sons of Saṅgama in the Karṇaṭaka. We shall not enter into this question, but shall now describe how by another, and an equally diplomatic stroke, these new rulers strengthened their position in the land. This was by a dynastic marriage with the ancient Sāluvas, whose history we shall describe in detail in a subsequent paper. Meanwhile we may observe the source which gives us this piece of information. In a drama called Narīga-
navīḍa, written by Prince Virūpāksha, grandson of Rāma and (grand)son of Bukka, we are told that Harihara married a princess called Mallā Dévi.

The verse upon which this is based is the following:

\[ P(a)tro\ Bukka-narēndrasya dāhuḥtro Rāma-bhūpatēḥ
| Vidyatē hi Virūpāksha roṣa-Harihara-ātmajāḥ \]

Rao Bahadur Veṅkayya identified the Rāma Déva mentioned in the above drama with the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra. But the late Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rāo rightly disproved the contention of the late Mr. Veṅkayya on the ground that the disparity in the ages of the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra (1271-1309 A.D.) and Harihara II (1375-1406 A.D.) made it impossible for us to accept the identification thus suggested. But Mr. Gōpi-
nātha Rāo failed to tell us who this Rāma Déva was. I identify him with Sāluva Rāma Déva, son of Sāluva Kāya Déva. He is mentioned in a record dated 1384 A.D. as fighting against the Muhammadans at Warangal and losing his life, evidently in the siege of Koṭṭaka-
ṇḍa. There is nothing improbable in Harihara II having married a daughter of Sāluva Rāma Déva. If this is accepted, we find that the Saṅgama dynasty was also connected with the Sāluva family.

Saṅgama-Sāluva Continuity. (B)

The marriage of Harihara II with Mallā Dévi marks one step in the direction of the Saṅgama-Sāluva alliance. When we come to the times of Déva Rāya II (1419-1446 A.D.) we meet with another link which knits the ancient family of the Sāluvas with the new dynasty of Vijayanagara. A record dated 1430 A.D. tells us that “his (i.e., Déva Rāya II’s) elder sister Harimā’s husband was Sāluva Tippa Déva, an ornament to the Lunar race, a royal swan at the feet of Kāṁśāri (Krishṇa).” Round this person of Sāluva Tippa centre certain considerations. Who was he, and what brought about this alliance between the Saṅgama and Sāluva houses? We can only conjecture about the latter: political necessity coupled with a desire to strengthen his Yādava descent may have induced Déva Rāya II to give his sister in marriage to Sāluva Tippa Déva. These suppositions are less interesting than those relating to the identity of Sāluva Tippa.

Bearing the above in mind, we now turn to the Telugu works entitled Varāhapurāṇam and Jaimini Bhāratam. According to these, and also according to inscriptions, the Sāluva family traced its origin to Yadu. The earliest historical personage mentioned in the Varāhapurāṇam is Vaṅki Déva. From him descended Gunḍa, who had six sons, of whom Sāluva Maṅgu was the greatest. This remarkable general needs a separate treatment for himself. Sāluva Maṅgu had six sons, the eldest amongst whom was Ganta. He had four sons named Gunḍa, Sāluva, Boppa and Tippa. The Jaimini Bhārata avogises Tippa, whose birudas were Misaraganda, Kaṭṭhāri Sāluva and Paṅchagahanīmadā.24

31 Ep. Ind., XV, p. 11.
32 Ep. Car., XII, Ch. 15, p. 75, Text, p. 212.
33 Ep. Car., XI, Ch. 29, p. 9.
34 Ramayya Pantulu, Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 75-77.
This youngest son of Gauta, as Mr. Venkayya rightly suggested, may be identified with Sāluva Tippa, the brother-in-law of Dēva Rāya II. The validity of this supposition rests on the similarity of the titles given to Sāluva Tippa in the Telugu works and in the few inscriptions we have of him (Mīsaragāṇḍa, and Kāthārī Sāluva), and on the fact whether or not he was a contemporary of Dēva Rāya II. We know that Tippa’s grandfather, as related above, was Sāluva Maṅgu, the famous general of Kiṃpaṇa Oḍeyar, the conqueror of Madura. Sāluva Maṅgu may also have been a contemporary of Harihara II, and his son Gaṅga, of Dēva Rāya I, the son of Harihara II. This brings Tippa to the reign of Dēva Rāya II. Our surmise is based on an inscription dated Śaka 1364, expired Durmati (1441 A.D.), which informs us that the Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Gaṇḍakatāṭi Sāluva Tippaya Dēva Mahārājā remitted certain specified taxes in favour of the Kharapurīśvara temple at Tiruppaṅkadal in the North Arcot district, in the reign of Dēva Rāya Mahārājā. His last date may have been 1449 A.D. This is inferred from a record dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Māgha, Śrī. 5, Thursday, 38 which informs us that Dāvāyī Mallinēṅgāru constructed the temple of Kēśava Perumāḷ in Duggumbādu, Guntur district, on behalf of the village (?) for the merit of Mīsaragāṇḍa Kāṭṭi Sāluva Tippaya Dēva Mahārājā. His inscriptions, which range from 1441 to 1449 A.D., therefore enable us to assert that he was a contemporary of Dēva Rāya II. 39

Saṅgama-Sāluva Continuity. (C)

We now continue with the Telugu works Varīhapuruṣa and Jaimini Bhāratam with a view to ascertain the genealogy of the famous usurper Sāluva Nṛsiṁhā. Sāluva Tippa’s eldest brother, as mentioned above, was Gūndha, whose two sons were Timma and Sāluva Nṛsiṁhā. About Timma there is an epigraph dated Śaka 1385, Subhānu (1463 A.D.) which calls him Timma-rājā-dēva Mahārājā Oḍeyar, son of Gūndarājā Oḍeyar. This Tamil record found in the Veṇkateśvara Perumāḷ temple at Tirumala, contains a gift for the merit of Narasiṅgarājā Oḍeyar. 40 We are not sure whether we have to identify the Narasiṅga Oḍeyar mentioned in this inscription with the usurper Nṛsiṁhā of Vijayanagara history, whose accession to the throne is still a matter of dispute. Perhaps the Narasiṅgarāja mentioned above may have been the younger brother of Gūndha, and, therefore, one of the uncles of Timma, mentioned in the Telugu works merely under the name of Sāluva. This is only a supposition. We proceed, however, with the history of Sāluva Nṛsiṁhā.

The late Mr. Kiṃthā Śāstrī wrote the following on Sāluva Nṛsiṁhā: “The Nagar epigraph, which is dated in Śaka 1378, Dāṭṛi, seems to refer to the Sāluva Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Narasiṅgadēva-Maḥārāja. This is the earliest reference to Narasiṅga in inscriptions.” 43 Before we proceed to examine this assessment of Mr. Kiṃthā Śāstrī, we may note that in this inscription, found in the Nāgavaṇḍa Perumāḷ temple at Nagar, South Arcot district, he is

37 703 of 1904. Another record dated Śaka 136 (3) Durmati merely mentions the fact of his having set up a devajāsthambha in the Vaṭāranyēṣvara temple at Tirunallågādu in the same district, without mentioning his overlord. —408 of 1905.
38 This corresponds to 1449 A.D., January, Wednesday 4th. The week day does not correspond.
39 711 of 1922; Swamikannu, Indian Ephemeresis, V, p. 100.
40 He seems to have lived till 1463 A.D. according to Rice, Ep. Cor., X. Intr., xxxv.
called Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Mēdinimisāra Narasiṅga Dēva Mahārāja. The above inscription is not, however, the earliest record of the Sāluva Nrisimha. He is mentioned as the son of Guṇḍaya Dēva Mahārāja in an epigraph found in the Veṇkaṭēsvara Perumāl temple at Tirumala, North Arcot district. This record is dated Śaka 1373, Dhātri. The Śaka year corresponds to 1451 A.D., but the cyclic year does not correspond. From the fact that Sāluva Nrisimha’s records appear from 1451 till 1467 A.D. in the modern North Arcot district we may assume that he was in that region probably in the capacity of a provincial governor. He may have been transferred to the northern districts in about 1477 A.D. for reasons not known to us for the present. We infer that he was in the northern districts somewhere in that year from an unfinished record dated Śaka 1399, Hēmalambi, found at Attirala, Cuddapah district. This epigraph relates that Aṇṇamarasayya came to Arurēvulu, and set right certain specially matters in the Kritjspāra, Parasurāmēvara and Bhaiṛava temples, for the merit of Narasiṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja. I shall not enter into the question whether the absence of the sovereign’s name in the record need necessarily be interpreted as meaning that Sāluva Nrisimha was an independent ruler. Such is the opinion of some to whose views it is not always possible to subscribe.

The relationship of Sāluva Nrisimha to the Saṅgama family seems to have been more or less well known to the people. This accounts for the following observation by Nunix:—

“One of his (Pedara’s) captains who was called Narsymgou, who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him, and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force.” The fact that Sāluva Nrisimha, and not any one of the numerous powerful lords of the kingdom, set aside the incompetent monarch whom Nunix calls Pedara (Praudha-Rāya ?), suggests that he alone had the best claim to the throne. In the above remark of Nunix there may be a reference to the indirect relationship of Sāluva Nrisimha to the Saṅgama family through Sāluva Tippa.

### III. Sāluvas and Tuluvas. (A)

Before we revert to the successors of Sāluva Tippa, we may note the descent of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya, since this helps us to solve the question of the Sāluva-Tuluva alliance. According to inscriptions and literature, as is well known, the progenitor of the so-called Tuluva line was Timma, who is styled a ruler famous among the Tuluva kings. He had by his wife Dēvaki a son called Īśvara, whose wife was called Bukkamma. Their son was known as Narasa, who had three wives—Tippāji, the mother of Vira Narasiṅha； Nāgala Dēvi, of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya; and Ōbāmbikā, of Achyuta.

We start with Timma, the earliest known figure in the Tuluva dynasty. It is a significant fact that in the Vijayanagara inscriptions discovered so far, the name of the person who preceded Timma is not given. On the other hand, Timma’s descent, as we shall presently state, is traced directly to a mythological figure. Obviously this is impossible, for we know that Timma was the great-grandfather of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya. We know too that both Īśvara Nāyaka and Narasa Nāyaka were contemporaries of Sāluva Narasiṅga. This is

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43 304 of 1910. The ruler Praudha-Dēva Rāya Mahārāja is also mentioned.
44 253 of 1904; Swarṇikāmukkam, Ind. Ephemeris, V, p. 104.
45 Cf. 259 of 1904 dated Śaka 1389, Sarvajāt (1467 A.D.) recording a gift by the same to the same temple.
46 405 of 1911.
proven by an inscription found in the Sōmanāthēsvara temple at Melpādi, Chittor district. It is dated Śaka 1379, Īśvara, Aḍī, 20 (=1457 A.D., July, Monday the 18th). Īśvara Nāyaka is called the dalavūyi of Sāluva Narasīṅga Dēva. He continued to be the general of the same ruler till 1478 A.D. We infer this from a record dated Śaka 1400, Viḷānibī (1478 A.D., April), found in the Tiruviraṭānēsvara temple at Tiruvadi, Cuddalore Taluka, South Arcot district. He is also called the dalavūyi of Mahāmāyādevēsvara Narasīṅgaya Dēva Mahārājā. Perhaps he is the same Īśvara Nāyaka who is mentioned in a record found in the Kāmēsvara temple at Āragalur, Salem district, and dated only in the cyclic year Plava (i.e., Śaka 1403=1481 A.D.). As regards Narasa Nāyaka we have the following records. An inscription found in the Chandramaṅgoḷēsvara temple at Tiruvakkurai, South Arcot district, and dated only in the cyclic year Śōbhakrit, but assignable to the Śaka year 1404 (1482 A.D.), informs us that Narasa Nāyaka (evidently an error for Narasa Nāyaka) was the agent of the king Sāluva Narasīṅga Dēva. In an age when some high offices were hereditary, it is not improbable that Narasa Nāyaka should have succeeded his father as agent (for the affairs) of the king in the same district. By Śaka 1420, Piṅgalā, Chaitra, Śū, Saturday (≈1497 A.D., March 18th, Saturday), Narasa Nāyaka seems to have risen in the estimation of the ruler. This may be inferred from an inscription of that date found in the Rāmaswāmi temple at Rāmapuram, Anantapur district, which states that Kāchapa Nāyaka of Adavāni, son of Immadi Kāchapa Nāyaka, held the district of Rāyadurgā-chāvadi as a fief from Narasīṅga Rāya Mahārāya and Narasana Nāyaka. Two other records dated 1499 A.D. call him agent for the affairs of Mādinīmēśara Gaṇḍakaṭhārī Sāluva Narasimha Rāya. We may here note that Narasa Nāyaka died in Śaka 1425, Rudhirōdgārin (1503 A.D.). This is inferred from a record found in the Bhīhadāmbā temple at Dēvikāpuram, North Arcot district, which informs us that his subordinates Tirumalai Nāyaka and Īsura Nāyaka gave a gift of land and house in the village of Kailāsa, to a certain Samarapunigava Dikshita, for the merit of Śvāmi Narasa Nāyaka “who went to Śiva-lōka” (i.e., died).

As related above, Īśvara’s father was called Timma. It is true that he is called Timma of the Tuluva line. The history of Tuluva (roughly modern South Kanara) does not afford any clue to the identity of this chief. The ancient dynasty that ruled over Tuluva was that of the Ālupa (or Āḷuvā) kings of Udayāvarā. There was of course also that of the Sāluvas, which ruled from Saṅgitapura. The later rulers, who established their principality at Kārkala, could trace their descent to the Śāntaras of Hombuchchhapura (modern Humcha) on the Western Ghāṭa. Whether Timma, the father of Īśvara, was in any way connected with these rulers or with the petty chieftyans of Chandāvuru or Sētu, I am unable to say. But it seems more probable that he was essentially Sāluva in descent, as the following considerations seem to prove.

We are told in a record assigned to 1434 A.D. that “by order of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, Lakkanaṇa Oḍeyar and Mādappa Oḍeyar gave Tēkāl” to Sāluva Gōpa Rāya, son of Sāluva

50 107 of 1921; Swamikannu, Ind. Ephemeris, V, p. 117.
51 408 of 1921. He is not to be confused with Īsura or Īśvara Nāyaka, son of Ettappa Nāyaka, mentioned in Śaka 1422 (1520-21 A.D.) together with his brother Tirumalai Nāyaka. These two brothers were officers under Narasa Nāyaka. 355 of 1912; 401 of 1912.
52 422 of 1913.
53 198 of 1904.
54 719 of 1917; Swamikannu, Ind. Ephemeris, V, p. 196.
56 357 of 1912; see also Ep. Report for 1913, p. 121.
Tippa Rāya. The reason why Tēkaḷ was made over by a special order of the king is not stated; but we assume that consequent on the marriage of Harimā with Sāluva Tippa, Dēva Rāya may have thought it prudent to confer on Sāluva Gōpa the principality of Tēkaḷ. It may be that Sāluva Gōpa had already become conspicuous in the Tuḷuva-nāḍu, where the Sāluvas had a firm footing at Suṅgātapura; and that it was necessary to curtail their power by entrusting to the care of Sāluva Gōpa a province which was distant from Tuḷuva. These are, we admit, only suppositions for the present. While discussing the history of Sāluva Gōpa, we come across certain difficulties both from the point of chronology and the several names which one and the same person bears. Nevertheless one may venture to make the suggestion that Sāluva Gōpa’s son was Tirumala Dēva or Gōpa Timma or Timma, the founder of the Tuḷuva line of Vijayanagara.

This view, which goes against all opinion, which till now has taken the so-called Tuḷuva family of Vijayanagara to be a distinct branch of the rulers, needs to be examined. Sāluva Gōpa’s inscriptions as Viceroy of Tēkaḷ range from about 1434 A.D. to about 1442 A.D. They are found in the Māḷūr Tāluka of the Kolar district. The birudasa assumed by him are Kāṭhāri Sāluva, Médinimisaragadha, Establisther of Śambuvarāya, and Gaṇḍogadha. These are evidently the same as those which his father Tippara assumed, except that of Paṇḍagabhāṣāninda, which may have been given to Sāluva Tippa for some act of personal bravery about which we are ignorant. Now, these are the same birudasa which are given to Tirumalai Dēva, whose inscriptions date from about 1448 A.D. to about 1475-6 A.D. These are found in the Śrīnivāsa Perumāl temple, Pāpanāsām, Gōpīnātha Perumāl temple near Paṭtisasam, Subramanya temple at Tiruvīḍiakkāli, Agniśvara temple at Tirukkaṭṭuppalli, and Rāmānandisvarā temple at Tirukkaṇṭaparam. The ruler referred to in most of these inscriptions—which are all found in the Tanjore district—is Mallikārjuna Rāya. Mr. Veṅkōba Rāo, commenting on two of these inscriptions found at Pāpanāsām, writes thus:—“In one of them he (Sāluva Tirumalai Dēva Mahārāja) is called ‘the Establisther of Śambuvarāya.’ He is evidently no other than Gōpa-Timma, who is mentioned as an independent king in an inscription at Tanjore (South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II, page 117 ff.)”. Although it is not possible for one to agree with Mr. Veṅkōba Rāo in his conclusion regarding the independent position of the prince in question, it is not perhaps improbable that his identification of Gōpa-Timma with Tirumalai Dēva is correct. In his Annual Report for 1925 Mr. Veṅkōba Rāo goes one step further in his identification of Tirumalai Dēva. He writes thus: “......the chief Tirumalayyadēva-mahārāya was the son of Sāluva Gōpa and the brother of Sāluva Gōpa-Tippara......” The justification for this assertion is to be found in a record dated Śaka 1375, Śrīṅuka (1453 A.D.), which tells us that Tirumalai-rāya was the son of Goppa-rāya. This epigraph was found in the Viraṭṭanēsvāra

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58 Ep. Car., X, Mr. 1, p. 153, and n. (1).
60 This is dated Śaka 1370, Prajavatī, expired. 448 of 1922. The cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1370=Vīhāva; Śaka 1373=Pravatī. Swami-Kānmu, Ind. Ephemeris, V, pp. 98, 104.
61 524 of 1920 (see also 527 of 1920); 452 of 1922; 456 of 1922.
62 270 of 1925.
63 55 of 1897. This is dated only in the cyclic year Vīkrama, which may perhaps refer to Śaka 1382 (1460 A.D.).
64 534 of 1922.
66 Ep. Rep. for 1925, p. 89. On Sāluva Tippa see 388 of 1911 dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi (Śaka 1364); 482 of 1922 dated Śaka 1396; 528 of 1920 undated; Ep. Rep. for 1923, p. 118. He has been identified by Mr. Veṅkōba Rāo with the commentator of the Kāṇḍakāranyasūtra and two other works, one on music and the other on dancing.
temple at Tiruvadi, South Arcot district. I confess that it is not possible to explain why Tirumalai Déva's inscription of 1453 A.D. should have been found in the South Arcot district when, as related above, most of his records refer us to the Tanjore district. We can only suppose that all these districts together formed the jurisdiction of one provincial ruler in those days, or that Tirumalai Déva was in the South Arcot district in 1453 A.D. on some state business.

This last assumption would enable us to understand the identification of Tirumalai Déva with Gópa-Timma and Timma. A record dated Śaka 1385 expired, Subhánû (1463 A.D.), found in the Raśgánātha temple at Sríraṅgam, Trichinopoly, calls Tirumalai Déva by the name of Gópa-Timma. Dr. Hultsch wrote the following on this point: "An inscription of Tirumalaidéva dated in 1463 A.D. ... establishes the correctness of my identification of this king with Timma of Tulūva, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara (South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II, p. 117), as, in the Sanskrit verses at the end of the inscription, the king is called Gópa-Timma."67

While Dr. Hultsch has thus enabled us to identify the Timma of Vijayanagara history, I am afraid he has not succeeded in explaining one knotty point which we come across in numerous inscriptions as well as in literature, and which till now has remained unexplained. Dr. Hultsch wrote the following while editing a record of Kṛishṇa Déva Rāya: "The historical part begins with the verse 5:—'In his (viz., Turvasu's) race shone king Timma, who was famous among the princes of Tulūva, just as Kṛishṇa shone in the race of Yadu.' From this verse we learn, first, that the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty was a native of Tulūva or Northern Malayāḷam, the country of the northern Tulūvas. Secondly, he must have been a usurper, as he claims only a mythological relationship to the princes of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara. For, while the kings of this dynasty used to derive their origin from Yuddhu (see South Indian Inscriptions, I, pp. 156, 160), Timma selected, in opposition to his predecessors on the throne, Yuddhu's younger brother Turvasu as the mythical progenitor of his race."68

From the Telugu works Varāha-purāṇa and Jaimini Bhāratam, as remarked above, we gather that Sāluva Nṛsiṁha claimed descent from Yuddhu. We know also that the rulers who belonged to the Saṅgama line likewise traced their origin to Yuddhu. Obviously Sāluva Nṛsiṁha's claims for asserting that the progenitor of the branch to which he belonged was Yuddhu were not ill-founded, especially when we remember that he could, as Nūniz puts it, "in some manner" point his relationship to the Saṅgama family through Sāluva Tippa and his own unidentified wife of the same house. But we have to explain why Turvasu is mentioned in the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa Déva Rāya and his successors as the progenitor of the so-called Tulūva line. It was because he, and therefore his great-grandfather Timma or Tirumala or Gopa-Timma, claimed descent from the youngest son of Gauta; while Sāluva Nṛsiṁha and his son Sāluva Narasīṅga traced their lineage to the eldest son of Gauta. Eliminating the two figures of Sāluva and Boppa, who do not seem to have been conspicuous, we may say that it was merely to distinguish their younger (in reality the youngest) branch from the elder (in reality the eldest) that Kṛishṇa Déva Rāya's pedigree is traced to Turvasu in opposition to Yuddhu, the first mythological figure in the main line to which Sāluva Nṛsiṁha belonged.

67 Ep. Rep. for 1892, p. 10. This Tirumalai Déva is not to be confounded with Tirumalai Déva of Śaka 1453 (1531-2 A.D.) who figures in the reign of Añiyuta Rāya. 253 of 1906; Ep. Rep. for 1907, p. 83. He was the son of Salakajiva Déva Mahārāja. 174 of 1906.
But objections may be raised against such an identification. If Krishna Deva Raya really was the great-grandson of Tirumal or Timma, who was the son of Sāluva Gopa, then why is it that neither in the numerous inscriptions of the same ruler and of his successors, nor in literature, is this fact mentioned? Secondly, how can we explain the fact that the ages of Timma, Īśvara, and Narasa overlap each other to a certain extent? The latter point I am unable to explain. As regards the former, the fact that Krishna Deva Raya and his successors, as I shall point out in a subsequent paper, assumed Sāluva birudas suggests that they were not unaware of their Sāluva descent. Now comes another consideration. If Timma or Tirumala was the son of Sāluva Gopa, then why is the latter not mentioned in any of the epigraphs of Narasa and his successors? We must remember that Narasa's importance in Vijayanagara history lies in the fact of his having been a regent; and that really it was only in the days of his eldest son, Vira Narasimha, that the branch to which he belonged assumed imperial dignity. According to Hindu lawgivers only three generations previous to that of the actual ruler need be given in the genealogical lists. Since it was only in the times of Vira Narasimha that the so-called Tuluva dynasty was firmly established on the Vijayanagara throne, both that ruler and his brother Krishna Deva Raya were justified in tracing their descent from Timma or Tirumalai Deva or Gopa-Timma. However that may be, there cannot be any doubt that the only way of reconciling the statements made in epigraphs in connection with Yadu and Turvas, is by realising that Sāluva Nrisimha traced his origin to the former through Gunḍa, and Krishna Deva Raya to the latter through Tippa, the eldest and the youngest sons respectively of Gauta.

Sāluvas and Tuluvas. (B)  

A further link in the Sāluva and Tuluva alliance is given by Nuniz, who tells us that Krishna Deva Raya married "a very beautiful woman of the family of the kings of Narsyagma . . . ." Who she was, and whether she was directly connected with Sāluva Nrisimha, or whether she was a member of the many collateral branches of the Sāluva spread over the country, we are unable to determine at the present stage of our investigations. If Nuniz could be relied upon, Krishna Deva Raya seems to have made matters doubly sure by marrying a Sāluva princess.

IV. Tuluva-Āraviṭi Continuity.

The relationship between the Āraviṭi and what has been till now styled the Tuluva dynasty is well known. Krishna Deva Raya's daughter Tirumalāmba was given in marriage to Rāma Rāja, the famous Regent. The last figure in Vijayanagara history of any consequence, Śrīraṅga Rāya (1643-1664 A.D.), was, may we incidentally note, the great-grandson of Rāma Rāja of the Āraviṭi family. According to the Kṛnaīta grant of this same ruler Śrīraṅga Rāya, Rāma Rāja seems also to have married a sister of Sādāśiva. If this were really so, then, the claims of the great regent to control the destinies of the Vijayanagara Empire were to great extent valid. The conclusions formulated above have been indicated on the genealogical table below.

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71 Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 363.
72 Rāmarājiyam, The Sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 187.
73 Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 181, n. (4), 182; Hultzsch, Kṛnaīta Grant of Rāṇa II, Indian Antiquary, XIII, pp. 154-155; Here Sādāśiva Rāya's descent is slightly different to that given by Rice, Ep. Car., III, Intr., p. 27. Kiedhorn explains that the statement that Rāma Rāja was the husband of the sister of Sādāśiva Rāya need not be taken in its literal sense. British Museum Plates of Sādāśiva Rāya, Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 3-4. See Rāmarājiyam, The Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 102-103, 188, for details regarding the Šāstri family. Report, A.S.I. for 1908-9, p. 197 f.

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CAPELAN.
(The Ruby Mines District of Burma.)

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

I have had some old notes by me on this long disputed name Capelan, for the Ruby Mines District of Burma, which do not, of course, settle the difficulty, but as they may help to do so, they seem to be worth publishing.

Forbes (British Burma, 1878) remarks on the Ruby Mines thus (p. 25): “Kyat-pin (query Capelan), whence the rubies are obtained, is situated near Momiet, about seventy miles south of Bamaw, or Bhamo as we have named it.” Here Forbes distinctly suggests Capelan as a European corruption of the Burmese form Kyat-pin, or as it would now be transliterated Kyat-pyin. In modern Burmese pronunciation the name sounds in most mouths as Kyάppyin or even Chappyin. This it will be seen is the ordinary derivation of the old European travellers’ term Capelan, and it is probably right. Kyatpyin is about 75 miles N. N. E. of Ava or Mandalay and 6 miles S. E. of Mégôk, the local headquarters of the Ruby Mines Company.

Tavernier, as edited by Valentine Ball in 1889 from the original French edition of 1676, says in his Travels, II, 99: “There are only two places in the East where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the Kingdom of Pegu [Burma] and in the island of Ceylon. The first is a mountain twelve days or thereabouts from Siren in a north-east direction and it is called Capelan.” Here Ball notes that “Siren is a mistake for Ava,” and that Capelan “is Kyatpyen: its distance from Ava is about 70 miles.” It will be seen below, however, that by “Siren” Tavernier probably meant Siriam near Rangoon.

From Tavernier’s Siren we get a mineralogist, writing before 1882, telling us that “Capelan, the ruby-sapphire district,” was “near Syrian, a city of Pegu.” Thus in Mason’s Burma, ed. Theobald, 1882, I, 11, we read: “The red sapphire is usually denominated the oriental ruby. Dana (Mineralogy, 1868) says, ‘the best ruby sapphires occur in the Capelan mountains near Syriam, a city of Pegu.’ This is an advance on Phillips, who made ‘Pegu, a city in Ceylon.’ Still the mineralogists make slow progress in geography. In 1833, a letter from a Roman Catholic priest, D. Amata, was published in JASB, which showed that the Capelan Mountains are about 70 miles north of Ava, instead of being in the vicinity of Rangoon, as they would be if near Syriam. The Capelan Mountains of Dana are doubtless a corrupt form of Kyat-pen, the name of a village near the mines, and the mines themselves are simply pits sunk in the ruby producing gravel.” However, taking Tavernier’s statement that Siren was twelve days distant from “Capelan,” and Dana’s identification of it with Siriam, now a complete ruin, but in Tavernier’s day an important foreign emporium, it is fair to assume that Tavernier meant Siriam and not Ava by Siren. Of course Dana’s inference that Capelan was near Siriam is all nonsense.

In Yule’s Hobson-Jobson the following varied spellings of Capelan appear:

1506 Leonardo Ca’Messer
1510 Varthema
1516 Barbosa
c.1585 Ramusio
Auplen.
Capellan.
Capelam.
Capelangam.

But Kapelan or Capelan has been traced to an earlier date still, for in Nicolo Conti’s narrative, recorded by Poggio in 1440, we find “Capelang, for the Ruby Country north of Ava, a name preserved to a much later date, but not now traceable;” so writes Cordier in a footnote in his edition of Yule’s Cathay and the Way Thither I, 177.

In Yule’s Embassy to Ava, 1855, 179 f. & n., there is an ingenious guess that Capelan may represent a Palaung or Kachin word, as both Palaungs and Kachins are to be found in
the neighbourhood of the Ruby Mines. Yule writes thus as to the celebrated mines:—
"Their locality is always called by the old travellers, 'Kapilan,' or 'Capelangan' sometimes spoken of as a kingdom, sometimes as a city, or as a great mountain. The name is suggestive of the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting the hills immediately east of the mines. If one might hazard a further suggestion, Kha, signifying river in the language of the adjoining Kakhyns, Kha-Paloun may have been the name of the valley. The old Portuguese Summary of Eastern Realms, Cities, and Peoples, translated in Ramusio (vol. I.) says that about Capelangan there are 'molti terre habitate da gente non molto domesticca, a description applying strictly to the Kakhyns, if not to the more industrious Palaungs.' See also ante, vol. LII, 134.

This is, however, unfortunately nothing more than a guess. Both the Palaungs and Kakhyns (Kachins as they are now called) are well known, and Mrs. Milne, authoress of the Palaung Grammar, wrote to me in 1922 in terms that rule out anything but a Burman origin for Capelan or Capellan: "In answer to your question about Capelan I fear that I cannot help you. I do not think that Thabeitkyim was in any way connected with rubies (but I may be mistaken), unless, for a time, a ruby market was held there. That may be possible, just as the name Goloonda is connected with diamonds (from the Karnul District). It was easy in the old days to reach Thabeitkyim by river, from Rangoon or from Mandalay, but not easy to go to Mogok or to Kyatpyin, as there were many dacoits in old times in the Ruby Mines district. I think that it is more likely that Capellan or Capelam (I think that it is so written by Barbosa) may be the same as Kyatpyin. Mogok and Kyatpyin are quite near each other, and I fancy that in old times quite as many rubies were found at Kyatpyin as were found at Mogok. Mogok is now the better known place, as it is the head-quarters of the English Ruby Mines Company."

As regards Thabeitkyim, in 1927 Mr. Harold Clayton informed me that "Kyatpyin is a village on the Irrawaddy above the first defile, from which the old road up to the Ruby Mines at Mogok used to start. This road is now almost entirely superseded by the Government metallled road, which starts from below the defile at Thabeitkyim." He then went on to make the following suggestion: "Kyätmyè (myè=earth) is the name of a hard impervious clay, and it is quite possible that Kyatpyin has some connection with it. Pyìn means literally 'outside,' and the term is also used for open stretches of country. Thus Lëhyìn (Lè= paddy field) means an open stretch of paddy fields. I have not been any distance inside from the river bank at Kyatpyin, but there is a comparatively large stretch of undulating country of a 'plain' character in that region, as compared with the hills of the Ruby Mines and the country further east. It is not particularly fertile, and so far as I am aware cultivation is confined to paddy land in bottoms and various other crops on the alluvial land by the Irrawaddy and other streams. The most likely meaning of Kyatpyin is therefore to my mind the 'clay plain.' There is no reason, I think, to infer a Chinese derivation. Kyätpyin is not far south of Tagaung, which is an early centre of Burmese influence and one of the first capitals of Burmese kings. Kipling's derivation Lung-tang-pan is a pure invention and definitely not a Burmese formation. There is nothing resembling the Chinese word lân meaning 'old' in Burmese, nor have I ever heard it in connection with Kyatpyin. Lânn means a road or way in Burmese, and Kyätpyinlân (Capelan) would mean simply the 'road to Kyätpyin.'" Here we have a reasonable derivation of Capelan.

The upshot of this brief enquiry then is that Capelan has been a constant European book name for the Ruby Mines District of Burma from at any rate 1440 onwards, and that it is a corruption of Kyätpyinlân, heard by Europeans as Kâppinlân or Châppinlân, i.e., Kyatpyin Road—the road to one of the places where the Burma ruby or red sapphire was principally found.
My personal interest in the ruby-sapphires of Burma dates from the early days (1888) of the British occupation of Mandalay, when I had to hold official auctions of rubies in Government possession once a month.


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**GLEANINGS FROM SANSKRIT LITERATURE.**

*The Works of Vāchaspati Miśra.*

By Prof. DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.

One does not generally look to the speculative and rather dry books on Sanskrit philosophy for knowledge of the period in which their writers lived. In this short article, however, I shall attempt to show by means of a few extracts and brief comments thereon how even the works of such a subtle philosopher as Vāchaspati Miśra can be utilized to glean a few facts of social and administrative history which, however unimportant by themselves, are cumulatively useful, because of the light which they shed on a very dark period of Indian history.

**Revenue Administration.**

1. वा दि मामाध्यः कृत्तिमिश्रेष्ठः कर्मदाय विषवालेक स्रववचति, विषवालेक स्वारवशलय, स व बुद्धते; तथा वाहिनिवायान्यमेव मन्त्री समयायिन, मन्त्र सहस्वाब्धाराय, वहाँत्राब्धामिष्कृत वुद्धि सर्वदाय-मूलया।

*Translation.*—As the village officer collects the rent from the different heads of families, and delivers the collections to the head of the *viṣaya* or the revenue division, who again, in his turn, carries it to the *saraṇdhyakṣa*, who finally makes it over to the king: so, in the same manner, the external organs, having operated on (observed) an object, present the observation to *Manas*, which reflects on it (and imparts thereto its qualifications), presenting these qualified observations in turn to *Akaṇḍa*, which takes specific cognizance of them, and finally delivers such cognition to the head officer, *Buddhi.*

*Comment.*—The extract shows that the system of revenue collection prevailing in Mithilā was *raiyawār*. But before reaching the king, the rent had to pass through the hands of the *viṣayādhyakṣa* and the *saraṇdhyakṣa*. Who this *saraṇdhyakṣa* was, is not quite clear. He might have been either the head revenue officer at the capital, or the governor of a division bigger than the *viṣaya*. The former is perhaps the more likely meaning here.

**Army and Weapons.**

2. तच्छिकं व्यासदेवा चरि बुद्धते स्वारवशलयस्य चक्रवर्तेऽवरीयस्य, यथा लक्ष्यानेन सह प्रामाण्यकारयेत्यं स्वारवशलय नवति।

*Translation.*—The functions of the senses also coalesce with the functional determination of *Buddhi*, as the forces of the village officers, etc., do with that of the *saraṇdhyakṣa*.

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2 The translation is by MM. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā.
Comment.—The extract supplies the important information that the Hindu armies of the period were largely composed of forces levied by village officials and provincial governors. Taken in conjunction with the last passage, it tells us further that the village officers and provincial governors were entrusted not merely with revenue, but with military duties also, suggesting that there was no separation of civil and military powers in the Hindu administration of the ninth century.

3. भास्यांहि वहम्: पुरुषः साधतीकायस्तुपुन्नाखण्डकारणः कृतमयेना: परायकधन्दान्य प्रकृत: ||
Translation.—For instance, a number of persons wielding lances, staves, bows, and swords unite for suppressing a common enemy.

Comment.—It appears from this passage that lances, staves, bows, and swords were the chief weapons of the Indian armies of the period.

Status of Women.

4. (a) "व्यक्तानां," यथा कुष्ठाधिवेशवाहिन सामानाधि न पवयति ||
(b) सुकुमारस्य तातिस्पन्नवतः पर्युक्त्वर्काियकृतियति यावत्। असुधिद्य || कुष्ठाधिक्षितं बुद्धिमानस्यराज्यानां क्रान्तिकृतपत्रे पर्युक्त्वेन, तदानी तथा प्रवृत्ततः, श्राक्षरां द्वैवनं पर्युक्त्वाधारणः न पुनः। पवयति ||
Translation.—(a) "From intervention"—e.g., one cannot see the queens behind the walls.

(b) By modesty here is meant delicacy (of manners), the inability to suffer exposure to the Purusa’s view. As a well-bred lady, invisible (even) to the sun, with her eyes cast down, having her body uncovered by chance, happening to be seen by a stranger, tries to hide herself in such a way as not to be seen again; so Nature—even more modest than such a lady—having once been seen by the Purusa, will in no case, show herself again.

Comment.—These two extracts point to the strictness of the purda system in the ninth century. Specially remarkable in this connection is Vâçaspati Miśra’s explanation of the term sukumārāda. Being wholly different from that of Gaudapâda, an earlier commentator on the Śaṅkhyā-kārikā, it is, we think, illustrative of the social condition of the period.

5. (a) तथाया मैत्री श्री श्रीवृद्धत्वस्मिन श्यायम् स्वाभिमानं हुःकारतः तत्तत्म हेतुः। श्यायम् प्रति तत्त्वः: सुभद्रस्य मुद्रावतः। शैवं श्रीवृद्धार्तत्वातः: कत्वास्य हेतुः। वा: प्रति तत्त्वः: सुभद्रस्य मुद्रावतः।
(b) एवं तन्द्रीयज्ञस्य तद्यथा हेत: श्रीवृद्धम् दुःखवते। एवं मैत्र्यम् तत्त्वः भूत्य राजस्त्रवेद्व श्रीवृद्धम् दुःखवते।
Translation.—(a) A single girl, young, beautiful, gentle and virtuous, is a source of delight to her husband, because with regard to him she is born with her essence consisting in pleasure. She pines her co-wives, because, with regard to them, she is born with her essence consisting in pain.

(b) For instance, her co-wives are hostile to her, because she, being a woman, is a cause of pain to them. (On the other hand) her husband Maitra has love for her, because that very idea of her being a woman is a source of pleasure to him.

Comment.—Perhaps little comment is needed to show that many Indians of the ninth century were polygamous, and that generally one co-wife was jealous of another.
6. (a) नन्दीक्र द्वारपालियो दरबारिया सिद्धांति पुनर्ज्यालितीकृतीयो वत्तयते।

(b) तथा न नन्दीक्राणितादिस्कं बहुतिन सदिशुध्यन वधूणास्यां दुःशयं।

Translation.—(a) A dancing girl having retired from the stage after her exhibition returns to it again, if so desired by the spectators.

(b) In the case of the glances of a dancing girl, the attentiveness of many to that single object is quite a consistent fact.

Comment.—Some women seem to have adopted stage-dancing as a profession.

Caste-System, Religious Animosity, and Education.

7. (a) शास्त्रासीतोदिवस्तत्त्वकृत राजसौनी न नवदैवज्ञातीय दिवस्तत्त्वकृतं।

(b) न शास्त्रासी दिवस्तत्त्वकृतानां प्राणसाधिता साधिता दिवस्तत्त्व।

Translation.—(a) One belonging to the Brāhmaṇa or Vaiśya caste has no right to perform the rājaśāya, which should be undertaken (only) by people belonging to the royal caste. Similarly an action which should have a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya as its agent, which should be the doing of one of these, and which should be done through one of them, should in no case be performed by one not belonging to these classes. Like the vaśyastoma sacrifice performed by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, an action performed by one not entitled to perform it, is fruitless.

(b) Even by living within a fenced village inhabited by hundreds of Kirātas, a Brāhmaṇa does not become a Kirāta.

Comment.—These quotations show how rigid and firm the caste-system had grown by the ninth century. One caste was not allowed to perform the social functions of the other, and a Brāhmaṇa ever remained a Brāhmaṇa, if he was so by birth.

8. (a) आस्त्रासीतोदिवस्तत्त्वकृत राजसौनी न नवदैवज्ञातीय दिवस्तत्त्वकृतं।

(b) रणम...रणम...न रणसाधितानां वेद वैद्य वस्तु हृदष्टम इति। स आभासः प्रकटः।

Translation.—(a) By saying true revelation, all pretended revelations such as those of the Baudhāyas, the Jainas, and the saṁśāra-mochakas (deliverers from the world) have been set aside. The invalidity of these systems is due to their making unreasonable assertions, to want of sufficient basis, to their making statements contradictory to proofs, and lastly to their being accepted by Mlecchas and other brutish, mean people.

(b) That testimony fails which is based on the assertion of a speaker who has neither seen nor inferred an object truly. (Of such an assertion the example is) that one desirous of heaven should bow to a Baudhāya or a Jaina temple.

Comment.—Passages like the above prove at least the existence of mental intolerance among the men and women of the ninth century. When even such a sober writer as Vāchaspāti Miśra could call the Baudhāyas and the Jainas mean, beastly and Mleccha-like, the virus of religious animosity must have permeated thoroughly all ranks of Indian society of the period.

9. तत्न तद्वर्ण स्वरूपः पतिष्टिकादीत्युतिभिः प्रस्तावः प्रतिवेदः।
Translation.—Of these the manifested—earth, etc.—are perceptible in their true form even to the ploughman having his feet covered with dust.

Comment.—The peasant is to the mind of Vāchaspāti Miśra the best example of the mentally undeveloped people. This clearly means that education was confined to the upper strata of society and did not reach as low as the poor ignorant peasants.

Conclusion.—The few extracts given above by no means exhaust the information to be supplied by Vāchaspāti Miśra. If some scholar well-versed in Sanskrit would undertake the laborious task of going through the great philosopher and commentator’s voluminous works, he would probably find his toil amply repaid by the amount of information to be gleaned therefrom relative to the social conditions of the age.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXX, No. 1, Janvier-Mars, 1932.—In this issue M. Sylvain Lévi contributes a valuable note, illustrated by 4 plates on which eight specimens of the MSS. have been very clearly reproduced from photographs, on two important finds of Sanskrit MSS. at Bamian and near Gilgit. At Bamian, in a cave to the east of the 35 metres high figure of the Buddha, in a portion of the cupola that had fallen in, M. Hackin discovered, besides important remains of paintings and sculpture, a large quantity of MSS. on bark, unfortunately stuck together in a compact mass and very brittle, mostly in Brāhmī script, but including some rare records in Kharaṣṭra. M. Hackin succeeded in setting up some of the best preserved fragments under glass, and these were, with permission of H. M. King Nādir Shah, sent to Paris. M. Lévi tells us that the documents cover the period from the third-fourth century (Kuṣāṇa) to the seventh-eighth century (late Gupta) and besides the types of writing found in India proper, Central Asian types are represented, indicating that the library had contained MSS. from various sources, or else that copyists from different countries had been employed.

The chief interest of this find lies in its providing an authentic portion of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas, as also an authentic fragment of the seven āsanas of the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins, hitherto known only from their Chinese translation, the Saṅgītipārddha.

In the March 1932 issue of this journal (vol. LXI, p. 60) we published information received from Sir Aurel Stein of the very important find of a mass of ancient Sanskrit MSS. in the ruins of a stūpa near Naupur village, about 2 miles west of Gilgit cantonment. A member of the Citron expedition, which happened to be passing Gilgit shortly after Sir Aurel had been there, managed to take some photographs of a few of the leaves, which were submitted to M. Lévi, who had also received a fragment of a leaf obtained by another traveller.

Later on, a number of leaves from this find were sent to Europe by Sir A. Stein. The examination of all this material has enabled the learned French scholar to write this paper, in which he confirms Sir Aurel’s estimate of the date (around the sixth century A.D.) of the MSS., and further emphasises the extreme value of the find. Eleven birch-bark leaves of large size, beautifully written in sixteenth-seventy century characters, form portion of a magnificent copy of the Vinaya of the Mālasāṅghikas, the value of which can hardly be overestimated, the Sanskrit original of this Vinaya (with the exception of the portions preserved in the Dīgha) not being available hitherto. M. Lévi has added a transcription (in Roman) of these leaves, together with a translation in French of portions thereof. “It is useless,” he writes, “to insist upon the paramount importance of this document. One shudders to think that the leaves of this Vinaya, recovered by a kind of miracle, may have been distributed among the peasants of Gilgit, to be sold by little packets, if no worse fate even should befal them.” Six other leaves of smaller dimension, of the same period but in a different handwriting, are of a kind of thick carton paper (which seems to point to an Eastern Turkistan provenance). These belong to a manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and include, fortunately, the last page of the work with a part of the colophon. The difficulty of deciphering this latter, which appears to contain a list of the benefactors associated with the pious work of making the copy, is increased by the fact that most of the names recorded are not Sanskrit, nor even Indian names. M. Lévi believes they are Turkish, or more precisely, Turkish names, which he regards as “fairly probable since round about the year 600 A.D. Gilgit was incorporated in the vast empire of the Western Tou-kou.”

Archiv Orientální, vol. IV, No. 2, Aug. 1932.—Monar. J. Przyluski, in one of his intriguing and ingenious essays, suggests a non-Indo-European origin for the name, and a Dravidian origin for
the god, Viṣṇu. Looking at the Sanskrit, Pali and modern Marāṭhī forms under which the name appears, he classifies them thus —

Viṣṇu Viṣṇu Veṣṇa Veṣṇu

Taking na (or nu) as a non-Aryan suffix (as he has elsewhere suggested in the cases of poṣana and Varuṇa), he finds the roots Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu; Veṣṇa Veṣṇa. The interchange of th and s, he notes, is exemplified in the Austro-asian languages, and the same thing is found in Indian words of non-Aryan origin (cf. karpṣa and karpāsa; kirda, kirda, and kirdis; Pali kateruha and kaseri.ku). The variations in the last consonant are themselves, M. Przyluski adds, an indication of foreign origin, inasmuch as “while words that are fundamentally Aryan evolve in accordance with more or less strict principles, foreign words change in a more capricious manner, and this is just one of the signs that enable us to recognise them.” M. Przyluski goes on to seek corroboration of his deductions from a study of the old traditions in connexion with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. In the field of mythology he treads on perhaps less firm ground. He refers specially to the story of the ten sons of Devagarbha (said to be known as the ten sons of Andhakavehu) in the Ghatajātaka, which he takes to be a Pali version of the Kṛṣṇa legend. Comparison of the versions of the legend leads him to the hypothesis that Viṣṇu, the ancestral god, called in Pali Andhakavehu, is really the father of the gods Vāmadeva, Bala, etc. Arguments are, further, adduced for suggesting that Viṣṇu may be an ethnic term for Dravidian people. The paper is calculated to gratify the residents of Andhakadesa, if it be distasteful to those of Vṛjadesa; but the impartial reader will realise the import of the wider issues involved.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. LXXXII, Pt. 2, 1932.—Prof. Nikkanta Sastrī contributes an interesting paper in this number, entitled “A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra,” in which he discusses the fragmentary Tamil inscription found at Lobos Toewa, near Baros, dated Śaka 1010, in the light of certain other S. Indian inscriptions of about the same period. Dr. Hultsch originally drew attention (in Mad. Ep. Report, 1892) to the fact that the Lobos Toewa record referred to a gift by a body of persons styled “the one thousand five hundred.” Prof. Sastri has traced five other inscriptions mentioning a similar corporation of merchants. He regards all these records as pointing to the existence of a well-known merchant guild in southern India, which appears from certain details given in the inscriptions to have been a powerful body, who enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy, regulated their own affairs, owed no exclusive allegiance to any one king, and entertained mercenary troops to safeguard their goods in the warehouses and in transit. Their trading activities appear to have extended over wide areas, both by land and by sea. Prof. Sastri is inclined to think that a colony of Tamils resided more or less permanently in Sumatra at the time.

Antiquity, vol. VI, No. 23, Sept. 1932.—In a note on pages 356-7, Mr. Ernest Mackay draws attention to the recent discovery of two more links between ancient India and Elam. The first is the finding by Dr. H. Frankfort of a cylinder seal of Indian workmanship (as shown by the elephant, rhinoceros and garhiyāl carved upon it) at Tell Asmar, about 50 miles N.E. of Baghdad, which he would assign to about 2500 B.C., as it was found in a house of the time of the Dynasty of Akkad. In the same building were found a number of heart-shaped pieces of inlay and decorated carnelian beads, which, as far as yet known, occur only in the topmost levels of Mohenjo-daro; and the two cylinder-seals found at Mohenjo-daro also come from the highest strata. From this evidence Mr. Mackay inclines to take 2500 B.C. as the approximate date of the upper levels at M.-d. (instead of 2750 B.C., as previously suggested).

The second is a fragment of a stoneware vase found at a very low level at Mohenjo-daro, bearing exactly the same intricate and unusual pattern as a double vase of stoneware found at Susa in association with objects of the 2nd Period. That the vase of which this fragment formed a part was an importation from Elam is rendered the more certain, Mr. Mackay thinks, by its being of a greenish-grey stoneware, of which it is the only piece yet found in the Indus valley excavations. As the date of Sussa II is about 2800 B.C., this may be taken as the approximate date of the level of the Elamite find at Mohenjo-daro, thus leaving an interval of about 300 years between the two levels, “a conclusion,” writes Mr. Mackay, “to which I am already inclined on other grounds.”

C. E. A. W. O.

Illustrated London News.—In reference to the above subject attention may be drawn to the Feb. 13, 1932, issue of this journal, in which Dr. Woolley brings to notice another link between Ur and Mohenjo-daro, viz., a circular seal, with a bull and Indus script, found in a grave shaft of the second Dynasty of Ur, which may be dated about 2800 b.c.

In the same journal interesting light is thrown on the culture of Persia and Arabia by the discovery of a Sassanian palace at Damghān (Mr. A. U. Pope, Mar. 20) and other Sassanian antiquities at Kish (Feb. 20), by the travels of Mr. Philby through the great desert of Arabia (July 2), and by the accounts by Herr Hefriz of the Hadramaut (Apr. 2) and the fish-eating tribes of the south Arabia coast (July 10).

F. J. R.
BOOK-NOTICES


This is an admirable piece of work, by a scholar who was formerly Lecturer in History at Rangoon University and now holds a similar post at Reading; and after reading it, our only regret is that it is not longer. In the sub-title its precise scope is defined as "the administrative and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with accounts of the commercial expansion of the East India Company, 1786-93, and of the foundation of Penang, 1786-93." Cornwallis's best-known measure, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, is thus excluded from consideration; and Dr. Aspinall explains that he has done so deliberately, on the grounds that the subject is too vast to be treated in a short monograph, that it has been dealt with exhaustively already, and that Cornwallis was only indirectly responsible for the plan. However this may be, a chapter on the subject, however short, would have been welcomed by most readers, and the omission to some extent stultifies the title of the volume.

The author has based his narrative upon a careful study of the official records of the period, both in India and in England; and in addition, he has made telling use of extracts from the Melville Papers which were so unfortunately scattered at public auction a few years ago. The result is a full and authoritative account of the steps taken by Cornwallis to reform the administration, and of their practical results. It has too often been assumed that the changes introduced by Warren Hastings had had the effect of establishing, by the time he left Bengal, a thoroughly satisfactory and efficient system of government. This is to overrate his achievement, great as that was; and indeed, considering the vast size of the province and the means at his disposal, such a result would have been little short of a miracle. Moreover, Hastings had been followed by Macpherson, whose timid rule left matters worse than he found them. When Cornwallis arrived, therefore, there was plenty of scope for wide-reaching reforms; and if he sometimes fell into error, his honest and capable endeavours resulted in a very large measure of success. In consequence his name stands high among the British rulers of India, and Dr. Aspinall's discriminating examination of his achievement will still further add to his reputation.

W. F.


This is the first of three volumes in which the author proposes to give "a systematic and comprehensive history of caste" from the earliest known times to the end of the nineteenth century. The first chapter contains a very brief notice of some of the views of a few earlier writers regarding the characteristics and origin of the caste system. It concludes with the author's own ideas as to the most important factors in the development of caste. No mention is made of the influence which the penchayats of the functional groups had in producing the extreme rigidity which distinguishes the caste system from all other social groupings. The author draws attention to the distinction between class (varna) and caste (jāti), but asserts that there had been no varna "system" there would have been no caste system, and describes as the Magna Carta of the latter the well known Purusā hymn in the Rig Veda, which says that the Brāhmaṇa came from the mouth of Purusha, the Rājanya from his arms, the Vaśya from his thighs and the Śūdra from his feet. He admits, however, that this hymn is "a comparatively later composition." He recognizes the absurdity of Mann's theory that all the modern castes are descended from the four varṇas by a variety of mixed marriages; but says that a good many castes were formed in this way.

The rest of the volume is a very useful repertory of the various references to class and caste which are to be found in the Rig Veda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, as well as in Buddhist and Greek literature. From the material thus provided it seems clear (a) that the four varṇas of the Rig Veda, which the author regards as "the mainspring of the caste system," were in fact mere classificatory terms like the upper, middle and lower classes of our own country, and did not contain even the germs of the caste system, and (b) that Basu was correct in thinking that the fourfold division of the people was not recognized when the "Aryan" first came to India. In the time of the Rig Veda the office of purohita had not become hereditary and there was no insurmountable barrier between the Brāhmaṇas and the rest of the "Aryan" community. Intermarriage was permissible, and persons of exceptional ability could gain admittance to the Brāhmaṇical fold. There are very few references in the Rig Veda to the distinctions existing among non-Brāhmaṇas. The term Rājanya indicated men belonging to the ruling families, and there is nothing to show that a separate warrior caste (Kshatriya) had then been formed. The term Vaśya occurs only in the Purusā hymn. Its root, wīt, which is of frequent occurrence, simply means the common people, and includes besides the cultivators, persons following various occupations. No occupation was regarded as degrading and some were
freely followed by Brāhmaṇa. The internal distinctions amongst the "Aryans" were very slight compared with those between the "Aryans" as a body and the earlier black inhabitants or Dāsas, who are termed Śūdras only in the Puruṣa hymn. These were regarded with contempt, but masters cohabited with their black female slaves, and there is nothing to show that association with the Dāsas caused pollution. Nor had the idea arisen that impurity attached to certain occupations and social practices. All classes ate beef and drank strong drinks. The rules of exogamy, on which such stress is laid in the Śūtras, had not come into existence in Rig-Vedic times.

During the Brāhmaṇa period "Aryan" rule was extended over a large indigenous population, and the process of social segmentation obtained a marked development. The "Aryans" gradually withdrew from all occupations involving manual labour and came to regard industrial work with contempt. The term Śūdra was now applied to the non-Aryan servants and craftsmen, and a fifth varṇa emerged to include the unclean castes such as Nishāda and Chaṇḍāla. But there was still no legal bar to the Brāhmaṇa taking wives from other "Aryans," and there was still intercourse between Aryan masters and their female servants, so that in the Gaṇgetic valley "the 'Aryans' absorbed a good deal of non-Aryan blood." Even in the Śūtra period many groups of non-Aryan "silently entered the fold of the twice-born." But castes distinctions had now become much more rigid; ideas regarding the impurity of certain practices and kinds of food came into vogue and rules were made regarding untouchability.

The Bibliography to Chapter I does not include such well known works as Crooke's Castes and Tribes of the North West Provinces and Oudh, Russell's Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces, and Jogendranath Bhattacharyya's Hindu Castes and Sects. Only two census reports are mentioned.

E. A. G.


The study of Indian history is entangled in controversies from which there seems no escape. It is not the dates only that are elusive; the early rulers of S. India concealed their identity in such a variety of aliases that it is hard to decide who is who. Some bits of evidence will not fit into the picture at all; others seem to fit equally well in a dozen different places. When, in 1908, the Vayalūr Pillar inscription was discovered, with a list of 54 Pallava kings, it was hoped that, for the Pallava puzzle at least, a key had been found. But 54 reigns, at a modest average of four to a century, would require 1350 years; Vayalūr, in short, presents a new problem, not a solution of old ones.

Father Heras tries a fresh approach. Setting aside for the moment considerations of paleography and chronology, he tabulates side by side the royal names embodied in 45 Pallava inscriptions; from left to right the chart covers over ten feet of space, but folded in concertina form it is surprisingly easy to manipulate, and the lists assume a very definite pattern. Relying mainly on the Veṭūry-pālaijyam plates, and treating the Prākrit and Sanskrit grants as of one and the same family, and the Vayalūr inscription as a patchwork of different and overlapping documents, Father Heras groups the aliases into a compact scheme of 24 kings, whose genealogy he depicts in a second chart. As in a third chart he correlates the aliases, and he justifies his conclusions in a small brochure of 27 pages. His list starts with Kāḷabhartrī-Bappa; his 6th king, Skandavarman I, who ruled both Prākrit and Sanskrit, was the first to establish Pallava rule in Conjeeveram. The 8th king, Skandavarman II, he suggests, lost Conjeeveram to the Cholas as a sequel to the defeat of his son Vishnugopa by Samudragupta, and it was not till the reign of the 14th king, Simhavishnu, that Conjeeveram was regained. Father Heras is a bit uneasy as to the synchronism of Vishnugopa with Samudragupta, and the period of 200 years which he assigns to the Chola interregnum is rather long, for between Vishnugopa and Simhavishnu only one generation intervenes. Nor does he bring the Pallavas into relation with their Andhra predecessors. Nevertheless his construction is a courageous effort, and the acceptance of his conclusions would solve many tiresome riddles. There is a slight slip on p. 10 of the brochure; the words "former" and "latter" should be transposed.

F. J. RICHARDS.


A word of welcome must be offered on the reappearance of this Review, the organ of the Permanent Archaeological Commission of Portuguese India. The opening number is devoted to a series of articles on the capitals of Goa. There is first a review of the inscriptions and references in the chronicles to the history of the place before the Portuguese conquest; this is followed by a description of the religious foundations, and then an account of the various movements of the seat of government in Portuguese times. Numerous photographs add to the interest of a volume which may justly be described as a substantial contribution to local history.

W. H. M.
KASHMIRI RIDDLES.

By Pandit Anand Koul, President, Srinagar Municipality (Retired).

Riddles raise a momentary sensation of wonder and afford a light intellectual pastime, the intention underlying them being to tease but, at the same time, to please. They have a psychological value; they not only neutralize cares by diverting the thoughts, but also cause amusement on their being guessed or solved. By the shrewd-thinking they demand, even the dullest boy or girl feels a sense of keenness mingled with delight, and learns the art of being cheerful as well as of giving exercise to the brain—an art which tunes up the brain for the day's work and quickens it to think logically and precisely and, in fact, serves to improve its powers generally.

Children are carried by the current of curiosity born of variety. When other things begin to pall on them, riddles serve as pills to purge melancholy out of their tender, sensitive hearts. Nay more, they arouse wonder fraught with amusement and make them prattle and play in a mood, now grave, now gay. The solution may not dawn all at once, but when it does, a smile of pleasure lights up the solver's features.

Kashmiri not being a written language, the riddles current among the people (most of which evince shrewdness coupled with scintillating humour) have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. This literature, therefore, constitutes a relic of ancient folklore. Fixed and unalterable enigmatic expressions of the ancients as they are, they appeal most to students of anthropology, philology and research. Moreover, such materials, though seemingly insignificant, are of the utmost value and importance to the historian, as they contribute towards building up the ancient history of the people. They are peculiarly valuable in shedding light upon the hazy and remote past of the Kashmiri, who is characterized by conservative proclivities and adherence to things antique, and whose golden age is made up of elements borrowed from the picturesque and hoary past.

Prompted by the considerations stated above, I have collected all the riddles at present current among the Kashmiris, and give them in the following pages. Well might one soliloquize:—Happy the country, whose old, almost lost, literature is revived and rendered imperishable by that supreme art of preservation and circulation, which can defy destruction by Time—printing.

1. Abloys guri nyāni shahsaworo!
   Kadals tātiram vāravaro.
   Mag chy na ta bu pārayo.
   O my piebald horse (and) horseman!
   Carry me slowly across the bridge.
   Thou hast not got the tresses,1 and I shall plait them for thee.
   Answer:—Wooden sandals.

2. Ağ gaz mâmanî duq gaz pûts.
   A head-sheet one and half yards long for an aunt half a yard in stature.
   Answer:—Needle and thread.

3. Ākâshi watsâgyi buṭhâ, pâtîla lajês zanga,
   Illa bi-lâhî! tênga, pûts gân jâgir manganese.
   An old woman descended from the sky, her feet touched the earth.

1 Tresses refer to the strings over the toes.
There is none but God! I will rejoice, I will ask five villages as jāgīr.
Answer: — Snow.

4.  
Akha akāshi, byākhā nākāshi, trākha gharas rāchiya—
Timān tran chu kunuy nāv.
One is in the sky, the second is in the non-sky, the third is guarding the door—
These three are of one and the same name.
Answer: — Gāṅgh, viz., (1) gāṅgh (kite), (2) shishar-gāṅgh (icicle), (3) gāṅgh (bolt).

5.  
Akha kund, yaḍ bharān; byākhā huk, ās mudrāwān; trākha parān Vedaṭa Purān—
Timān tran chu kunuy nāv.
One being a thorn, satisfies one's stomach; the second being dry, sweetens one's palate; the third reads the Vedas and Purāṇas—
These three are of one and the same name.
Answer: — Gor, viz., (1) gor (water-chestnut), (2) gor (molasses), and (3) gor (priest).

6.  
Andar kuṭhey gadharve sabhē; timay bhīt tāh ba tāh;
Inside the room is an assembly of gandharves; they are sitting in regular rows.
Answer: — Teeth.

7.  
Asey pondey, zosey, zāmey;
Nīt snān kari tirthan;
Warīh waryas nonuy āsey.
Nīshi chuy; ta parzānlan.  
It laugheth, sneezeth, cougheth, yawneth;
It ceaselessly batheth in holy pools;
It is naked from year's end to year's end.
It is nigh to thee; recognize it.
Answer: — Face.

8.  
Asmāni pakān kākāyā;
Zāgan māt kirmāyā;
Achin waliit burgāyā.
So kosa myāni pārabhāyā?
A bird is flying in the sky;
Her feet are tinged with red dye;
Her eyes are covered with a veil.
Which priestess of mine is she?
Answer: — A swallow.

The gandharves are a class of demi-gods, who inhabit Indra's heaven and form the orchestra at all the banquets.

This is one of the sayings of Lāl Dōd, the hermitess (see page 65 of Sir George Grierson's Lālā-Vākyānī).
9.
Ayejas ta gayejas;
Ku ku lanji bechejas;
Mudar àsam ta kut gayas!
I came and went away;
I perched on various branches;
It was sweet to me, and whither did it go?
Answer:—Sleep.

10.
Bāla petha minimar uṣh trāwēn.
A doe is shedding tears on a hill.
Answer:—Straining boiled rice in a pot.

11.
Bar dit khar natsēn.
An ass is dancing with the door shut.
Answer:—A mill grinding corn.

12.
Baras pēth kāla-shāhmār
Laṭ la às milavit;
Ora iyas kenskalat,
Laṭ nīnas gilavit.
A black snake is on the door
With tail and mouth joined;
A lizard came up;
It twisted away its tail.
Answer:—Padlock and key.

13.
Buthi bhasm, savyasi chukho;
Athi lār, pyāda chukho;
Dhas dhas karawun day chukho;
Pati kini ye, krāl chukho.
Thou art a mendicant, thy face being covered with ashes;
Thou art a footman, a stick being in thy hand;
Thou art a god, making a rumbling sound;
Thou art a potter, with a basket on thy back.
Answer:—Corn grinding-mill.

14.
Chetis ubras krihin kāv.
Timay kaudāna tāv tāv.
In the white cloud are black crows.
They are calling “Caw! caw!”
Answer:—Writing on white paper.

15.
Darakhē jānaward, darakhēs chu na bihān,
Baiza-kashī be-shumār, phāh chuk na zāh diwān.
A tree bird, [but it] does not sit on the tree:
It produces innumerable eggs, [but] never hatches them.
Answer:—Fish: likened to a bird because of its fins, which are compared with wings.
16.
Dosi ṭēth kum-yāj:
Na pīlēs cāni māj
Na pīlēs myāni māj.
A cake of chaff is on the wall:
Neither thy mother can reach it
Nor my mother can reach it.
Answer:—The moon.

17.
Ek mashīdey do darwāza.
Āo miyān, trāo puṭāsa.
A mosque with two doors.
Come, Sir, [and] let off a cracker.
Answer:—Blowing the nose.

18.
"Hā ṭaŋgō, nīlī ṭaŋgō! tāj phūṭartham kalas pēṭh.
"Hā basīl! sūrā basīl! chus bu jānawār.
"Gūran gurīy! pūṅagāsirīy! tāli kiṭur kyāh?
"Tāhēn tiśēmar! nāstī tiśēmar! yēti bāhak kyāh?"
"O pear, green pear! thou hast broken the crown of my head.
"O bag-like! O ash-bag-like [creature]! I am a bird. [I have done it.]
"O thou greedy of small fish! O bird of colour! what is that long needle
on thy head?
"O thou cut-nose! [with a] tiny nose! why didst thou sit there?"
Answer:—The blue heron with a long feather growing on its head, and a
frog.

19.
Herī watsh hat ta baṛ-hangān rat.
A chip of wood came down-stairs and was caught by the top of the door.
Answer:—A comb.

20.
Herī wuth Pāṇḍīt tre ḍeṭṭāṇi gāṇḍīt.
A Pāṇḍīt came down-stairs with three girdles girt.
Answer:—A load of timber.

21.
Herī wuth Pāṇḍīt voḍ̣āli jāna gāṇḍīt.
A Pāṇḍīt came down-stairs wearing red-coloured clothes.
Answer:—Red pepper.

22.
Hīlā hīlōy cīlās tsāv
Mukhta-hār gāṇḍīt ḍrāv.
Yānī bāzūk āv āv,
Tānī lōkan zuvā tsāv.
With effort did it enter the period of forty days,
It came out with a necklace of pearls about it.
No sooner they heard of its coming
Than the people got life.
Answer:—Paddy or corn.
23.
*Kachyan, katshan, kohan gayi zár, Kábul, Qandahár, Dílá, Kashmír.*
Grass, twigs [and] hills received a shaking Throughout Kábul, Qandahár, Delhi (and) Kashmír.
Answer:—Earthquake.

24.
*Khám mevah pup kyá? Odur mevah mudur kyá?*
Which fruit, while raw, is ripe? Which fruit, while wet, is sweet?
Answer:—The cucumber and the mulberry.

25.
*Khyun, cyun, trukun, vári wawun ta gáv kyut khurák.*
Eatable, drinkable, crushable, seed for garden and food for the cow.
Answer:—A water-melon.

26.
*Kuchihan ásam tathi ásam tsoray khár wátán.*
I had a little godown, which contained only four *kharwárs*.
Answer:—A walnut with its four segments of kernel.

27.
*Lam tal tham sat.*
Seven pillars underneath a mound.
Answer:—The udders of a bitch.

28.
*Lam tal tham tsor.*
Four pillars underneath a mound.
Answer:—The udders of a cow.

29.
*Manz maitánas Haidar Háji, Kami jánan begári láii ? In the middle of the plain is Haidar Háji, Which person imposed forced labour upon him?*
Answer:—A husking mill.

30.
*Múmatsi hastini zinda andram.*
Live intestines in a dead female elephant.
Answer:—The inmates of a house.

31.
*Pántsav Pándavav pal tul, Dútuk dátit Lukhari Yár, Bítai májí dhakka ditus, Pée wátit Khádan Yár.*
Five Pánḍavas lifted up a rock [and] Hurlèd it to Lukhari Yár *;* 

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*4 Lukhari Yár (a corruption of Lałki Śrí Yár) is the name of a *ghóst* on the right bank of the Jhelum, near the sixth bridge at Srinagar, where a fair is held on the 13th of the bright fortnight of Bhádon (August-September). Khádan Yár is the name of a *ghóst* at the north-western end of the Kashmir Valley, where a fair is held on the same date.*
The weak mother gave it a push,
It reached Khâdan Yâr suddenly.
Answer:—A morsel of food raised with five fingers of the hand and
swallowed down by means of the tongue into the stomach.

32.

Pëwân chu mohâ zan,
Samân chu kohâ zan,
Tsaalân chu tsûra zan.
It falls like a mosquito,
It accumulates like a hill,
It flees away like a thief.
Answer:—Snow.

33.

Sarâ dyûthum bod,
Tel phul wâtês na oô.
I saw a large lake,
[But] half a grain of sesamum cannot fit into it.
Answer:—Nipple or teat.

34.

Saras manz mânani pyâyi
Wâdavi gais, tsup hëni âyi.
Aunt gave birth to a child in a lake;
We went to congratulate her, [and] she came to bite.
Answer:—Jewar al-juwur (Euryale ferox). Its thorns prick the hand on
touching it.

35.

Saras manz palyâri hând.
There is a small fence round a lake.
Answer:—Eye-lashes.

36.

Saras manz sarâ bod,
Sir phul wâtês na oô.
There is a large lake within a lake,
[But] it cannot contain even one-half of a broken grain of rice.
Answer:—The pupil of the eye.

37.

Sotranji watharit, shungân na kânñh.
Phulmut pumpoah tsalân na kânñh.
Mûñmut rása, wadân na kânñh.
The durries are spread; nobody sleeps [on them].
The lotus has blossomed; nobody plucks it.
The king is dead; nobody weeps.
Answer:—A frozen pool of water; the moon; a snake.

38.

Shiyyitrah dâri ta shiyyitrah bhar chis;
Shiyyitrah guz bhar panañ chus.
Râzas wathayo rats wâsanñá.
Tâjas pëth suna mânñ chus.
It has thirty-six windows [and] thirty-six doors
It is thirty-six yards in width.
The king happened to get a good impulse [i.e., to build it].
There is a mound of gold on its spires.
Answer:—The Jāmi' Masjid.

39.

Shupri shupri hēndavēnd,
Shrāki sati kapatān,
Bīyi tiḥuiy sapadān.
A water-melon, slantingly
Cut into parts with a knife,
Becomes whole again.
Answer:—Clothing.

40.

Suna sanzi dāroy rupa sanza lanjey,
'Arifān dup Zārifas yima kami ganjey.
Branches of silver [are tied] to a golden window,
'Āris asked Zārif as to who had tied them.
Answer:—A cobweb.

41.

Tali tali talāv khanān,
Rāza dwāran lāt karan.
It digs a pond underneath.
It plunders the houses of great people.
Answer:—A mouse.

42.

Tīlāwān nēcīvis suna suna sund tyuk.
An oilman's son with a golden mark on his forehead.
Answer:—An oil-lamp.

43.

Trē katasal kacev pūt,
Kāth bāth tešāpān chu,
Pipyal hyā natsān chu.
A lamb with three armpits,
Is eating up timber [and] twigs [and]
Is dancing like a black-pepper.
Answer:—An oven.

44.

Tsahr chēm ta bhar chēm;
Rājā sandi bāgh chēm;
Dushculo yali chēm;
Mukha-māla ganjīt chēm.
It is empty and it is full;
It is in the Rājā's garden;
It is covered with a pair of shawls;
It is wearing necklaces of pearls.
Answer:—An ear of Indian corn.
45.
Tsu zangū, tsodāh zangū,
Uk zangū kulis pēth;
Tasunā måz pōdshāh māngū.
Timan trēn chu kūnnī nāv.
[First] having four feet, [second] having 14 feet,
[Third] having one foot on a tree,
Its meat is desired by a king.
These three have one name.
Answer:—Khar (ass); khar (worm); khorbus (musk-melon).

46.
Woza lis gīnas chēṭi kaciṭāṭi.
White lambs in a red-coloured stable.
Answer:—Teeth in the mouth.

47.
Yāni zāv tāni khus kāniy pēth.
As soon as it was born it ascended to the uppermost storey.
Answer:—Smoke.

48.
Yaṣpāri bāl shīn wālān;
Apāri bāl ḍoṭh wālān.
This side of the hill snow is falling;
That side of the hill hail is falling.
Answer:—A cotton-carding mill.

49.
Yaṭā satar sariphol nā vėṭsīy,
Tath sari sakaliy poni cēn;
Mray, srugūl, gandī, zala-hastiṣīy
Zēn nā zēn tā totyu pēn.5
It is a lake so tiny that in it a mustard-seed finds no room,
Yet from that lake every one drinks water;
And into it deer, jackals, rhinoceroses and sea-elephants
Keep falling, almost before they have time to become born.
Answer:—A mother’s nipple.

50.
Yira watsho khaira nēcuwā saṃudarās tshāṇṭi,
Danda-māṇa shrōni karān, shinā waṭān māni.
A rude boy came swimming down a sea,
He was jingling his teeth, [and] rolling up avalanches of snow.
Answer:—A churning-stick, separating butter from the milk.

51.
Zethām zyúṭbu razā hyū, prat kānīḥ tis nishi khotsān chu;
Pakhaṅ na ti khorav na ti, zorav satiṅ pakān chu.
Long like a rope, every one afraid of it;
Neither with wings nor with feet, [but] by its own force does it move.
Answer:—A snake.

5 This is a saying of Lal Dēd, the hermitess. (See page 66 of Sir George Grierson’s Lāhā-Vākyānī.)
RÃO CHANDRASEN, A FORGOTTEN HERO OF RAJPÚTANĀ.

By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu.

The name of the heroic Maharāṇa Pratāp of Mewār, and the memory of his noble deeds thrill with emotion the heart of every true Indian—young or old—even to this day. But the deeds of Rāo Chandrasen, the first hero of Rājasthān, who in defending his independence against the covetousness of the great Mughal emperor Akbar, sacrificed his ancestral throne and took every kind of calamity upon himself, and whose path was followed by Maharāṇa Pratāp after an interval of about ten years, are comparatively unknown to history. Further, it has been said that the latter, being much distressed by the miseries of his children, once harboured the idea of acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor, but no such idea ever entered the head of our hero. Owing to the vicissitudes of fortune, however, his name is forgotten even in his own domains.

The Story of Rao Chandrasen.

Rāo Chandrasen, the hero of this biographical sketch, was born on the 8th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, 1598 v.s. (16th July 1541 A.D.). He was the fourth son of Rāo Māldev, the well known and powerful ruler of Mārwār, who, by the force of his arms, had acquired supremacy among all the contemporary rulers of Rājpūtānā, and whose shelter was sought by Humāyūn, the emperor of India, in his days of adversity, and by whose might the pride of Sher Shaḥ, the Paṭhān emperor of India, was humbled. Towards the close of Māldev's reign a large part of his dominions had gone out of his possession owing to family discord.

On the demise of Rāo Māldev, Rāo Chandrasen, in accordance with the wishes of his father, was installed upon the throne of Mārwār on the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha, 1619 v.s. (11th November 1602 A.D.), shortly after which some of his nobles, being displeased with him as a result of an insignificant incident, began to intrigue with his three elder brothers. The latter were persuaded to raise trouble in different quarters. His eldest brother, Rām, rebelled in Sojat, the second, Rāyamal, towards Dundara, while the third, Udaisingh, having made a surprise attack, took the two villages Baori and Gangani. At this Rāo Chandrasen immediately marched against Udaisingh, who, relinquishing the possession of his newly acquired villages, retreated towards Phalodi. At Lohawat, however, he was overtaken and wounded by the Rāo in a battle which resulted in a victory for the latter. After sometime Rāo Chandrasen again prepared to invade Phalodi at the time when the

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1 Maharāṇa Pratāp died on the 11th day of the bright half of Māgha, 1653 v.s. (15th January 1697 A.D.)
2 When only a child of three, i.e., in 1600 v.s. (1543 A.D.), he was granted the big sief of Siwāna and Bisalpur, where he used to live when of age. A day after his father's death he hastened to Jodhpur to try his luck in taking the reins of government into his hands according to the wish of his father. When a king, he granted the sief of Siwāna to his elder brother, Rāo Rāyamal (the second son of the deceased Rāo).
3 In the preface to the Tāzuk-i-Jahangirī it is stated: "Rāo Māldev was a very great and powerful Rāja, whose army consisted of 80,000 cavalry. Although Rānā Saṅga, who had fought with Bābur, possessed equal wealth and ammunition, yet in respect of dominions and arms, Rāo Māldev surpassed him. Whenever Rāo Māldev fought with Rānā Saṅga the former was victorious." (Persian text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 7.)
4 In the Tabaqti-i-Abkari it is stated:—"The Emperor Humāyūn, obliged by circumstances, started towards Māldev, who was at that time among the big Rājas of Hindustān and to whom no other Rāja was equal in respect of power and army." (Persian text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, p. 205.)
5 "Thank God, at any cost victory has been attained, otherwise I would have lost the empire of Hindustān for a handful of millet." (Türkî-i-Firâshta text, published by Nawāl Kishor Press, Lucknow, Part I, p. 228, and Muntakhabu 'l-Abî text, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Part I, p. 101.)
6 An officer having deserted the court of the Rāo, took shelter with one of the nobles named Jaitamal (son of Jaisā). When he was arrested and brought back, the said noble requested the Rāo to punish him in any way other than death. Incensed at this uncalled for interference, the Rāo ordered the unfortunate wretch to be instantly put to death. Jaitamal and his colleagues did not like this.
7 At this time the three elder brothers of the Rāo were in their respective ḥājirā. The eldest, Rām, was at Sojat; the second, Rāyamal, at Siwāna; and the third, Udaisingh, at Phalodi.
power of the Mughal emperor Akbar was fast rising. But some considerate nobles intervened and made peace between the two brothers, as they (the nobles) apprehended danger to the Rāthor power through family dissensions at such a time.

In 1620 v.s. (1563 A.D.) the Rāo led an army against his eldest brother Rām. At first Rām came out and opposed the army of the Rāo at Nadol. But, seeing no chance of victory, he went to Husain Quli Beg, the imperial officer at Nāgaūr, stated his prior claim by primogeniture to the throne of Mārwār, and asked for help. Husain Quli, seeing a chance of benefitting himself by this internal discord, readily accepted the proposal and suddenly laid siege to Jodhpur. The Rāo fought for some days, but being obliged by the shortage of provisions to make peace, agreed to restore Sojat to Rām and to pay indemnities of war to Husain Quli Beg. In consequence, the possessions of the Rāo were limited to the districts of Jodhpur, Pātār, and Pokarān only. But after the return of the Muhammadan army the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled to the satisfaction of Rām. He therefore approached the emperor in 1621 v.s. (1564 A.D.) for help. As this was a good chance for Akbar to avenge his father's wrongs, he accepted the request of Rām and sent an army under Muṣṣafār Khān. Simultaneously, he ordered Husain Quli Beg to dispossess the Rāo of Jodhpur and settle Rām at Sojat. Husain Quli, accordingly, laid siege to Jodhpur, but the Rāo bravely defended the fort. When the imperial army failed to take the fort by open attack it attempted to enter it by an inlet towards the Rānīsāgar tank, but in vain.

As the siege continued for many months, provisions failed, and the leading sardārs therefore prevailed upon the Rāo to escape. He, reluctantly, went to Bhadrājan with his family, while his sardārs, who remained behind, fought in open battle and died glorious deaths. The imperial army then took possession of the fort.

The following is an extract from the Akhbarāmdā:

"After the accession of Chandrasen to the throne the imperial army besieged Jodhpur. Hearing this, Rām, the eldest son of Rāo Māḷdev, came and joined them. From there he went to the emperor who bestowed honours upon him and sent him to Husain Quli Beg with a fresh army under Muʿnuʿ d-dīn Khān and others. The imperial army soon took the fort."

The Rāo collecting men and money began to harass the Muhammadans now and then. In 1627 v.s. (1570 A.D.—978 A.H.), when the emperor, after visiting Ajmer, reached Nāgaūr, many princes of Rājputānā attended his court there. The Rāo, too, went there to read...

8 Another version is that it was Rāo Rām who, with the assistance of Mahārāṇā Udaisingh, had at first marched out in order to obtain the throne of Mārwār.

9 It is stated in Tūrīkā-i-Pātanpur (Part I, page 77) that Mirzā Sharfuʿd-dīn rebelled against Akbar and invaded Mertā after the demise of Rāo Māḷdev, and that Rāo Chandrasen saved Mertā by concluding a peace with him in 1615 v.s. (1559 A.D.). These facts are doubtful, for Mertā had been made over to Jaimāl by Sharfuʿd-dīn during the lifetime of Rāo Māḷdev. After this, when Sharfuʿd-dīn rebelled, Akbar took Mertā from Jaimāl and made it over to Jagmāl. Sharfuʿd-dīn rebelled in 1620 v.s. (1563 A.D.—971 A.H.), while Rāo Māḷdev died in 1619 v.s.

10 When Humāyūn had sought the assistance of Rāo Māḷdev against Sher Shāh, his followers had slaughtered a cow in Mārwār. Displeased with this, the Rāo (Māḷdev) had desisted from helping him, and Humāyūn had to turn back disappointed.

11 This inlet is meant for carrying water to the fort from the tank.

12 This event is stated in the chronicles to have occurred on the 12th day of the dark half of Mārgaʿirṣa, 1622 v.s. (19th November 1665 A.D.).


14 Udaisingh, the third son of Rāo Māḷdev, and Rāo Kalyāṇmal and his son Rāyasingh of Bikaner, etc., had an interview with the emperor at this place. The emperor deputed Udaisingh to suppress the Gūjar rising in Sānacū, keeping at court Rāyasingh, to whom afterwards the administration of Jodhpur was also entrusted. Rāo Rām was also appointed in Jodhpur to help in guarding the highway to Gūjarāt.

It is stated in the Tūrīkā-i-Akbār that Akbar reached Nāgaūr on the 16th Jumādā l-dahr, 977 A.H. (3rd day of the dark half of Pausha, 1626 v.s. —corresponding with the 26th November 1666 A.D.) and sojourned there for 50 days (p. 289). But in the Akhbarāmdā this event is said to have occurred in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). (Vol. II, pp. 357-58.)
his mind, and was received by the emperor with due honour. His inward desire was that if the Rāo were to own his allegiance, even in name, he might restore Jodhpur to him. But the unbending nature of the Rāo defied all courtly allurements and he returned to Bhadrājan, rejecting the offers of the emperor. Soon after this the imperial army laid siege to Bhadrājan.

The Rāo defended it for some time, but as provisions here also failed, he went to Siwānā.

In 1639 v.s. (1572 A.D.) the Rāo made a recruiting tour, and on his way, when encamped at Kanuja (district Jaitaran), Ratan, son of Khinva, the chieftain of Asarlai, disregarded a summons to his court. The Rāo, therefore, marched on Asarlai and laid it waste.

Next year (1630 v.s.=1573 A.D.) the inhabitants of the town of Bhinaya (district Ajmer) approached him for protection against the depredations of Mādalía, the Bhil chieftain. Accepting their appeal, the Rāo attacked the residence of the Bhil. As many other Bhils of the neighbourhood happened to be there taking part in some ceremony, they all took up arms to repulse the attack; but as soon as Mādalía was killed they all fled, leaving the place and the district in the possession of the Rāo.

The same year (i.e., 1630 v.s.=981 A.H.) Akbar despatched a strong army to take Siwānā.16 Besides the Muhammadan commanders, Shāh Quli, etc., Hindu princes and chiefs, like Rāyasingh of Bikaner, Keshavadās of Mertā and Jagat Rāya, were also deputed to accompany it. As the emperor was very anxious that the Rāo might be made to own allegiance, he had instructed his commanders to try to win him over by promises of imperial favour. At first the army went towards Sojat, where it defeated prince Kallā,17 a nephew of the Rāo, and thence set out for Siwānā, taking his (the Rāo's) relatives Keshavadās, Maheshdās and Prithvirāj along with it. When this large army came near Siwānā,18 plundering the surrounding country and defeating those who made opposition, the retainers of the Rāo suggested that he should take refuge in the neighbouring hills and await his opportunity.

Chandrasen, accordingly, went into the hills, leaving the defence of the fort to his commander-in-chief, Rāsthor Pattā, but he let slip no opportunity of harassing the besieging army upon its flanks and rear. The garrison, too, gave a good account of itself. Though the besieging army was large and formidable, yet neither the Rāo nor his retainers were discomfited. In 1621 v.s. (982 A.H.), disappointed at the state of affairs, Rāo Rāyasingh, who then administered Mārwār on behalf of the emperor, left Siwānā for Ajmer and informed the emperor that the army deputed to Siwanā was not adequate to capture the fort, and that reinforcements were necessary.19 The emperor thereupon sent Tāyiyr Khan, Sāyiyd Beg Toqhāli, Subhān Quli Khān Turk, Kharram, Azmāt Khān, Shīvadās, etc., with a large army to

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16 From that day the following proverb has been current in Mārwār:—

\[ \text{मारहसिंह नारियों ने मोड़ बिचारी,} \]

\[ \text{i.e., 'as soon as Mādalía (the Bhil chief) was killed the guests to the feast dispersed.'} \]

Bhinaya is in the possession of the descendants of Rao Chandrasen to this day.

17 It is stated in the *Chiefs and Leading Families of Edjāpsāwād* (1916) that Chandrasen, the son of Rāo Mādev of Mārwār (1631) came to Ajmer, and having by stratagem intoxicatd Mādalía, the chief of a band of Bhils who ravaged the country near Bhinai, slew him and dispersed his followers. For this service Bhinai and seven other parganas were bestowed on him in *jāgir* by the emperor Akbar. (See pp. 96-97.)


Siwâna. The strength of the imperial army being thus augmented, the Rao, at the request of his sardars, escaped via Rampura to the hills. The emperor resented the escape of the Rao, and reproached his commanders.

Next, in 1632 v.s. (1683 a.h.) Jalal Khan was deputed to suppress the Rao, and Saiyid Ahmad, Saiyid Hashim, Shimul Khan and other nobles were ordered to accompany him. As the army previously suffered continued failure it became disheartened; and as they had insufficient fodder and had to wander fruitlessly in the hilly tracts, the horses, too, became weak and unserviceable. The emperor accordingly instructed these newly appointed commanders to relieve it; and they went to their respective jagirs to make preparations.

When Jalal Khan reached Merta, Ramsingh, Sultansingh, Ali Quli, etc., nobles of the Siwâna army, sent him word that, though they were trying their best to suppress the Rao, yet they had not been able to defeat him, for being himself a brave warrior, surrounded by retainers equally brave, and finding an impregnable shelter in the mountains, he was invincible. But if Jalal Khan would instantly help them with his army they would achieve some success. Jalal Khan accordingly marched on Siwâna. Hearing this, the Rao arranged an ambush to surprise and rout Jalal Khan on the way; but somehow the latter got scent of the design and advanced and attacked the Rao. This unexpected attack upset all his (the Rao's) plans. For some time further he continued the conflict, till, anticipating the complete destruction of his handful of brave soldiers in fighting against such odds, he again took refuge in the hills.

As the imperial army had had a bitter experience in entering the hills in pursuit of such a dangerous enemy as the Rao, this time they retired to the fortress of Râmgadh, and from there they tried their best to find out his whereabouts; but all their efforts proved fruitless. In the meanwhile they learnt through a person who called himself Devidas that the Rao was with his nephew, prince Kallâ. On this they went with him to Kallâ, who positively denied the information. The army had to return in despair, and Shimul Khan was much displeased with Devidas. Inviting the latter to his camp under some pretext he tried to make him prisoner, but at the right moment Devidas effected his escape, to the disappointment and shame of Shimul Khan. Devidas went to Kallâ, and, as he was determined to avenge himself on Shimul Khan, he together with Rao Chandrasen fell upon the imperial army. In their hurry they mistook Jalal Khan for Shimul Khan. However the former was killed. They then proceeded to attack the latter (Shimul Khan), but by that time Jaimal, at the head of a fresh imperial army, happened to arrive, and the Rao and Devidas thought it prudent to retire.

This last attack had much reduced the strength of the imperial army, affording an opportunity to prince Kallâ (son of Râmâ) of once more trying his luck. He collected men and money, garrisoned the fortress of Devkûr, and prepared for battle with the imperial army. To overcome the new difficulty, the imperial army was obliged to give up the siege of Siwâna and prepare for an attack upon Devkûr. The emperor, seeing his prestige

21 Ibid., p. 167.
22 These were younger brothers of Rao Rûyasînig of Bikaner.
24 The strange story related by this man at Râmgadh was that he was the same Devidas who was supposed to have been killed in the battle with Shârûfud-dín at Merta; that when he was left on the field in a senseless state, an ascetic picked him up, took him to his hermitage and healed his wounds; that he remained with the ascetic for some time and had come with his permission to try his fortune by serving under the imperial banners. He was believed by some of the imperial commanders, while others distrusted him. (Akbârnâma, vol. III, p. 159.)
25 The site of this fortress remains yet unidentified. (Akbârnâma, vol. III, p. 167.)
endangered, sent more men under Shâhbâz Khân to stamp out the anarchy in these parts. This new general, on reaching Devkûr, saw that the imperial army besieging the fortress was in difficulties. He, therefore, advanced and attacked the fort. This reinforcement greatly added to the strength of the imperial army and the handful of fatigued retainers of prince Kallâ could not withstand its attacks for long. The fortress was captured and Shâhbâz Khân left some troops in it under the Saiyids of Bârha, while he himself proceeded to Siwâna. On his way he fell in with some Râthor warriors stationed in the fortress of Dûnâra,26 to whom he sent proposals for submission with an offer of imperial service. But these brave Râthors, preferring death to loss of independence, engaged the great Mughal army in a furious battle till every one of them had fallen on the field. The Mughals took possession of the fortress and went on to besiege Siwâna. There they relieved and sent back the old army, in accordance with the emperor’s instructions. The new general, after some days of strenuous effort, perceived that it would be very difficult to take the fort by fighting in the open with the brave Râthors. He, therefore, had recourse to stratagem, and cut off all supplies for the garrison. Seeing further defence impossible, the commander proposed to evacuate the fort on condition of being allowed to retire peacefully. Shâhbâz Khân welcomed the proposal as he foresaw only loss in pressing the siege further. Thus, after prolonged and severe fighting, the fort of Siwâna came into the possession of Akbar in 1633 v.s. (984 A.H.) and the surviving Râthor defenders retired to the hills of Piplyn, where the Râo resided. But still they continued to attack the Mughal army whenever possible.

The same year, in the month of Kârtika (October-November 1576 A.D.), Râval Hânsrâj of Jaisalmer seeing the Râo engaged with the imperial army, invaded Pokaran, which was defended by Pañcholî Anand Râm, who commanded in behalf of the Râo, for about four months. In the end, no advantage being gained by either side, a treaty was concluded by which the Râval was to advance a loan of one lakh of phâdiâs (Rs. 12,300) to the Râo, and the Râo was to hand over the district of Pokaran to the Râval on condition of returning it on the repayment of the loan. Râo Chandrasen, being engaged in war with the Mughals, was in need of money and, therefore, welcomed the treaty.

As the imperial army pursued the Râo even to his mountain fastness of Piplyn, he, after fighting for a time, was obliged to retire towards Sirohi,27 Dûngarpur28 and Bânswârâ.

Later on, when Sojat also fell into the hands of the Mughals on the death of Kallâ on the field of battle, Kumpâvat Sûdûl, son of Maheshdâs, Jêvatâ Akârân, son of Devidâs, and other sardârs of Mârswâr went over to the Râo and requested him to return and protect his native land. Accordingly he set out for Mârswâr via Mewâr and, routing the imperial post at Sarwâr, took possession of the district in 1636 v.s. (1579 A.D.). Later he overran the adjacent districts of Ajmer also.29 At this the emperor sent an army against him under Pâyandâ Muhammad Khân and others. The Râo, after fighting for some time against these

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26 At present there is no fortress at Dûnâra.
27 Râo Chandrasen is said to have stayed here for about a year and a half.
28 It is said that though Râo Chandrasen, owing to the dissenion between the Râval and his son, had acquired possession of Dûngarpur fort, he was obliged to vacate it on the arrival of the imperial army.
29 In 988 A.H. (1637 v.s. = 1550 A.D.) it was reported that Râo Chandrasen (son of Mâldeva), in spite of his (formerly) attending the imperial court, had rebelled; but being afraid of the imperial army he had awaited an opportunity in his hiding place, and now, finding a chance, had begun to plunder the district of Ajmer. (Akbarînâmâ, III, p. 318.)

But Râo Chandrasen had only once met Akbar at Nâgaur in 1627 v.s. (1570 A.D.). A subsequent interview with Akbar is neither mentioned in any of the Persian Chronicles, nor in the khyâted. This statement, therefore, must allude to his meeting with the emperor in 1627 v.s.
odds, thought it inadvisable to remain in the open field and retired to the nearest hills in 1637 v.s. (1580 A.D. = 988 A.H.).

Shortly after this the Rao again collected men and money, invaded Sojat and took possession of it on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvana 1637 v.s. (7th July 1580 A.D.). He then established his residence in the hill fortress of Saran close by, but he did not enjoy the rest for long as he died on the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha 1637 v.s. (11th January 1581 A.D.) at Sachiyaya. Thus ended the chequered but brilliant career of this unyielding hero of Mārwār. On the spot where he was cremated there stands a marble tablet to this day.11

Rao Chandrasen was a ruler of very inflexible and independent disposition. He took upon himself the hardships of a wandering life in the mountains after being deprived of his paternal state (Mārwār). He continued to fight for 16 long years with the armies of an emperor like Akbar, and never thought of ending his miseries by yielding to the supremacy of the great Mughal. Even from the Akbaranāmā it is evident that it was the ardent desire of the emperor to bring the Rao under his allegiance like other rulers of Rājpūtānā; he, therefore, used to give special instructions to all the nobles sent against him to try their best to subjugate the Rao by offering imperial favours. But this desire of the emperor was never fulfilled. Rao Chandrasen had three sons,—Ugrasen, Rāyasiningh, and Āskaran.12

At that time the Mahārāṇa (Pratāp) and the Rao (Chandrasen) were the two sharpest thorns in Akbar's side. A contemporary poet has very well expressed this fact in the following couplet:

चन्द्रगिला दुरी ऋणना रथमय, चाकर रहस्य न दियोयाही ।
सारे रक्षस्तान तव सिर, पात्रम मैं पच्छे नियंत ॥

i.e., at that time there were only two renowned rulers throughout India, viz., Rāṇa Pratāp and Rāo Chandrasen, whose horses could not be enslaved by the imperial brand, who could never be tempted by imperial service, and whose arms ever remained drawn against the imperial armies.

Probable Reasons for the Obscurity of Rao Chandrasen.

The chief reason why the name and history of such a character have been forgotten seems to be that, unlike the case of Mahārāṇa Pratāp of Mewar, the throne of Mārwār was lost to the descendants of our hero—Rao Chandrasen. Some time after his death, his younger brother Udaisingh (alias Mōṭā Rājā) got possession of the throne in 1640 v.s. (1583 A.D.)

The new ruler had not been on good terms with his brother. The poets and historians of the time probably thought, therefore, that the recital and narration of Chandrasen’s heroic deeds would not only be fruitless, but even a cause of displeasure to the contemporary ruler.

We hope true Indians, and especially the Rāṭhor Rājpūts, will cherish in their hearts the memory of the magnanimous Rao like that of Mahārāṇa Pratāp.

11 It is stated in the chronicles of Mārwār that when Rāo Chandrasen had taken possession of Sojat a large number of Rāṭhor scādās from far and near had flocked to his banner. But Rāṭhor Bairsāl and Kumpavat Udaisingh, out of pride, paid no heed to him. Rāo Chandrasen, therefore, marched upon Duder, the jōdhr of Bairsāl. On the way, as Āskaran, son of Rāṭhor Devkīdās, promised to negotiate with Bairsāl and induce him to enter the service of the Rāo, the latter gave up the idea of invasion. When, however, Āskaran saw Bairsāl for the purpose, the latter, feigning terror, requested Āskaran to assure him of the favour of the Rāo by bringing him (the Rāo) to his house for dinner. This was arranged. But soon after his return the Rāo suddenly expired; hence treachery on the part of Bairsāl is generally suspected.

12 In this tablet there is an image of Rāo Chandrasen on horseback along with five ladies standing in front of him, to show that five of his wives became sūtī. This fact is also borne out by the inscription below the image, which runs as follows:

1537 वर्षम् 12 मासम् आप्सु (तु) कृष्ण महतिस्मिति स्वामी समाधि मा देव कुञ्जा नामी है।

Rāo Chandrasen made a charitable grant of village Arāthnādi to a Brāhmaṇ named Sāṅgā.
HISTORICAL DATA IN RĀJAŠEKHARA'S VIDDHASĀLABHAṆJIKĀ.

By V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.

In an interesting article entitled "The staging of the VidhhasālabhaṆjikā" published in a previous issue of this Journal (vol. LX, p. 61 f.), Mr. Dasharatha Sharma has drawn attention to the historical data in the VidhhasālabhaṆjikā of Rājaśekhara. The historical importance of this drama had also struck me as I was studying the inscriptions of the Kalachuris and the works of Rājaśekhara, and I wrote an article on the subject which was published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute some months before Mr. Sharma's article appeared in this Journal. Mr. Sharma has independently studied this question, and though he agrees with me in some matters, his conclusions in others are different from mine. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the available evidence once more to arrive at the truth. Besides Mr. Sharma's article contains some misstatements which must be corrected to prevent misconception by future historians.

After studying the VidhhasālabhaṆjikā and the relevant inscriptions Mr. Sharma has drawn the following conclusions.

1. The VidhhasālabhaṆjikā was staged at the Court of the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadева I of Tripuri.

2. It commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV. This war was undertaken to crown Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III king of Kuntala.

The first of these conclusions is no new discovery. As far back as 1905 the late Dr. Hultzsch arrived at the same conclusion and on the same grounds. As for the second my conclusion is in some respects different from Mr. Sharma's. I agree with him that the play commemorates a victory of the Kalachuris over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, but I hold that Yuvarājadева's antagonist was not Govinda IV, but his own son-in-law, Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, who had already usurped the throne on the death or murder of Govinda IV. Mr. Sharma says: "Govinda IV seems to have been a man of vicious character, who met his destruction in a rebellion raised by his subjects." It is not quite clear how Govinda IV met his death. The Deoli and Karhad Plates attribute his destruction to his voluptuousness, which undermined his health. But the veiled reference in that verse to the disaffection among his subjects, as well as the statement in the next passage that his successor Amoghavarsha was requested by the feudatories to ascend the throne, may denote that he lost his life in a rebellion of his subjects and feudatories. The latter supposition is also supported by an important passage in the Vikramadityayana of the Kanarese poet Pampa, where it is said that Arikesarin, a Chālukya chief ruling over Jora country (Dhārwar district), conquered the great feudatories sent by the emperor who offered opposition and gave universal sovereignty to Baddiga when he came, placing confidence in him. It is, however, doubtful if the Chedis had any hand in this revolt. The battle on the bank of the Payoshni, which is so graphically described in the VidhhasālabhaṆjikā, could not have been fought with Govinda IV, for in that passage the adversaries of the Chedis, who supported the claim of Virapala for the throne of Kuntala, are said to be kings of Karnata, Sūmala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Andhra, and Kanka, as well as the lord of Kuntala. Now it is well known that Govinda IV had, by his vicious conduct, displeased all men and had sent armies against Arikesarin (who may represent the

1 Annals, vol. XI, Part IV (1930).
2 Ind. Ant., vol. XXXV, p. 177 f.
3 सोमनाथवनाथनवपाध्यायकर्मिनण्ड-विविध-नामादुर्ग-मयूरिकाशिरसविषयम्। | शैवकौशिकविषयकृति: । आहुर:।
   प्रभृतियं संतानं सुभरम: जातिः स! ||
4 समस्ताय योग्यमः संविधाननवपाध्यायकर्मिनण्ड-विविध-नामादुर्ग-मयूरिकाशिरसविषयम्। | अभयास्त धम्भी
   विश्वकुश्याय समस्ताय योग्यमः संविधाननवपाध्यायकर्मिनण्ड-विविध-नामादुर्ग-मयूरिकाशिरसविषयम्। ||
5 Ep. Ind., vol. VII, p. 34.
king of Karpāṭa) and Chālukya Bhima II of Veṣa (the king of Andhra). These kings at least were displeased with Govinda IV, and we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that other feudatories also did not like his misrule. In the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III, the son and successor of Baddiga-Amoghavarsha, we are told that the latter was requested by the feudatories to ascend the throne. These feudatories are not, therefore, likely to have fought for Govinda IV and against the Kalschuri king, who, according to Mr. Sharma, espoused the cause of Baddiga. It is, on the other hand, probable that Baddiga-Amoghavarsha was intriguing with the discontented feudatories of Govinda IV to bring about his downfall. We have a clear reference to this in the passage from the Vīkramadīvapajajaya cited above, which says that Arikesarin gave the throne to Baddiga who sought his help. Yuvarājadeva I was no feudatory of Govinda IV. If he had been mainly instrumental in securing the throne of Kuntala for Baddiga, the Deoli and Karhad plates of his son would have surely referred to his help. We find instead, that Kṛṣṇa III, the son of Baddiga, even while he was a crown prince, defeated a Saahasārjuna (i.e., a Kalschuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. This can be no other than Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri, the father-in-law of Baddiga. The earliest date for Baddiga is 937 A.D., and the date of Kṛṣṇa III’s accession is 940 A.D. Kṛṣṇa’s victory over Yuvarājadeva must, therefore, be placed between these two dates. As it is mentioned first in the list of the achievements of Kṛṣṇa III while he was a crown prince, it may have occurred in the first two or three years of his father’s reign. It would, indeed, be the height of ingratitude, if Kṛṣṇa waged war so soon on Yuvarājadeva, who, according to Mr. Sharma, placed his father on the throne of Kuntala.

I, therefore, conclude that Yuvarājadeva must have espoused the cause of some other claimant for the throne of Kuntala and fought with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha and his son Kṛṣṇa, who had usurped it with the help of the feudatories. In my article in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute I have shown in detail that the kings of Karpāṭa, Sinhala, Pāṇḍya, etc., mentioned in Rajaśekhara’s play as the adversaries of Yuvarājadeva, were afterwards the feudatories of Kṛṣṇa III, and may, therefore, have come to his father’s help in that battle. Baddiga was, no doubt, Yuvarājadeva’s son-in-law, but he was a man of saintly disposition, being guided entirely by his son Kṛṣṇa III. From the manner in which Kṛṣṇa III and his successor Khoṭṭigadeva are referred to in the Kardā plates, the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that they were half-brothers and that Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarājadeva, was the mother of Khoṭṭigadeva but the stepmother of Kṛṣṇa III. We are told in the Vīdhasūkhabhaṇḍī that Yuvarājadeva married the daughter of Virapāla, whom he placed on the throne of Kuntala. This is manifestly impossible if Virapāla of the play is intended to represent his own son-in-law Baddiga-Amoghavarsha. All these considerations render it extremely probable that Virapāla was meant to represent some other uncle of Govinda IV who had an equal claim for the throne after the latter’s death. Yuvarājadeva must have decided to back him, for he must have known that if his son-in-law Baddiga gained the throne he would be entirely under the control of his son, Kṛṣṇa III, of masterful personality, and thus thwart him in his ambitious schemes to become a Chakravartin.

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8 Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 417.
9 Ibid., p. 285.
10 Matrimonial alliances are not always successful in preventing hostilities between ambitious kings. Several instances of this can be quoted from modern European as well as ancient Indian history.

Early History of the Deccan (1926), p. 127;
Mr. Sharma places this battle on the bank of the Tapti, with which he identifies the Payoshni mentioned in the play as the scene of the battle. It appears from the Epics and Puranas that three rivers—Tapti, Purna and Painingag—bore the name Payoshni in ancient times. The Viddhasalabhaṣṭikā tells us that Yuvarajadeva sent an army under his Commander-in-Chief to place Virapala on the throne of Kuntala. It must have advanced directly on Manvikelna (modern Malkhed, near Bidar in the Nizam's Dominions), the capital of the Raṣṭrakūṭas. Its progress was checked by a confederacy of kings, and a fierce battle was fought on the bank of the Payoshni. This river must, therefore, be identified with the Paingangā which, alone of the three rivers mentioned above, lies on the way from Tripuri (Tēwar near Jabalpur) to Malkhed. The surrounding country was probably called Muralā in those days. The king of this country was one of the adversaries of Yuvarajadeva. From the Utaṭarāmacarita the Muralā appears to be a tributary of the Godavari, and we find that the Yādavas who were ruling in that part were feudatories of the Raṣṭrakūṭas. To assure Yuvarajadeva that the people of that country had submitted to him after that fierce battle the Commander-in-Chief remarks in his dispatch that the ladies of Muralā had fixed their eyes on his feet. The identification of the Payoshni12 with the Paingangā seems, therefore, to be almost certain.

The victory that Yuvarajadeva won in the battle of the Payoshni was, however, only temporary. Baddiga soon regained the throne and was firmly established on it in 987 A.D. His son and crown prince, Krishna III, soon took revenge by defeating Yuvarajadeva, as stated in the Karhad plates.

Let us next turn to some other statements in Mr. Sharma’s article. He identifies in a footnote Yuvarajadeva the patron of Abhinanda with Yuvarajadeva I of Tripuri. Extracts from the initial and concluding portions of the Rāmacarita were published in 1922 and 1928 in the Triennial Catalogues of Manuscripts collected by the Madras Government.13 The work has recently been edited in the Gaikwał’s Oriental Series. From several references in that poem it now quite clear that Yuvarajadeva, the poet’s patron, was a Pala king and bore the title Hāravarsha. He must, therefore, be distinguished from Ṛajāsēkharā’s patron, the Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I alias Kēyāravarsha. The editor of the Rāmacarita has added cogent reasons to identify him with Devapala, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century A.D.

Relying on Mr. C. V. Vaidya’s statement in his History of Medieval Hindu India, Mr. Sharma holds that Kokkalla I was the master of Trikaliṅga in 870 A.D. Mr. Vaidya has cited no authority for his statement. From the eleventh century onwards we find that the title was assumed by some Kalachuri kings. But so far as I know, the passages in the Viddhasalabhaṣṭikā cited by Mr. Sharma are the earliest references to the assumption of this title by a Kalachuri king. If Trikaliṅga means high or elevated Kaliṅga and denotes the highlands between the coast strip called Kaliṅga and Daḵshiṇa Kosala,14 the country was conquered for the first time by Kokkalla’s son, Mughadutanga-Prasiddhadhava, the father of Yuvarajadeva I.15 After this conquest he placed one of his brothers in charge of it. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Retanpur mention that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripuri while the others became the lords of Manḍalas.16

11 See Nundo Lal Day's Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 158.
12 Relying on Mr. S. N. Majumdar’s statement in his edition of Cunningham’s Geography of Ancient India, Mr. Sharma takes the Muralā country to represent the central possession of the Kalachuris. But this is inconsistent with the express statement in the play that the lord of Muralā was one of Yuvarajadeva’s opponents in the battle of the Payoshni. The Trikaliṅgadēśa seems to distinguish the Muralā from the Revā or Narmadā, cf. रेवा ब्रु पूर्वमण्डल स्थानयुक्तः न मर्मदाः | In the Bālabhārata also Rājāsēkharā distinguishes between Muralā and Mekalā the country round the source of the Narmadā, cf. नमित्यपरतमोऽहि: पालको नेकभएसमेत | (Act I, v. 7).
13 Vol. III, Nos. 3439 and 3769 (pub. 1922) and vol. IV, Nos. 5371 and 5373 (pub. 1928).
14 JBOIRS., vol. XIV, Part IV.

This admirable dictionary is the outcome of 16 years' work; and the labour involved in its preparation will be apparent from its contents to all linguists. Suffice it to state that dictionaries and vocabularies of fifty languages and dialects, including, be it noted, the Gypsy languages, have been systematically examined for the purpose of the etymological notes and the indexes. In the preface the author states his aim as having been to give all those interested in the Aryan languages of India generally, and in Nepāli in particular, a dictionary in which for the first time the attempt is made to indicate with some degree of scientific accuracy the etymologies of an Indo-Aryan language as a whole. The indexes have been planned to enable those concerned with Indo-Aryan languages other than Nepāli to use the etymological material here collected. Right well have these aims been accomplished; the result is a work that should serve as a guide for future Indian lexicography.

In his Linguistic Survey of India Sir George Grierson classifies this language, which he calls Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī (here using the Sanskritic form, while Prof. Turner adopts the form Nepāli as locally pronounced) as one of the Pahārī languages of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan Branch. Prof. Turner tells us that Nepāli originally belonged to a dialect-group which included the ancestors of Gujarātī, Sindhi, Lahndā, Panjābī, and Hindī. As the speakers of the so-called Pahārī languages, moving along the foothills of the Himalayas, settled down in their new homes, these languages lost touch with their relatives in the north-west, and developed independently. Being brought into close contact with the dialects of the plains to the south, they shared with them important sound changes. So, in the case of Nepāli we find the Hindi and Bihārī dialects exercising a strong and apparently increasing influence. Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages Nepāli is most closely allied to Kumāon, its neighbour on the west. This linguistic evidence corroborates the historical information we possess as to the introduction in comparatively recent times of this form of Indo-Aryan speech into Nepāl. For it must be remembered that most of the languages spoken in
of Sanskrit words added, the most fastidious critics should be satisfied.

In a work of this size and comprehensive character it is inevitable that some errors should creep in; that they are so rare is testimony of the care and accurate methods of the compiler. The few we have noticed are chiefly in respect of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Had any reliable dictionaries of the Bihari vernaculars been published, Prof. Turner would have received much help therefrom. We notice, however, that he has carefully searched, and made good use of that invaluable storehouse of rural terms, Bihar Peasant Life, compiled by Sir George Grierson.

Professor Turner is to be warmly congratulated on the publication of this fine piece of work, which we hope is the auspicious harbinger of a greater work for which material is accumulating.

C. E. A. W. O.


This volume forms the ninth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury; and the work is of the same high standard as characterised the previous volumes. The introduction, the first to be written by Mr. Ottewill, Sir William Foster's successor at the India Office, contains a carefully prepared analysis of the contents, which is of great help to the reader. The three-year period was comparatively uneventful in India itself, but was marked by better trading results and the resumption (after five years) of payment of dividends by the Company, in spite of the renewal of war with the Dutch, which necessitated the adoption of special measures, such as the supply of convoys, for the protection of the Company's fleets. The most sensational events perhaps were the capture by four Dutch men-of-war, on the 1st Jan. 1673, of the island of St. Helena, which had been in possession of the Company since 1651, and its recapture along with three Dutch E. I. ships by Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Munden four months later. The island was restored to the Company, who continued to hold it until the Crown assumed possession in 1834.

The full index has been prepared with Miss Sainsbury's customary care.

C. E. A. W. O.

This is the third of a triad of works on Tibet written by the author since his retirement from service under the Government of India, the previous two volumes being Tibet: Past and Present, and The People of Tibet. The exceptional, in some respects unique, opportunities afforded by 19 years' official employment on its frontiers and in Tibet itself, and more particularly his personal friendship with the two highest dignitaries in that country, the Dalai Lama and the Ta-shi Lama, eminently qualify Sir Charles to describe the land, its people and their religion. In the present volume we have an attractive survey, arranged on historical lines and intended for the general reader, of the more important phases of the religious life of the people.

After a brief description of the old religion of the people, known to themselves as Tön, a sort of Shamanism, which, in one form or another, was once so widely prevalent over the northern parts of the Eastern Hemisphere and extended even into the north of America, we are given a short survey of the rise of Buddhism in India and its gradual introduction into Tibet during the seventh to ninth centuries A.D., the real foundation thereof being laid by Padma Sambhava in the eighth century. Then we are told how the new religion met with powerful opposition from followers of the old faith and was suppressed for at least 70 years, reviving later and spreading, as a result chiefly of the influence of the teaching of learned Buddhist missionaries from India, like Atiisha, under whom and under Mar-pa and others it took a strong Tantrik turn. As Sir Charles writes, Tantrism was more congenial to the Tibetan nomad, "travelling in wild wastes and facing the unknown forces of Nature on a stupendous scale" than the "agnostic disillusionment or the intricate metaphysics of the earlier Buddhist schools." Tönism, moreover, was still a real force in the land—the "Tibetan religion," as it is called in the Tep-ter Ngön-po. Buddhism, in fact, was developed in Tibet upon lines that best suited the people. The author aptly adds: "Their (the Tibetans') capacity for building is shown in the massive monasteries that harmonize so admirably with the great mountains round them, their capacity for organization is shown by the completeness of their hierarchy and their monastic discipline. This complex system, however, has perforce to defer to the needs of the ordinary Tibetan, and meet him in respect of spirits, good and bad, and supply, or allow others to supply, the charms and spells that control these heirs of the older Faith."

Chapters follow on the great poet-saint Mila Re-pa, on the Yellow Hat sect founded by Tsong-ka-pa, and on the capture in the sixteenth century of Mongolia, then dominated by Altan Khagan, by Buddhism, which had originally been carried to that country as early as the thirteenth century by Sa-kyä hierarchs. We are told how the Yellow Hat sect suffered a set-back in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Kar-ma-pa ruler of Tsang gained ascendency, till the Oelot Mongol chief Gesri invaded and conquered the country, at the invitation of the young (6th) Dalai Lama, to whom the temporal, as well as spiritual, rule was then handed over. After some chapters treating chiefly of historical matter, in Part II (chaps. XIII-XV) the author describes the power of the monasteries, how the priests function as civil and military officials, and how the supreme government is conducted under a priest-king. Lastly, we have a valuable note on the sources from which the information given has been compiled. Sir C. Bell has had the advantage of being presented by the Dalai and Ta-shi Lamas themselves of authentic copies of some of the oldest and most important records, including the Che-jung of Pü-ton and the Tep-ter Ngön-po of the "Translator Kô."

The reader will not fail to perceive the warm sympathy of a cultured mind with the people, and the personal interest in their lives and beliefs that pervade this book, which is beautifully illustrated from photographs taken by the author himself.

C. E. A. W. O.


From an intensive examination of 219 human bones collected from the houses of some fourscore villages in the extreme north of Burma the authors of this well-illustrated monograph infer the existence, side by side with the Mongolian types which dominate this area, of an Australoid strain with characters resembling those of the Kedars of S. India, the Papuans of Melanesia, and the Tasmanians. Comment on these far-reaching deductions would, in the present dearth of published evidence bearing on the subject, be premature, but a series of Bulletins of this quality should go a long way towards clarifying some of the perplexities of Indian race origins.

F. J. R.
JALOR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMĀRA VĪSALA, DATED V.S. 1174.
BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

This inscription was fixed in the inner side of the northern wall of the building called "Tophkhānā" at Jalor (Marwār). It was first noticed by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in PRASI. W. C., 1908-9, p. 54, and summarised by him in No. 194 of his List of Inscr. N. I. During my recent visit to the place I found it fixed in the wall upside down and brought it to the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, for preservation.

The inscription is engraved on a bulky white stone slab, which measures $2' 3\frac{3}{4}" \times 1' 10"$. But on reading the contents it was found that when this stone was removed from its original place to be fixed in the Tophkhānā (sometimes used as a mosque) it was damaged a bit on one side. This is inferred from the fact that the last two letters of the 4th and the 5th lines are missing.

The inscription contains 13 lines. The language is Sanskrit, and the characters belong to the northern type of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. As regards orthography, the consonant following $r$ is doubled, except in one case.

The date given in this inscription is Saṁvat 1174 Āśāḍha Sudi 5 Bhaumē, corresponding to Tuesday the 25th June 1118 A.D. The Saṁvat given in it is Shravanādī and not Cāitrādī.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that this is the only inscription hitherto found which gives the genealogy of the branch of the Paramāras who ruled over Jalor. Vākpatirāja, the first Paramāra ruler mentioned in this inscription, is quite different from Vākpatirāja, the Paramāra ruler of Mālāwa: for the latter had no male issue and therefore adopted his nephew Bhojā, while the one mentioned in this inscription had a son named Chandana.

As the inscription is dated V.S. 1174, the time of this Vākpatirāja would be about V.S. 1150. It is therefore probable that the founder of the Paramāra branch of Jalor might have had some connection with Dharapāli Varāha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu.

Text.

1. कै तत्तुि विधितमि विविधमूलनिताष्टोध्यः
2. परमलावय जनित [:] कुदे तेषु परमार [::]
3. प्रशीकृतोत्स्तराजानलापि धीपराराजा [::]
4. तत्तुिज्ञि चतुर (नो) विश्वास: तत्तुिज्ञि देश [::]
5. तत्तुिप्राप्ति [::] लिम्बप्राप्ति [::]
6. प्रेमकृतध्यानलितद्विजयी श्रीविश्वलक्ष्मी: श्रीविश्वलक्ष्मी: श्रीविश्वलक्ष्मी:
7. नेनवीरविवेवांवां: प्रेमकृत विवेवां दीर्घां [::]
8. द्रेष (सो) बाहुयुधुमिरम्पः नामशस्त्रि: [::]
9. धारावर्ज्जुर्विय्य जाती गांगुलामुः
10. मेन मुनावलिकांत भावमार्ग्यां दक्षिण: [::]
11. राजाकृतलेख्यां (सो) हुली श्रीविश्वालक्ष्मी
12. द्रेष (सो) भुरुण्ड (सो) श्रीविश्वलक्ष्मी
13. [सम] बचू ११५३ शास्त्र दुस्रे ५ श्रीमत [::]

Translation.

Ls. 1-2. The enraged Vaśiṣṭha created the Paramāra from (his) fire altar to conquer Viśvāmitra and to kill his enemies.

Ls. 3-6. There was a king named Vākpatirāja in the dynasty of Paramāra. His son was Chandana, who got a son named Dēvarāja. Dēvarāja had a son named Aparājita, whose son was Vījala.

Ls. 7-8. His son, like Kārtikeya to Śiva, Pradyumna to Kṛṣṇa and Daksā Prajāpati to Brahmā was Dhārāvarṣa.

Ls. 9-10. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Visala, who enlightened all the petty chiefs with religious knowledge.

Ls. 11-12. Miḷārādēvi, the queen of this king Visala, got this golden kalaṣa put here on the steeple of the temple of Śindhu Rājēśvara.¹

L. 13. Saṁvat 1174 Āśāḍha Sudi 5 Tuesday.

¹ This temple was probably built by Śindhuṛāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Ābu, as is evident from the inscription dated 1213 V.S. found at Kirādu:—

This temple is not in existence now.
KIRÀDU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHÀLUKYA BHÌMÀDÈVA II AND HIS FEUDATORY CHAÚHÀNA MADANABRAHMÀDEVA, DATED V.S. 1235.

By SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar at the entrance of a Śiva temple at Kiràdu, a ruined village near Hátmâ about 16 miles north-west of Bâdâmr in Mâlânâ district (Mârâvar). It was first noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in PRASI. W. C., 1906-07, page 42, and is summarised in No. 381 of his List of Inscriptions of Northern India.

It contains 16 lines and covers a space of 17½ × 9½. The language is Sanskrit. Except three couplets, one in the beginning and two at the end, the whole is in prose. The middle portion, from the 5th to the 14th line, as also the 16th line, has peeled off. As regards orthography it is to be noted that at some places the consonant following r is doubled, at one place s is used for ś and at others ś for s.

The record, after paying reverence to Śiva in prose and poetry, gives the date as V.S. 1235, Kàrttika Śudi 13 Gurau (=Thursday the 26th October 1178 A.D.) when in the reign of Bhimàdèva (II) (V.S. 1225-1298) his feudatory Śákambari (Cháuhàna) Mahàrajamadíru Madanabrahmadéva was ruling at Kiràtakkùp (Kiràdu), and Tējàpâla was carrying on the administration. It also tells us that the latter's (Tējàpâla's) wife, seeing the old image of the temple broken by Turuśkas, installed a new image on the aforesaid date; and, making a request to the ruler (Madanabrahmadéva), provided two gifts for the gods.

Text.

1. [Text readable]
2. [Text readable]
3. [Text readable]
4. [Text readable]
5. [Text readable]
6. [Text readable]
7. [Text readable]
8. [Text readable]
9. [Text readable]
10. [Text readable]
11. [Text readable]
12. [Text readable]
13. [Text readable]
14. [Text readable]
15. [Text readable]
16. [Text readable]

1 The original seems to have 'मदुर' instead of 'मदुरा' (v. 1). D. R. B.
2 Perhaps 'देव' (belonging to the god) has to be read.
BANGAL AND THE CITY OF BANGALA.

(Contributions to an old controversy.)

BY THE LATE Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

In 1921 Professor Suniti Chatterji sent a long note to Sir George Grierson on the old controversy about the "City of Bengal, Bengala, Banghella or Bangala" and on the term "Bengal" or "Bangal" itself, which Sir George passed on to me in reference to Dames's long footnote on the former in his edition of *Barbosa*, vol. II., pp. 135-145. According to the Professor, to a Bengali, "Bangala" means all Bengal and "Bangal," Eastern Bengal only. In that sense "Bangal" was frequently used in medieval Bengali literature, and nowadays it is held to be so much a matter of common knowledge as not to require the support of literary evidence.

The Professor wrote: "At the present day we call our province Bāṅgāla, or Bāṅla, or Baṅgāla (Bāṅla)-des, the term embracing all Bengal, North, South, West, East; but when we say Bāṅgal (Bāṅgāl)-des, without the final -d, we mean Eastern Bengal, not specifically any particular tract, but all the eastern Bengali area where the language is characterised by some special phonetic and morphological characteristics (e.g., ts, s, dz pronunciation of c, ch, j); retention of the openess, despiration of aspirates, e.g., bāḍayā=West Bengali bhāḍā but pronounced bāḍā, dropping the h, change of s to h, use of re and not te for the dative; use of mu, future, for the 1st person). A Bengali speaker, no matter where he comes from, is a Bāṅg(ā)ḷi, but Bāṅ(g)āḷ is a man from Eastern Bengal. The forms with the wider connotation, Bāṅgāl, Bāṅgāl, are recent, and to all appearance borrowed from the Hindostāni (or Persian) Bangālaḥ, Bangāl. The other form, without the terminal d or t, is older, being normally developed out of Vaṅgāla, and retains the old connotation of the word. Bāṅg(ā)ḷ is a term of contempt, and a Western Bengali speaker habitually employs it in a disparaging sense, although the Eastern man would call himself also a Bāṅg(ā)ḷi. Sometimes an Eastern Bengali person would resent the use of the term Bāṅgal from the accompanying tone or gesture of contempt, though he does not object to his patois and his part of the province being called Bāṅgālībhāṣā [or Bāṅg(ā)le, i.e., Bāṅgāliyā kathā] and Bāṅgaḷ-des. This contemptuous use of Bāṅgal(a) we find as early as the twelfth century, at least. Sarvānanda, a Pandit of Western Bengal, in his commentary on the *Amarakōśa* (dated 1159) gives Old Bengali words in explanation of Sanskrit terms: and he explains the Skr. word *śiddha*, ‘dried fish,’ by a remark: *Yatra vaṅgāla-vaccārāyām prātiḥ—* in which the low Bāṅgal people find enjoyment."

Then by way of explaining the various terms for the Province of Bengal or its parts, viz., Bāṅgāl, Bāṅgāla, Vaṅgā, Vaṅgāla, and also Varendra, Gauda, Rādhā and Samanta, the Professor made the following illuminating remarks: "Bāṅgāl, Bāṅgāl are convenient names for the language and people of the whole tract of Bengal, and Vaṅgā-la in the sense of the whole of Bengal is but a Sanskrit rendering of Bangālah in the sādhu-bhāṣā; so also is Vaṅgā-bhāṣā of the *sabān-i-Bangālah*. But that the form Bāṅgāl referring specifically to Eastern Bengal carries on the tradition of an earlier state of things when Vaṅgā, Vaṅgāla (Bangāla) meant the land or people of the eastern part of the province, is attested by epigraphic and literary remains. Thus, Bengal consists of four tracts: Varendra or Varendra or Gauda=N. Bengal; Rādhā=W. Bengal; Vaṅgā = E. Bengal, and Samanta=the Delta. Gauda, probably as early as the closing centuries of the first millennium AD, came to mean West Bengal and North Bengal (Varendra and Rādhā), and Samanta and Vaṅgā were used as synonyms of South-East and East Bengal. Fa Hian knew Samanta-Vaṅgā as Harikela, a name which is found in epigraphy, as well as in a medieval Sanskrit work, where it was called ‘Harikelās tu Vaṅgāyāh.’ Epigraphic references can be found in R. D. Banerji’s *Pālaś of Bengal* (Memoirs of the A.S.B., vol. V, No. 3, cf. pp. 44-45, p. 71, etc.). It seems then that in Western India, Vaṅgā was loosely applied to all Bengal during the closing centuries of the first millennium AD—an application of the term, which, to some extent, was accepted in Bengal as well, and helped the adoption in modern times of the Western (Hindostānī) term
Bangâla as the national name. In the various biographies of Chaitanya written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we are told that he travelled to Vañga or East Bengal, where he used to make fun of the people by imitating their pronunciation, a thing which they resented. The same thing is done now among the people of Western Bengal, who never let an occasion go when they can parody the Bângâl pronunciation. Western Bengal, with Nadiya as its centre, was known as Gauḍa: Gauḍa and Vañga are also used in the early (pre-Muslim) inscriptions to denote West and East Bengal. When Râmâmohan Rây wrote his Bengali Grammar, about 1830, he called it Gauḍiyâ bhaṣâr Vykaraṇa. M. Madhu-Sûdan Datta in his epic Meghadudavahâ Kâvya (in the seventies of the last century) refers to the Bengali-speaking people as Gauḍajana. The old tradition is carried on in two recent publications of the Varendra Research Society of Râjshâhi—Gauḍa-lukha-malâ and Gauḍa-râjamalâ. It is through foreign influence and example, namely, of the Persian-employing Muslims, of the people of Upper India and the Portuguese and the English, that Bangâla—Bengal was given to the whole province as its proper name.

He then passed to a very brief consideration of the term ‘City of Bengal’ in its various forms, originating in the works of Portuguese writers: ‘I read a few years ago a monograph by Babu Birendranâth Basu Ñâkur in Bengali seeking to locate the City of Bengal in the Dacca District. In this book he quoted amply from Portuguese and other travellers in English—evidently taking much pains over his work. The view he put forward was that the City of Bengal of the early European travellers is Sunârgâoœ in the Dacca District, i.e., in Eastern Bengal. Babu Amulya Châran Vidyabhûsaœa, Professor of Pali in Calcutta and a well-known writer on Bengali history and antiquities of Bengal, at one time studied the question of the City of Bengal, or as he calls it of Bengal, and agrees with the above view. Indeed, I found that many of his arguments had been incorporated in Birendranâth Basu Thâkur’s monograph.

Dames, in his very fine edition of Barbosa and in the very careful note he made on the City of Bengal, however, took another view of the question, as noted in 1923 in my long review of his book (ante, vol. III, ‘Some discursive comments on Barbosa’): ‘I propose now to confine myself to the remark that he rejects Chittagong, Sunârgâoœ and Satgâoœ, and finally fixes on Gaur taken together with its subsidiary ports as the place known as Bangâla in the early part of the sixteenth century.’

Personally, I feel sure that Dames was wrong in this identification, and Heawood, writing in the Geographical Journal in 1921, was of the same opinion: ‘One of the puzzlements that will probably be never definitely solved is that of the identity of the city spoken of by early travellers under the name Bengala (or Banghella) as the chief commercial emporium of the kingdom of the same name. It has been discussed (among others) by Mr. G. P. Badger in his edition of Varthema’s Travels, and by Sir Henry Yule both in Cathay and in Hobson-Jobson. The latter gave the weight of his great authority in favour of the identification with Chittagong, holding that it was a case of transferring the name of a country to one of its principal cities or ports, a habit which he attributed to the Arabs generally. The latest (in 1921) and most thorough discussion of the problem is that of Mr. Longworth Dames in the second volume of his admirable edition of Barbosa (the first writer after Varthema to mention the city as ‘Bengala’), lately published by the Hakluyt Society. Mr. Dames devotes to the subject a note extending to nine pages of small type, in which, after summarizing all the evidence extant and the views of previous commentators, he gives it as his opinion that by Bengala the old capital Gaur, taken together with its subsidiary port or ports (Satgaon or Sunargaon or both), is intended. A striking piece of evidence in favour of this is the mention of Gaur-Bengala, apparently as one city, in an inscription at Kandahar dating from 1594. Mr. Dames contests Yule’s view that the Arabs were accustomed to use the name of a country for its principal town, though they occasionally, he says, followed the reverse custom. Yet he allows that the city of Gaur took its name from the country, and
that the name Bangâla 'seems in its turn to have passed in common usage from the country to the capital,' so that the objection to Yule's view seems limited to his ascription of the practice to the Arabs. As against Chittagong Mr. Dames holds also that it was only temporarily and imperfectly subjected to Bengal, and was thus hardly likely to be taken for the latter's principal port in Barbosa's time. Its later use by the Portuguese, under the name Porto Grande, as their chief port of entry, was, he thinks, principally because there was no strong government there to fight against. These considerations are certainly weighty, yet some may think that there is more to be said for Yule's view than Mr. Dames would allow. Thus the Cantino map of 1502 already shows Chittagong prominently as one of the two great ports of this part of India (the other being Satgâon), and the position given to it at the point where the Bay of Bengal runs up into a funnel-shaped opening in the land fits in well with Barbosa's account. It does not seem impossible that Barbosa's description may actually have been influenced by a knowledge of charts like Cantino's, for there are many indications that the notions of early writers were largely tinged by their knowledge of current maps, as well as vice versa.

"Again the Turkish sea-book, the Mohit, edited by Bittner and Tomaszek in 1897 (Journal, vol. II, p. 76) which though considerably later in date (1554) than Barbosa, has been shown by Tomaszek to have been based on earlier sources, describes precisely the same state of things, Chittagong being spoken of moreover (to use Bittner's translation) as 'der Hafen Satgâm, d.i. das östliche Bangâla,' while the boundary of Bengal (with Rakkang, i.e., Aracan) is drawn a good way down the east coast of the gulf. That little weight can be attached to later cartographic representations, in which Bengâla and Chittagong appear as distinct places, is evident if we consider Gastaldi's map of 1561, where the city of Gaur appears in four different forms (five, if Bengâla stands for the same city), viz., Gaur, Seierno, Cernoven (the two last representing its name Shahr-i-nau or 'New City,' as noted by Yule), and Cer on one of the efluentes of the mythical lake Chiamay, supposed by Mendes Pinto to be the Ganges. Nor can great importance be allowed to geographical compilations such as Heylin's Cosmography in which (ed. of 1652) Bengal is mentioned as a great city in addition to Gaur, Catigan, and Porto Grande, the writer being also ignorant of the identity of the two last named. Heylin would have it that the country took its name from the city."

In my own edition of Varthema (1928), p. Lxvi, I wrote as follows: From Tenasserim Varthema goes to Bengal, reaching his destination about the middle of March. He says frankly that this journey was undertaken out of curiosity....Then he tells us that "having sold some of our merchandise we took the route towards the city of 'Banghella' as merchants. This term—the city of Banghella—has long been, and still is, a source of trouble to scholars: where was it? This question greatly exercised Badger in 1863, it sorely troubled Dames when editing the contemporary Book of Duarte Barbosa in 1921, and it has been the cause of many researches by Indian scholars in Bengal itself. Varthema, however, evidently repeats his former practice and calls the town he visited after the province in which it was situated—Bengal. The actual site is hardly yet settled, but it may be taken, for the purpose of defining Varthema's journey, to be Satgâon on an old bed of the Hugli River. On this assumption he is right in saying that "the sultan of this place is a Moor," and that the people "are all Mahommedans," as Bengal at that time was under the Husain Shahi Dynasty.

I suggest then that the true solution of the difficulties to be confronted in identifying the 'City of Bangâla' is that the old travellers did not all mean the same place by that term. Some of them found their way to Bengal and reached an emporium for foreign goods, such as Chittagong, Sunârgâon or Satgâon, places not necessarily near each other, and called that the 'City of Bangâla,' which every traveller knew by reputation. I feel sure from the general trend of his travels and from his account thereof that Varthema's 'City of Bengal' was where I have placed it, whatever place other writers and travellers may have meant by that term.
DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS.

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I. Tuḷu H.


The glottal fricative ḧ, it is well to remember, does exist as a secondary development in many of the Dravidian dialects.

Tamil shows it dialectally in the development of the inter-vocal velar plosive -k- (-g-) which, while it changes in common parlance to the half-voiced variety of the velar fricative [x], becomes a semi-voiced glottal fricative in certain communal dialects. As the oral fricative generally involves some separation of the vocal chords, the tendency (whichever this is present) to give this fricative a distinct individuality leads to the issue of a strong breath-current from the glottal region itself and to the consequent production of the aspirate ḧ.

The minute sound known as aydam [ˌaydam] in Tamil, appearing in a few ancient words after short initial syllables and before the voiceless plosives -k, -t, -p, and before -c and ḷ (which latter are also classed by ancient Tamil grammarians in the plosive series), presumably also involved an aspirate element from an early stage.

Modern Kannada shows an initial glottal fricative ḧ-, developed from an older p-; folk Kannada also shows more rarely a prothetic ḧ-.

The central Dravidian dialect Kâi shows the glottal fricative in a number of contexts:—
(a) Intervocally, as the development of an original velar surd -k-, through the stage of the velar fricative [x]; (b) at the terminal positions of very old bases, where the aspirate appears to have cropped up in connexion with the formative affix -k; (c) initially as a sub-dialectal development of other sounds.

Gûndi, the other central Dravidian dialect, also shows the aspirate:—(a) in connection with the formative ending -k of certain verbs; (b) in connection with the plural ending -k of nouns having final long dorsal vowels; (c) in connection with the same plural ending -k of nouns with final -l, -n or -r preceded by long vowels; (d) in connection with the causative affix -t; (e) and prothetically in a few cases.

Kurukkha possesses the glottal fricative (a) in aspirated plosives; (b) as the development of a velar fricative x•transcribed in grammars as ḡh which sound (judged by the description given by Father Grignard) would appear to be so nearly related in origin to the glottal fricative as to involve in its production a certain amount of aspiration; (c) as the development of an original Dravidian initial k- of native words; and (d) dialectally as a prothetic sound.

Brâhâû possesses ḧ- (a) prothetically (cf. Sir Denys Bray's Grammar of Brâhâû, page 32); (b) in the peculiar aspirated sound transcribed as ḍh by Sir Denys Bray; (c) as the development, in certain cases, of older sounds.

In a paper contributed by me to the columns of this journal some time back, I gave a summary sketch of these points and a few instances to illustrate them. It would be necessary for us to pursue the study of the occurrence and origin of ḧ in each of the dialects separately, so that we may have an idea of the factors that have contributed in each case to the production of this secondarily developed glottal fricative.

In this paper I propose to study some of the features characterising the production of ḧ in Tuḷu. The contexts in which the glottal fricative ḧ occurs in this dialect are the following:—(a) as the representative of p- in initial positions of certain "learned" loan-words and of sub-dialectal borrowings from Kann. ; (b) as the development of an older t- initially ; (c) as a prothetic sound.
h- occurs chiefly in Tulu only in initial positions of native words; inter-vocally native words [except a few borrowings from the contiguous dialect Kannada, like arīhu (knowledge)] do not have the aspirate at all.

[B] Tulu h- corresponding to p-.

Note.—(a) These h- words in Tulu are all borrowed from Kann., being either rare sub-dialectal forms or “learned” words.

(b) Many of these h- words have genuine Tulu p- counterparts which are far more generally and commonly used. A few like halavu, håku, håvu, hålu, etc., are “learned” borrowings from Kann. They have no counterparts in Tulu with p-.

hagalu, pagalu (daytime) —cf. Tam. pagal, old Kannada pagal, modern Kannada hagalu.
han'i, pan'i (slight rain) —cf. Tamil pan'i (cold), old Kannada pan'i, mod. Kann. hani, Kūi pine (cold).
hari, pari (to run, to flow) —cf. mod. Kannada hari (to flow), Tamil para-kk- (to spread).
hala-vu (many) —cf. mod. Kannada hala, south Dr. pala.
ho'aba, parabex (old man) —cf. mod. Kann. ha'e (old), Tam. pa'i-aya (old, ancient).
håku (to flog, to lash) —cf. mod. Kann. hāk- (to throw; colloquial also ‘flog’ or ‘beat’) and Tamil pāy-kk- (to cast).

hāvu (snake) —cf. mod. Kann. hāvu, Tamil pāmbu, Tel. pāmu.
hāsige (mat) —cf. mod. Kannada hāsige (mat), Tamil pāy (mat) connected with the base pāy (to spread).
hālu (ruin) —cf. mod. Kannada hālu and Tam. pāl (waste).
hiing (to be unsteady) —cf. mod. Kann. hiing- (to go back) and common Dr. base pi-(back) in Tam. pin, etc.

hi'di, pi'di (hold, grasp) —cf. mod. Kann. hi'di, Tamil pi'di.
huṭtu, purtu (birth) —cf. mod. Kann. huṭtu, old Kann. purtu, Tel. purtu, Tamil piru-, coll. pura-kk (to be born).
hullu, pullu (grass) —cf. mod. Kannada hullu, Tam. pullu.
heŋgasu (woman) —cf. mod. Kann. heŋgasu (woman), Tamil pen, etc.

In connection with these instances the following facts are significant:

(i) While the change of p- > h- has affected almost all Kannada words of the modern period (vide Kittel's Grammar, § 64), only a fraction of p- forms of Tulu shows h- as rare sub-dialectal instances. A large number of native words with initial p- remain unchanged, e.g., pañji (pig), paje (mat), paffe (strip, stripe), pade- (to become invisible), pase (greasiness), pade (rock), pāy- (to be diffused), pi-ji- (to twist), puve (smoke), puṭtu- (to be born), puda (dove), etc., etc.

These p- forms do not possess any corresponding h- forms in Tulu even sub-dialectally. Of course a few of these p- forms do have cognates among the h- words, but the differences in structure or in meaning or in both are significant:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paje (mat)</td>
<td>hāsige (mat)</td>
<td>hāsige (mat).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pār- (to fly)</td>
<td>hari (to run)</td>
<td>hari (to run, to flow).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirā (behind)</td>
<td>hiing- (to be unsteady)</td>
<td>hiing- (to go back).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poṇu (girl)</td>
<td>heŋgasu (woman)</td>
<td>heŋgasu (woman).</td>
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Let us note that the Tulu forms with initial $h$- show an unmistakable resemblance in structure and meaning to the Kannada forms with $h$-.

(ii) None of the $h$- forms (listed above) show any characteristic Tulu features. The change of non-Tulu -$r$- to Tulu -$d$- or -$j$- is one of the most prominent of the distinctive characteristics of Tulu.¹ This is not evident in any of these $h$- words; on the other hand, the $p$- words of Tulu do retain this feature, e.g., $puda$ (dove), $pade$ (rock), $pij$- (to twist), $pañji$ (pig), etc. Note also how the characteristic Tulu final $a$ of nouns does not exist in the $h$- forms listed above.

(iii) Many of the $h$- forms (listed above) alternate with corresponding $p$- forms: $pullu$, $hullu$ (grass); $palli$, $halli$ (lizard); $pû$, $hû$ (flower). This alternation seems to have a sub-dialectal basis. On enquiry I find that only the people of the eastern and north-eastern areas of the Tulu-speaking region, which are contiguous to the Kannada country, favour the forms with initial $h$-, while the alternative $p$- words are far more generally and commonly used elsewhere.

All these facts cumulatively show that Tulu $h$- words listed above are borrowings from Kannada, in which language $p$- $> h$- is a regular feature of the medieval and modern dialects.

The change of $p$- $> h$- in Kannada has been ascribed by Kittel to the influence of Mārāṭhi. The process of change was apparently through the bilabial fricative stage [$F$] which changed to $h$- when the breath-current from the glottis was incorporated.

It may be noted here that a similar change affecting other surds has occurred in other Dravidian dialects also. The production of a glottal fricative from a surd through the initial change of the surd into the corresponding fricative (with or without voicing) and then through the incorporation of a breath-current issuing through the widely separated vocal chords is illustrated by the following:—

(a) Tamil intervocal $h$- $< k$, as in $póku$, $ahalam$, etc.
   $k$- $> [x]$ $> h$.
(b) Kū intervocal $h$- $< k$-, as in véhu, etc.
   $k$- $> [x]$ $> h$.
(c) Kūi initial $h$- $< k$ and $< t$- [sub-dialectally].
   $k$- $> [v]$ $> [q]$ $> h$.
   $t$- $> [q]$ $> h$.
(d) Kūvi initial $h$- $< p$-, as in hō (to go)
   $p$- $> [F]$ $> h$.
(e) Kurukh dialectal $h$- $< x$- the back fricative, as in hoy (to resp) $< xoy < koy$.
   $x$- [derived from velar $k$-] $> h$- dialectally.
(f) Tulu $h$- $< t$- [vide below].
   $t$- $> [g]$ $> h$.

[C] Tulu $t$- $> h$.

This change is native and is a dialectal one. While $t$- words are retained among the non-Brahmin masses of the southern areas, $h$- forms appear in the eastern and the south-eastern taluks. In certain northern areas and among certain communities of the south, $s$- also appears in some cases in the stead of $t$- or $k$-

$harp$, $tarp$ (to cut open),
$hōg$, $tōg$ (to touch, to come in contact) — ef. Kannada $tōg$, Tamil $tōng$.
$hāre$, $tāre$ (coconut palm) — ef. Tam. $tāl$-ai (palm), Kāi $tāri$ (plantain).
$hikk$, $tikk$ (to be obtained) — ef. Tam. $tīng$ (to be crowded).
$hinp$, $tinp$ (to eat) — ef. south Dr. $tin$ (to eat).
$hīr$, $śīr$ (to be finished) — ef. south Dr. $śīr$ (to be finished).
$hudar$, $tudar$ (light, lamp) — ef. Kann. $udar$ (lamp), Tam. $ud$. Tulu $tā$ (fire), etc.

¹ Vide my "Materials for a sketch of Tulu phonology" to be published in the forthcoming Grierson Commemoration Volume.
hūda, tūda (river) — cf. Tam. tiya, tuyas (to open), Kann. tuye (river).

hā, tā (fire)
— cf. Brāhū tiya (moon), Tamil tā (bright), ti (fire).

hā-, tā- (to see)
— cf. Tel. tādā-. Brāhū hur- (to see), Gōndi hur (to see).

helī-, telī- (to know)
— cf. Tamil teri- (to know, become clear).

hōjī-, tōjī (to appear)

hōdu, tōdu (channel)
— cf. south Dr. tōdu (channel).

The following significant features may be singled out in connection with this change:—

(i) The change is dialectal in Tulu; the change is not met with in the neighbouring Kannaḍa at all.

(ii) The cognates of these forms in the other dialects show either (a) an initial t- or (b) initial c-, s- or s- according to the dialects concerned.

I have shown elsewhere that the initial affricates and fricatives of Dravidian are derivative. t- forms in the Tulu instances given above have to be considered original.

The phonetic process of the production of h- from t- is a question bound up with the problem of the conversion of the original t- to the affricates and fricatives. In my paper on “Dravidian initial Affricates and Fricatives” I have pointed out that, all circumstances taken together, the aspirate sound of Tulu was not produced directly from the sibilant s- (which process is a common phenomenon in Indo-Aryan), but that we have reasons to think that the process of change might have been the following:—

In a large number of instances with alternating t-, s- and h- in initial positions, should initially have been a loosening of the stoppage for t- resulting in the production of a fricative [θ] which in one dialect gave rise to the sibilant s- and in another changed to the aspirate by incorporating glottal breath:

\[ t \rightarrow [\theta] \rightarrow s ; \]

\[ t \rightarrow [\theta] \rightarrow h. \]

This view is strengthened by

(a) the occurrence of the change of t-to h-dialectally, without its being represented by any s- forms, e.g., tinp-, hinp- (to eat); (Skt. borrowing) teja, heja (lustre); toṣaṅku, hoṣaṅku (clasp).

(b) The presence of numerous forms with alternating t- and s- (in different dialects) but without any corresponding h- forms, e.g., toppu, sappu (fault); tōp[pu], sōpu (defeat); tiya, siya (bechive); tampa, sampu (cold); Skt. tadi borrowed as teḷiḷu, sediḷu (thunder).

The intermediate stage represented by the fricative [θ] is the direct result of the loosening of the stoppage of the plosive; the sibilant s 2, in the production of which a smaller passage is formed between the tongue and the dental portion than for [θ], can normally be only the result of the effort to give a distinct individuality to [θ] which is an unstable sound in Dravidian. This effort to stabilise [θ] apparently produced s- in one sub-dialect and h- in another.

[D] Prothetic h- in Tulu.

[In the following illustrations, it will be noticed that the forms with initial vowels are original, in as much as they are directly related to the cognate forms of other dialects, as our instances given below would show.]

2 The difference between [θ] and s (as pointed out by Prof. Jørgensen, page 34 of his Lehrbuch der Phonetik) is significant. The passage formed in the production of [θ] is broader than that for s; Das am meisten charakteristische für [θ] ist die breite spaltförmige offnung im Gegenatz zur Billenbildung bei s.
hamar-, amar- (to sink, settle) — cf. south Dr. amar-
hađa-, ade- (to shut) — cf. south Dr. base adhāy-, ade- (to shut).
heś-, ēr- (to ascend) — cf. south Dr. ēr- (to climb, to rise).
hīla (betel-leaves), ile-, iro (leaf) — cf. iil of Tamil, etc.
The instances 3 are few and they are regarded as "vulgārisms" in Tulu nadī itself. The rationale of the incorporation of h- in initial positions of these words is not quite clear; it is possible that the analogy of h- words (derived from forms with initial t- or p-) may have played some part in the process.

II. Tamil Aydam.

(Aydam)

What was the value of this ancient Tamil sound? What may have been its origin? Was it a native growth in Tamil, or was it an invention inspired by Sanskrit? So many conflicting views have been expressed on these points by different scholars, that it might be useful to consider if the data available for us can supply any clue to the solution of these problems.

[A] The Descriptions of the Sound Given by Ancient Tamil Grammarians.

The earliest Tamil grammar, Tolkāppiyam, deals with the sound in a number of sūtras of Eluttadigaram, of which the following may be quoted here:

Śūtra 38:


dāyam, munnar dāyappultī
(yuyndu punarṇa vallān mīsāntī
[i.e., dāyam appears after short syllables and before the six surds k, c, t, p and r].

Śūtra 39:


dāyam maruśginīmārāmānī mārūntī
[i.e., it appears also when the final consonant of a word combines with the initial (surd) consonant of another word].

Nannu, another old grammar of Tamil, deals with it in the following sūtras:—

Śūtra 87 of Eluttiyal:


dāyam, idan-dalai (y)dāyogā nyūcari
[i.e., dāyam is produced in the head (i.e., the upper palate), through the opening of the mouth].

Śūtra 97:


dāyam amācāyinām dāyam aukum
[i.e., when final -l or -f of a word combines (with the initial surd of another word), the dāyam produced is shortened].

Śūtra 228:


kuriṇāl dāyam, (v)anāyin-dāyam
[īe., -l and -f after short syllables when combining with -f in alveolar groups give rise to the dāyam].

The earlier commentators of these sūtras of Tolkāppiyam and Nannu have adduced in each case appropriate instances of old Tamil words and word-combinations containing the sound.

3 In the following borrowings from Kann. with and without initial h, the h- forms are original; h appears to have been dropped in the alternative words:—

hannu, ayyu (fruit)
badagū, adagū (ship)
hari, ari (to flow)

— for hannu; cf. Tel. pāndu (fruit).
— cf. Kann. pādō, hadu, corrupt adagū (ship).
— cf. Kannada pari, hari, ari (to flow).

The process of change in these cases appears to be original p < [F] > h > zero.
Putting all these together, we learn the following from these sūtras:

(a) The sound āḍḍam occurs after initial short vowels (or syllables) and before surds, as in &ṣāḥtu (that), asāḥku (steel), etc., etc.

(b) In combinative groups of the alavî type, final -l or -l of initial short syllabled words, when combining with the initial l- of the succeeding words, might alternatively give rise to the āḍḍam, as in kal (stone) + tidu (bad) > kābdīdu (stone is bad), mul (thorn) + tidu (bad) > muḥādīdu (thorn is bad).

(c) Nannūl recognizes the place of production of the sound as ‘the head’ (i.e., the upper palate) and the mode of articulation as ‘the opening of the mouth.’

[B] The Opinions of Dravidian Scholars.

Caldwell is of the view that the “Tamil letter called āḍḍam, half vowel, half consonant, corresponding in some respects to the Sanskrit visarga, is pronounced like a guttural h, but is only found in the poets and is generally considered a pedantical invention of the grammarians.”—(Comparative Grammar, 2nd edition, page 130.)

Julien Vinson (page 19 of his Manuel de la langue Tamoule) says that “the symbol כ which Tamilians term ṣaṭṭu (tamilitai) as it is never accompanied by vowels, and which is appropriately called āḍḍam (minuteness, subtlety) is artificial and conventional.” He proceeds to observe that “it was invented by the grammarians for the prosodic lengthening of certain syllables; it is found only after a short vowel and before ṣ, ṣ, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, accompanied by a vowel, and is pronounced in a soft manner, like a g aspirated very lightly; ṣ (this) having become ṣaḥtu is pronounced ṣaṭtu (as a trochee or spondee instead of pyrrhic or iambus). In the manuscripts it is often replaced by ṣu (gu) or even ṣ (gu). I have found passages in old poems, where it should count for one syllable and should therefore be pronounced gu; ṣaṭṭu ṣaṭṭu (Kurai, xcv, 3); ṣaṭṭu ṣaṭṭu (Naïsada, xii, 43), etc. But generally it serves only to lengthen a syllable: ṣaṭṭu ṣaṭṭu (Kurai, viii, 10) and is then pronounced without a vowel.”

Prof. Vinson also adds two footnotes. Adverting to the term ṣaṭṭu, he says that it “may mean ‘weapon’ or ‘trident’, if we take the Tamil word ṣaṭṭu ṣaṭṭu āḍḍam for āḍḍam (Skt. dyūga); the three dots would represent the mark of a trident. The form of this letter is probably derived from that of the Sanskrit visarga.” In another footnote Vinson adds that “according to native grammarians, the sound proceeds from the head and is pronounced with the mouth open; this evidently means that it is a guttural aspiration.”

Mr. S. A. Pillay, in his excellent monograph on ‘The Sanskrit element in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages’ (Dravidic Studies, No. III, published by the Madras University, page 49) makes some very suggestive observations on the value of the Tamil āḍḍam:

“...The spirant h is a sound not altogether foreign to Tamil. For, Tamil has the āḍḍam h (ሰ) which is almost an equivalent of it. But the āḍḍam differs from h in some ways. The āḍḍam is found in a very few words in Tamil and is peculiar to Tamil......It is only medial and its use is much restricted......Dr. Caldwell’s statement regarding this sound is, I am afraid, not based on a knowledge of facts. The āḍḍam is not considered by anyone, so far as I know, a pedantical invention of the grammarians. What could have been the purpose in inventing such a letter?......The words are Tam. āḥtu and īḥtu. These ought to be pronounced with the aspiration, but the popular pronunciations are with a spirantic gu for ḍ. The tendency of modern speech, however, it must be admitted, is to discard the āḍḍam altogether. The words āḥtu, īḥtu are about the only ones commonly met with in books and in pedantic speech. They are also acknowledged to be variants of ādu and īdu and considered to be necessary when these words are in sandhi followed by words beginning with a vowel or y, e.g., aḥṭāppu, ‘that is the oven,’ īṭār, ‘this is the village.’ But to argue from that circumstance that the āḍḍam is only an invention of the grammarians is like arguing that the letter ṣ is only an invention of the Telugu or Kannada grammarians because modern speech makes no distinction between ṣ and ṣ, or rather knows only ṣ.”
Finally, we may cite here the observations of a recent editor of Tolkāppiyam: “The nature of _Core_ is similar to that of jihēmūliya in Sanskrit as in kaha-karoti if it precedes a guttural and upadhāṃniya as in Sanskrit kaha-pathaṭi if it precedes a labial, i.e., its organ of articulation is determined by the succeeding consonant. Air is allowed to pass till the place of articulation of the succeeding consonant is suddenly arrested. Since it is not an open (sic) sound inasmuch as it is invariably preceded by a short vowel, it cannot be classified as a vowel; neither is it a consonant since it cannot be followed by a vowel. In modern times it is pronounced even before c, t, p and r, as it is done before k. When this mistake (sic) began to creep in, is not easily traceable.”

Conflicting in some respects are the views cited above regarding the value and the origin of the aiydam. Mr. S. A. Pillay would consider it to be a native sound in Tamil; Vinson is inclined to regard it as an “invention by pedants,” and Mr. Sastri (so far as we can see from his comparative references to Sanskrit spirants) is probably also inclined to this view. As to the value of the sound, Caldwell, Vinson and Mr. Pillay recognize its essentially aspirate character (despite the spirantic enunciation given to it today when texts are read), while Mr. Sastri would regard the sound as a spirant varying in value with the immediately following consonant, and would consider the modern velar spirant value to be a “mistake” which crept in at some time “which is not traceable.”

[C] _Was the aiydam a ‘pedantical invention’ inspired by Sanskrit?_

The arguments of those who would uphold a Sanskrit inspiration for this sound may be summed up thus:—

(1) The term ḍuṭi and the form of the Tamil letter could be connected with the Sanskrit word ḍurā (weapon, trident). Other suggestions in this connection are that the Tamil term may be the adaptation of Sanskrit aṭṭa or of aṭṭa aṭṭa.

(2) The shape of the Tamil letter ḍ is allied to that of the Sanskrit viṣāra.  
(3) The aiydam occurs only in a few words and combinations in old Tamil texts, and it has not survived anywhere in the colloquial.

(4) Some of the words in which this sound occurs, alternate with forms without this sound; these latter are the common forms and, therefore, the sound itself was ‘invented’ for prosodic purposes, probably on the model of the Sanskrit viṣāra.

(5) Certain resemblances between the aiydam on the one hand and the Sanskrit spirantic jihēmūliya and upadhāṃniya are very striking.

(6) The postulate that Sanskrit grammatical systems had exercised great influence on ancient Tamil scholars would also tend to support this, generally speaking.

Those who argue contra would maintain the following:—

(1) The aiydam need have nothing to do with Sanskrit ḍurā, as it is a native word signifying ‘minuteness’ or ‘subtlety,’ and this meaning would very appropriately convey the ‘minute’ value and character of this sound. The semantic confusion with Skt. ḍurā should have arisen from the mistaken impression created by the shape of ḍ. There is no conceivable reason why the name and form of a ‘trident’ or ḍurā should originally have been conferred upon this sound.

* Cf. the observations made on pages 161-3 of vol. XXV of the Tamil journal ḍuṭi ḍuṭi Sendamir. An attempt is made in this article to establish a rapprochement between the Tamil term ḍuṭi and either dērīta or aṭṭa of Sanskrit.

The article in Sendamir (referred to above) suggests that the original shape given to the symbol for aiydam might not have been ḍ, but more allied to ḍ, the viṣāra symbol of Sanskrit.
The fact that dots are used in Tamil and in Sanskrit need not necessarily disprove the native origin of the sound whose secondary character was probably fixed and recognised by Sanskrit-knowing Tamilians.

This point again raises, if at all, only the secondary character of the sound in Tamil.

The argument about 'prosodic lengthening' would not apply to instances of mut'tráydam like ęghu, which have no alternants.

The resemblance between the áydam and the Sanskrit spirants can lead to no inference, in the absence of any direct evidence.

The ancient Tamil grammarians who could well distinguish Sanskrit sounds from native ones, have nowhere referred to the áydam as a borrowing or as an 'invention.'

Apart from these arguments, there are certain other facts also which I shall urge here in favour of the native origin of this sound in Tamil. That the sound was not a common one in Dravidian admits of no doubt; but a discussion of the phonetic aspects of its growth with comparative reference to a similar development in the central Indian Dravidian dialect Gòpdi, would tend to show that the áydam was a native though secondary sound in Tamil. It is possible that recognition was given to it by Sanskrit-knowing scholars.

[D] Was the áydam a mere oral fricative, or did it involve an element of the genuine aspirate, i.e., glottal fricative also?

(a) Nannūl describes the sound as being produced in the 'head' with an 'open mouth.' This description may apply to fricatives of the velar, uvular and glottal varieties alike. Whether the sound was originally a genuine glottal sound is not made clear by the description in Nannūl. We learn, however, one fact from these references to 'the head' and 'the open mouth,' and this is that the sound so described could not possibly have been labial, dental or palatal. It is clear therefore that at the time of the composition of Nannūl, the sound should have been either an aspirate or a back fricative of the velar or uvular type.

(b) Caldwell, Vinson (who calls the sound an 'aspiration gutturale') and Mr. Pillay regard the sound as a genuine aspirate. The modern value of the spirantic g when texts are read is (as Mr. Pillay has observed) probably only due to the characteristic modern tendency of giving the velar fricative value to intervocal aspirates, as shown for instance by the Tamilian pronunciation of Skt. mukhūṭam as mugūṭam, the intervocal -a- being evaluated as a velar fricative.

(c) Mr. Sastri would consider the sound to be a fricative, whose value may be labial, dental, palatal or velar according to the character of the immediately following surd. He is of opinion that the velar value given to it today when texts are read is a 'mistake.' The description given in the Nannūl and the uniformly velar value given to it today would show that no such 'mistake' could have crept in after the time of Nannūl. In the absence of evidence to show that there was really a 'mistake,' we have to regard the sound as a 'back' sound originally, whose exact value (i.e., whether it was only velar or whether it was glottal) has to be determined by a consideration of other factors.

The analogy pointed out to the jhikāṃaluśya and upadhmāntiya sounds of Sanskrit leads to nothing conclusive. For one thing, we have no evidence to prove that the Tamil sound was copied from these. Secondly, these Sanskrit sounds, 'grammatical abstractions' themselves (as Whitney puts it), probably had an aspirate value also beside the fricative values depending upon the immediately following surds; vide §§ 69 and 170 (d), Whitney's Gr.

The velar fricative value given uniformly to the áydam today, whatever the value of the surd concerned may be, taken along with the description given by Nannūl would point to the value of the sound having shared a common aspirate element from a very early stage.
This fact is, in my opinion, confirmed by (a) the phonic features attending the production of the sound in Tamil, and (b) the existence in Gondi of a parallel secondary growth of a genuine aspirate.

[E] Phonetic processes involved in the production of the āydam.

We have already seen that the voiceless mouth-fricatives (involving a wide separation of the vocal chords) and the genuine glottal aspirate are very closely related, and that the former may easily change into the latter (through the incorporation of the breath-current from the glottal region) in circumstances favouring the tendency to confer upon the mouth-fricatives an individuality and stability. We have seen above that the production of the secondary aspirate in different instances of different Dravidian dialects always involves a mouth-fricative stage.

So far as the Tamil āydam is concerned, let us note that—

(a) it occurs after short initial syllables only;
(b) it crops up before surds only;
(c) it is accompanied by a certain degree of higher accent in the syllable of which it forms part, as Vinson has observed when he remarks that a definitely trochaic or spondaic value is given to words containing the āydam.

These facts are of particular significance in the explanation of the phonetic processes involved:—

(i) The initial generation (under the influence of accent) of an unstable mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd and immediately before this surd.
(ii) The conversion of this mouth-fricative into the aspirate as a result of the tendency (under the influence of the strong accent) to stabilise the mouth-fricative, whatever its original value may have been, i.e., whether it was [F] before -p, or [g] before -t, or [q] before -c, or [x] before -k.

[A] We shall take up the typical instance of ṣaṭaṣa, āhdu (that). The common form of the word is ādu; but where it is accentuated in the first syllable as in aṭaduppu (that is an oven), etc., the approach to the surd -t generates initially a corresponding mouth-fricative [s] immediately before -t, which [s] under the influence of the accent assumes a secondary aspirate value through the incorporation of a current of breath issuing through the widely separated vocal chords.

It would be interesting in this connection to note that the structure of ancient disyllabic bases of Tamil is intimately connected with the mātrās of the several sounds, and with accent generally. Bases with short vowels in radical positions followed by geminated consonants or consonant groups have only a short enunciative vowel [u] at the end. This sound described as ṣaṭaṭaṭaṣaṣa is kuttriyalagaram by the Tamil grammarians has only the value of a half mātrā. The instances of muttriyadarm given above come directly in this class; for the terminal vowel has been described by the grammarians themselves as the short enunciative [u]. In cases where the radical vowel, though short, is followed by a single consonant, the terminal vowel is not the enunciative kuttriyalagaram [u], but the full [u] as described as muttriyalagaram. When the radical vowel is long in old elementary Tamil bases, the immediately following consonant is single, and the final vocalic sound is only [u].

\[\begin{align*}
\text{katt}u & \rightarrow \text{k} + \text{tu} \\
\text{ekku} & \rightarrow \text{e} + \text{ku} \\
\text{ād}u & \rightarrow \text{ā} + \text{du} \\
\text{padd}u & \rightarrow \text{p} + \text{[u]}
\end{align*}\]

The distinct individuality of the āydam is thus made clear.
According to śūtras 424 and 425 of Eluttadigaram of Tolkāppiyam, the ancient Tamil grammar, losure adhu, losure idhu and losure udhu “retain” the āydam only if they are followed by words with initial vowels, e.g., losure sūr. abhāddai, whereas when the next word begins with a consonant, the āydam “is dropped,” e.g., adu pūl.

Further, losure is employed with the āydam in expressions like losure ahē (indeed! all right!) carrying with them a certain amount of accent.

We have to remember that adu, ahē, idu, iḥdu, etc., are derived from demonstrative particles a, i, etc. These demonstrative particles in Tamil appear in certain contexts combined with -v; but the original particles were undoubtedly devoid of -v. When these original particles (in their short condition) combine with a word having a voiceless consonant initially, the āydam is generated immediately before the voiceless consonant, as in a + kādiya > ahhādiya.

These facts directly show that the production of the āydam was connected with the distribution of the accent. When the accent is thrown straight upon the syllable containing the short demonstrative and the immediately following plosive, the āydam is generated. All such instances are associated with sandhi where the meaning leads necessarily to the association of accent with the syllable mentioned above. In ahē(d)ūr (that is the village), etc., the accent falls on the syllable containing original a and t, consequent upon the intimate merging of at(d)- and ūr, whereas when this merging is impossible, in cases like adu kādīdu (that is hard), the higher accent fails to be associated with ad- or original at-, and hence no āydam appears. In ahē (indeed! all right!) the higher accent is obvious from the meaning. In ahāddiya, the merging is complete because of the absence of -t, and therefore the higher accent falls on a-k, and the āydam is generated. It is therefore possible for us to infer that the demonstrative base at-, derived from an ancient demonstrative particle a and an original -t, gave rise to the accented form aht- in certain positions, while it was retained as adu (with the voice of -t to -d-) in unaccented positions.

[B] Other instances of what are commonly described as losure uṣū, i.e., āydam that is organic, occur in the following Tamil words:—

ahgu- (to be shortened, to pass away, to become closed or compressed as a flower);
ahgam (food-grain);
ekg- (to sift or scrutinise, to be unloosened, to lift, to climb);
ekg-am (weapon, sharpness, etc.);
vekg- (to desire ardently).

Julien Vinson observes in connection with these instances: "On a suggéré que, dans ces mots, le finale ne doit être qu'une dérivative, et que le è est une mutation euphonique d'un l ou l radical. This would mean that the above instances were originally of the combative type, and that the āydam was produced in connection with an original l or l combining with k. It may be interesting to find out how far this suggestion is true of the above instances, though no definitiveness may be possible in our analysis of these instances.

ahgu (to be shortened, etc.) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to alku or algu with the meaning ‘to be shortened.’ In view of the fact that the deictic particle could, as usual in Dravidian, combine with various affix-morphemes of Dravidian and produce different deictic meanings, it is not clear whether there was at all any relationship in structure between algu- and ahgu-. The Kannada cognate akkuḍisu with the same meaning furnishes no clue to this problem.

ahgam (grain) has been compared by the Tamil Lexicon to Skt. argha; but we have in Dravidian itself a base ar- (to cut) from which Kannada akki (through arki) and possibly Tamil orisi (rice) have arisen. What may have been the relationship of ark- to ahgam, is not clear.
vekku (to desire ardently) is connected with the Dravidian base ve- (to be hot) which has produced numerous forms with the help of affixes. Here one does not see any absolute necessity to trace the form with the aydam to a base with final -l or l, though one may conceivably connect it with vel (to desire).

[C] Common instances of words with aydam in combinative positions are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kail+tidu} & \rightarrow \text{kah'd'idu} \text{ (the stone is bad)} \\
\text{mu'l+tidu} & \rightarrow \text{muh'd'idu} \text{ (the thorn is bad)} \\
\text{pa'l+tuis} & \rightarrow \text{pah'd'u'is} \text{ (many drops)} \\
\text{al+tivai} & \rightarrow \text{ah'd'ivai} \text{ (inferior group)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the first three instances, alternatively we may have respectively also kat't'ridu, mul'fidu and pa't'ru'l. The following points are significant in connection with this combinative change:

(a) The aydam appears only in connection with l or l+the dental t. The surd involved is only the dental.

(b) The first word always has a short radical vowel; if this vowel is long, no change takes place (cf. sutras 370 and 371 of Eluttadigaram, Tolkappiyam), and not even the assimilative conversion happens, e.g., päl+tidu would be retained as päl tidu (the milk is bad).

The process whereby the aydam is generated is here again similar to that in ahtu, ihtu mentioned above. When the components merge into each other intimately, the higher accent falls on the syllable containing the surd (which becomes alveolar epsilon reflex on account of the influence of alveolar l or retroflex l, as the case may be) and the aydam is generated through the intermediate stage of the mouth-fricative corresponding to alveolar t or retroflex t. The alternative forms kat't'ridu and mul'fidu with geminated surds instead of the group aydam+surd, confirm the existence of the higher accent in this syllable. In päl tidu, there is no merging of the components in view of the long vowel in päl; and, therefore, neither assimilation nor the generation of the aydam is possible.

[F] Secondary -h. of Gōnd̪i in connection with voiceless plosives.

(a) Gōnd̪i causative stems, formed with the affix -t- show a secondary -h. immediately before -t- in instances like the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tiri- (to be turned round)} & \sim \text{tirikt- or tirukt- (to cause to turn round).} \\
\text{var- (to fear)} & \sim \text{varikt-, varhut-, varist-} \sim \text{ (to cause to fear, to frighten).} \\
\text{kar- (to learn)} & \sim \text{kareht- (to teach);} \\
\text{mei- (to graze)} & \sim \text{meht- (to cause to graze);} \\
\text{tind- (to eat)} & \sim \text{tiht- (to feed);} \\
\text{uḍ- (to drink)} & \sim \text{uht- (to give to drink}; \\
\text{kaf- (ṇ) (to be shaken)} & \sim \text{karhut-, karuht- (to shake).}
\end{align*}
\]

The alternative forms with -s- before -t- were explained by me as probably due to the influence of Indo-Aryan instances, like the so-called "reversion" of h > sibilant in niṣkāma, etc. Since h > s in Indo-Aryan is a rare change, and since the cases of "reversion" referred to above may not have involved a real 'change' at all, a better explanation for the alternative -s- of Gōnd̪i would be that here the fricative [?] which we have postulated as an intermediate stage (in connection with t) in the production of the aspirate, changed into the sibilant in some cases, side by side with the conversion of [?] to -h-. It is significant that there is no alternative -s- in connection with the aspirate appearing before the plural ending -k of Gōnd̪i words. [See below.]
All the above verbs are native Dravidian, with cognates in all the dialects. The causative affix -\(t\) is also Dravidian, occurring as it does in certain contexts in Tamil, Malayālam, Kannada and Kurukkh.

(b) The plurals of Gōṇḍi nouns, formed with -\(k\) (which apparently is an attenuated representative of -\(kal\), -\(ku\) of other Dravidian dialects), show a secondary -\(h\) immediately before -\(k\) in two sets of instances:

(i) Nouns with final long vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talā (head)</td>
<td>tclā(h)k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārī (girl)</td>
<td>tārī(h)k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittē (bird)</td>
<td>pittē(h)k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dādā (breast)</td>
<td>dādā(h)k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnō (old woman)</td>
<td>sēnō(h)k.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Nouns with final -\(l\), -\(n\) or -\(r\) immediately preceded by long vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nār (village)</td>
<td>nāh(k).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōn (house)</td>
<td>rōh(k).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miār (daughter)</td>
<td>miāh(k).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukku (star)</td>
<td>sukku(h)k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malōl (hare)</td>
<td>malōh(k).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let us see what processes of change may have been operative in these types.

In (a) the sound -\(l\) appears before the surd -\(t\) which being the causative affix was syllabically associated with a certain degree of accent. A contributory factor may have been the length of the immediately preceding vowel (as in kari 'to learn') which presumably also involved a certain higher accent.

In (b) we have two sets of instances. In (b) (i) we find a long vowel (presumably accented judged by the length) + -\(k\), resulting in -\(h\)k. In (b) (ii) -\(l\), -\(n\) or -\(r\) (immediately preceded by long vowels usually) + -\(k\) gives rise to -\(h\)k.

If the process of change in these instances is the generation of a glottal fricative through the intermediate stage of a mouth-fricative corresponding to the surd involved, we have here a parallel to the change that has probably resulted in the production of the Tamil āydam.

(a) and (b) (i) may be compared to the Tamil mul\(t\)'rāydam in ēh\(k\), o\(h\)tu, etc. While in (a) the surd concerned is -\(t\), in (b) the surd is -\(k\).

(b) (ii) may be compared to the āydam of Tamil combinative group kah\(l\)'\(tu\) where -\(l\)+-\(t\) has resulted in the assimilation of the dental \(t\) to an alveolar, and in the production of -\(h\)-immediately before the alveolar.

The features of resemblance are very striking:

1. In both Tamil and Gōṇḍi, the aspirate occurs in connection with surds only; while in Gōṇḍi the surds involved in the instances available for us are \(t\) and \(k\), in Tamil all grammatical surds are concerned.

2. In both Gōṇḍi and Tamil, the syllable containing the surd appears to carry with it a certain degree of accent (as a result either of semantic or mechanical reasons). In Gōṇḍi this higher accent is attested in (a) above by both the long vowel usually preceding the
causative affix and by the causative syllable itself, which bears a higher degree of psychological importance, and in (b) above by the length of the final vowel or of the vowel immediately preceding final \( -l, -n \) or \(-r\).

So far as Tamil is concerned, the higher accent in \( aḥdu \), etc., is attested by the peculiarly trochaic pronunciation of these forms; in combinative groups like \( kahḍ'īdu \), the same principle holds good and, in addition, the combinative position itself may lead to a certain extra accent.

The features of contrast between the Gondi and the Tamil instances are the following:—

1. In Tamil the \( ăydam \) evidences itself only in a few old words, while in Gondi, \( -h \)-actively appears in the living speech of today, regularly in certain circumstances in the plurals of nouns and causatives of verbs.

2. In the second set of Tamil instances represented by \( kahḍ'īdu \), there is the assimilative conversion of the dental \(-d\) to the alveolar under the influence of \(-l\), while in the Gondi instances referred to in (b) (ii) above, \(-l, -n\) or \(-r\) appears to have been absorbed in the process of the production of \(-h\).

Though the resemblances between the Tamil \( ăydam \) and Gondi \( -h \) in the above instances need not lead to the postulate of a common stage of change for these dialects, it is probable that they mirror a germinal trait of these two Dravidian dialects.

THE VIKRAMKHOŁ INSRIPTION.

(SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.)


1. Vikramkhol lies within the jurisdiction of police thana Jhārsūḡūḍā in the district of Sambalpur, Bihar and Orissa. It is approachable from the small railway station Belpahār on the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. From Belpahār one has to go four miles south-west to Grindola, and thence another four miles in the same direction to Vikramkhol. The road from Grindola crosses a corner of the Gangpur State. There is a village, Tilthiabahal, near the rock of Vikramkhol. The inscription is in a natural rock-shelter, six feet below the top. The rock is a rough sandstone. The rock-shelter is 115 feet in length and 27 feet 7 inches in height from the floor. It faces north-east.

2. The inscribed portion is about 35 feet by 7 feet. Some of the letters are sharply cut, but the incision-marks of the majority do not show sharp cutting. It seems that an iron chisel was not used. Some of the letters are partly cut and partly painted, while some letters are only in paint; but the majority are completely cut. It is evident that all the letters were first painted before being incised, which was the method regularly employed in the period of Brāhmī inscriptions. The colour of the paint is red-ochre, with which we are familiar in the prehistoric and historic caves and cave-buildings in India. To take a continuous photograph of all the letters (incised and painted), the incised letters have been carefully coloured. I have also had impressions of the incised letters taken by the usual method, and photographs in four parts of the squeeze are reproduced on the accompanying plates, together with the complete view referred to above and sections of the continuous photograph on a larger scale where the letters are very clear. I have also had tracings made of the painted portions. All this material is now in the Patna Museum. The estampages and the tracings have been made by the Curator of the Museum, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh. The photographs have been taken by the Patna Museum staff under the supervision of the Curator. The material has been collected under my direction.
Plate 1. General view of the (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, taken from the north-east.
Plate 2. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 1st part, from the south-east.

Plate 3. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 2nd part, from the south-east.
Plate 4. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 3rd part, from the south-east.

Plate 5. Estampage of the inscription at Vikramkhol, 4th part, from the south-east.
Plate 6. Vikramkhol inscription: detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 1st part, from the south-east.

Plate 7. Vikramkhol inscription: detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 2nd part, from the south-east.
K. P. J.
Plate 8. Vikramkhol inscription: detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 3rd part, from the south-east.

K. P. J.
Plate 9. Vikramkhol inscription: detail view of (inked) inscribed letters and symbols, 4th part, from the south-east.
3. The inscription was discovered by an educated Sādhu, Svāmī Jñānānanda. Mr. Lochan Prosad Pandey, founder and secretary of the Mahākosala Society of the Central Provinces, rendered valuable service by bringing it to our notice. At first I obtained an eye-copy of the letters, and since then scientific copies have been procured for the Patna Museum. I have to thank Mr. Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, for the material help rendered to us in obtaining these copies.

4. An examination of the letters, which at first sight give the impression of having Brāhmī forms, showed that the writing was a mixture of Brāhmī forms and a developed type of the Mohenjodaro script. As the announcement of the discovery of the inscription and my opinion thereon has led to numerous inquiries, I hasten to publish the record for study by scholars, along with a few observations of my own, as set out below.

Conclusions.

5. The inscription is a writing: this cannot be doubted. My reasons for this conclusion are:—(i) the symbols were first carefully painted and then inscribed after the fashion of inscriptions; (ii) the writing is in regular lines (the lines are not always straight, owing partly to the very rough surface on which they are inscribed); (iii) the symbols have set forms, which disclose ‘writing habits’ in the phraseology of handwriting experts. The hand which first painted the letters was used to writing with a pen: this is evident from Plate 6.

6. The system knows the bindu, and also, probably, the visarga. Some letters have dots placed below them, while in some cases dots seem to give a discriminative value to the letters, as in Semitic writing.

7. The right-hand corner top line on Plate 8, where the same symbol is repeated more than once, may point to the employment of numerals.

8. There is an animal figure which is probably not a part of the writing, but a symbol. There is, however, one symbol like a bellows placed side-ways, which recurs.

9. The writing seems to me to be from right to left (see, particularly, Plate 6).

10. It is evident that some of the letters disclose accentuation. Repetition of the same letter twice probably suggests consonantal duplication or conjuncts.

11. The writing seems to have reached the syllabary (alphabetic) stage.

Comparison with Mohenjodaro Script.

12. The bellows-shaped letter above the animal figure may be compared with the Mohenjodaro letter No. 119 (vol. II, p. 440). The first letter (right-hand) in the top line on Plate 6 should be compared with Mohenjodaro No. 162, and the system of dots with the same system in series 175 (ibid., p. 445).

13. The letter of the shape of the Brāhmī g may be compared with Mohenjodaro Nos. 100-102, 133, 144, 146 and 148. The shape of Mohenjodaro No. 133 is identical with the eighth letter of the second line in Plate 8.

14. The fourth letter in line 2, Plate 8, may be compared with Mohenjodaro 96 series. A variation of it is found in the seventh, or bottom, line at Vikramkhol.

15. The X shape of Vikramkhol should be compared with Nos. 98-99 of Mohenjodaro.

16. The circle-letter like the Brāhmī th, and the oval letters are noteworthy. They seem to be consonants on account of their repetition in one place. In Plate 7, the third letter after the animal (reading from left to right) is accentuated. It occurs in Plate 8 with two dots inside, resembling the Brāhmī tha. These shapes may be compared with Nos. 224 and 219 of Mohenjodaro. The form at Mohenjodaro is always oval.
17. The Y-shaped letter has a Kharoṣṭhi look; and so have a few more forms. But, on the whole, the theory of a proto-Kharoṣṭhi script is excluded, unless we assume that Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi had a common parentage.

18. I regret that I have not got sufficient time at my disposal at present to dive deeply into the matter and propose any reading. I present the problem for the consideration of scholars engaged in this field of study.

19. It seems that the theory I put forward in 1920 (JBORS., vol. VI, p. 188 ff.), that Brāhmī is an indigenous Indian writing, receives confirmation from this find, for its letters are nearer Brāhmī than any other script. In that paper I also pointed out a very probable connection between Brāhmī and the writing on the Harappa seals.¹

The Vikramkhol inscription supplies a link between the passage of letter-forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brāhmī. The Vikramkhol record, however, need not necessarily be an Aryan piece of writing.²

**Age of the Inscription.**

20. Now, what would be the approximate age of the Vikramkhol inscription? The writing is certainly earlier than the earliest specimen of Brāhmī known so far; and Brāhmī was completed before 1500 B.C.² We would be within the range of a fair approximation in dating it about 1500 B.C.

¹ "There is the Cairn writing in the South but in the North there is a vast gap between 1500 B.C. and the sixth century B.C. to be filled up by positive evidence. A link seems to be found in the Harappa seals, one of which was published by Cunningham, who maintained that it contained the origin of Brāhmī. Two more seals in the same characters were published by the late Dr. Fleet (JRAS., 1912). The readings of two of these seal legends have been suggested by Cunningham and Fleet (JRAS., p. 699), and of the third one by me (IA., 1913, p. 203). It seems to me that it is possible to solve them in the near future, especially with our increasing knowledge of pre-Mauryan letters and with an increased number of Harappa seals. Sir John Marshall has got a few more of these seals which he has kindly promised to lend me for study. Letters from the photograph of two of them are reproduced in the chart with the permission of Sir John. Three things are certain about these seals. One of the legends (‘C’) of Fleet shows that it was intended to be read from left to right as the legend does not cover the whole space, and its beginning and end are distinguishable. The script has the Hindu system of using abbreviated forms of letters, for one letter which appears in full in one seal (‘A’ of Fleet) appears as abbreviated, either as a mātrā or as a conjoint consonant, in two places (in ‘A’ and ‘B’). Then there is a ligature where v is joined to y or some other letter. That the characters are not a syllabary is seen by the addition on the head of one letter (in ‘C’ which appears without it in another place (‘A’). The addition is evidently a mātrā, probably an a in a stage when it is fully represented; it is separate from the letter on the top of which it is placed. The characteristics therefore seem to be those of the Brāhmī, but the letters are so old that they are not yet fully recognized. In the new seals we have a letter which is almost unmistakably a, and the form is such that the oldest Semitic and Brāhmī forms for a are derivable from it [the whole legend I tentatively read as Akāṣa... ];”—JBORS., VI (1920), pp. 199-200.

² The locality, according to the Purānic race-history, would suggest the record to be a pre-Dravidian ‘Rākṣasa,’ record. Rākṣasa is the generic name for the race dispossessed by the Aryans. They extended up to the Indian Archipelago. [Nāga was probably a sub-division of theirs.] The Gonds are their remnants.

³ I have set forth in some detail my reasons for coming to this conclusion in JBORS., vol. VI (1920), p. 198, to which reference is invited.
THE GĀNDĪSTOTRA.

By E. H. JOHNSTON, M.A.

Among the minor Buddhist works which have been brought to light by modern research few are more interesting than the Gāndīstotra, the Sanskrit text of which was recovered by Baron A. von Staal-Holstein from a transcription into Chinese characters with the help of a Tibetan translation and published in Bibliotheca Buddhica XV in 1913. The reconstitution of the poem from such scanty materials raised a number of troublesome problems, the great majority of which were successfully solved by the editor's skill and acumen; and the full apparatus provided by him smooths the way for others who have the advantage of starting where he left off. So far as I can ascertain, the text has not been critically considered by other students, who have perhaps been put off by a valuable introduction and notes being written in a language so little known generally as Russian, and it seems, therefore, worth while publishing my results. My emendations are in the direction of bringing the readings into closer accord with the Chinese transcription and the Tibetan translation, but in view of their number it is easiest to make them intelligible by printing a fresh version of the original. As the poem has never been translated, I add a fairly literal rendering into English; this procedure has the further advantages of emphasizing the weak and doubtful places of the text and of enabling me to cut down the bulk of the notes.

A few introductory remarks are necessary. The Chinese transcription, which I call C, is published as No. 1683 in the Taisho Issaikyo edition of the Chinese Tripitaka under the name of Chien-Chih-Fan-Tean. Chien-Chih (i.e., gāndī transliterated) is spelt, wrongly probably, in the Bibli. Buddh. edition Chien-Ch'ui, the difference between the two characters (Giles, no. 1871 and 2823) being only the short cross stroke which is added to radical 75 to make it radical 115. I follow C in omitting the word gāthā in the title, which appears to be an unauthorised addition by the Tibetan. The transliteration was executed by Fa Tien, whose name was later altered to Fa Hsien, a monk of Nalanda, who worked in China in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. It was intended for ceremonial recitation, for which purpose an absolutely accurate text was not apparently thought essential. Study of C shows a number of mistakes which could only proceed from the use of a faulty Sanskrit MS. and which might, one would think, have been easily corrected by anyone with an elementary knowledge of that language. These errors are of a type occurring in mediaval Nepalese MSS. of, say, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as the confusion of dha, ba and va, which disfigures almost every verse, of pa and ya, of su and sta, of kpa and sa, etc., so that, when C is at fault, we are entitled to try anything which we might expect to find in corresponding Nepalese MSS. The Tibetan translation, which I call T, is as literal as usual, but not always easy to turn back into Sanskrit; and I therefore give the Tibetan in the variants where the restoration is not certain. The editor's own readings and views I quote under the letter H, but I have not adopted his numbering of each pada consecutively; his notes follow this numbering and contain some conjectures by other scholars.

The editor follows T in attributing the verses to Aśvaghōsa, giving as additional reasons the tradition connecting that poet with a gāndī (a long piece of wood struck with a wooden pestle to summon the monks, which for lack of an English equivalent I call a gong) and the similarity of the style to that of a verse given to him in the Kavindravacanasamuccaya. These grounds in themselves have little force, and the ascription is not followed by C or even considered worth mention by the editors of Hobogirin in the Fascicule Annot. The verse in the anthology is written in a style entirely different to that of Aśvaghōsa, of whom enough is preserved to enable us to form a clear conception of his poetic methods, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute works to him almost at random. Nor can I see much in the Gāndīstotra which reminds me of him. Many of the words in it are not to be found
in his genuine poems and the language and style in general seem to me quite certainly to belong to a later epoch. The preoccupation with sound in preference to sense is also symptomatic of lateness and I miss the closely packed construction and the carefully arranged balance which is so characteristic of Aśvaghoṣa. Further the latter’s affection for similes is not to be found here and it looks as if the one elaborate comparison, that in verse 12, is an attempt to improve on Raghuvamśa, vi, 83. Confrontation of the passages of this poem describing Māra’s temptation with canto xiii of the Buddhacarita will make these points clear. It will be noted that verse 20 refers to Kashmir, showing that the poem was written there; that T omits the name is not sufficient reason for doubting the reconstruction of it from C, since we know from the Sragdhāristotra, a work of the eighth century and in a style which seems to be later than that of the Gaṇḍāristotra, that this form of composition was practised there. Aśvaghoṣa is described in the colophons of his two epics as belonging to Sāketa, though there is a tradition that he went to live in Kashmir. If we could have held that the poem was his, this would have been admirable corroboration of the tradition, but, as it is, in the absence of any cogent evidence I conclude on subjective grounds that the poem, so far from being from his hand, is of a date posterior by some centuries to him and is not necessarily all by the same hand or of the same date.

In the translation I have only used asterisks to show the sounds of the gong, which in some of the earlier verses drown the words. These sounds are represented in a way evidently intended to suggest the mood of the words oblitered by them and probably reproduce the various methods in which the gong could be struck, like the sounds which the Bhāratiya Nātyaśāstra uses for beating a drum. The variants given omit unimportant errors in C but give H’s reading wherever I have departed from his text.

**THERE THE LAUDS OF THE GONG.**

1. The Lion of the Sākyas, adored by gods and men, did not waver of yore beneath the Tree of Illumination before the . . . of Māra, as they, from the path where the sun travels, . . . with their bodies girt in armour, or before the divine forms of women. . . . May He protect you!

In a T takes māra as the first part of māraya, but nowhere else does the gong drown part of a word and despite the parallels quoted by H for the use of such expressions by the demons, it seems better to take it as the first word of a compound, the rest of which is obliterated. In b T either read badhasāvādhakakṣaṇa or else took saṅnaddha in the sense of saṁnāha. It renders kakṣa by luo, ‘body,’ and I translate accordingly. It might also mean, ‘with their clothes tightly girt up.’ But kakṣāsāvādhā is used in Bhāratasāṅkhā (ed. Bombay, 1897), 94, 13 (in other editions 96, 4), for harnessing an elephant, and in accordance with the simile common in kīvya of lions defeating elephants we may possibly have to understand here that Māra’s followers are depicted as elephants conquered by the lion of the Sākyas; if so, translate, ‘with their girths tightly bound.’

1
2. The benign Chief of Sages from Whom all stain has vanished was not affrighted by the mockeries of the damsels of Kandarpa... or by the ravings... and taunts of his menials inflamed with arrogance... may He lead you to peace!

*Kuharacit* which T treats as a sound of the gong is perhaps to be considered as a word; a name for Mara? I do not understand T’s reading in d; Jacobi ingeniously conjectured *srutasakalakalaḥ* (surely ‘learned in all sciences,’ not ‘hearing all those noises’ as H suggests, *kula* being hardly applicable to such sounds).

Var. *d, C omits man.; srutasakalakalaḥ, T H.*

3. The bold damsels of the disembodied god could not shake His mind with volleys of Smara’s missiles, the movements of eyebrows, the curvings of the corners of the eyes and the play of eyelashes, eyes and pupils, or with bodies rejoicing in the waving of beautiful arm-creepers, or with pretty speeches, gentle, soft, sweet, charming, delightful and uttered with smiles and mock modesty. All hail to the Conqueror of the hosts of Smara!

*Udāyitṛ* is better Sanskrit and nearer C than *Udāyitṛ*; as an adjective, it does not imply the past. T is against C’s reading, which is too forced here. H’s amendment in *c* accepted above, is doubtful; T reads the second word literally *sākūtoktaḥ*.

Var. *a, U C; c, U C; d, U C; e, U C; f, U C; g, U C; h, U C; i, U C; j, U C; k, U C; l, U C; m, U C; n, U C; o, U C; p, U C; q, U C; r, U C; s, U C; t, U C; u, U C; v, U C; w, U C; x, U C; y, U C; z, U C.*

4. Though the warriors of Mara shook the earth and veiled the sky with showers of sharp arrows, though they made the ocean boil and the quarters blaze with the flames of the fire of their wrath, though they filled the air with the shrill whistlings of the swords, discs and saws they brandished so easily, yet the Chief of Sages overthrew them straightforward with the weapon of Universal Benevolence. May He protect you!

In *c*, alternatively, ‘though their harsh clamour resounded, as they lightly drew, etc.’

Var. *a, b, C; d, T; e, T; f, T; g, T; h, T; i, T; j, T; k, T; l, T; m, T; n, T; o, T; p, T; q, T; r, T; s, T; t, T; u, T; v, T; w, T; x, T; y, T; z, T.*

5. The host of the god of the flower-arrows roared with rage, creating fearsome noises by awe-inspiring slappings of limbs; they brought on darkness with the swelling of the temples of their elephants, as with masses of thundering clouds; the entire welkin was illumined with the flashing of swords, which gleamed with the uncontrolled fires of insolence. May the Buddha, by Whom they were undone in a moment, guard you!
Asphoṭa refers to the slappings of arms and thighs, still practised in India before a fight by wrestlers and braves to frighten their opponents; cf. Mbh. (Calcutta ed.), iii, 11130-1. H under 136 (p. 124) takes it to mean 'shivering.' He translates ḍopa here 'multitude,' but cf. Uvasagadasi (ed. Hoernle), p. 58, ukkaḍaṇḍuḥuḍuḥuḍilavālakakasaviṇḍuṣṭhauḍuḥuḍḍoṇuṣṭhauḍaṇḍavaramadacchāṁ, 'skilled at making its hood swell large, etc.'

6. The divine eyes of Māra's damsels, stretching to their ears like petals of the blue lotus and rolling behind flickering eyelashes, appeared soft with emotion, artful, and charming with twinklelings and smiles and with the movements of eyebrows; they were restless and reddened at the ends in the fullness of their longings. Yet the most excellent Seer, Who had cast out all sin, was in no way attracted by them. To Him I do obeisance.

H divides ḍ卡拉पुरावत into ḍ and karapāvar; I follow T in dividing into ḍaKarṇa and pāvra, but of course the author also means to suggest that the eyes take the place of the blue lotuses stuck in the ears as ornaments. The use of rabhaśa for 'longing,' 'sexual desire,' which is corroborated by T, is late (e.g., Ghāgovernā, Kathāsārīśāgara, Bhaṣagavata Purāṇa).

7. His mind was not bewildered by the close-set ranks of Māra, armed though they were with spears and displaying awe-inspiring coils of hair and protruding tongues, with the faces of elephants and horses or the masks of lions and tigers. Afraid only of the cycle of existence, He recked no more of Pradyumna, the god of Love, than of a blade of grass. May He, from Whom all impurity has passed away, the All-Enlightened, the Lord of the World, the Chief of Sages, protect you!

This verse seems to be an alternative (and later?) version of the next verse, whose third line is faulty by making it appear that the epithets sarvavid viññadākaḥ apply to Kāmadeva. The legend that Kāma was reborn as Pradyumna is late and is not mentioned in the Mbh.; for details see the Bhāg. Pur.

8. He did not falter from his intent, when the innumerable bellowing warriors of Māra in terrifying shapes with a hundred varied faces armed themselves with the earth, mountains, rivers, the ocean itself. All-knowing and passionless, He recked no more of the flower-banneered god than of a blade of grass. May the Enlightened Hero, the Incarnation of Majesty, Who is free from all perturbation of soul and dispels the danger of impurity, protect you!
9. As He sat firmly fixed in transic wise, His mind was immovable as a mountain and was not disquieted by the great hordes of Mára’s troops with swords, axes, bows, harpoons and spears in their hands, or by the many fearsome firebrands which fell with terrifying crashes and fierce crackling of flames. I worship the Worshipful, Enlightened Hero, the Valiant One, Who dispels the dangers of the threefold universe.

10. The menials (of Mára) could make no breach in His Enlightenment; yet the bells hanging from their sides shrilled loudly to the accompaniment of roars of maniac laughter, their hollow eyes gleamed through their tangled locks in the frenzy of their stretchings and slappings of limbs, and their harsh drums throbbed loudly. May the Enlightened Hero, Who is as alert as a drum is clear in sound, be for the well being of you, whose desires have been completely satisfied on the Vulture Peak!

A difficult verse, and H has made it more so by taking sphálant as nom. sing. f. and subject of the relative clause. Besides the improbability of this form, he has to alter to the instrumental case a number of words shown by C and T to be in the nominative; C makes no distinction between a, ã and ã at the end of a word. I take kīṁkarāḥ as the subject of the relative clause, qualified by adjectival compounds on which the instrumentals depend.

The emendation of raṇantaṁ to raṇantaḥ is trivial and supported by T. H thinks taṭābandha may be a musical term, explaining T’s myur-ba (for taṭa) by S. C. Das’s myur-bahi-bhra meaning a particular note of music. Presumably one would have to take it to the root taṭ ‘make a rumbling, droning noise.’ But T clearly reads baddha; taṭa ‘side’ is difficult, but I see no alternative. In b T takes dhopa (bhaγγa-pa) as equivalent to vijṛmbhita. Tavika is only known in this sense from the lexica, and T evidently had bhagam (bhojma-pa), not bhagam, which is difficult, unless taken as a substantive. I can make no sense of T’s dṛptaṁ; trpta=viśālga, a reasonable extension of meaning from its use at Saundarananda, iii, 34, and vii, 20. Sa astu ought to take the dative; the only parallel for the genitive is the use once of svasti, thus in the Rāmāyaṇa quoted by Böhltingh and Roth. But I do not see how trptaṁ is to be construed, except in agreement with vah, which must thus be in the genitive; if the two are separate, trptaṁ would have to depend on paṭauṣṭaḥ-paṭaḥ which is hardly possible.

In the later Mahāyāna sūtras the Vulture Peak is the regular site for the Buddha’s mystic seances and preachings. A good instance, showing the lateness of the idea, is in the Kāśapaparivarta. The earliest Chinese translation (second century A.D.) gives the venue as Śrāvasti, but the later translations, like the existing Sanskrit version, alter this to the Vulture Peak. This suggests that trpta can be understood to refer to the desires of hearing the Buddha preach as having been satisfied; cf. Saddharmapunḍarīka, ix, 17, Trptā sma... śrutaḥ vyākaranām idam.
11. ... with grim noises, wantonness ... weapons ... by such sounds was the Lion of the Śākyas, adored by gods and men, not terrified. May He protect you!

Amend to khumaṇkhura ebbir in cd?

Var. a, शराचार, C; शराकर, H.

12. As autumnal brilliance, in that fortnight which is the enemy of the beauty of the blue lotus beds, comes at night to the moon, when it is delivered from the fury of the cloudy season's assault, so the Majesty of Perfect Enlightenment, the best of allies and enemy of the beauty of the lotus-faces of the disembodied god's damsels, came that night to Him when He was delivered from the fury of Māra's assaults. Such is the Holy King of the Law, the message of whose Law is sounded by this gong.

H's conjecture in a is impossible. T omits the word, which was therefore one of no importance; my suggestion meets this point and is satisfactory palaeographically. This use of ākāra, which recurs in verse 20, suggests a latish date for the poem. Kaumudi here means both 'moonshine' and the 'full-moon day of Áśvin.' H takes vipakṣa to mean 'victor,' for which there is no authority; the standard meaning is 'opponent' (ni-mthun = pratikula, T) and possibly in the simile it ought to mean also 'the day in which the moon passes from one fortnight to another.' But I cannot work this in. In the main sentence I divide "vipakṣa ekapakṣa, the latter word recalling the common use of eka in the inscriptions; in the simile I regard it as a single compound. Nālga for Anaṅga is noteworthy, as also the imperfect cesura at the fourteenth syllable of a.

Var. a. rin-po-nas (हृः), T. b, c, sun-gyi

13. Ill-omened Death stalks about yonder never satisfied even for a moment with striking down. But this gong of the Law, before which the far-flung music of the spheres sinks to a murmur, has ever shown its devotion to good works by depositing the hearts of others with Him, Whose orders in the shape of the Three Jewels it conveys, as it were, incessantly for the instruction of living beings.

A very difficult verse, only partially and incorrectly restored by H. T seems to indicate a locative absolute in a (nighnay aprāptaṁp ā ... vicaraya antake dūrato 'śmin ?). H's imperative in b spoils the verse, which contrasts Death and the gong, both ever active, but one for good and the other for evil. T certainly takes the gong as the subject of b. Śaikṣāya in c is difficult; the sense requires sīkṣāya, which is unmetrical.

Var. c, C H.
14. The rule of the Conqueror shines here, overwhelming the heretics, like the orb of the sun, overwhelming the troops of stars. This gong of the Ornament of the earthly globe keeps on resounding furiously like the drums of victory.

In b ca, which merely fills up the verse, is taken impossibly by T as joining tirthikājanam and jinaśūsanam.

Var. d, यथ ले, C.

15. And, O Thou, Who no faintness of heart . . . . See, O worlds of the living, the army of Māra is crushed by Him, Who has the might of the ten Forces.

H failed to restore the verse, but the text is certain, except possibly that we should read pādyantām in d.

Var. a, व्रजतस्य, C. d, राजयन्तीह, T.

16. The land shakes with the quaking of earthquakes; Lord Māra trembles. The assemblies of the gods with the rays of the troops of the planets and all the Nāga lords are affrighted. And the earth, hearing this fierce gong, which strikes manifold terrors into the heretics, echoes it back in fright for the peace of the Buddhists, as though it were making the Assembly to cry out.

The readings of the first line are quite uncertain. The last syllable should be long, 1 merurājāḥ saṁtrāstā. T seems also to have read praśālītavasudhā and takes vasudhā to mean 'mountain' (as a container of precious ores!). This reading would require merurāja saṁtrāstā, rājā being the feminine of rāja at the end of compounds according to the grammarians. But in that case I do not understand who the Queen of Meru can be, though it would make better sense to translate the pāda as a single sentence with Meru in it balancing the earth in c. The sense of grahaṇakaraṇādhi is also uncertain. T translates graha by gdon, which means any kind of evil spirit or semi-divine being capable of influencing human affairs, and it omits gana which might stand for the attendants of Śiva. But kiranā does not fit in with these interpretations, though certified by T; we should have to hold it to be either corrupt or to have some meaning ('retinue', or a proper name for divine attendants?) not known elsewhere. C omits the last three syllables of c, which I supply tentatively from T.

17. This gong rings out from the pinnacle of the monastery and, with a voice like a cloud, utters entrancing sounds; the meal time gong summons its absent sons affectionately, like a mother calling to her children.

Var. c, छुरुवुधि H.

18. To the Buddha, intent on shattering the wheel of existence and adorned with the jewels of all the virtues, belongs the gong with the voice like the drums of the gods, which cleaves roaring through all evil.
19. For this gong roars forth its invitations to Nāgas (?) gods, men and Asuras. Listen, good Sirs, to the Sugata’s gong being struck by the entire company of monks.

I can find no satisfactory explanation of the first hemistic; it was H who suggested that nagānām = nāgānām. *Ran* is unusual in the middle voice.

| Var. a, C; | C; | mi-rnam (rokkānā, T. b, | C; | T. |

20. The folk tremble with fright in foreboding of the ruin of Kashmir, when the sky is full of Nāgas in shape like the chaotic clouds of the time of the world’s destruction, and they seek deliverance in making the gong, set up by all the eminent sages for the prosperity of the Law, resound so as to humble the boundless pride of the heretics. May it protect you!

| Var. a, H. b; | H. b, | ghag-gyi (= ghag-gyi), T. |

21. To the Tathāgata, Who is honoured by gods, Asuras and the mighty snakes, and Who has reached the supreme peace, belongs this gong with the voice like the drums of the Immortals, which resounds so as to cleave the hearts of the followers of other teachers.

I take *katāyatira* to be equivalent to T’s text; H’s amendments are more drastic, make a poorer sense, and do not accord with T.

| Var. c, H. d; | C; | C; | H; | mu-stags-can |

22. May this handful of flowers, laid at the lotus-feet of the Enemy of Mára, protect you, as it murmurs, as it were of itself, with the humming of the bees lying in its midst, “Sirs, keep your minds intent on the merit which grants both heaven and final release. Good folk, avoid sin, which leads to rebirth in Hell; life is fleeting.”

*Ayam*, though not in T, is required somewhere in the second hemistic; hence the amendment. C may have got *cira* from the next verse. The verse is characteristic of the later *kāvya* style.
23. It is said that on His descent from heaven to earth He was respectfully accompanied far on His way by Śakra and the rest of the company of the gods, who acclaimed Him with shouts of triumph, as they cast flowers and filled the welkin with the noise of their drums. May the fierce gong of the Holy Store of Pity guard the world!

24. Walking seven steps of Himself as soon as He emerged from His mother's womb, with full knowledge He said, 'I make an end of the cycle of existence.' Splendid was His speech, uttered with regard to an existence already so prolonged (through countless previous births). May the gong of the Conquering Sugata break up the darkness of your minds!

The third pāda is not clear to me and T began it with something like yasmiḥ jātibhave, which I cannot determine exactly.

25. After defeating the awesome hosts of Māra and extirpating the vices, in that same spot that very night the wise, pure-souled Buddha, the Mine of all virtues, reached the blissful stage of Omniscience. May His gong enure to the welfare of men by its power to annihilate the blackest guilt!

The end of b is uncertain, but H's bahiḥ, which he translates 'far from other human beings,' seems to me out of the question. For dāravajñānān padam cf. Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Bibl. Buddh. IV), p. 431, l. 9.

26. When the virtues of the Sage, Who has rent asunder the terrors of old age, were thus celebrated by His gong, the gods became dumb from very shame, Brahma became as it were an idiot, the guru of the gods lost all his arrogance, Sarva turned imbecile, and Lord Viśṇu held his peace. May it preserve the folk from evil rebirth!

In a ukugs-pa properly=māka, but H's conjecture is possible and avoids the repetition of the word. So I accept it. H's Sarva could only be Kṛṣṇa. Yātā mākatāṁ is a form of construction which becomes usual only much later than Āśvaghoṣa and is not used by him; cf. the next verse. Janābhayabhidhā in d could only agree with apāyāt and is not probable; the change I make is very small and provides muneḥ with an epithet, which comparison with the other verses shows the author to have been unlikely to omit.
27. At the gong’s birth the heretics grieved in deep dejection, and the Buddhists with their minds exalted by its excellences were moved to great joy. In contact with it the virtues are extended and the vices annihilated. May it redound to the cessation of being by sweeping away the guilt of this evil age!

In b T shows viśesavardhitadhiyo to be the complete compound; the first word is an adverb represented by rāb-tu-bhṛhel (lit. pravṛddham) and C justifies my reconstruction. A conjunction or a relative is required; hence ca. Jacoby’s ārya harsaviśeṣa and Professor Thomas’s hargotkṣaraviśeṣa do not agree with the Tibetan and fail to join the line to the preceding one. T takes dṛṣṭi (espo-br) to mean ‘joy’; otherwise ‘satisfaction’ or ‘stability of mind’ would have been better. In d T’s reading is inferior and H’s amendment of C unnecessary.

28. By doing due obeisance to the gong of the Sage’s Law the pure in heart attain the higher spheres, while all its adversaries go speedily and helplessly to perdition. It dissipates the masses of delusion, whether scattered or congregated. May it lead your worship to the suppression in the future of fears of existence!

29. On hearing the gong, Brahman and the other dwellers in the heavens fall straightway to the earth, the mountains quake and even the earth recedes speedily to the nether realm. Sound it instantly to strike fear into the heretics and to bring peace to the Buddhists whose souls are purified by endeavours for others’ good.

In a H reads māhitālamalam as one word, following a suggestion of Prof. Lüders; this is surely untranslatable. T has māhitālam followed by a word meaning ‘quickly’; that is, one should transliterate C aram, known to the lexica in this sense. But alliteration requires alam. Though not recorded in this sense, it would fit admirably passages such as Meghadūta, 53, or Śatakuntālā, vii, 34 (where the parallel sentence has samprati to correspond) in place of the usual rendering, ‘thoroughly,’ ‘completely.’ In b T takes talam in kṣamātalām to mean ‘beneath’; alternatively the word is intended as a synonym of rasātalā, showing the author to know the meaning of rasā as ‘earth,’ which is late.
Preface.

Proverbs convey useful lessons of prudence and morality. They magnify the delights of virtue as well as paint in dark colours the consequences of evil. Their phraseology shows the impress of the mint of wisdom of immemorial antiquity. In short, they are "sense, shortness and salt," as quaintly defined by Howell.

The Kāshmirī is extremely fond of saws pragmatic and maxims sage. His language perhaps contains a greater number of them than that of any other Oriental. They mirror not merely his external conduct, daily life and environment, but also the disposition of his mind. In 1885, a large collection of proverbs and sayings, current in Kashmir, was made by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, which he explained from the rich and interesting folklore of the valley. He afterwards published them in the form of a book, which is very interesting, equally to the philologist, the ethnologist and the antiquarian. But there remained some proverbs which the Rev. Mr. Knowles could not find at the time of writing his book. These I have collected, and now publish with translations in English.

It is gratifying to note that these precious fruits of ancient wisdom, which by mere oral transmission and currency were being gradually lost, or were changing their complexion with the tide of time, are now being committed to print, and thus placed on permanent record.

Achī khuta chi kūṭhi dūr.
The knees are farther than the eyes. (Blood is thicker than water.)

Āk ḍuḍa biyī májī kūt tok.
An uninvited guest, and he wants a plateful [of food] for his mother [in addition to feeding himself]! (Brazeness.)

Āk hannāmī ta byāk damāmī.
One is the servant of the hot-bath and the other is the assistant for heating it. (Conspiracy.)

Ākhun sāhīb chu tsāṭan hanzoy teuci bāgrān.
The school-master distributes the bread of the pupils. (E.g., the king spends what the people pay him in taxes, he having nothing of his own.)

Alāl-khānān na koj; parzanēn mimyuz.
To one's own dear children breakfast is not given; [but] to the strangers [besides breakfast] tiffin is served. (I.e., a person most niggardly towards his own kith and kin, but entertaining strangers sumptuously.)

Attrī-wāna chu muskay lārān.
Khāra-wāna chē tembārey lārān.
From a perfumer's shop one gets a pleasant scent, From a blacksmith's shop one gets embers. (Cultivation of the society of good people will make you good. He who plays with the cat must expect a scratching.)

Baṭ kani chē lubacī kanīe satī rūṣīt hēkān.
A big stone is kept firm by smaller stones. (E.g., a man of position must have subordinates to assist him).
Bhaṭṭa taryoe kadala ta gāḍi dāryo e.
A paṇḍit was passing over a bridge and a fish opened its mouth [to swallow him].
(Paṇḍits are generally weak physically because they do not take to manual labour, but devote themselves much to study.)

Bib kamālas ta mir masāras.
When the wife is grown up, the husband is in the grave. (An unequal marriage.)

Boni muhul tārun.
To pierce a chinār with a pestle. (An impossible thing.)

Brāri sālēh.
Pious as a cat. (I.e., a hypocrite.)

Bhurī-bāyi hund kan hyā zethān.
Stretching out like the ear of the apothecary's wife.
(To go beyond the limit. An apothecary's wife is thought foppish: she wears heavy ear ornaments, and her ears are stretched downwards by their weight.)

Cāy tani yā gāni mogar tats gatshi cēni.
Tea, whether weak or strong, should be taken hot.

Chaniy phar ta gontshan var.
Empty boast and twisted moustaches. (Smart clothes and empty pockets. The loudest hummer is not the honey-bee.)

Dab lagus ta phēran phūtus.
Having tumbled down his garment got broken.

Dāli Bhaṭṭa ta Khoja thūl.
Dāl for a Paṇḍit and an egg for a Khoja (i.e., the kind of food they like).

Gora sanzi kotshī sori na zāh.
The guru's bag will never get exhausted. (Priests are ever prosperous, receiving charity on all occasions, both happy and sad.)

Grahna kāndur.
A baker during an eclipse. (A sorry figure.)

"Gur diṭā pāha." "Nila chuy." "Nilay diṭā." "Hila chuy."
"Lend me thy horse." "It is cream-coloured." "Give me the cream-coloured." "It is a pretence."

Hānṭhī wāli dōḍ ta gāṇṭhī wāli thūl.
He is capable of causing milk to flow from a barren woman's breast and of fetching down eggs from a kite's nest. (An adventurer.)

Hāri zyun ta Māghi dhāṇi.
Firewood in Hār (June-July), and paddy in Māgh (January-February). (I.e., these things should be purchased in those months, because wood is dry in June-July, and paddy of better quality is obtainable in January-February, the cultivator having disposed of all grain of bad quality before then, as it is human nature to sell bad things first.)
Hilé pêhuk shaqdar.
The guard just at the time the crop has begun earing. (Said of a person who takes no pains to earn money for himself, but feeds on others' earnings. Warming his hands in other peoples' sunshine.)

Kakawvanay chê kani shrapán.
Partridges alone can digest a stone. (A strong person has a good appetite.)

Kâh gov doyanas kahi dohi chôk.
Hash chêm zâm chêm kyâ chum sukh?
Eleven cows are milked, after eleven days I get a little milk;
I have got a mother-in-law [and] sister-in-law: what peace have I got?
(Mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are notorious for ill-treatment of their daughters-in-law.)

Kâlidâsas chu panani vizi wundân.
Kâlidâsa falls into error in his own case. (I.e., a wise person sometimes makes a bad mistake.)

Kâlidâsa, who was at the court of King Bhoja of Mâlvâ about the end of the tenth century A.D., is said to have gone to Ceylon to see the king of that island, named Kumârâdâsa. This king was a good poet and had sent a copy of his own poem Jânakhara as a present to King Bhoja. This poetic work pleased Kâlidâsa very much, and he became anxious to make the personal acquaintance of the author. He went to Ceylon and there he was staying in an old woman's house. King Kumârâdâsa used to pay frequent visits to Mâtara, and when he was there he always stayed in a certain beautiful house. During one of these visits he wrote two lines of unfinished poetry on the wall of the room where he had lived. Under it he wrote that the person who could finish this piece of poetry satisfactorily would receive a high reward from the king. Kâlidâsa happened to see these lines when he came to this house in Mâtara, and he wrote two lines of beautiful poetry under the unfinished lines of the king. He was in hope that his friend, king Kumârâdâsa, would be well pleased with this and would recognize his friend's poetry. But the unfortunate poet had not the pleasure of getting either reward or praise from the king, because the authorship of the lines was claimed by a woman in the same house, who had seen Kâlidâsa writing them. She secretly murdered Kâlidâsa and claimed the reward, stating that the lines were her own. But nobody would believe that the woman could have written such poetry, which could have only been the work of a real poet. The king, when he saw the lines, said that nobody but his friend Kâlidâsa would be able to understand him so well and to complete in such an excellent way the poetry which he (the king) had written, and he asked where Kâlidâsa was, so that he might hand over to him the promised reward. Nobody knew where he was. At last search was made everywhere and, to the great sorrow of every one, his body, which had been hidden, was found. One can hardly imagine how sad King Kumârâdâsa was when he heard that Kâlidâsa had been murdered, for he had loved him much both as poet and as friend. A very grand funeral pyre was erected, and the king lit the pyre with his own hands. When he saw the body of his dear friend consumed by the flames, he lost his senses altogether through his great grief and, to the horror of all the people assembled, he threw himself on the funeral pyre and was burnt with his friend (see page 147 of Stories from the History of Ceylon by Mrs. Higgins).

Kâvasa kani myul karun.
To make the crow and the stone join together. (Said of an unexpected occurrence.)
Kül, kātsur, machīcal,
Duskmeynay pāighambar and.
The dark-brown complexioned, the brown-haired, and the freckled
Are the enemies of the prophet (i.e., are found to be wicked).

Khēe, chēe ranga-teari;
Anz lug wāla-bāri.
The cinnamon tree-sparrow ate [and] drank;
[But] the grey goose was caught in the trap. (An innocent person caught instead
of the real offender.)

Kulas chē krit.
A high class person has to discharge obligations. (Noblesse oblige.)

Lembi phulmut pamposh.
A lotus bloomed out of the silt. (A beautiful child born of ugly parents.)

Lori bathā logi ta marday drāk.
A hundred blows with a rod were dealt to thee, and thou provedst to be a brave
fellow. (To flatter a person after having once quarrelled with him.)

Lūk kami lāsw tu buḍh kami mor?
Who would think that the young might live and the aged might die? (Death is no
respecer of age.)

Maγghi mo gatsh māgasey.
Do not go even to a feast during the Māγhas nākṣatra. Note.—The Māγha nākṣatra
(10th mansion of the moon) is considered inauspicious by the Hindus for going
on a journey.

Māji bhatta.
Food served by mother. (The best food.)

Makkāy waγ dishit chu sawār guri pētha wuthmut.
On seeing a cob of maize corn the rider has descended from his horse (the corn
being so tempting).

Muma, kon, sądān pānay put-mahāriza.
Muma, the one-eyed, burns within himself to be the vice-bridegroom [but he cannot
be chosen for this]. (Said of a vainglorious person.)

Natsha āngun chum tsoi;
Gīvara gēe khyom brāri.
I would dance [but] the courtyard is small;
I would sing—the cat ate my gīt. (Idle excuses.)

Matshan dūd ta monën chak.
Milk in the breast and splashing it against the walls. (Prodigality; waste.)

Nav kuth numan dohan.
A new matter for nine days. (A nine days' wonder.)

Nāv chum Lasi,
Yasi wātisas na lāsi.
Lasi is my name,
To whomsoever I did not attend, he is displeased. (One cannot please everybody.)
Nidhārīs chi dugandi dyār.
A penniless person has to spend double. (I.e., he borrows, paying high interest, and he purchases the necessaries of life in small quantities, which costs him more.)

Qālib lari bunyūl.
An earthquake to a pakka house (it cracks it). (A great calamity.)

Parbatas dhāni bhawun.
Growth of rice on [the top of a rocky or arid] hill. (An impossibility.)

Pīnji chamb.
A platform [proved to be like] a precipice.

Rātuk lāyun gomo khān : Lol ho ām, lol ho ām.
Yesterday's threshing was not sufficient: Love has seized me, love has seized me. (Cited when a person, with whom one has quarrelled, seeks reconciliation.)

Sēra wāna khuta chu ārava wāw.
Want of house is worse than want of food.

Shāvel kanit ta shōli hēt.
After the sale of a shawl and the purchase of sāli rice [one regrets, as the value of the former increases as it gets older, and better quality of the latter can be got by waiting a little longer].

Sēh kas be-pār andar mulk-i-Kashmīr—
Wali-Ḥaḍ o Hari-Bahādūr, Sukha-Pīr :
Sēh kas ḍīgar zabūn tār and zānkhān—
Yikey Ārgāmī, duwum Bhairav, siwum Bhān.
There were three cruel men in the country of Kashmir—
Wali-Ḥaḍ and Hari-Bahādūr (and) Sukha-Pīr:
There are three greater devils than these—
First Ārgāmī, second Bhairav, third Bhān. (Beggars are a great nuisance in Kashmir, and these three are cited as the greatest extortioners.)

Shurēvi shri=doh sārice:
Vāntsaka qhaka chēva Shri-Pāntsam
O children! holidays are over:
To satisfy your desires there is the Śrī Pañcami (5th of the dark fortnight of Vaisākha, the last Hindu holiday of the year).

Shuri chu khormut un wanas ta kon brannas.
The child has made a blind man go to the forest and a one-eyed person climb a brann (elm tree) (A child cannot be appeased until his curiosity is satisfied.)

Tālawu pēyi nā ṭangā!
Would that a pear might fall down from the ceiling! (A vain hope.)

Tālī tśūl.
Crown of the head pressed down. (I.e., in depressed circumstances).
Thöksi na hovari-ghari,
Yeti kulay wäd kari.
Do not boast in [your] father-in-law’s house,
Where [your] wife will question [your] veracity. (I.e., one cannot boast before a person who knows all about one.)

Tar-baza sanzi žeéi ta ráza sandis khizanas chu na ant.
There is no limit to the tongue of a braggart or to the Râja’s treasury.

Teér, Vahèk surho putro?
Did you put by, O son, for Caitra (March-April) and Vaiśākha (April-May)? (One should put something by for ‘rainy days.’)

Uxa Ju gas chuy lor.
Hala ju, wothari'am.
"O Usámän Ju, filth is sticking to thee.”
"Halloo, Sir, wipe it away, please.” (Said of a lazy fellow.)

Uttara bungul.
The earthquake of Uttar. (A great upheaval or commotion.)

Veñala, wanay titála hana, kava goham tsakhey?
Oset na hékän pánay pakit, phakal khortham nakhey!
O Veñál! I shall say to thee a humble word—"Why didst thou become wrathful?"
I was not able to walk; thou hast placed a stinky fellow on my shoulders to be carried! (Cited when one is overburdened with some other person’s work.)

Wufawani guri ta naba ñang rañani.
To catch flying horses and pears from the sky. (Vain adventures; attempting to accomplish the impossible.)

Wani khánas khátir pánas.
Wani Khán has his own likings. (Said of an obstinate and selfish person.)

Yeli iwán kala ghaṭṭá, na roçán sațá na pàṭṭá.
When a black storm comes, there remains neither a rag nor a blanket. (I.e., everything vanishes on the approach of the days of adversity.)
Yáñay na pakán, nátay tákán.
He would not even walk [now] on the contrary, he would run. (Said of inconsistency.)

Zana Mut ta Isma’il
Zanârdan and Ismâ’il. (Said of one who amasses wealth for a particular person. Zanârdan lived sixty years ago. He used to beg for a disciple of his named Ismâ’il, to whom, he said, he owed one lakh of rupees and to whom he had so far repaid only one cowrie.)
INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

*India in 1930-31,* Government Press, Calcutta, 1932.—Attention may be directed to the reference, on p. 84, to the survey of prehistoric sites in the hilly region west of the Indus in the Larkana and Karachi districts, resulting in the discovery of chalcolithic remains at no less than 24 places. These sites, we are told, seem to lie in a regular chain leading from Pindi Wahi near Johi to a place within 7 miles of Karachi, on the way to Las Bela. Trial excavations at many of them have disclosed a fairly large collection of painted pottery, cherts, beads, copper implements and other characteristic relics. The ruins from which the antiquities were recovered were those of stone buildings situated on the hills or in adjoining valleys, where there is often a perennial supply of water from natural springs. The importance of these discoveries, when compared with the results of Sir A. Stein's trial excavations further west, in Gedrosia, towards the elucidation of the so-called Indus civilisation will be obvious to our readers.

*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1930.*—In this volume, which maintains the high standard of previous years, the number of items referenced has increased to 929, from 731 in 1929. The introduction contains a survey of the results of the important excavations conducted by Mr. A. H. Longhurst at Nágárjūnākonda in the Guntur district, a description of the Sittannavásal cave temple paintings in the Pudukkotta State, notes on excavations at Dong-s' on (Annam) by M. Goloubew, and on the discovery of a pre-Angkorian monument near Angkor Thom by M. Coedes. An interesting summary is also given of Dr. Bosch's researches in connexion with the scenes depicted on the Barabudur panels, which have shown that the *Gaṅgāvyāha* was the principal text used. Dr. Vogel is to be warmly congratulated on the progress made with this publication, and on having secured a promise of co-operation from Japan.

*Nāprājya prārthini Patrikā,* vol. XIII, Pts. 1 and 2, 1932.—The first two parts of this volume contain matter to which the attention of our readers may be drawn with advantage. On pp. 1-6 Mr. K. P. Jayaswal publishes a short but suggestive paper on "The Bhrānšvāya Dynasty," in which he emphasises the pre-eminent part played by this dynasty and that of the Vākšṭakas in re-establishing Hindu political and religious authority in northern India. "The Vākšṭakas were the gurus of the Guptas, and the Bhrānšivas the gurus of the Vākšṭakas," he writes. The place from which the Vākšṭakas took their title has hitherto been uncertain, but Mr. Jayaswal identifies it with a site, known locally now as Bāgāt, about 6 miles from Chirgāv in the Orchā State. He thinks the Bhrānšivas probably started about 200 a.d., and held sway over Prayāga and Kāśi and the intervening territory in the Gangetic basin. He goes so far as to suggest that the Daśasvamedha Ghat at Benares may preserve a memory of the ten *awambhas* attributed to these rulers.

In a paper entitled "An unknown Kṣatriya-vaṇiṣa called Gaur," Rai Bahadur MM. G. H. Ojha brings to light a very interesting inscription of 17 lines in Brāhmī characters and Sanskrit language on a slab in the temple to Bhamar Mātā on a small hill near Choji Sādār village in the Udaipur State, in which is recorded a succession of chiefs of the Gaura-vaṇiṣa of Kṣatriyas, who appear to have ruled in this vicinity in the sixth century a.d. The Mahāmānapātāya goes on to suggest that the Gora Bādal of Chitor fame were not two persons, as hitherto supposed, but one individual, whose personal name was Bādal, Gora being the equivalent of Gaura, indicating his evaśa. In another short paper MM. G. H. Ojha propounds his reasons for thinking the Sinhala-dvipa referred to in Jáyasi's story of *Pāmadācut* was not meant for Ceylon, but for a place called Sīgōli, some 40 miles east of Chitor, the possessor of which may have been Pādmis's father.

Mr. Gopalāla Tiwāri continues his useful history of Bundelkhand, reaching in this volume the times of the great Mahārāja Chatrasāl, a chief worthy of far more attention than he has hitherto received at the hands of historians. We welcome also the appearance of 29 well-printed plates illustrating the article by Mr. V. Agravāla on "The Buddhist Art of Mathurā," which form a notable addition to the journal.

C. E. A. W. O.
The second reference which occurs on page 399 of the same edition of the book is much more to the point, and so clearly worded that it can bear no two interpretations. Moreover, the context itself, the consolations of Harga on the death of his father, is highly significant, and makes the meaning a little clearer than it would otherwise be.

The passage in question runs as follows:

‘... देवमयि दुःখ तदवस्य विनोव्यि निर्माणीरुः... निर्माणितमयि निर्माणित्मयि, विनोव्यि गृहव, विनोव्यि गृहव, विनोव्यि गृहव, विनोव्यि गृहव,'

The Brahmanas mentioned herein can, of course, be only the Vedântins of the Advaita school, for the dualists could have nothing to say by way of consolation on the death of a person. Moreover, even if this line of argument be not regarded as conclusive, the tell-tale adjective संसारार्थकांदकांगुरुः would leave no doubt as to the exact nature of these Brahmanas. The expression संसारार्थकांगुरुः signifies that these Brahmanas (who, it might be noted, are the only Brahmanas mentioned by Bâpa) must have gone about preaching like Gaudapâda that all existence is unreal, that all this duality is Maya, that Brahman is the only real. The word कृष्णत् ending the compound qualifying the noun Brahmanavidin is almost as characteristic; it shows that संसारार्थकांगुरुः was not a mere unsubstantiated postulate, but a well-thought-out theory which the Brahmanavadins of the seventh century could prove by the use of strong arguments and cogent reasoning.

BOOK-NOTICES.


Although the manuscript of the Italian Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri was rediscovered in Pistoia as long ago as 1875, a fact which was announced at the time by Sir C. Markham (and the Hakluyt Society tried to obtain it), it was not until 29 years later that extracts from it were published by Prof. Puni, in the Memoirs of the Italian Geographical Society; and even then it escaped notice in other countries, as it was not published as a continuous narrative, but only in extracts arranged as appendices to Puni's own description of Tibet. The present translation gives the narrative in its

1 Translation:—

Nobly born old men who had been in the royal household for the last two generations; elderly relatives who enjoyed consideration on account of family succession and whose words demanded attention; old Brâhmans versed in Śruti, Smṛti and Itihäsa; ministers conversant with the Vedas and nobly descended, consecrated princes; approved ascetics, well-trained in the doctrines of the self; sages, indifferent to pleasure and pain; Brahmanas, skilled in expounding the nothingness of the world; and Paurâvikas, expert in allaying sorrow surrounded Harṣa, who being distressed by the death of his father, was in that condition.
complete form, for which Sir F. de Filippi has spent many years of labour in collating three other MSS. of the narrative that subsequently came to light in Florence, Rome and the Jesuit archives. It is the most complete account of Lhasa and Central Tibet written until the present century, as it is much fuller than those of Hue and Gabet.

Desideri started on his journey to Tibet in 1715, accompanied by Fr. Freyre, going to Leh, where the Jesuits had a mission. He was fortunate in meeting with the widow of a Tartar general, who was returning with his troops to Lhasa and who allowed him and his companion to travel in her company; and in this way they proceeded by the Tsang-po valley to Lhasa, from where Fr. Freyre returned to India by the direct route on account of ill-health. Desideri remained in Tibet for five years, during which he spent his time in studying the Tibetan language and religion with the object of writing in Tibetan a refutation of the Lamaist doctrines, especially the belief in transmigration and rebirth, and a defence of the Catholic religion. He obtained the favour and protection of the Eleuth Tartar ruler at that time, La-tsong, whom he calls Chengiz Khan, who gave him permission to preach and to reside in the Sera monastery, where he was given special facilities for study. His narrative gives a detailed and most interesting account of the country, the people, the administration and social customs, as well as of the Lamaist religion. In regard to the last, it is curious, as Sir F. de Filippi remarks, that although Desideri knew that the Lamaist religion had come originally from India, he did not know it was derived directly from Buddhism. Buddhism is never mentioned, nor even Buddha, whom he only knew under the Tibetan name, Shakya-Thub-pa. It is, however, from his description of Lhasa and of the people that his account derives its chief interest and value. When Desideri arrived in Lhasa the 6th Dalai Lama had been recently deposed and murdered by the Tartar ruler, and a Lama chosen by him, but not recognised by the monks or the people, had been installed. In consequence of this, a revolution broke out in 1717, of which Desideri gives a full account. La-tsong was killed, and Desideri had to escape to Tak-po, where he spent most of his time till 1721, when he returned to India, as the Catholic mission to Tibet was then transferred from the Jesuits and made over to the Capuchins. Desideri returned to India through Nepal, of which he gives a short account containing many interesting particulars.

The Introduction by Fr. Wessels gives the history of the Jesuit missions to Tibet, in Leh and Ladak, from 1625 up to Desideri's time. Sir F. de Filippi has added full and scholarly notes which extend to 56 pages, on all points requiring explanation or bringing up to date. The book is well illustrated. There is a general bibliography and a special bibliography of Desideri's MSS., a general index, an index of Tibetan words which occur in the text, and a map showing Desideri's route.

Sir F. de Filippi has rendered a great service in editing this most interesting account of Tibet in the eighteenth century and making it available in English.

E. H. C. WALSH.

**DIE GESETZE DER WELTGESCHICHTE. INDIEN.**

By Hartmut Piper. 94x64 in.; pp. xvi+232. Th. Weicher, Leipzig. 1931. RM. 6.00.

This book is one of a series written by the author to set out a new science invented by him, called *Völkerbiologie*, the biology of nations, which consists apparently in taking each country as a unit and dividing the history of its civilisation into periods, each of which is compared to the growth and decay of an individual. Indian history is divided into three such periods. There is nothing new in treating a community as an individual organism; here the novelty lies in a refusal to recognise the limitations of the analogy. Even if it were not impossible to treat Indian civilisation as a single unit over considerable periods of time, the author hopelessly misinterprets the trend of events in the critical ages from the epoch of the Brahmanas to that of the Gupta dynasty, and in dealing with modern times shows himself as prejudiced as any of the critics he pillories. His method is to compare every single phenomenon to some phenomenon in some other country, and we are offered such absurdities as the likening of the *Murdrâkṣasa* to Antony and Cleopatra and of the *Harjugarta* to *Simplizissimus*. Yaśovarman of Kannauj is the Indian Napoleon, and those semi-mythical figures, Kapila and Asuri, are the Indian Socrates and Aristotile. This is enough to give an idea of the quality of this production.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

**PANORAMIC INDIA. 64 *Panoramic Photographs,* by W. R. WALLACE, with Introduction and Notes by K. H. Vakil. 18 x 13 inches. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co. 1931.**

In this album we find a series of panoramic views of sites from the Khaibar Pass and the Himalayan hill stations in the north to Madura in the far south of India. For the photographs, which are of outstanding merit from the technical and artistic points of view, and the way in which they have been reproduced in Dresden there can be nothing but praise. All are good, and the views of Udaipur, in particular, are gems of photography. The subjects selected for natural beauty, and for historical and architectural interest are appropriate and fairly representative, though we could have wished perhaps to find views of famous sites like the Śrāmatinja hill in Kāḍhīsāvarī, Māṇḍogārī, Bhod Gayā, Viśayanagara, etc. The letterpress, however, does not come up to the standard of the illustrations. A number of typographical and other errors are noticeable. For instance, the height of Kuchinjanga is not 17,000, but over
THE KADAMBA KULA, by G. M. Moraes, M.A.,

From about 550 to 1200 A.D., the history of Peninsular India is clearly defined by the vicissitudes of the Chalukyan Empire. Of the forerunners of that Empire less is known, and it is to one of these precursor dynasties that Mr. Moraes invites attention. The founder of the Kadamba kingdom was, it appears, a Brahman who had received his education in Conjeevarum, under the Pallavas, and perhaps in c. 345 A.D., revolted against them. He, or one of his successors (it is not quite clear when), established the dynastic capital at Banavasi, an ancient city in N. Kanara district close to the Mysore border. Politically the dynasty appears as an outpost of Gupta influence against Pallava aggression. With the decline of the Guptas decay set in, and the Kadambas were finally overthrown by their quondam feudatories, the Chalukyas, in about 610 A.D.

For nearly 350 years (not 250 as Mr. Moraes has it) the Kadambas vanished from history; their territory was ruled by others. Then, in about 973, with the overthrow of the Rāṣṭra-kūtas and the revival of Chalukyan supremacy in the Western Deccan, a number of feudatory principalities arose claiming to be of Kadamba lineage. This Kadamba tradition survived the fall of the Chalukyas and persisted, rather vaguely till the rise of Vijayanagar.

To piece together the disjointed fragments of Kadamba history requires courage and imagination, and Mr. Moraes is to be congratulated on the results achieved. The subject is important, for, geographically, the Kadambas in their time hold a key position in the struggles for hegemony that have devastated the Deccan since the dawn of history. Of this aspect Mr. Moraes is fully conscious, and his narrative faithfully registers the political pulsations of S. India. Some of his material is new and includes the texts and translations of 23 hitherto unpublished inscriptions (which unfortunately are not annotated) and a number of facts observed by him during the course of a tour in the Kadamba country. Much of his evidence comes from the Portuguese territory of Goa, an almost unknown country to earlier writers, and of vital importance to the proper understanding of Deccan history. His narrative is supplemented with short chapters on religion, administration, trade, literature and other items of " internal history," and as for architecture, the Kadambas, he claims, had a style of their own from which the well-known " Chalukyan " style was evolved. His treatment of Kadamba geography is less adequate; the numerous administrative divisions of the Kanarese country, so familiar in the inscriptions, need more detailed study than they have yet received, and their correlation with the physical features of the terrain has still to be worked out. Appendices on coins and on the adoption by the Kadambas of the lion emblem, complete the survey.

Mr. Moraes' reconstruction of Kadamba history is inevitably to a great extent conjectural, but his inferences are by no means wild. Of special interest is his identification of the puzzling "Triparvata" of the inscriptions, the headquarters of the southern viceroyalty of the Kadambas, with Halbid, the site of the later capital of the Hoyales, a suggestion which has recently been confirmed in greater detail by Father Heras, in the Karnatak Historical Review. Occasionally he trips, as on p. 152, where he cites under Malli-deva (1217-52 A.D.) an inscription dated 1143 A.D. which he has already dealt with in its proper place under Mallikārjuna (1132-46 A.D.) on p. 134. Such a mistake could hardly have occurred if the author had drawn up a table of inscriptions arranged chronologically. Such a list, in a work of this kind, is almost a necessity. Apart from this, the book is a most important contribution to the early history of the Deccan, and its value is enhanced by copious and well-chosen illustrations.

F. J. R.
If we look at the map it might well seem as if the mighty elevation of the Pâmirs, with the high, rugged, meridional range forming its eastern rim, and with the vast drainageless basin of the Târm beyond it, had been intended by nature far more to serve as a barrier between the lands where flourished the great civilizations of ancient Asia, than to facilitate intercourse between them. Yet historical records which have come down to us both in the East and West show that through this remote belt of innermost Asia there led routes which for many centuries formed important channels for trade, travel and political enterprise between China on the one side and Iran and the Hellenized portion of Western Asia on the other.

In my paper *Innermost Asia : its Geography as a factor in History*, I have fully explained the reasons which obliged the Chinese Empire, when, under the great Han Emperor Wu-ti in the last quarter of the second century B.C., it sought direct trade access to the civilized countries of the West, to secure it ‘through-control’ of the Târm basin. Situated between the high mountain ranges of the T’ien-shan in the north and the K’un-lun and Karakoram in the south, this great basin offered distinct advantages for the ‘peaceful penetration’ aimed at. The great mountain ramparts protected it from the dangers of the nomadic migrations and invasions. The strings of oases fringing the huge central desert of the Taklamakan in the north and south would permit caravan traffic to pass over ground where it was comparatively easy to protect it. To the south of the basin the utter barrenness of the high Tibetan plateaux makes such traffic physically impossible. In the north beyond the T’ien-shan all routes from the side of China were exposed to attack by great nomadic tribes, like those of the Huns, Turks and Mongols.

In the west the Oxus basin with its great fertile territories of ancient Bactria and Sogdiana has always provided emporia for trade exchange. Bukhâra and Samarkand have retained this character down to modern times, and so did Bâlkh, the ancient capital of Bactria, until Chingiz Khân’s Mongol invasion brought there devastation from which the land, the present Afgân Turkiştân, has never fully recovered. Bactria lay nearest both to India and Persia, and through the latter led the ancient trade-routes both to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. These brief remarks will suffice to explain why the ancient routes to be described here had their main western terminus on Bactrian ground to the south of the middle Oxus.

It was chiefly the trade in silk which made direct access to the Oxus basin so important for China. Before and for centuries after the beginning of the Christian era, the production of silk was a jealously-guarded monopoly of China and its profitable export to the ‘Western Regions’ was a great factor in the economic policy of the Empire. It is to this silk trade that we owe the early classical notice of the route followed by the caravans which proceeded from the Oxus to the land of the ‘silk-weaving Seres,’ or China. It is to the northern of the two main routes with which we are concerned that the notice refers which Ptolemy, the geographer, has fortunately preserved for us from the account of a Macedonian trader whose agents had actually travelled along it. It led from Bactria, the present Bâlkh, past the northern rim of the Pâmirs along the Alai valley, and thence down to Kâshgâr.

* Reprinted (with the omission of a few paragraphs) from *The Himalayan Journal*, vol. IV, 1932, with the kind permission of the author and of the Editor of that journal. The sketch-map illustrating Sir Aurel’s paper was prepared by the Editor, H.J.

But before tracing its line it will be convenient to deal first with the other great natural thoroughfare which in the south leads up to the main headwaters of the Oxus. For this route lies close to the Hindu Kush and the passes by which valleys on the Indian side can be gained. Another reason is that our records about the early use of this route are more ample. In this case, too, we may start from the west, and thus keep company with those early travellers who have left us the fullest account of this southern route.

Only the briefest reference need be made here to the ground over which the valley of the uppermost Oxus separating the Hindu Kush from the Pamirs is approached. A look at the map will suffice to show that the easiest and most direct approach to it from the side of Balkh and the rest of Afghan Turkestan must always have led through the fertile main portion of Badakhshan, formed by the valley of the Kokha, or Vardoj river. Badakhshan, a territory favoured by its climate and provided with plenty of arable ground in its valleys and rich grazing-grounds on its mountains, formed part of ancient Bactria which, after its conquest in the first century B.C. by the Tokhari, a branch of the Indo-Scythians or Great Yüeh-chi, was known as Tokharistan down to the early Middle Ages.

It is under the Chinese transliteration of the name, Tu-hua-lo, that Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, mentions the several petty chiefships, including Badakhshan, through which he passed on his way back from India in A.D. 642 towards the Tarih basin and China. The description which Hsüan-tsang gives in his famous *Memoirs of the Western Countries* of the territory next entered to the east leaves no doubt about its being identical with the present Wakhân. This comprises the valley of the Ab-i-Panja, or uppermost Oxus, right up from the river's sharp northward bend to its sources on the Afghan Pamirs. Hsüan-tsang makes no exact reference to the route by which he entered the territory. But considering the configuration of the ground this could be no other than the one still regularly used which leads from Zebak in the uppermost Vardoj valley across an easy saddle into the village tract of Ishkâshm close to the bend of the Oxus.

More than a century before Hsüan-tsang's passage the route through Wakhân had been followed in A.D. 519 by two other Chinese pilgrims, Sung Yün and Hui-sheng, on their way from China with an Imperial mission to the Hephthalite or White Hun ruler of Kâbul, and the north-west of India. Their narrative shows that, after reaching the uppermost Vardoj valley above Zebak, they made their way across the Hindu Kush, probably by the Mandal pass into the Bāshgol valley of Kafiristan, and thence down to Swāt and the Peshawar valley. It is similarly from the head of the Vardoj valley that Chitrāl is reached across the Dūrāh pass. This route provides the most direct and easiest approach to Indian territory from the side of Badakhshan and the Russian territories on the right bank of the Oxus.

Sung Yün and Hui-sheng's narratives agree in quite correctly describing Wakhân, or Po-ho as they transcribe its name, as a country "extremely cold; caves are dug out for quarters. As winds and snow are intense men and beasts huddle together. On the southern border of this kingdom there are great snowy mountains [i.e., the Hindu Kush]; the snow melts on them in the morning and freezes again at night. From afar they look like peaks of Jade." How closely this description corresponds to characteristic features still observed in Wakhân is shown by the accounts of modern travellers.

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2 See the translations in Julien, Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, i, pp. 201 sqq.; Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, ii, pp. 279 sqq.
3 Sung Yün's route has been fully discussed by me in Serindia, i, pp. 9 sqq.
The importance of Wakhân for traffic towards the Târim basin lies in the fact that it provides a line of communication unbroken by any serious natural obstacle for a distance of close on 200 miles right up to the watershed towards the drainage area of the Târim. Though the valley of the Oxus is narrow at its bottom it is singularly free from defiles except at the upper end of the sub-division of Ishkâshim in the west and again above Sarhad, at present its highest village eastwards. Those two defiles, too, are short and practicable at all seasons for laden animals. Limited as the agricultural resources must always have been, yet the food supplies of Wakhân, supplemented by the flocks for which the side valleys afford ample grazing, are likely to have been always sufficient to meet the needs of traders and travellers following the route along the valley.

Permanent habitations are to be found on it now up to Sarhad and in earlier times existed also for two marches further up, as far as Langar. Thus shelter was assured all along for those using the route, an important consideration in view of the elevation at which the inhabited portion of the valley lies (from about 8,000 feet at Ishkâshim to 10,500 feet at Sarhad) and the rigours of the climate during the greater part of the year. For the conditions of life and cultivation in Wakhân I must refer to the modern accounts already quoted. The present population of Wakhân, divided since the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission of 1895 into a Russian portion on the right and an Afghân portion on the left bank of the Āb-i-Panjâ, can scarcely much exceed a total of about 5,000 souls. But that it must have been considerably greater in pre-Muhammadan times is proved by the number and extent of the ancient strongholds I was able to survey on my passage down the main portion of the valley in 1915.

Haúan-tsang’s description of Wakhân, which the Imperial Annals of the T’ang dynasty reproduce with some additions about its history, brings out clearly the great length of the territory in contrast to the narrowness of the habitable ground. It mentions wheat and pulse as the main crops; the hardiness of the local ponies; the icy winds. The dependence of the territory on the Tukhâra country, i.e., Badakhshân, which has continued to modern times, is duly referred to. Of the people we are told that they were “of a violent and coarse disposition.” The pilgrim’s observation: “for the most part they have greenish-blue eyes and thereby differ from other people” is completely borne out by the physical character of the present Wakhís. They have preserved the Homo Alpinus type of the Gâlehas or ‘hillmen’ of the Oxus region in remarkable purity, and blue or light-grey eyes and fair hair are very common among them.

Haúan-tsang mentions ten Buddhist convents, each with a small number of monks, and refers to the capital of the territory by a name (Hum-t’o-to). This clearly places it at the present Khandut, situated on the left bank of the river and with its 50—60 homesteads, the largest village of Wakhân. It is the track leading along the left bank which travellers on their way through Wakhân are likely to have ordinarily followed; for by keeping to it, those coming from or proceeding to the Pâms could avoid crossing the Āb-i-Panjâ at any point lower than Langar-kisht, whence, after its junction with the stream from the Great Pâmīr, its bed becomes more confined and deeper.

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5 See Serindia, i, p. 70.
6 See above, note 7.
7 For accounts of the fortresses of Zamr-i-Aśâh-parast and Namadgut, cf. in particular Innermost Asia, ii, pp. 806 sqq., 872 sqq.
8 For an analysis of these records, see Innermost Asia, i, pp. 61 sqq. The Annals duly note Hui-mi as the Chinese name of Wakhân, by the side of the name Ta-mo-hai-t’ie-ti of Haúan-tsang which still awaits explanation.
9 For an analysis of the anthropometrical records secured by me, cf. Mr. T. A. Joyce’s Appendix C in Innermost Asia, ii, pp. 996 sqq.
After Hsüan-tsang's journey more than six centuries pass before we meet again with a traveller's account of Wakhān. We owe it to Marco Polo, the greatest of medieval travellers, who about 1272-3 followed this route on his way to the Pamirs and thence to Khotan and China. "In leaving Badashan," so the great Venetian's immortal narrative tells us, "you ride twelve days between east and north-east, ascending a river that runs through land belonging to a brother of the Prince of Badashan, and containing a good many towns and villages and scattered habitations. The people are Muhammadans and valiant in war. At the end of those twelve days you come to a province of no great size, extending, indeed, no more than three days' journey in any direction, and this is called Vokhan. The people worship Mahomet, and they have a peculiar language. They are gallant soldiers, and they have a chief called None, which is as much as to say Count, and they are liegemen of the Prince of Badashan." 10

It has been long ago recognized by Sir Henry Yule that "the river along which Marco travels from Badakhshan is no doubt the upper stream of the Oxus, known locally as the Panja . . . . It is true that the river is reached from Badakhshan proper by ascending another river (the Vardoj) and crossing the Pass of Ishkhāsh, but in the brief style of our narrative we must expect such condensation." For the twelve days' journey which the Venetian records between Badakhshan and 'Vokhan,' it is easy to account, I believe, by assuming that here, as in similar cases, the distance from capital to capital is meant; for the distance from Bāhārāk, the old Badakhshan capital on the Vardoj, to Kala Panja, the seat of the old chiefs of Wakhān and nowadays of the administration on the Afghān side of the river, is still reckoned at twelve marches. Marco Polo was right, too, in his reference to the peculiar language of Wakhān; for while Persian is spoken in Badakhshan, the Wakhī, spoken by the people of Wakhān, is a distinct language belonging to the Gālica branch of Eastern Iranian. The small size ascribed to the province of 'Vokhan,' "extending no more than three days' journey in any direction," is still more readily understood if the portion of the valley about Ishkhāsh together with Zebak formed then, as it had done down to recent times, a separate small chiefship. It may in Marco Polo's time have been ruled over by a 'brother of the Prince of Badashan.' 11

Before following Hsüan-tsang and Marco Polo further to the Great Pamir, across which their journey led, it will be convenient to trace the route to the source of the Oxus and thence across the Wakhjir pass down the Tāghdum-bāsh Pamir to Sarikol. We have no old traveller's account describing this route, but it offers distinct advantages for caravan traffic and is regularly followed nowadays by traders proceeding from Chinese Turkistan to Chitrāl, or to Badakhshan. From Sarhad upwards I got to know it in 1906 on my second expedition and beyond the Wakhjir pass I have become familiar with it on no less than four journeys. The Tāghdum-bāsh Pamir forms now the only approach by which travellers from India crossing the Hindukush can gain the Tārīm basin without touching either Afghān or Russian ground. In the same way the Tāghdum-bāsh together with the Afghān portion of the Āb-i-Panja valley has served, ever since the Pamir Boundary Commission's work in 1895, as a buffer between the territories of British India and Russia.

From Langar-kiśht, where a Russian post guards the junction of the Āb-i-Panja with that of the Great Pamir branch of the river, two easy marches past a succession of small settlements bring the traveller to the group of hamlets collectively known as Sarhad on the right bank of the river. Together with detached holdings on the opposite side they form at present the highest place of permanent occupation on the Āb-i-Panja. Sarhad is a point of some strategic importance, for opposite to it there debouches the open valley which leads

11 Cf. Innermost Asia, i, p. 65.
at a distance of only some eight miles up to the broad saddle known as the Dasht-i-Baroghil. Lying at an elevation of only about 12,500 feet this easy saddle, which could readily be made practicable for wheeled vehicles, forms the lowest depression on the whole Hindukush range as far west as the passes north of Kâbul. From the head of the Yârkun, or Mastûj river, on the south side of the Baroghil, routes lead down the river to Chitrâl or directly southwards across the glacier pass of the Darkôt into the valley of Yâsin, and thus through Gilgit to the Indus.

The importance of this low crossing of the Hindukush was illustrated by an interesting historical event. In Serindia and in a separate paper I have had occasion fully to discuss the remarkable expedition by which Kao Hsien-chih, 'Deputy Protector of the Four Garrisons,' commanding the Chinese troops in the Târim basin, in A.D. 747 led a force of 10,000 men from Kâshgar across the Pâmirs to the Oxus. The object was to oust the Tibetans who had joined hands there with the Arabs in Tokhâristân and in alliance with them were threatening the Chinese hold on the Târim basin. There is no need to set forth here the details of the great exploit by which the Chinese general, in the face of formidable physical obstacles, brought his troops across the inhospitable Pâmirs and then, after signally defeating the Tibetans where they barred his approach from the Ab-i-Panja to the Baroghil, led a portion of his victorious force across the glacier pass of the Darkôt (c. 15,400 feet above sea-level) down into Yâsin and Gilgit. It was an achievement fully equal to, if not greater than, the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history.

Between Sarhad and the stage of Langar the valley contracts into a succession of defiles difficult for laden animals in the spring, when the winter route along the river bed is closed by the flood water, while impracticable soft snow still covers the high summer-track. All the same the route is never entirely closed here. Before reaching Langar I noticed marks of former cultivation in several places of the right bank, a point of some importance as proving that even here at an elevation of close on 12,000 feet travellers could at one time expect to find shelter. The remaining journey to the foot of the Wakhjîr pass could readily be done in two marches lading over alluvial plateaux or along the wide river-bank, all easy ground used by Kirghiz camps for grazing.

At Bozai-gumbaz, where we found a number of Kirghiz in their felt huts, the route across the wide Little Pâmîr joins in. From here I visited Lake Chakhmaktni, near which lies, at a height of a little over 13,000 feet, the almost imperceptible watershed between the Ab-i-Panja and the Ak-su or Murghâb, the other chief feeder of the Oxus. For nearly fifty miles the view extended unbroken over this perfectly open elevated valley to where the eye rested in the distance on the range, at the time still snow-covered, which overlooks the Tagharma plain of Sarikol.

It is across the Little Pâmîr that Tâsh-kurghân can be gained by a route leading over the Naiza-tâsh pass, about 14,900 feet high. This is described as practicable at all seasons. But the distance to be covered on ground at a great elevation and without habitations is longer than on the route across the Wakhjîr and down the Taghdum-bâsh Pâmîr. Since Russian territory has to be crossed between the Little Pâmîr and the Naiza-tâsh pass this route is now no longer followed by traders. Other passes further north are more convenient for smugglers carrying opium from the Badakhshân side.

The track to the Wakhjîr pass branches off to the north-east from where the stream fed by a series of large glaciers to the south-east debouches into the head of the open valley. Higher up, at an elevation of about 14,700 feet, this stream forms the true source of the Oxus.

as first clearly recognized by Lord Curzon. The ascent to the pass is not steep, as may be seen in the photographs taken by me, and the descent on the Tāghdum-bāsh side, which I examined on the 2nd July 1900, is still easier.

But while on that occasion the whole of the pass was clear of snow, it was only after great exertions on the 27th May 1906, that the watershed at an elevation of about 16,200 could be gained by us. The difficulty of getting our baggage across, first on yaks and then by load-carrying Wakhis, was due solely to the soft condition of the snow. There had been an exceptionally heavy snow-fall all over the Pāmirs that winter. As long as the snow remains hard the pass can be crossed with laden ponies, even in the spring, and it is certainly open to such traffic all through the rest of the year. Judging from what I saw of it in 1900 it would be practicable, too, for Kirghiz camels accustomed to the mountains.

Once across the Wakhjir the journey down the Tāghdum-bāsh Pāmīr is easy and can well be covered in five marches. Much of the first three of them lies past large ancient moraines, which show the extent of the huge ice-stream which in a former glacial period descended the wide valley. At Kök-török there joins in from the south the route which leads across the main Muz-tāgh range from the side of Hunza by the Kilik pass (cic. 15,800 feet). On the north the Tāghdum-bāsh Pāmīr can be gained by the Kök-török pass from the side of the Little Pāmīr. Some 23 miles lower down there debouches the valley leading up to the Ming-taka pass, which offers an alternative route towards Hunza and is regularly used for the British Consular post from Kāshgar to India. At Payīk, where there, is a small Chinese Customs post, a well-known route is passed leading across to the Ak-su or Murghāb on the Russian side.

Some seven miles further down, the valley makes a marked turn to the north and there near Koshun-kūr, at an elevation of about 12,600 feet, cultivation has been carried on until recent recent years by Wakhi settlers. The point deserves to be noted: for, together with what I have recorded above about former cultivation near Langar, it shows that for travellers from Sarikol to Wakhān following the Wakhjir route the distance where neither permanent habitations nor local supplies could be found was reduced about five or six marches. It was an important consideration in favour of this old route, now again coming steadily into increased use by traders from the Yarkand side.

Only about three miles further down, there rise the ruins of an ancient stronghold, known as Kiz-kurghān, ' the Maiden’s fort,’ on the top of a high and very steep rocky spur above the river’s left bank. I have shown its identity, with the place of which Hsiian-tsang relates a curious local legend how a Chinese princess on her way to be wedded to the king of Persia was detained there while the roads were blocked through war. Visited there by the sun god she became enceinte, and from her the royal family of Sarikol claimed descent.

Six miles down the valley we reach the fairly large village of Dafdar, with fields of wheat and barley extending for some miles down the right bank. Scattered patches of cultivation are to be met also on the two short marches leading down to Tāsh-kurghān, the chief place of Sarikol. That the once tilled area on this side of the valley must have been far more extensive in olden times is conclusively proved by the remains of an ancient canal, known as ‘Farhād’s canal,’ still clearly traceable from above Dafdar for a distance of over forty miles. It is also certain that the population of Sarikol was greatly reduced in modern times in consequence of frequent raids of these plucky hillmen of Hunza whose depredations only ceased after the Pāx Britannica was extended to Hunza in 1891.

13 See Ruins of Desert Cathay, i. Fig. 29; Mountain Panoramas of the Pamirs and Kwenlun, R. Geographical Society, Panor. VII.
14 C1. Desert Cathay, i, pp. 83 sqq.
15 For a description of the valley of Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, pp. 59 sqq.
16 C1. Serindia, i, pp. 72 sqq.
There can be no doubt that Tash-kurghan marks the position of the ancient capital of Sarikol. With its rubble-built homesteads it clusters round a small plateau above the left bank of the river, occupied by the modern Chinese fort and the ruins of a small walled town. The territory is duly described by Hsiian-tsang under the name of Chieh p’an-t’o and is often mentioned in the Chinese Annals of T’ang times as well as by other travellers. Modest as the resources of Sarikol must always have been—for here, at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, the local saying holds that there are ten months of winter and two of summer—yet this ‘post of the Tsung-ling mountains’ has always been a welcome place of rest for caravans and individual travellers. Thus we know from the scanty narrative left of Benedict Goetz, the observant lay Jesuit, who passed here in 1603 on his way from India and Kâbul in search of fabled Cathay, that he and his large gâjila of merchants from Badakhshan took a rest in the ‘province of Sareil,’ i.e., Sarikol. In the looks of the scanty inhabitants of its hamlets he duly noted a resemblance to Flemings. Among the Sarikolisi, who are of the Homo Alpinus stock of the Galchas and who speak a language closely akin to that of Shughnân, blue eyes and fair hair are common enough.

Before I proceed to indicate the several routes through the meridional range to the east by which the plains of the Târim basin are gained from Sarikol, we must return once more to the uppermost Ab-i-Panja and the ancient route which leads from there across the Great Pâmir to Sarikol. With it are associated the memories of those two great travellers, Hsiian-tsang and Marco Polo. The route starts from Langar-kisht where the Ab-i-Panja is joined by the river draining the Great Pâmir lake, and ascends to the latter, just as Marco Polo tells us, in three marches north-eastwards. His description of the lake which Captain John Wood, who re-discovered it on his memorable journey of 1838, has named after Queen Victoria, is so accurate and graphic that I may well quote it in full:  

Hsiian-tsang, too, has left us a graphic account of the ‘valley of Po-mi-lo’ and its ‘great Dragon Lake’ which he passed on his way from Wakhan to Sarikol. It is situated among the snowy mountains. On this account the climate is cold, and the winds blow constantly. The snow falls in summer and spring time. In the middle of the valley is a great Dragon Lake.” As I looked across the deep-blue waters of the lake to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon I thought it quite worthy to figure in the old traditional belief which the Chinese pilgrim’s narrative reflects, as the legendary central lake from which the greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. The clearness, fresh taste and dark-blue colour of the lake are just as he describes them. It is the same with the masses of aquatic birds swarming about the lake in the spring and autumn, and with their eggs being found in plenty on its shores. Nor can it surprise us that the imagination of old travellers passing this great sheet of water at such a height and so far away from human habitations credited it with great depth and with hiding in it all kinds of aquatic monsters such as Hsiian-tsang was told of.

There can be no doubt about Hsiian-tsang having travelled across the Great Pâmir to Tash-kurghan. “On leaving the midst of this valley and going south-east, along the route, there are neither men nor villages. Ascending the mountains, traversing the sides of precipices, encountering nothing but ice and snow, and thus going 500 li, we arrive at the kingdom of Chien-p’an-t’o.” The direction and distance indicated, corresponding roughly to five daily marches, make it appear very probable that the route followed by him was the one leading to the course of the Ak-su river and thence across the Naiza-tash pass.

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17 For an analysis of these Chinese and other early records of Sarikol, cf. Ancient Khotan, i, pp. 27 sqq.
18 For the quotation, see Yule, Marco Polo, l, p. 171.
It is more difficult to make sure of the exact route followed by Marco Polo's party from Lake Victoria to the 'kingdom of Cascar'; for no exact indication is furnished for this part of the journey. From the fact that it took the travellers forty days through a wilderness without habitations it might be conjectured that they kept to the Pamirs north-eastward and then descended through the gorges of the Gez river to the plain south-west of Kâshgar.

Leaving aside the Great Pamir and the Alai in the north which, as we shall see, served the silk trade-route, there are two more valleys which traverse the area of the Pamirs from east to west draining into the Oxus. But only one of these can ever have been used throughout as a line of communication. It is the route of the Alchiur Pamir leading past the Yeshil-köl lake and beyond its western extremity continued by the valley of the Ghünd river in Shughnân. Along it leads the modern cart-road which connects the Russian fort of 'Pamirsk Post' with the headquarters of the Russian 'Pamir Division' at Khôrok on the Oxus.

That this route has seen traffic olden times is proved by what I have had already occasion to mention about Kao Hsien-chi's memorable expedition of a.d. 747. When he led his main force from the 'post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains' down to Shughnân he could not well have followed any other route but this. The same applies also to the itineraries, unfortunately very laconic, of two Buddhist pilgrims. One of them, Dharmachandra, an Indian monk, wishing to return from China to his home land, travelled a.d. 747 from Kâshgar to the kingdom of 'Shih-ni,' i.e., Shughnân, only to be forced by the disturbed condition of the region to retrace his steps to the Tarim basin where he died. The other pilgrim, Wu-k'ung, passed through Shughnân, both on his way to India from Kâshgar in a.d. 752 and on his return thence to China about 786. On his way out we are told that he reached 'the five Shih-ni' across the Ts'ungling or 'Onion Mountains' and the valley of Po-ni (Pamir), i.e., from the side of Sarikol.

It was by this route along the Alchiur Pamir that the Khôjas of Kâshgar, fleeing before the Chinese who had reconquered the Tarim basin, endeavoured to reach Shughnân in 1759. By the eastern end of the Yeshil-köl they were overtaken by the pursuing troops and most of their followers killed in the fight. On my passage here in July, 1915, from the Särêz Pamir I still saw at Sümêtâsh the large stone pedestal of the inscription which had been set up by the Chinese in commemoration of their victory, the inscription having been removed by the Russians to the Museum at Tâshkend. It was close to the same spot that another tragedy took place in June, 1892, when Colonel Yonoff's Cossacks on the way to annex Shughnân wiped out the small Afghan detachment which bravely held out to the last in a post guarding the route.

The valley of the Ak-su or Murghâb which lies to the north and contains the Särêz Pamir could never have served as a line of communication; for from where the valley passes into the mountain territory of Roshân it turns into a succession of very narrow gorges in which such tracks as exist are extremely difficult even for men on foot and quite impracticable for animals. In ascending in August, 1915, from Saunâb on the Roshân side, I found no water where the bed of the Murghâb had lain; for the great earthquake of February, 1911, had completely blocked the valley higher up by enormous masses of rock brought down in a landslide, and had converted a great portion of the former Särêz Pamir into a big winding lake.

We must now turn back to Sarikol in order to sketch briefly the several routes by which thence the great western oases of the Tarim basin can be gained. The shortest and most natural would lie along the course of the river coming from the Tâghdum-bâsh and draining Sarikol. But this soon after breaking through the meridional range in a sharp bend below
Tāsh-kurghān, passes for a great distance, down to its junction with the Zarafshān or Yārkand river, through an almost continuous succession of deep-cut gorges very difficult even on foot and quite impracticable for laden transport, except during the short period of the winter while the river is hard frozen and its ice can be used as a passage. Already early in June 1906, before the summer flood from the melting glaciers and snow beds had come down, my experienced travel companion, Surveyor Rai Rām Singh, of the Survey of India, an excellent mountaineer, found it very difficult to make his way down as far as the point where the stream of the Tangi-tar valley joins the river from the north. But it was then still possible for me for a shorter distance to follow the river with laden transport down to the mouth of the Shindi defile, and then, by ascending this to its head on the Chichiklik plateau, to avoid the much steeper ascent to this over the Kōk-moinak pass above Tagharma.

Over the Chichiklik plateau leads the regular caravan route to Sarikol both from Kāshgar and Yārkand, and here we find ourselves on ground for which interesting old accounts are available. The plateau known as the Chichiklik Maidān, lying at an elevation from about 14,500 to 14,800 feet, is situated between two great mountain spurs radiating southward from the Muz-tāgh-ātā massif. Its position is such that it must be passed by all travelling from Sarikol to the south of that great glacier-clad massif towards Yārkand and Kāshgar, by whichever of the several passes they may traverse the more easterly of those spurs. The Chichiklik Maidān, owing to its great height and still more to its position exposed to bitter winds and heavy snowfall, is very trying ground for travellers at most seasons of the year. And to the troubles here often encountered by travellers we owe the interesting accounts which Hsiān-tsang and Benedict Goetz have left us of their experiences on the Chichiklik plateau at an interval of nearly a thousand years.

The narrative of the great Chinese pilgrim tells us that starting from the capital of Chieh-p’-an-t’o, i.e., Tāsh-kurghān, he reached an ancient hospice after travelling for two hundred li (or two daily marches) across "mountains and along precipices." 21 The distance and the bearing alone would suffice to indicate that the two marches leading from the Tāghdum-bāsh river up the Dershat gorge to the Chichiklik Maidān are meant. The position of the hospice is described as a level space of about a thousand Chinese acres "in the midst of the four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the Ts’ung-ling mountains."

"In this region, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and icy storms rage. The ground, impregnated with salt, produces no crops; there are no trees and nothing but wretched herbs. Even at the time of the great heat the wind and snow continue. Scarcely have travellers entered this area when they find themselves surrounded by vapours and clouds. Merchant caravans, in coming and going, suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots." According to an 'old story' Hsiān-tsang heard, a great troop of merchants, with thousands of followers and camels, had once perished here by wind and snow. A saintly person of Chieh-p’-an-t’o was said to have collected all the precious objects left behind by the doomed caravan, and with their help to have constructed on the spot a hospice, providing it with ample stores, and to have made pious endowments in neighbouring territories for the benefit of travellers.

On my first passage across the Chichiklik, on the 4th June 1906, I was able to locate the old hospice to which Hsiān-tsang’s story relates and which probably he saw already in ruins. 22 At the head of the Shindi valley, through which my approach then lay—on my third and fourth expeditions I reached the Chichiklik Maidān by the very troublesome ascent in the Dershat gorge—there extends an almost level plain, about two and a half miles from north

21 For translations of the narrative, see Julien, Mémoires, ii, p. 215; Watters, Yuan Chieh-ang, ii, p. 285; also Beal, Si-yu-ki, ii, p. 303.
22 Cf. Serindia, i, p. 77 sq.
to south, and over a mile across. Ridges rising about 2000—3000 feet higher, and then still under snow, enclose it on all sides except to the north-east, where a broad gap gives access over a scarcely perceptible watershed to the head of the Tangi-tar valley. On a small knoll in the centre of the plateau I discovered the foundations of a square enclosure, solidly built and manifestly of early date. The plan of quarters within showed it clearly to have served as a sarai for wayfarers. The spot is held sacred in Muhammadan eyes, decayed graves within the enclosure attesting here, as so often elsewhere in Chinese Turkestán, 'continuity of local worship' since Buddhist times.

From the Chichiklik plateau three different tracks lead to the valley drained by the Tangi-tar river. Two of them lie across the easterly mountain spur by the Yangi-dawân and Yambulak passes respectively. But these passes imply a considerable ascent and are liable to become closed by snow early in the autumn. Hence the usual route leads across the previously mentioned gap into the Tarbâshi valley, which is frequented by Kirghiz as a grazing-ground, and thence descends in an extremely confined gorge, appropriately known as Tangi-tar, to the river of the same name. The passage of this gorge is distinctly difficult for laden animals and in places dangerous for the baggage, as for about two miles deep pools of tossing water and big slippery boulders have to be negotiated between high and precipitous cliffs.23 The gorge is altogether impassable during the summer months, when the flood from the melting snows fills its bottom, and traffic is then diverted to the two passes of Yangi-dawân and Yambulak. In spite of an unusually late spring I found the passage of the Tangi-tar gorge already very troublesome on the 5th June 1906.

An adventure recorded in Hsüan-tsang's biography proves that it was the track down this gorge which he followed when on his way towards Yangi-hisâr and Kashgar.24 We are told there how the 'Master of the Law' on the fifth day from the capital of Chieh-p'an-t’o (Sarikol) 'encountered a troop of robbers. The traders accompanying him were seized with fear and clambered up the sides of the mountains. Several elephants, obstinately pursued, fell into the water and perished. After the robbers had been passed, Hsüan-tsang slowly advanced with the traders, descended the heights to the east and, braving a rigorous cold, continued his journey amid a thousand dangers. After having thus covered 800 li, he passed out of the Ts'ung-ling mountains and arrived in the kingdom of Wu-shâ [Yangi-hisâr and Yarkand].'"

The time occupied in the journey from Tâsh-kurghân, and the exceptional facilities offered by the Tangi-tar gorge for such an attack, clearly point to its scene having lain there. In the late autumn, the time of Hsüan-tsang's passage, no other stream on the route could have held sufficient water to be dangerous to elephants, except that of Tangi-tar, which retains deep pools of water even in the winter. The eight hundred li, or eight marches, are a quite correct reckoning for the journey of a caravan from the gorge to Yangi-hisâr. There can be no doubt about Hsüan-tsang having done it by the regular route across the Tor-art pass to Chihhil-gumbaz, where the road to Yarkand branches off, and thence across the loess-covered spur of Kashka-su into the valley debouching into the plains above Ighizyâr.

When I struggled across the bleak plateau of Chichiklik, still snow-covered early in June 1906, and again in a snow-storm on the 28th September 1930, I felt duly impressed by the recollection of the trials which Benedict Göz, the brave Jesuit, had experienced here on his journey to Yarkand in the late autumn of 1603.25 After crossing the Pâmirs—by

23 For a description, see Ruins of Desert Cathay, i, pp. 99 sq.; also Serindia, i, Fig. 29.
25 For Sir Henry Yule's translation of Göz's record, put together by Ricci from such notes as could be recovered after the devoted Portuguese lay brother 'seeking Cathay had found Heaven' at Su-chou, see Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, 2nd ed., iv, pp. 214-215.
what exact route we do not know—he and the large qâfila of merchants to which he had attached himself had at the hamlets of the 'province of Sarcîl,' i.e., Sarikol, "halted two days to rest the horses. And then in two days more they reached the foot of the mountain called Ciesialith [Chiekhlik]. It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death and our brother barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here. At last they reached Tanghetar [Tangi-tar], a place belonging to the kingdom of Cascar [Kâshgar]. Here Isaac the Armenian fell off the bank of the great river into the water, and lay, as it were, dead for some eight hours till Benedict's exertions at last brought him to. In fifteen days more they reached the town of Iaconich [Yaka-arik], and the roads were so bad that six of our brother's horses died of fatigue. After five days more our Benedict going on by himself in advance reached the capital which is called Hiarchan [Yarkand]."

It is clear that the route followed by Geëz was identical with the present main caravan track which, after descending the Tangi-tar gorge and crossing the Tor-art, as already referred to, diverges at Chihil-gumbaz towards Yârkand. The accident which befell his faithful companion, Isaac the Armenian, obviously took place at one of the deep pools of Tangi-tar.

There still remains to be briefly mentioned the route which from Sarikol leads northward past the meridional range of Muz-tâgh-âta and Kungur and then, turning the flank of the latter in the deep-cut gorges of Gez, follows the narrow valley of the Yamân-yar down to Tâshmalik and thence across the fertile plain to Kâshgar. This route offers splendid views of the huge ice-crowned peaks of the range along the foot of which it passes from above Tagharma, and has often been followed by modern travellers. After crossing the easy saddle of Ulûgh-râbât it leads over open Pamir-like ground past the lakes of Little Karakul and Bulun-kul as far as Tar-bâshi, where the tortuous gorges of Gez are entered.

Whether it is owing to the difficult passage offered by the latter and the total absence of grazing there and for several marches lower down or owing to some other reason, this route to Kâshgar is not ordinarily followed by caravans, and I know of no early account of it. It has, however, been conjectured, not altogether without reason, that Marco Polo may have travelled at least over the lower part of it, after leaving the Great Pamir. He tells: "Now if we go on with our journey towards the east-north-east, we travel a good forty days, continually passing over mountains and hills, or through valleys, and crossing many rivers and tracts of wilderness. And in all this way you find neither habitation of man, nor any green thing, but must carry with you whatever you require."

The absence of any reference to the inhabited tract of Sarikol might suggest that, for some reason we shall never know, the Venetian traveller's caravan, after leaving the Great Pamir, moved down the Ak-su river and then, crossing the watershed eastwards by one of the several available passes, struck the route leading past the Muz-tâgh-âta massif and on towards the Gez defile. The duration of forty days counted for such a journey is certainly much in excess of what an ordinary traveller would need. But it must be remembered that Geëz, too, speaks of the 'desert of Pamech' (Pamir) taking forty days to cross if the snow was extensive.

I have had to leave to the last the tracing of that route leading past the Pamirs of which the earliest record has come down to us. I mean the ancient trade route skirting the Pamirs on the north by which the 'silk of Seres' was carried from China to the Oxus basin. The notice has been preserved for us in the 'Geography' of Ptolemy, who wrote about the middle of the second century A.D. Short as it is, it claims considerable interest, be it only on the
ground of its being the only Western notice of the channel through which passed in classical times the most important of the trade links between the Far East and the Mediterranean regions. This record has accordingly been much discussed by scholars even before there was adequate knowledge available of the ground through which the route led.

The notice is contained in an introductory chapter where Ptolemy takes occasion learnedly to discuss statements advanced by the geographer Marinus as to the length of the inhabited world. With regard to a certain measurement as to the distances between Hierapolis on the Euphrates and Śēra the metropolis of the Sēres, i.e., of the Chinese, Marinus is quoted as having stated that "one Maēs, a Macedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question which he had obtained not by visiting the Sēres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent there." Marinus is known to have flourished about the close of the first century A.D., and the record of Maēs, a merchant probably from one of the Macedonian colonies established in Syria or Mesopotamia, being approximately contemporary, belongs to the period of the Later Han dynasty, when the silk trade flourished and was favoured by Chinese control of the Tārim basin.

Marinus' account of the route followed by Maēs' agents shows it to have passed through Mesopotamia, north-western Persia and the present Transcaucasia to 'Antiochia of Margiana' or Merv, and so on to Bactria, the present Balkh, "whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountainous tract of the Kōmēdōi. And then in passing through this mountainous tract it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine which adjoins the plain country." Subsequently, after referring to certain assumptions as regards bearings on sections of the route and to detours made by it, Ptolemy quotes Marinus as saying: "The traveller having ascended the ravine arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra." Another passage of Ptolemy, derived from Marinus, places the station or Sarai 'whence traders start on their journey to Śēra' to the east of the Stone Tower and in the axis of Mount Imaus itself.

It is the merit of Baron Richthofen, the great geographer, and of Sir Henry Yule to have clearly demonstrated that the route followed by Maēs' agents must have led up the Alai and on to Kāshgar, and that by the 'mountains of the Kōmēdōi' is meant the long-stretched Kara-tekin tract in the main valley of which the Kizil-su or Surkh-Āb (the 'Red River') draining the Alai makes its way to the Oxus east of Balkh. This location is definitely proved by the name Kumštūn, which early Arab geographers apply to Kara-tekin and the position which Hsiian-tsang indicates for the territory of Chū-mitu'o, this being the Chinese transcription of a similar form of the name.

In the summer and early autumn of 1915 Fate in the shape of the alliance with Imperial Russia gave me the long and eagerly wished-for chance of following in person the greater part of this ancient 'silk route' from the Alai down to the submontane plain of the Hisār region, then under the Amir of Bukhāra. Fourteen years before, on returning from my first Central-Asian expedition, I had been able to see the eastern portion of the route from Kāshgar right up to the western extremity of the Alai where it passes under the flank of Mount Imaus, i.e., the great meridional range forming the eastern rim of the Pāṁirs. I am thus able to speak with some personal knowledge of the ground over which the route passed between Kāshgar and Hisār.

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30 Cf. Ptolemy, Geographia, I, Chap. xi; for a translation, see McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 8 sqq.
31 See Ptolemy, Geographia, VI, [Chap. xiii; McCrindle, loc. cit., p. 284.
32 For references to Richthofen's and Yule's works, as well as to other publications dealing with the route of Maēs, see my Ancient Khotan, i, pp. 54 sqq.; Innermost Asia, ii, pp. 949 sq.
From Termez, where traffic coming from Balkh and its modern successor as a trade-centre, Mazār-i-Sharif, usually crosses the Oxus, an easy route up the Surkhan river brings the traveller to the wide and fertile plain in the centre of the Hisār tract. In this we may safely recognize the ‘plain country’ which the ravine mentioned by Marīnus’ authority adjoins. In the comparatively narrow main valley of Kara-tegin, stretching for some 155 miles from Āb-i-garm, where the regular road from the Hisār side enters it, up to Daraut-kurghān, where the Alai is reached, there is more than one defile by the river. But it is practicable for laden transport, even camels, throughout, and owing to its plentiful agricultural produce offers a convenient line of communication. Then below Daraut-kurghān, now the highest village on the Kızıl-su, the valley opens out into the great Pāmrīr-like valley of the Alai. It is in the vicinity of Daraut-kurghān, where cultivation is carried on at an elevation of about 8000 feet and where I found a Russian post in the place of a former fort, that we may place the ‘Stone Tower’ where, according to Marīnus, the traveller arrives after having ascended the ravine.

It is there that those following the route now towards Kāshgar would have to take their food supplies for their onward journey. But I noted in 1915 patches of recent or old cultivation for fully 27 miles above Daraut-kurghān up to an elevation of about 9000 feet. The Alai valley in general physical character resembles a Pāmrīr, being an open trough with a width at its floor nowhere less than six miles. But owing to its lower elevation, from about 8000 feet at Daraut-kurghān to not more than 11,200 feet at the Taun-murun saddle as its eastern end, and owing to a somewhat moister climate, the steppe vegetation is here far more ample than on the Pāmrīrs. In consequence the Alai forms, or, until the Soviet régime, formed, a favourite summer grazing-ground for very numerous camps of Kirghiz nomads.

33 For a summary of the topographical facts supporting this tracing of the route, see Innermost Asia, loc. cit.

34 I believe, we may recognize some evidence of the location of the ‘plain country’ reported by Maēs’ agents in the distance which the passage of Ptolemy (I. xii. 8) undoubtedly on their authority indicates immediately before quoting the words of Marīnus (v. p. 92): “When the traveller had ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower,” etc. Ptolemy refers here to certain bends in the route after it has entered the mountainous country of the Komēdoi and then states that “while (generally) advancing to the east it straight turns off to the south and thence probably takes a northerly turn for fifty schoeni up to the Stone Tower.”

I have already, in Innermost Asia, ii. p. 850, hinted at my belief that the point where the plain country is left for the ravine has to be sought for near Āb-i-garm, a large village reached from Faizābād in the easternmost portion of the open Hisār tract, by one march along the caravan route leading to the main valley of Kara-tegin. Now from Āb-i-garm this route, which from Faizābād has so far followed a north-easterly line across down-like country, turns sharply to the south-east into a narrow valley in order to reach some four miles lower down the right bank of the Surkh-āb, which it thence ascends in a north-easterly direction to Daraut-kurghān.

It is near Āb-i-garm that I believe we must place the point where the ‘plain country’ adjoins the ravine. For this assumption there is support in the distance which is mentioned between this point and the Stone Tower. Measured on the French General Staff’s 1: 1,000,000 map of Asia (File 40° N. 72° E) based on the Russian surveys the distance from Āb-i-garm to Daraut-kurghān is about 155 English miles. Accepting the equation of 30 stadia to the schoenus (see VI. xi. 4) and reckoning the station at 906.4 English feet or approximately one-eighth of an English mile, this brings us close enough to the measurement of circa 190 miles recorded by Maēs’ agents, if due allowance is made for the necessary excess of the marching distance in hilly country over the map distance.

I may add that the meaning of Ptolemy’s passage in McCrindle’s translation is somewhat obscured by the too literal rendering of some of the words, unavoidable at a time when the configuration of the ground could not yet receive adequate attention. What must be regretted most is that Ptolemy has not preserved for us throughout the actual text of his predecessor.
With its open ground and excellent grazing, the great Alai valley seems as if intended by nature to serve as a very convenient channel for traffic from east to west, such as the traders bringing silk from the Tārīm basin needed. Another important advantage was that, what with the cultivation at one time carried on above Daraut-kurghān in the west and still at present to be found at Irkesh-tam to the east of the Taun-murun saddle, the distance on the Alai route over which shelter was not to be found scarcely exceeded 70 miles, or three easy marches on such ground.

The route remains open for eight or nine months in the year for laden animals, including camels. Even in the months of December to February when snow is deep, it would be practicable in the same way as is the trade route from Irkesh-tam across the Terek pass (12,700 feet above sea-level), provided there were enough traffic to tread a track through the snow. But such traffic between Kāshgar and the Oxus region as was once served by this ancient ‘silk route’ no longer exists. The trade of the Tārīm basin from Kāshgar now proceeds towards Farghāna, reaching the Russian railway at Andijān across the Terek pass, while what trade in sheep and cattle there comes up Kara-tegin from the hill tracts towards the Oxus is diverted at Daraut-kurghān towards Marghilān and the railway. However during the months of May and early June, when the melting snow closes the Terek pass, the eastern end of the Alai sees some of the Kāshgar trade to Farghāna making its way across the Taun-murun to the easier Taldīk pass over the Alai.

At Irkesh-tam, the present Russian frontier and Customs station,28 we may safely locate ‘the station at Mount Imaus whence traders start on their journey to Sēra,’ as suggested long ago by Baron Richthofen. It is here that the Alai route is joined by another, much frequented in modern times and probably in antiquity also, which leads from fertile Farghāna across the Terek pass to Kāshgar. This location of the ‘traders’ station’ at Irkesh-tam is strongly supported by Ptolemy’s statements elsewhere, which place it due east of the Stone Tower and at the north-eastern limits of the territory of the ‘nomadic Sakai,’ the Iranian predecessors of the present Kirghiz.

At the period to which the information recorded by Māes refers, direct Chinese control is not likely to have extended beyond the watershed between the Tārīm basin and the Oxus. Thus Irkesh-tam, where some cultivation is possible at an elevation of about 8550 feet, would have offered a very convenient position for one of those frontier control-stations which the Chinese administration has always been accustomed to maintain on the borders and which is still maintained here at present.

There is abundant evidence in Chinese and other early records that Kāshgar was all through historical times the chief trade emporium on the most frequented road connecting Western Turkistān with China. But there those agents of Māes, the Macedonian trader, found themselves still very far away from the ‘Metropolis of Sēra,’ the Chinese capital of Han times, which then stood at Lo-yang in the province of Honan. In the light of my experience of caravan traffic in these regions of Asia the estimate of seven months’ journey to the Sēra capital from the Stone Tower, which Māes’ plucky agents reported and which Ptolemy (I. xi. 4) doubted, could scarcely be thought much exaggerated.

RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

By E. H. Johnston, M.A.

I.

The appearance of a complete translation of the thirteen plays, attributed to Bhāsa by the late MM. Ganapati Sastri, from the experienced hands of Professors Woolner and Sarup puts further research respecting these works on a secure basis. We are still hampered, it is true, by the lack of really critical editions of most of the plays, by our ignorance of the history of the manuscript tradition, and by insufficient information about the circumstances in which these and other plays continued to be acted till recent times. It would also be desirable to know what liberties this school of actors took with the text of other plays already known to us in standard recensions; for this would give us some measure of the extent to which the originals may have been manipulated for these acting versions. Despite the deficiency of our knowledge on these points, I think it now possible to examine with profit some of the cruces which are still left unsolved by the translators, although it is hardly safe as yet to go very far with those places where the text seems to be corrupt. The following notes deal with certain passages which have a special interest for me. Inevitably I do not see eye to eye with the translators in them; for it would be waste of space to deal with the many difficulties in which I either would accept their solutions or am unable to improve on them. In the case of the majority of the plays there were no previous translations and the authors are to be congratulated on the general success of their enterprise; difference of opinion on difficulties does not imply disparagement of their work.\footnote{I refer throughout to the texts printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, though in some cases later editions are preferable for use. It is much to be desired that new editions should number the sentences between each verse, so that references to one edition could be traced at once in any other. I mention each play once by its full name and thereafter by initials which will easily be recognised.}

My attitude to the dubious passages of the plays is necessarily determined to some extent by the conclusions I have come to on their authorship and date, and therefore I must deal briefly with these points. In my view the case, as set out, for instance, by Professor F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1928, 877 ff., makes it at least highly probable that the Svapnavadavatā is by Bhāsa, not preserved entirely indeed in the state in which it left his hands, but still essentially his work. But this is no proof that the remaining plays are by the same author. The arguments originally employed to sustain that assertion were based on the similarity of technique, the character of the Prakrit and the various verbal resemblances in the plays. The first two of these have been proved valueless by subsequent enquiry and the last seems to me equally inconclusive. For the resemblances relate mainly to actors' gags and are to be found in plays undoubtedly not by Bhāsa; as an argument it suffers from the defect of ati-prasaṅga. We must investigate more fully the workmanship and language of the plays before asserting an identity of authorship which on the face of it seems hardly probable. The metrical usages of the plays have already been discussed with suggestive results in this journal (1931, 46 ff.) by R. V. Jahagirdar, and I prefer to make my approach by considering the handling of the dramatic problem, as exemplified in the SV.

All art consists in selection, and it is precisely in the nature of the facts which an author chooses for representation that his individuality becomes most apparent. When his attitude to his material has been determined correctly, it will be found that the same attitude persists in all his works, however varied the themes or stories of which he treats, subject of course to the development natural in an author whose working life is prolonged. This principle holds for Sanskrit literature as well as for any other, even though the canons of literary activity followed in India tend to the suppression, as far as possible, of the outward signs of a writer's individuality. But Nature is not to be denied and the signs are there, though we have to dig deeper to arrive at them.
In the present case the strikingly original character of Bhāsa's work and the exceptional position it occupies in the history of the Indian theatre have, so far as I know, never been adequately appreciated. For if we enquire what point of the story it was that excited Bhāsa's mind and led him to creative effort, a remarkable feature of the play instantly obtrudes itself upon us, and that is that from start to finish Vāsavadattā is on the stage almost the whole time and that it is her feelings which the dramatist is forcing us to consider every moment. To this purpose all the other characters are subordinated. Udayana, who might engage our interest or sympathies to the detriment of the real object of the play, is kept off the stage till the fourth act, and even then only those aspects of his character and actions which affect Vāsavadattā are presented to us. Of the others, we might, if we had no other knowledge of him, look on Yaugandharāyaṇa as a rather futile schemer; how differently he appears in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa! The Vidūṣaka's rôle is important only as giving us some change from a contemplation of Vāsavadattā's feelings, which might otherwise become monotonous, and as bridging over the transitions from one climax to the next, ever an awkward point in the construction of plays; while Padmāvatī becomes a mere foil to Vāsavadattā, to give higher relief to the latter's feelings. The same explanation holds good for another feature of the play, which puzzled me much on first reading it years ago, namely, the exiguous way in which the plot is set out in the first act. It was not so much that knowledge of the details of a well-known tale might be presumed in an Indian audience as that their narration was superfluous for the dramatist's purpose and was accordingly to be omitted. It is evident that the object of the play is to present the feelings of an ideal woman placed in a cruel situation and that anything which obscured that aim was to be omitted. And with what genius has Bhāsa carried out his idea! Every touch in the play has its definite part in the general scheme, which is never sacrificed as in most of the other works of this group for immediate scenic effect, the 'staginess' which, for instance, so apparent in the commercial plays usually to be seen in the London theatres. Notice how admirably each scene enhances the strain on the heroine's feelings and initiates us into new possibilities of the situation, till ultimately the happy dénouement comes; what a part for a subtle actress!

One scene, it is true, has been held to show defective technique, namely in the last act when Vāsavadattā comes on the stage without being recognised by the king. The objection taken to this by Professor A. B. Keith and the translators seems to me to be without substance. In the first act of the play Vāsavadattā makes it plain that, as being separated from her husband, she must not appear before other men, and her conception of proper behaviour is emphasized again in later acts, whenever the conversation turns on Udayana. The exact nature of the arrangement by which she was screened from the king's view escapes our knowledge now, but it would have been inconsistent with the previous passages for her to have appeared unveiled at this point. The only weaknesses in the plot are the coincidences with which the play starts, the meeting with Padmāvatī and the arrival of the Brāhman student, whose only raison d'être is to tell us the heroine's previous history and to provide the opportunity for our first insight into her feelings. But these are not serious blemishes, just because they come at the beginning and are, as it were, the postulates on which the story is based. Thus they do not shock the spectator, as would be the case with similar coincidences occurring in the working out of the plot. A dramatist may draw heavily on our credulity, when setting out the situation of his characters, provided that he is then logical in developing the plot out of the conditions he has originally posited. This principle Bhāsa had grasped.

This analysis makes it clear that to him the proper subject of a dramatic problem was the revelation of the various sides of a given character under the stress of emotions gradually heightened almost to breaking point. But we shall look in vain for any later play in Sanskrit which treats the display of a single character under the searchlight of the theatre as the real
problem for solution. Compare for a moment Kālidāsa's masterpiece with its not entirely
dissimilar theme. While Śakuntalā's feelings are an essential part of the story, our attention
is not merely not exclusively directed to them, but the emotion is deliberately kept pitched
in a low key so as not to disturb the general tone of the play. The resulting pattern is much
richer than that attained by Bhāsa and more in accord with the conditions of the Indian
theatre, in which, as has happened elsewhere, close association with sophisticated courts
brought as consequences the demand for a happy ending and for aesthetic entertainment in
place of emotional excitement. Bhāsa's methods however should lead in the natural course
to attempts to probe the deepest recesses of passion or to explore the ultimates of human
character and conduct, as the greatest of European tragedians set themselves to do. And
in plays of that type, while we should be left at the close with a feeling of peace after storm,
the conventional happy ending is an anti-climax, which jars on a sensitive audience. It is
because the rules of the day forced such an ending on the SV that after the beautiful handling
of the theme in the earlier acts we come to earth with a bump in the summary dénouement
of the last act. His successors were therefore wise, given the conditions under which they
worked, not to push further along the road he had opened, but to devote themselves to the
exploitation of another aspect of his work. For in my view he is the first Sanskrit author,
to whom the exact preservation of values, if I may use a term of modern painting, is the
essential of good drama and good writing. This is the quality denoted by rasa in its original
meaning before the pedantry of the rhetoricians degraded it, and I shall have more to say
about this in comparing the dialogue of the SV with that of the Daridradṛuddattā, but in
this point he is the forerunner of Kālidāsa, who is as supreme among poets for his handling
of values, as Velasquez or Vermeer among painters.

The inference I draw from this line of reasoning is that no play can safely be attributed
to Bhāsa, which does not show the same attitude to the theatre. One play undoubtedly
does show it, namely the PY, and for this reason I would give it to him. In fact almost
every scholar, whatever his opinion about the authorship of the plays as a whole, holds that
these two plays are by the same hand. In the PY the problem is to present the character
of an ideal minister in all its facets, his foresight and fertility of resource, his loyalty, his
bravery and steadfastness. From this point of view it is at once apparent that Act ii, whose
genuineness is doubted by Professor Woolner, is a later interpolation, if only because it dis-
tracts our attention for too long from the real subject of the play. Very properly neither
Udayana nor Mahāsena are brought on the stage in the genuine parts of the play, because
their superior social status would obscure Yaugandharāyana's position as hero. Even after
removing this obstruction to our enjoyment, the play is not entirely successful. The first
act, for instance, is too lacking in dramatic effect with its long drawn out tale of Udayana's
capture. Yet even this has its point. For while it would have been easy to present the
story on the stage in a form which would have been far more thrilling to the audience, the
point to which Bhāsa wishes to direct our attention is not the capture of the king but the
minister's reaction to it; it is his character alone which is to concern us. The translators
object similarly to the lack of action in the last act.

These criticisms really amount to this, that the author has failed to observe the condi-
tions of the stage in the solution of his problem. For the theatre demands that a play, which
is not a poetic drama designed for the reader instead of the spectator, should enforce its point
on us, whatever it may be, whether the development of a character, of a story, or of emotion,
by purely dramatic methods, that is by means of action, situation and dialogue, and not
by mere description of action and feelings; and there is too much of these last in the PY.
I would go further and say that the play's failure is due in the last resort to faulty choice of
subject. The theme is the minister's character, not his emotions under stress, but Bhāsa's
gifts were not adapted to this. For as a dramatist he is at his best in situations which demand
the subtle representation of emotion in a romantic setting, since nature endowed him with a genuine and delicate, if somewhat slight, lyrical talent, a capacity for intensely dramatic dialogue and a subtle sense of humour. Two instances of the latter I explain below, but many allusions and hits, which would have been apparent enough to the audience of his day, are veiled for us by our ignorance of contemporary literature. In these last two aspects of his genius I doubt if he is surpassed by any other Sanskrit playwright, not even by Kālidāsa himself. But in the first point he did not fully exploit the possibilities of the use of verse on the stage. For the spectator is also an auditor, and nicely calculated verbal music by its capacity for expressing emotional tension is able to bring home to him the full bearing of the situation.

One curious detail, dealt with below, separates these two plays from the remainder, namely that in them alone are to be found definite allusions to the works of Āśvaghoṣa. There are a few passages in the other plays which bear some resemblance to passages in the Buddhist poet, but they are not of a nature which enables it to be said that the resemblance is anything but fortuitous.

Of the remaining plays the excellence of the DC has always been recognised, but I fail to see how it can possibly be by the same hand as the SV and PY. The author has an admirable melodramatic talent, and the centre of gravity lies in the story, not in the delineation of character or of shades of emotion. While his story-telling is good, his command of the details of dramatic technique is weak, and, as shown by Dr. Morgenstierne, a good part of Śūdraka's work in taking over the play lay in smoothing out the minor discrepancies and improbabilities. Bhāsa shows no such crudities in his plays. The verse of the play is competent, sometimes good, but of stronger, coarser, texture than that of Bhāsa's delicate muse; the occasional clumsinesses may be due, in some cases at least, to a faulty text tradition. As compared with the SV and PY, the dialogue is crisper, wittier, more idiomatic, with sharper outlines, the conversation of a cultured goṣṭhi refined to a high degree. But it throws its light only on the exterior facets of life, explaining the immediate action of the stage, but not the hidden life behind. Bhāsa eschews a vivid presentation of the outer scene in order to let us see, reflected as it were in the mirror of their words, the emotions that move his persons. The hard, bright forms that bring the story of the DC to life would ruin the delicate tone-scheme of the SV, whose shimmering talk with its careful attention to values transports us to a world where the outer accidents of life seem but shadows, the inner life the reality. And thus each figure in the latter, generalised though it be to the point of blurring the individual traits, stands out before us like a statue in the round, whereas the DC is a bas-relief, animated and exciting, but essentially flat in pattern. It is not surprising therefore that its dialogue contains far more difficulties than those of the other two plays, and in detail of style and language it seems to me to belong to a slightly later period. It may be noted as a curiosity that these three works are fond of the construction with kāmam (SV once, PY twice, DC three times, as against twice all told in the remaining ten plays).

If I cannot see the hand of Bhāsa in the DC, still less can I see it in the remainder, which dramatically stand on a much lower level and linguistically seem to belong to a substantially later period. It is significant of earlier Indian opinion of their value that, while there is definite evidence connecting Bhāsa with the SV, and while the PY and the DC are known to the dramatic theorists, we have no allusion to any of the other plays and only one or two of their verses are quoted in the anthologies. For language I may note that these plays are decidedly fond of using the idiom by which a verb meaning 'go' governs an abstract noun in tā to indicate the assumption of a state or likeness; this idiom is not to be found in the first three plays or in the earliest kāvyas generally. To take one play, the Avīdraka, I would refer to the addiction of its author for the verb māndūkham (four times), not found in the other plays. It seems to be an attempt to imitate the DC in its method, but the author
is utterly incompetent to handle dramatically a story which in itself has possibilities. The latest of all seems to be the Abhiṣekandātaka, whose inferiority is recognised by the translators. The use of a word such as bhagyaseśa, 'sun' (vi, 6), is sufficient to prove the lateness of the author, who also uses srasta twice (i, 9, and 16) in the curious sense of 'sunken' eyes, a usage only known to medical literature according to the PW. The Pratimāndaka is perhaps the best of them, at any rate in parts, but the famous statue scene is hardly well carried through, and its intrusion into the play is dramatically a mistake, as interrupting the story and distracting our interest from the leading characters, just when we ought to be concentrating on them. In general the low standard of workmanship of these plays is painfully apparent, if we compare them with, say, the Mattavilāsa or the four bhāyasas published under the name of Caturbhāṣa, to take only works of the second rank. It is to my mind one of the curiosities of literary criticism that ten plays, so deficient in dramatic properties and so lacking in distinction of language, should have been confidently attributed to a master of style and of the theatre, such as the SV shows Bhāsa to have been. Though differences of language and technique suggest that several hands are responsible for them, it would be of little interest to discuss among how many authors they should be distributed.

(To be continued.)

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF GREATER INDIA.

The Kern Institute has undertaken the publication of an Archæological Atlas of Greater India (India proper, Ceylon, Further India and Indonesia). A preliminary list of the maps which the proposed Atlas is to contain will be found subjoined to this notice, but the editors wish it to be understood that this list is by no means final but can be enlarged or modified. Any suggestion made with regard to the proposed scheme will receive careful consideration.

It is the intention of the editors to restrict themselves to ancient, i.e., pre-Muhammadan India. The information embodied in the maps will be chiefly topographical, the ancient names (Sanskrit or Sanskritized) of towns, villages, districts, rivers, etc., being printed in red letters under the modern names.

It will be the endeavour of the editors to collect and utilize all available data regarding the ancient topography found in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature and inscriptions. There can be little doubt that there are still many passages hidden away in that huge literature which will throw light on the position of a certain locality and which hitherto have escaped notice. The task of collecting such passages cannot, however, be accomplished without the co-operation of many scholars.

The editors, therefore, appeal to the scholars of Great Britain and India to lend them their valuable assistance in this matter. This assistance can best be rendered by the communication of any passage of geographical interest, which will be the more valuable if taken from some little-known or unpublished text. It goes without saying that information derived from other sources (Greek, Chinese, Tibetan, etc.) will be equally welcome.

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HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA, by Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Madras University.

This work constitutes the course of Sir William Meyer lectures for the year 1929-30 delivered to the University of Madras by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. They constitute a course of six lectures, the object of which is to examine the gradual process of the origin and growth of the administrative institutions under Hindu rule in South India. That the administrative institutions of this country have a character of their own, notwithstanding a considerable similarity of principle between these and those of northern India has already been made clear by the same writer years ago. In this course, he makes a more systematic examination and utilises the information which has become available since then and leads to a more or less complete study of the subject.

Starting from the established fact that South India, India south of the Krishna, constituted in many particulars a separate and distinct division of India, the lecturer proceeds by a careful examination of Early Tamil literature to discover the rudiments of these institutions in early Tamil India. While he collects together and explains the scattered references to these, and hints at some of those that have become more prominent later, he subjects these to an examination in the light of one section of the great classic, Kural, which devotes itself to the second of the four ends of existence, namely wealth. This book, by far the largest, constituting the second of the three large sections of the Kural, constitutes by itself an Arthadhstra comparable to that of Kautilya, though much closer in point of its attitude to society than the political chapters of the Dharmaadhstras generally.

These two topics provide the necessary background from which to proceed. There is then an examination of the references to administrative institutions in the few Pallava inscriptions that have been brought to notice, followed by another chapter on the records of the age of the Great Pallavas, where these institutions show a greater development, and the information available also becomes more full. The inscriptive material available is analysed, commented upon and discussed to make the details more intelligible than they are as they are found in the published inscriptions of the department of Epigraphy. In the age of the Pallavas, extending from 300 to 900, those show a greater development, and a more extensive growth in the Tamil country. When, therefore, we pass from out of the Pallava dominance into the period of the Chola ascendancy, we are already provided with a set of institutions fairly complete and self-sufficient. Though these received their complete development under the Chola empire extending from, or a little before, 900 to 1350, it is under the Cholas that these institutions are seen at their best, and in the fullest working order, chiefly owing to the fulness of information available for the particular period.

The next lecture gives in outline the system in working order under the Cholas. It is there exhibited as a fully developed system of local government subject to the control, as it would seem the minimum control, of the provincial governors, the central government interfering effectively generally only on appeal. The information is all collected from the large number of inscriptions scattered through the Tamil country containing various of these details. In a number of instances these seem to be brought together in official communications of different kinds, and when these are in actual use, they supply us with extracts from the elaborate registers and official records maintained by the government. These exhibit the system as it obtained under the Chola empire; the whole practical administration was in the hands of rural communities consisting either of large single villages, or of unions of villages constituting groups. These took cognisance of practically all departments of civil administration, revenue, judicial, irrigation, D.P.W., etc., and were actually managed by committees elected by the inhabitants of villages under recognised rules of franchise and procedure. An important appendix to this section gives the text and translation of a circular issued pretty early in the period under the great ruler Parântaka I. These communities and committees exercised extensive powers, and from the material presented, it seems clear that these bodies discharged their responsibilities very satisfactorily on the whole.

Having given a picture of the administration at its best, the next lecture exhibits the condition of this administration through the period of confusion following the Muhammadan invasions and the single-minded struggle to keep that part of the country free from Muhammadan domination. The administration of the various parts constituting the Vijayanagar empire from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth shows a successful effort at reparation, and conservation of the system as it obtained in the previous age.

The course of lectures, on the whole, gives us a well-documented picture of the administration as it actually obtained, and gives us an idea, a much fuller idea than any we have hitherto had, of a system of Indian administration. In the concluding pages attention is drawn to efforts at rural reconstruction in modern times, what the ultimate aims of such rural reconstruction are intended to be, and how far the system of rural administration as it obtained under Hindu rule comes up to the ideals of modern administrative reform. It is an illuminating course of lectures quite worthy of the author and the founder of the endowment.

D. R. Bhandarkar.
HISTORICAL DATA IN PADMAGUPTA’S NAVASĀHASĀNKACARITA.

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The Navasāhasāṅkacarita of Padmagupta, alias Parimala, is one of the few important kavyas in Sanskrit literature. Soon after its discovery Messrs. Zacharie and Bühler wrote a descriptive and critical account of it in the Sitzenberichte of the Vienna Imp. Academy of Sciences (1888), which was translated into English and published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XXXVI (1907). The work has been edited by Paḍīt V. S. Islampurkar in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (1895). It is now well known that its author, Padmagupta, was a court poet, first of Vakpati Muṇija and then of his successor, Sindhurāja, the father of the illustrious Bhoja of Dhārā. Soon after its composition its literary merits were recognised by ancient critics, and it has been drawn upon for illustrations of figures, etc., by writers on dramaturgy and rhetoric from Dhanaṇjaya (eleventh century) downwards. Apart from its literary merits, its importance for contemporary history cannot be over-estimated, for it is one of the few kavyas in Sanskrit literature, the authors of which have given a poetic account of the events in the lives of their patrons. The direct references to historical events contained in it were collected by Dr. Bühler in the article above referred to: “A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhurāja is said to have conquered, are presented in X, 14-20. Among the names mentioned are found a prince of the Hūnas of the same race as he, with whom Siyaka waged war, and a prince of the Kosalas. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of Vāgaḍa, of the eastern part of the province of Kacch, of Lāṭa, middle and central Guja-rāt, and the Muralas, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the Keralas, the inhabitants of Malabār. The word of an Indian court poet, when he speaks of his lord’s victories, must not be put in golden scales. Every Indian hero must have made his div-vijayayatā, ‘his march to the conquest of the world.” 1 This last remark of Dr. Bühler has been falsified in several instances by recent historical researches. Indian poets may have been fond of exaggeration but we should not brush aside their account as untrustworthy, unless it is disproved or rendered unlikely by other, incontrovertible evidence. Unfortunately no inscriptional records of the reign of Sindhurāja have yet been discovered, but from what we know of the reigns of his predecessors and successors, his wars referred to by Padmagupta do not seem to be improbable. We know, for instance, that both Siyaka 2 and Muṇija 3 had waged wars on a Hūna king, and that the grandfather of Bhāskara, who engraved the Sanskrit dramas at Ajmer in the twelfth century, was born in a family of Hūna princes and was a favourite of King Bhoja. 4 The Hūna princes defeated by the Paramāra and Kālacuri kings must have been reigning in some part of Central India. We know, again, that Bhoja’s authority was acknowledged in Lāṭa till 1086 A.D. at least. 5 As a matter of fact, Dr. Bühler also has acknowledged that “the expeditions against the Hūna, against Vāgaḍ, which belonged to the kingdom of the Cāuluiya of Anhilvād, and against Lāṭa where ruled the dynasty of Bārapa, . . . . . . were not at all unlikely.” The same can also be said of the wars against the Muralas and Kosalas. As I have shown elsewhere, 6 Murala need not be identified with Kerala, but must be placed in the northern part of the Nizam’s Dominions. The king of Kosala defeated by Sindhurāja must have been one of the Gupta or the Śarabhapur dynasty that ruled at Śrīpur in the Central Provinces.

To the above list of kings and peoples vanquished by Sindhurāja we might add the kings of Kuntala and Aparāntaka or Konkaṇa. Sindhurāja’s victories over them have not

1 I.A., XXXVI, p. 171.
2 The Udepr Praśasti of the kings of Malwa, E.I., I, p. 223.
3 Kausṭham Plates of Vikramāditya V, I.A., XVI, p. 185.
4 I.A., XX, p. 201.
5 Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference—Tilakwada Plates.
been noticed by Dr. Bühler. Padmagupta thus describes the former event:—“Who (Sinduratya) with his sword red with missiles took back his kingdom (svardjya) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntala, who had overrun all directions, just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruna, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions.” The use of the word antarita (occupied) in connection with svardjya (kingdom) shows that the lord of Kuntala had annexed some portion of the Paramara kingdom, and that Sinduratya won it back. Kuntala is well known as the name of the Southern Marathá Country, which was then ruled over by the Later Cálukyas. Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty, had defeated, imprisoned and afterwards beheaded Sinduratya’s elder brother and predecessor, Vákpati Muñja. Tailapa seems to have next annexed the southern portion of the Paramara kingdom, which we learn from Merutunga’s account, extended as far as the Godavari. Padmagupta is naturally silent about these reverses sustained by his former patron whom he held in great veneration; but we need not, on that account, doubt the veracity of his statement that Sinduratya won the territory back soon after his accession. Tailapa died soon after Muñja, in 997 A.D., and his son Satyāśraya, though a worthy successor of his father, found himself soon involved in a protracted struggle with the Cola king, Rājarāja the Great. It was only in 1007-1008 A.D. when Satyāśraya inflicted a crushing defeat on the Colas, that the danger of Cola invasion disappeared. During these troubous times, when Satyāśraya’s attention was directed to the south, Sinduratya must have recovered the territory lost by his predecessor, Vákpati Muñja. The Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman show that Paramara supremacy was acknowledged in the Śvetapada country (the northern part of the Nāsik district) in the time of Sinduratya’s son and successor Bhoja.

Sinduratya’s victory in Aparānta or Koṅkaṇa is also very important for understanding the events described in the Navasāhasāṅkacarita. The Śilāharas of North Koṅkaṇa were for a long time the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They do not seem to have readily submitted to the later Cálukyas, after the overthow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for the plates of Aparājitadeva dated Śaka 915 and 919, though he calls himself Mahāśāmanta therein, give the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and not of the later Cálukyas, and contain expressions of regret for the overthrow of his former suzerains. After 997 A.D. he may have submitted to Satyāśraya, for we learn from the work of the Kanarese poet Raṇa that Tailapa’s son, Satyāśraya, “ruled the lord of Koṅkaṇa and extended his kingdom as far as the sea.” When Aparājitadeva fled and entered the sea he desisted from slaying him. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya’s army on the other, Aparāditya trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire. Satyāśraya burnt Aṁśunagara in Aparāditya’s country and received twenty-one elephants from him. Aparāditya seems to have died soon after. He had two sons—Arikesarin, alia Kesdeva, and Vajjada. From the Bhândup plates of Chittarāja, we learn that the latter, though younger, succeeded to the throne, succeeding the claims of Arikesarin. It seems that Arikesarin called in the aid of Sinduratya to gain the throne of which he was the rightful claimant. Sinduratya’s invasion of Aparānta must, evidently, have been directed against Vajjada, to place his elder brother on the throne of northern Koṅkaṇa. No inscriptions of Vajjada have come down to us. His father, Aparāditya, was on the throne in 997 A.D. If the above reconstruction of the history of Koṅkaṇa

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7 आकाशदि-गुप्तसाहित्यकृतेः कथानांधनात्मकारानानं प्राप्ते यथा || स्वस्तार्थवाक्यं-भाषणाभाषणं || शिष्ठितमालानाथाः ||
8 E.I., XII, p. 144 f.
10 E.I., vol. XIX.
11 Navasāhasāṅkacarita X, 19.
13 I.A. XL, p. 41.
14 तामात्र-मृदुलर्त-वामसात्मकोदले || शिष्ठितिमालानाथाः || E.I., XII, p. 262.
is correct, Arikesarin must have gained the throne in the first decade of the eleventh century. Vajjada could, therefore, have reigned only for a short time. We know that Arikesarin continued on the throne till 1017 A.D. at least, for the Thana plates, in which he calls himself the lord of the whole of Koṅkaṇa, were issued in that year. We shall see later on that he sent a large army under his son to help Sindhurāja, evidently out of gratitude for the help he had received from him.

After disposing of the direct references to Sindhurāja's victories, let us turn to the story of the Navasahasānkacarita.

Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhyā mountains sees and falls in love with Śaśiprabhā, also called Āśūgā, a daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapāla. She has for her friends Pātalā, the snake princess, Mālyavati, the daughter of a siddha, and Kalāvatī, the daughter of a king of Kinnaras. Śaśiprabhā, after her meeting with the king, is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhogavati in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her, and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably, and tells him how he should win Śaśiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuṣa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father laid down the following condition for her marriage, viz., that her suitor should bring the lotus with golden flowers which grows in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuṣa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty āvasīta lies the town of Ratnavati built by Maya, the architect of the Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuṣa, the prince of demons. Finally Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vāṅku on his way to Ratnavatī. He then sends a message to Śaśiprabhā by Ratmacūḍa, a snake youth who had been cursed by a sage to become a parrot, but was released from that state by Sindurāja. Then the king accompanied by his minister Yasobhaṭṭa, also called Ramāṇgada, starts for Ratnavati. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vāṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Śaśikhaṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, a king of the Vidyādhāras, who had been transformed into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Śaśikhaṇḍa brought his troops to help the king in his expedition. The king then proceeds, sees a wood and then the Trimārggā (Jāhāgā). He also meets an army led by Ratmacūḍa. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāṇgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuṣa, the son of Vajrāṅkuṣa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuṣa. The town Ratnavati is stormed and taken. The snake youth Ratmacūḍa is made Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhogavati. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhā and marries her. Śaṅkhapāla makes the king a present of the crystal Śivalīṅga made by Tvashtṛi. The king returns to Ujjaini, and then to Dharā, where he establishes the crystal Śivalīṅga.

The brief analysis of the poem given above will show that Padmagupta has chosen to follow the method of Rājaśekhara in describing some incidents in the career of his patron in a romantic and miraculous way, rather than that of Bāṇa, who presents the life of his hero in a more direct, though poetically embellished manner. Padmagupta is not the only follower of Rājaśekhara's method. Soddhala, the author of the Udayasundari Kathā and Bilhaṇa, who composed the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, have followed it in their respective works. As Dr. Bühler has remarked, "the story from the personal history of Sindurāja, which represents the true object of Padmagupta's work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts to give particular details with certainty."16 If we read between the lines

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15 See his Karpūramaṇḍar and Vidhāla-labhaṇjikā.
16 I.A., XXXVI, p. 171.
however, certain historical facts stand out with prominence. The poem is evidently intended to celebrate Sindhuraja’s victory over Vajraṅkuṣa, in which he was aided by a Vidyādharā prince and a Nāga chief, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. As Dr. Bührler surmised, “the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā was not a snake goddess, but the daughter of a king or chief from the far spread race of Nāga Kshatriyas.”  

To this we might add that the Vidyādharā prince also is not a semi-divine being. He is evidently a Śilāhāra king; for the Śilāhāras trace their descent from Jimītavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas. Vajraṅkuṣa again is not a prince of demons, but a chief of aborigines, perhaps Gonds, whose capital, Ratnavatī, must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā, for we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of fifty gavyātis or 100 kroṣas, i.e., 150 to 200 English miles, from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. After conjecturing the snake princess to be the daughter of a Nāga king of Rājputānā or Central India, Bührler remarked “To venture further on this point is not advisable while we have no assistance from inscriptions.” 

I will now try to identify these kings from inscriptions. From the direct references to Sindhurāja’s victories in the Navasāhasāṅkacarita, which have been discussed above at the beginning of this article it is clear that this campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century; for he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kacech, Lāta, Aparānta and Kosalā, as well as a Hūna prince. The poet’s description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way, shows that the country of Vajraṅkuṣa lay to the south of that river. Similarly the city Bhogavati of the snake king must be looked for in Pātala, i.e., to the south of Mālā. We cannot, therefore, agree with Dr. Bührler who thought that he must be a chief of Rājputānā or Central India. Besides there is no mention of Nāga chiefs in those regions in the records of the eleventh century, while we know from inscriptions that Nāga princes were then reigning in two regions in the Central Provinces, viz., the Kawardha and Bastar States. From the Boramdeo temple inscription we learn that Gopāladeva was ruling in the region now known as the Kawardha State in 1088 A.D. Rai Bahadur Hirālāl identifies him with the sixth ruler Gopāladeva of the Phani- or Nāgavanśa mentioned in the Maṇḍavā Mahal inscription at Chaurā. Śaśikapāla, the father of Śaśiprabhā, may have been meant to represent one of the ancestors of Gopāladeva. It is likely that he bore a name ending in pāla, as we find several such names of the descendants of Gopāladeva recorded in the Maṇḍavā Mahal inscription. We know that Sanskrit poets were in the habit of coining names bearing some resemblance to those of their contemporaries who figure in their works. Besides the short distance of the Kawardha state from the slopes of the Vindhya Mountain, where Śaśiprabhā had gone for sport, would make this hypothesis quite plausible. There are, however, some other considerations against this identification. No inscriptions of the ancestors of Gopāladeva have yet been discovered, and it is not known if any of them was powerful enough to make the matrimonial alliance with him advantageous to Sindhurāja from the political or strategic point of view. We know from the Navasāhasāṅkacarita that Sindhurāja had already overthrown Kosala, which must be identified with Chattisgarh of modern times. Besides, Gopāladeva uses the Kalacuri era in his inscription, and it is likely that his ancestors

17 Ibid., p. 172.
15 Cf. The Bhāndup Plates of Chhitārājadeva, E.I., XII, p. 250.
19 शासितम् गन्धर्वविनाद्विता गळा धुरि तन्मस्वातिः माघा I शिन्दिलयानम्यन्वेन स्वेन वा नाकालयादेव ॥ IX, 51.
22 Ibid., p. 174.
23 See my article on ‘Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri’ (Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, XI, p. 370), where I have shown that the characters Bhāgurāyana and Viraṇa in the Vidyāsāhasāṅkajīkā are intended to represent Bhākamūrtu and Bappuṇa, known from Kalacuri and Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions.
also were subordinate to the Kalacuris of Tummāṇa. They are not, therefore, likely to have allied themselves with Sindurāja against their lord, the contemporary Kalseuri king of Tummāṇa, who, as we shall see below, was on the side of his enemy. Lastly they do not, so far as I know, call themselves lords of Bhogavati, the capital of the Nāga king, to which Śaśiprabhā was led by Nāgas after her meeting with Sindurāja. These considerations make the other hypothesis of the identification of Śaṅkhapāla with the ruler of Cakrakotya seem probable.

We know that the princes of Cakrakotya call themselves Nāgavaṁśis and lords of Bhogavati. This dynasty produced some powerful kings towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. Their capital, Cakrakūṭa or Cakrakotya, often figures in inscriptions, which shows the strategic importance of that territory. The Vikrāmāṅkadevacarita of Bhīṣaṇa states, for instance, that his hero Vikramaditya VI went to Cakrakūṭa and Kāṅganagara, evidently to form a triple alliance with the kings of those countries to thwart the ambitious schemes of the contemporary Coḷa king, Virarājendra. What was the object of Sindurāja in forming the matrimonial alliance recorded in the Navasahaśākacakarita? We have seen that soon after his accession Sindurāja found a favourable opportunity to regain the lost territory from the contemporary Cāḻukya king. In 1008 A.D. Satyāśrī died. His successors, Daśāvarman, Vikramaditya V and Ayyaṇa, who reigned for a short period of seven years (from 1009 to 1015 A.D.) do not seem to have been sufficiently powerful. There was thus no danger of the Paramāra kingdom being invaded by the Cāḻukyas. But the weakness of the Cāḻukya kings had added to the strength of Rājaṟāja the Great and his ambitious successor, Rājendraköṭadeva I. It was probably to check the onward march of the Coḷa king that Sindurāja with commendable foresight entered into the matrimonial alliance with the king of Cakrakotya.

That alliance must have benefitted the other party also. One of its objects has been explicitly stated in the poem, viz., the subjugation of Vajrāṅkuśa. The demon-king must be none other than Vajjūka (also called Vajuvvarman in one record), the lord of Komo Manḍala. We know from the Ratnapūr inscription of Jājjaladeva I (1114 A.D.) that Vajjūka gave his daughter, Nannāḷ, to Ratnadeva. The marriage alliance must have made Ratnadeva very powerful, as is suggested by a passage in the above inscription. Hence we find this lady’s name mentioned in the records of Ratnadeva’s successors, much in the same way as the name of Kumāradeva is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. Vajjūka was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnadeva’s father Kamalarāja, who contributed to the prosperity of Gāṅgeya-deva, as described in the Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Prithvīraja. Vajjūka was thus a junior contemporary of Sindurāja, as we know that Bhoja and Gāṅgeya-deva flourished in the same period. The Nāgavaṁśi kings of Cakrakotya were often at war

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24 Cakrakotya has been satisfactorily identified by R. B. Hīrlāl with the central portion of the Bastar State. See List of C. P. Inscriptions, p. 150.
25 Ibid., p. 148.
26 Vikrāmāṅkadevacarita, IV, 30.
27 I.A., XLVIII, pp. 144-5.
28 This king must be identified with Nṛpatihūshapa, whose inscription is dated 1023 A.D. See Errakoṭ Telugu inscription at Jagdalpur (List of C. P. Inscriptions, 2nd ed., p. 166.)
29 Kōmōrāja-śrvanāyakam śrūya śruta || Nēgā ṛājajāna parigya nākṣatram || E.I., I, p. 22.
30 Nēgā ṛājajāna parigya śruta || Kōmōrāja-śrvanāyakam śrūya śruta || Bṛhatbhaṭṭacaritam, XIX, p. 79.
31 Note Nēgā ṛājajāna parigya nākṣatram ||
33 Gāṅgeya-deva was defeated by Bhoja. See Dhar Prāṣasti of Arjunavārmanadeva, E.I., VIII, p. 92.
34 Gāṅgeya-deva was defeated by Bhoja. See Dhar Prāṣasti of Arjunavārmanadeva, E.I., VIII, p. 92.
with the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. We know, for instance, that Jájjalladeva I of Ratanpur\textsuperscript{35} and Somesvara of Cakrakotýya\textsuperscript{36} claim victory over each other. It is, therefore, likely that at this period also the ruling princes of the two dynasties were on inimical terms and, therefore, the Nāga chief sought the aid of Sindhurāja against Kamalarāja and his ally Vajjúka of the Komo Manjāla.

The identification of Vajjúka with Vajráṇākuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vāṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatí, the capital of Vajráṇākuśa. Dr. Bühler\textsuperscript{37} proposed to connect the name Vāṅku of the sage with the geographical name Vāṅku of the Ngāpur prāśasti, verse 54. The two have no connection whatever, for Vāṅkṣhù (as read by Kielhorn) mentioned in that verse of the prāśasti is the name of a river of the north, on the banks of which, softened with filaments of saffron, the king of the Kira country is said to have been taught to sing the praises of the Paramāra king Lakṣmaṇadeva,\textsuperscript{38} while the hermitage of the sage Vāṅku was situated, as we have seen, to the south of the Narmadā. It is noteworthy that the late Prof. Kielhorn, who has edited the inscription in the Epigraphia Indica, followed Lassen in reading Vāṅkṣhù, and not Vāṅku as proposed by Dr. Bühler. I connect the name of the sage with that of the god Vāṅkṣhùvara, whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa before the time of Ratnadeva.\textsuperscript{39} Knowing, as we do, that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who erect temples in their honour,\textsuperscript{40} it is easy to conjecture that the temple of Vāṅkṣhùvara may have been erected by some one named Vāṅku, and he may well have been a sage as stated in the Navaśākhasāṅkacarīta. We can at least infer that the idea of locating the hermitage of a sage named Vāṅku must have suggested itself to the poet when he heard of the temple of Vāṅkṣhùvara in Tummāṇa. This temple was so well-known that Tummāṇa, where it was situated, is called in one record Vāṅko-Tummāṇa.\textsuperscript{41}

We know that a son of Kokkalla I of Tripuri founded a kingdom in Tummāṇa. From a remark in a charter of Jájjalladeva I it appears that his descendants had to desert it after some time.\textsuperscript{42} It appears that towards the close of the tenth century Kaliṅgarāja, a scion of the same dynasty, again occupied Tummāṇa and made it his capital. The place was, therefore, a flourishing one in the time of Sindhurāja, and it is not surprising that the latter occupied it before marching on Ratnavatí, the capital of Vajráṇākuśa, which must have been situated not far from it. The close similarity between the names Ratnavatí and modern Ratanpur in Chattisgadh, tempts one to identify the two. From the records of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur we know, however, that Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadeva or Ratnarāja,\textsuperscript{43} the son-in-law of Vajjúka, and if this statement is correct it could not have been in existence at this period. Beglar\textsuperscript{44} has recorded a tradition current in Ratanpur that the place was, in ancient times, called Manipura, which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the capital of a Nāga king by whose daughter, Chitrāṅgadá, Arjuna had a brave son named Babhruvāhāna.\textsuperscript{45} As our poet has slightly changed the names of persons and places figuring

\textsuperscript{35} See Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jájjalladeva, E.I., I, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{36} E.I., X, pp. 25 f.
\textsuperscript{37} I.A., XLVIII, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{38} Ngāpur Prāśasti, E.I., II, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{40} Compare, e.g., Nokahla’s Reports dedicated to Nokahla, the wife of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri.
\textsuperscript{41} Tiplu (Vijayānti): Nokahla’s Reports dedicated to Nokahla, the wife of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri.
\textsuperscript{42} E.I., I, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{43} Cf. Vajjúka, ibid., p. 32.
\textsuperscript{44} A.S.I. Cunningham’s Reports, vol. X, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{45} Cf. Adiparvan, adhyāya 215, and Arvindabhisarga parvan, ad, 95 (Bom, Ed.)
in his narrative, Ratnavati in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* may represent ancient Manipura which received its modern name when, in the next generation, Ratnadeva transferred his capital there from Tumāṇa. Ratanpur is at a distance of about 45 miles from Tumāṇa and must have been included in the Komo Mapdala; the name of the latter has survived in the modern place-name Komo, which is about 30 miles north of Ratanpur. We do not know exactly the route Sindurāja took in marching on Ratnavati, or the place where he crossed the Narmadā. If he crossed it somewhere near Māndhātā, Ratanpur would be about 200 miles distant from the river as described in Padmagupta’s poem.

It now remains to say a few words about the identification of the Vidyādhara prince, Śikhaṇḍaketu, who sent his son Śaśikhaṇḍa with a large army to help Sindurāja in his campaign. As we have seen above, Arikesarin probably owed his crown to the active help of Sindurāja. Feelings of gratitude may have induced him to send his son with military assistance. The name Śikhaṇḍaketu is evidently suggested by the other name of Arikesarin, viz., Keśideva, which occurs in the Bhāndup plates of his nephew Chittarājadeva.

Sindurāja seems to have died soon after this expedition. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja. According to Merutuṇga, Bhoja reigned for the long period of fifty-five years. He must, therefore, have come to the throne when quite young. It seems that Arikesarin also died about this period and was succeeded not by his son (that he had one is clear from the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*), but by his nephew, Chittarājadeva, who must have usurped the throne, knowing full well that the young prince Bhoja of Dhārā would not undertake a campaign in such a distant country as Koṅkana to help the son of his father’s friend, Arikesarin. Subsequent events proved that Chittarājadeva had misjudged; for Bhoja invaded Koṅkana in 1019 A.D. and won a decisive victory, which he commemorated by issuing two copper-plates. This campaign of Bhoja, when he was scarcely out of his teens, has puzzled many scholars. Mr. C. V. Vaidya writes: "Why Bhoja fought with Koṅkana in his early age does not appear (he must have been about twenty at the time) and how he went so far from his kingdom remains to be solved, though the fact of the conquest cannot be denied." Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the expedition was undertaken to avenge the murder of Muṅja. This reason does not, however, appear convincing, as Muṅja was murdered about 995 A.D., while the expedition took place in 1019 A.D., i.e., twenty-four years later. Even supposing that Bhoja’s object was to avenge the murder of his uncle, why should he invade Koṅkana? The rulers of Koṅkana do not seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Cālukyas. As stated above, their copper-plates give the genealogy, not of the later Cālukyas but of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, and express regret for their downfall. We prefer, therefore, to account for this campaign as suggested above. The Betma plates show that Bhoja occupied Koṅkana for a while, and he may have placed Arikesarin’s son on the throne, but the latter seems to have been soon dethroned by the Cālukya king Jayasimha III, who conquered Koṅkana before 1024 A.D., evidently to place Chittarāja again on the throne. The Bhāndup plates of the latter show that he was secure on the throne in 1026 A.D.

Inscriptional evidence has thus corroborated in all important details the account of Sindurāja’s expedition in Chattisgaḍh as given in Padmagupta’s *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*.

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46 It may be noted that some records of the Paramāñas were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Čedi, which Sindurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

47 His Thana plates are dated in Śaka 930, i.e., 1017 A.D.

48 *I.A.*, XLI, p. 201.
LALLÁ-VAKYÁNI.
(The Wise Sayings of Lál Déd.)
BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.
(Continued from vol. LXI, p. 16.)

In addition to those 'Wise Sayings of Lál Déd' published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Monograph entitled *Lallá-Vákyáni* by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, which were rendered into English verse by the late lamented Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., I have already published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (vide vols. LIX, LX and LXI) some sixty others that I managed to collect from time to time. Further research has enabled me to discover fifteen more sayings of this prophetess, which I now publish.

(1) Āgaray grazum ; wuga-váney dår sağúmo ;
Oraki kripáyi zagat wuzzum , yora ti kenk më surum no.

I roared [like a river] at the source ; I irrigated the field with flood-water.
By the mercy of That Side (i.e., God) the world got awakened ; [yet] on my part I did not meditate on anything.

(2) Damiy dyúthum shabnam píván ; damiy dyúthum píván sûr ;
    Damiy di thum anighaça rátas, damiy dyúthum dohas nür ;
    Damiy ásas lokañ korá ; damiy sapanis jawáná pür ;
    Damiy ásas pherán thorán ; damiy sapanis dazít sûr.

At one time I saw dew falling ; at another time I saw hoar-frost falling ;
At one time I saw the darkness of night ; at another time I saw the light of the day ;
At one time I was a young girl ; at another time I was a full-grown damsel ;
At one time I was moving about ; at another time I was burned to ashes.
[The meaning is that nothing lasts in this transitory world.]

(3) Kawa chuk diwán aniney batoñ ?
    Truk ay chuk ta andaray atah.
    Shiva chuy ati tay kun no gatoñ ;
    Sahasa' kathi myáni karto pateñ.

Why art thou feeling with thy hand like a blind person ?
If thou art wise get inside.
Śiva is there ; do not go anywhere else ;
Friend ! put thy trust in my word.

(4) Kus, ha málí ! láṣuy na pakán pakán ?
    Kus, ha málí ! láṣuy na wulgán Sumeru ?
Kus, ha málí ! láṣuy na marán ta zéwán ?
    Kus, ha málí ! láṣuy na karán nindá ?
Zal, ha málí ! láṣuy na pakán pakán.
    Surya láṣuy na wulgán Sumeru.
    Tsandrama láṣuy na marán ta zéwán.
    Monosh láṣuy na karán nindá.

Who, O father ! is not tired of going [and] going ?
Who, O father ! is not tired of going round Sumeru ?
Who, O father! Is not tired of dying and being reborn?
Who, O father! Is not tired of backbiting?
Water [in a river] is not tired of going [and] going (i.e., flowing perpetually).
The sun is not tired of going round Sumeru.
The moon is not tired of dying and being reborn (i.e., of waning and waxing).
Man is not tired of backbiting.

(5) Lal bu drāyas dorey dorey
    Qulyf thavit wachas ;
Yus nun nerey su phut krerey ;
Khyun dylon Yachas !

I, Lallā, wandered from lane to lane
With breast locked up (i.e., silent):
Whoever showed himself got drowned in a well;
Let him be devoured by a Yaksha !

(6) Na pyāyas ta na zāyas,
    Na khēyas hand na shonth.
Shan chas pata lay
    Satan chas bronth.
I neither gave birth to a child nor was I born;
I neither ate endive nor ginger.
I am behind six [enemies, namely, lust, wrath, desire, arrogance, delusion and jealousy].
Ahead of truthful persons.

(7) Ora ti Pānay, yora ti Pānay ;
    Patay wānay rozi na zāh.
Pānay Gupt ta Pānay Gyāniy ;
    Pānay Pānas mūd na zāh
That side He (i.e., God) is Himself; this side, too, He is Himself;
He never remained behind.
He is Himself Invisible and Himself Omniscient;
He never died to Himself (i.e., is Everlasting and Omnipotent).

(8) Ora ti Pānay ; yora ti Pānay ;
    Pānay Pānas chu na melan.
Pratham atēs na muley dānay :
    Suy, ha māli ! chay āshcar zān.
That side He is Himself; this side (i.e., as man) he is Himself;
He Himself (as man) does not join with Himself.
In the first place not even a grain will penetrate into Him (He being so infinitesimal):
That is, O father! a wonderful knowledge.

(9) Sat-sangay pavitra dhorum ;
    Navi sati rūzas trapurit bar ;
Dashi dashamīy dwār prazalovum ;
    Ikādashi tsandramas karam lay,
Dwadashi mandala deη shamrocum,
Triyodashi tribeniy navam koy,
Teavdana kouddh bhavan shamavum,
Purna-gantsadashi tsandran karum uday,
Akdoh bhogyi p/an sandarum.
Basati rūzas kalpan trāvit—
Suy, ha mali! karam pullēn pūz.

By association with the good I tied on the kuśa grass [for the purification of my finger];
On the ninth [day] I truly stayed with doors closed;
On the tenth I lit the tenth house,
On the eleventh I made acquaintance with the moon;
On the twelfth disc I subdued my body;
On the thirteenth I washed my body at the confluence of three rivers;
On the fourteenth I subdued fourteen worlds;
On the fifteenth I found the moon rise;
On the first I gave sustenance to myself.
I peacefully remained with cares cast away—
That, O father! was my worship of idols.¹

(10) Treshi buchi mo kreshandawun;
Yāni tshiyo tāni sandhārun deη.
Phrit çānis dhārun ta pārun?
Kar upakārun suy chay kriy.

Do not make thyself crave [for water and food] by thirst and hunger;
As soon as thou becomest depressed, refresh thyself.
Fie upon thy fasting and the breaking of thy fast!
Do good to others, that is thy duty.

(11) Tsālun chu wuzamala ta traηay;
Tsālun chu mendinēn ghaṭakār;
Tsālun chu pān panun kaḍun grāṭay—
Hēta, māli, santosh; vēlī pānay.

To endure is lightning and thunderbolt;
To endure is darkness at midday;
To endure is to sift one’s self through a grinding-mill—
Be, O father! content; (what is destined to come) will come of itself.

(12) Tsay, Deva, gortas ta dhartiy eṣrazak;
Tsay, Deva, dītī krānzaṇ prān;
Tsay, Deva, thani rastuy wacak.
Kus zāni, Deva, con parimāṇ?

Thou, O Lord! pervadest the whole as well as the universe;
Thou, O Lord! gavest life to bodies;
Thou, O Lord! ringest without pealing.
Who can, O Lord! know thy proportions?

¹ In this saying Lallā speaks of different stages reached within herself while practising Yoga on successive days.
(13) Umay ādi tay Umay surum;
    Umay thurum parun paṇ.
Anit trāvīt Nīt ay bhāṣum :
    Tavay provum Paramsthān.

The syllable Om is the beginning, and I meditated on Om;
    I made myself with Om.
Having left the perishable [body], I found the Imperishable (God):
    By doing that I attained the Supreme Abode.

(14) Yati buh gayis tati ol Suh ;
    Tati dyāthum Mol Suh.
Kanan išanit wol Suh ;
    Suh tay Suh, Suh tay Suh ;
Suy Suh, tay buh kusuh.

Where I went there He is ;
    There I saw That Father (God).
He has got rings in His ears ;
    He and He, He and He ;
He is He, and who am I ?

(15) Zanam prāvit vibh na teḥoṭum ;
    Lobam, bhogam bharam na priy ;
Sumni dhår sethā zonam ;
    Tsaum dük, wāv, polum Day.

Having taken birth, I searched not aggrandisement ;
    Desires [and] enjoyments I liked not ;
I considered moderate food enough ;
    I bore pain [and] poverty, [and] worshipped God.

RANDOM NOTES ON THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

By E. H. JOHNSTON, D.Litt.

(Continued from p. 99, supra.)

II.

In the following notes I quote in full the passage discussed and as a rule Professors Woolner and Sarup’s translation, taking the plays in the order in which they appear in the latter.
Pratiṇāpyudgandharāṇa, Act i, p. 13. Haṁsakāḥ — Tado pacciddappāṇaṁ dāni bhat- tāraṁ pēkkaṁ aṁeṇa aṁma bhādha hado, aṁeṇa aṁma pidda, aṁeṇa aṁma uṣoda, aṁma vaassas tī aṁoḥaṁ bṛhatṣaṁ parakkamam vaṁṣaṁatā savvado abhiddaḥ de paṁ

A famous passage, and one of the very few where the translators have gone palpably wrong. The point lies in the use of anyathā in the sense of ‘falsely,’ for which there is plenty of authority. An amusing play on the double meaning occurs in Mattavilāsa, p. 7; Devasomā objects to the Kapālin’s description of the road to salvation, Bhavaṁ uṁī tahē bhavī-
davaṁ. Aghante mokkhamaygam aṁoḥaṁ vaṁṣaṁti ‘The saints describe the road to salvation differently.’ The Kapālin deliberately takes her to mean aṁoḥaṁ in the sense of ‘falsely’ and replies, Bhadre te khalu mitbhādṛṣṭayaṁ, ‘Quite so, my dear, their views are wrong.’ The meaning of the passage above is that the wretches ran up on all sides towards the king, mis-representing his valour by saying, ‘He murdered my brother,’ etc.
The Indian Antiquary

Ib., Act iii, p. 47. The Vidūṣaka says he has seen the king in prison. The scene proceeds:

**Yaug.**—Hanta bho. **Atikrāntayogakṣemā rātriḥ.** Divasa idānāṁ pratipātyate.

*Ahaḥ samuttirya niśā pratikṣyate
śūbe prabhāte dīvaso 'nucintyate |
Anāgatārthaḥ aśūkhāni paśyatāṁ
| gataṁ gataṁ kālam avriṇyāya nireṇṭiḥ ||

**Rum.**—Sanyog bhavān āha. Tulye 'pi kālaviśeṣe niśāvca baḥudvā bandhaneṣu. **Kuṭaḥ,**

Vyavahāreṇa asādhyāṇāṁ loke vāpratirajyatāṁ |
Prabhāte dṛṣṭadoṣāṇāṁ vairiṇāṁ rajante bhayan ||

**Tr., I, 25.** '**Yaug.**—Alas! There is no security at night. Now we must wait for the day.

When the day is over, we look for the night: When the dawn is bright, we look forward to the day. Our satisfaction to see time ever passing, must see in troubles the advantages that are to come.

**Rum.—**Well said. Though time is all alike, the night is full of obstructions. For

The night is a terror to foes who cannot succeed in their enterprises, or are unpopular in the world and find out their error in the morning.'

The translators suggest that this enigmatic passage is out of place and should come at the end of the act, but there is no obvious place to insert it there, and I think it can be so understood as to fit in here, remembering that it comes after a long passage in which the three disguised characters have been speaking in elaborate riddles, which were ingeniously explained by Ganapati Sastri, so as not to be understood by casual hearers. The editor's gloss on this passage is far from clear to me, but I accept his interpretation of some of the words. The time is in the early afternoon and the reference to night and day must therefore be understood to be metaphorical; by 'night' I take Yaugandharāyaṇa to refer to the time during which the conspirators have been lying in concealment without seeing the king, who has all the time been in great danger of his life. The compound atikrāntayogakṣemā is difficult; and I can find no analogy to the translators' construction of it. If the text is not corrupt (e.g., it would be easier to read atikrānta sayogakṣemāni rātriḥ), it would seem preferable to take atikrānta in the same sense as in atikrāntaviraha in Act ii, p. 36, lit. 'the night has its security in the past,' i.e., 'is safely over.' Similarly the 'day' is the time for action and pratipātyate should be understood as parallel with pratikṣyate and anvucintyate in the verse; that is, 'the time for action is now awaited; means' we must think about action now.' Hanta then can be taken in its ordinary acceptance, not in the rare sense of 'Alas!' To put it in plain language, the minister says, 'Up, my friends; our time of concealment and worst danger is over and the king is still safe. So far so good; now we must consider our plans of action.' This provides the cue for his next speeches, in which he questions Vasantaka about the king's state, in order to ascertain the possibilities of the situation.

If this interpretation is correct, the verse should agree in sentiment. Samuttirya implies passing successfully and anvucint does not mean 'look forward to,' but 'ponder on.' The drift of the first hemistich is: after one has passed the day successfully, i.e., had a period of fortune, one expects the night, a time of danger and difficulty; when the dawn comes without the danger having materialised (śūha), one takes thought for the day, i.e., as it is the period of action, plans are to be made for action then. In the second half the troublesome word is anāgatārtha, where I think artha must mean 'occasion,' i.e., 'whose occasions are still in the future.' Translate therefore, 'To those, who foresee evils in the womb of the future, to observe the mere passing of time (without the evils being realised) is in itself bliss,' Rumayvat, who is an honest, thickheaded fighting man, is naturally all at sea with this, hard saying and, taking it literally, comments, 'Quite true. To people in prison, though
all time is alike to them, the night in particular is full of danger.' Dosa in the sense of 'danger,' 'evil consequence,' is well authenticated and occurs twice more in this play and not infrequently in the Buddhasacitam; there may be a pun also, bahudha, 'very dark.' The following verse must be so explained as to illustrate this statement. In the first place vaisrin does not mean exactly 'foe,' but a 'man who has an enmity or feud with someone else.' Thus DC, i, 6, nirvairā vimukhibhavanti suhrdaḥ, 'without cause of enmity, etc.,' and Dhārtarāṣṭravaiśanavcita, p. 11, pārthivānām . . . anyonyabaddhavairāgām. The second line therefore means, 'the night is dangerous to men who have a feud with anyone else, since by daylight they can see (and avoid) sources of trouble.' The first line then defines the daylight dangers which they can avoid. Vyasaśoḍāra means here not 'enterprise,' but 'lawsuit,' and asādhya, which surely cannot have an active meaning, is used in the pejorative sense of sādhaas the only source in the Kauś. Arthaśāstra (see Meyer's translation, p. 528, n. 5); cf. also Dhātaghaṭotka, 51, pūruṣaḥsāḍṣhāya, and Saundarananda, ix, 13, mantrasāḍṣhāya. The English equivalent is hard to find. 'do down,' 'remove from one's path,' 'ruin,' etc. Apratirajjatām is difficult, for raj does not occur with pratī according to the PW except once in the causative and in any case it must mean, not 'unpopular,' but 'who take no pleasure in.' One could divide vā pratī, but in either case it is not clear to me how by taking or not taking the pleasure in the world one avoids the danger of a vendetta. Rajjatām is the editor's emendation for rājatām and I would prefer the conjecture, equally good philologically, of vā pratī rajjatām: even so the PW gives only one reference for rāj with pratī. It is notoriously dangerous to kill prominent people openly for fear of causing defacement. The first line therefore means that daylight dangers do not trouble men who are not to be worsted in the law-courts or who stand much in the world's eye.

The passage is one of great difficulty and certainty is impossible, but I think my construction of it keeps closer to ordinary Sanskrit usage and fits the context exactly.


Tr., I, p. 30. 'Like snakes that have just sloughed their skins.'

I can find no authority for the use of niridha in the sense of 'snake's skin' and do not see why it should not be taken in the ordinary meaning of 'confinement' (cf. iv, 10, and 12 in this play). Snakes when captured are put in a pot and often show signs of great activity, if let loose. Once I had the fortune to be present when a party of Naṭa brought in a number of snakes in chatties for despatch to Kasauli, and to witness their transfer from the pots to a travelling box: a ticklish operation when a lively hamadryad (king cobra) was in question, who for two hours kept attacking all the operators, before he could be boxed. This experience is apposite; for kṛṣṇasarpa apparently can only indicate a hamadryad. The confining of snakes in pots is an old Indian custom, referred to at Saundarananda, xv, 56 (cf. ib., ix, 12, and note thereon in my translation). These last passages refer to the activity and wrathfulness of snakes in such circumstances, and make my explanation of the simile more probable.

Svapnaśavadatta, iv, p. 36. Vidūṣakaḥ — (ārdhavam avalokya) hi hi saraakālaśīmāle anantarikke pasādiabaladevaladbhavānāśiṣtām sarasapatiṃ jāva samāhīdān gacchantīn pekkhadu dhāvā bhavān.

Ganapatī Sastri's later edition for students is not available to me, but I find that later Indian editions read pasādiabaladeva and the translators accept this text, I, 53:—'Jester.—(Looking up) Oh, look, your Highness! Do you see this line of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumn sky, as beautiful as the long white arms of the adored Baladeva ?'

It will be noted that the words 'long white' are added by the translators to make the comparison clear. Now this passage is clearly a reference to Saundarananda; x, 8:—

Bhūvayate tatra sita hi śṛṅge
samkṣiptabhairhāḥ sāgito mayāraḥ
That it is put into the mouth of the Vidiṣṭaka shows that Bhāsa is criticizing (with justice, be it said) Aśvaghoṣa's comparison as a frigid conceit. This verse contains the word āyata twice and, as the translation shows, we want in the SV some word meaning 'long,' 'outstretched,' to make the comparison clear. Further pasādīra (prasadīta) seems to me very odd in the context, and I think therefore that Ganapati Sastri was on the right lines when he gave prasadīta as the chāyā for pasādī in the original edition. Only his text wants correction to pasārdīa; this is the word always used for outstretched arms. The curious position of the participle in the compound may well have puzzled the copyist and led to an emendation.

Bhāsa refers quite clearly twice elsewhere to Aśvaghoṣa's poems, viz., at PY, i, 18, to Buddhacarita, xiii, 60 (cf. Saundarananda, xvi, 97), as pointed out by Ganapati Sastri, and in the well-known verse quoted from the SV by Abhinavagupta, the place of which has now been determined (Thomas, JRAS, 1928, 887 ff.), to Buddhacarita, i, 79, as pointed out by Morgenstierne (Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. 14, n. 2). The latter comparison proves that tadanena is correct in the Bhāsa verse, for it = Aśvaghoṣa's tādānena, the exact meaning of which I shall discuss in the edition of the Buddhacarita which I hope to bring out in due course. There are several passages in the other plays, particularly in the DC, which recall Aśvaghoṣa, but the ideas and forms of expression are found too often elsewhere to be safe evidence of direct allusion to the Buddhist poet.

This passage of the SV illustrates Bhāsa's fondness for subtle allusion and shows that he relied on the education and quick wits of his audience to take up the point at once. Another, not obvious, joke is to be found at the beginning of Act iv, p. 29 (tr., I, 51), when the Vidiṣṭaka says he is so well off in the palace of the king of Magadha that he might be experiencing all the joys of anaccharamāriyānta Uttarakuruvāso. It is true that the land of the Uttarakurus is an earthly paradise, famed for its pleasures of the table and of love, but the jester has mixed up his mythology. The Apsaras are among the gods in Paradise, not among the Uttarakurus, who have their own special women.


Gaṇikā - Lahaṇaṇassa sutalo vihama, kim de usseussa kāranaṃ.

Tr., I, p. 88. Page. - Oh, I am so disappointed that my mistress did not see Karṇapāra's valiant deed. If only she had seen, leaning forward from the easement with bosom bowed .

Courtesan. - Feather-headed people are easily amazed. What is the cause of your excitement?'

This translation follows the indication afforded by the Mṛcchakaṭikā, which gives the page's name as Karṇapāra, but seems to me to miss the point. In the first place the meaning 'valiant deed' for pariṣpanda is based on a passage in the Pañcarātra, which I explain below, and is opposed to the regular use of the word. As it is not adequately dealt with in the dictionaries, a few quotations of its use may be made. It is specially used in philosophical works, replacing the earlier vīspaṇḍa, which means 'activity,' 'movement.' The latter is only found in Buddhist sources, e.g., in Pali, Dīgha, I, 40, pariṣṭita vīspaṇḍita, Aṭṭhasālīṇī, 323, and Visuḍdhamagga, 448, kāya vīspaṇḍana, and in Buddhist Sanskrit, Buddhacarita, xiv, 22, karmanī, . . . cātavirāṇavaṃbhavaṃ, Jātakamālā v. 18 svabuddhivisaṃdha-samālita . . . karmanā, and xxvi, 40, manovāḍākāya vīspaṇḍita, Śatāsahārikākāraṇāmārāmitā, 67, sarvasattvacātacaraṇa vīspaṇḍita, Mālamadhyamakārikās, 307, 1, 10, vīspaṇḍaḥ śāriroṣeṣaḥ. The MBh. substitutes nīspaṇḍa for the at xii, 12704 and 12780. Later pariṣpanda took its place and is used as a synonym for kriyā in the Vaiśeṣika sense, but limited to the mental or physical motion of an individual. Thus Vācaspati Miśra on Yogasūtra, i, 9, denies
parispanda to puruṣa, and on Śāmkhyakārikā, 10, defines sakriyam as parispandavat: similarly Kumārila in the Atmavāda section, 74 ff., of the Ślokavārttika. The later Buddhist philosophers do the same; e.g., Trīnāksika, p. 32, l. 21, cetanāyāś citaparispandātmakavāt, and Abhidharmakośa, vol. V, 280, n. 2, parispandam akurved api. These quotations prove that parispanda does not mean an actual deed, but a movement of the body or mind, activity or motion, kriyā, as opposed to act, karma. Therefore when PR, Act ii, p. 32 (tr., I, 128), has dṛṣṭaparispandānāṃ yodhāpuruṣāṅganaṃ karmāṇi, we must translate ‘the deeds of the warriors whose activity has been witnessed.’

It is not justifiable to assign any meaning here to parispanda, which is not consistent with this range of meanings, but we are forced to do so if Kāṇapāra is a proper name. But need it be so? It does not occur again in the DC, and if it were not for the later play, surely we should all construe, ‘Oh, I am disappointed that I did not see (lit. by whom was not seen) the shaking of my mistress’s ear-ornament, as she leant, etc.’ He kills two birds with one stone, by implying, not only how much he has lost by his mistress’s not seeing him, but also how excited she would have been to see him. This translation gives a more natural sense to yena and one might compare Pratimāṇḍakaka, iv, 22, yena... na dṛṣṭaḥ. Śūdraka’s version, which spoils the point by reproducing the second intention only of the page, has also the same construction, varcitaḥ sa jāde ajja kauṣṭikārassa parakkamam na diṣṭho. Though there seems to me no reasonable doubt of the correctness of my rendering, the explanation is incomplete unless we can account for the change in the Mrchakataki. It is perhaps significant that Avī., Act iii, p. 34, has the term kauṣṭikāreṣa (MSS. kaṇṣeura*) for a ‘harem servant,’ and that kaṇṣeura is a variant reading of the passage under discussion. Possibly in Śūdraka’s text of the DC kauṣṭikāreṣa had been corrupted to kauṣṭikārassa, which might be understood as equivalent to kauṣṭikāreṣa, and he may have objected to giving a courtesan’s servant such a title and therefore turned it into a fanciful proper name. The Mrchakataki does not always darken counsel as here, but is sometimes able to suggest a correction of the DC’s text. Thus, following Filippo-Belloni (Pestgab Jacobi, 133), at Act iii, p. 57, where the MSS. offer the alternative readings, bhūṣyam and dṛṣṭavayam, the two should be combined on the authority of the later play to bhūmiṣṭhaṁ dravyam. Again at Act i, p. 18, Vasantaśenā says it is specially dark by the side-door asambohmaṇalīṇatād, which can only mean ‘because it is dirty (obscure?) from lack of use.’ Probably however it is corrupt, the phrase recurring in a more natural sense at Act iv, p. 84, and being transferred here by error. Śūdraka has altered the sentence somewhat, but I infer from his reading that his text of the DC had asambohmaṇalīṇatād, ‘because it is dark where there is a break in the wall (for the door).’ The wall would be white and the door would make a darker patch in the night.

The grandiloquent terms of the servant’s speech suggest that the author is taking off a similar description in some kavya, such as Saundarananda, vi, 2, sā... gavākyam ākramya payodhārāhyām... harmyataḥ lalambate mukhena titirānatakunḍalena, or cf. Dhūrtavatāsaśāvadā, p. 5, l. 11. Probably such a description was a commonplace in kavya and we can hardly identify any particular original now. It is the inappropriateness of such language in the servant’s mouth that determines the tenor of the courtesans’s reply. Vismaya means ‘arrogance,’ and the sense is, ‘Feather-headed people soon get bumptious. What’s the reason for your highfaltering (or bombast)’?

Ib., Act iii, 6. Sajjalaśaka defending theft says:

Kāmaṁ nīcaṁ idam vadantu vibudhāh sупteṣu yad varate
viśvāteṣu hi vaṁśamāparibhavah sāuryam na kārkaśyataḥ |
Śvādhinā vacanatāpī tu varaṁ baddho na sevānālir
mārgāt caipa narendrasuptikavadhe pūrveṁ kṛto Drauṣṭinā ||

Tr., I, 91 :

‘Let the wiseacres call it low, this business when folks are asleep, for the shame of cheating those that are trusting come from daring, not cruelty. Independence though of ill
report is better far than the folded hands of servility. This was the road that was taken of old by Droṇa’s son when he slew the sleeping kings.’

Two of the words require some explanation. Paribhava, ‘shame,’ is hardly possible, the proper meaning being ‘contempt,’ ‘insult.’ I would prefer to take it to the earlier use of paribhā, not uncommon in the epics and occurring in this very play at iii, 4, in the sense of ‘master,’ ‘get the better of.’ Paribhava is not recorded in this sense, except possibly at Saptasāataka (ed. Weber), 366, but there is no reason why it should not have it. The compound therefore should mean ‘getting the better of by deceitful means.’ Kārkṣyayatā is an odd form; the meaning of ‘cruel’ for kārkṣaṇa only appears in the later lexica and is due apparently to a misunderstanding of the statement that krāṇa and kārkṣaṇa are both synonyms for ‘hard’ (e.g., cf. the Amarakoṣa). The proper meaning is ‘firm,’ ‘hard’; in the Rāmāyana it often signifies ‘steadfast’ in battle, and it is common later, especially in erotic literature, of the firmness of women’s bodies or the hardness of their minds. One possible meaning here is therefore ‘hardness of mind,’ ‘insensibility to moral issues,’ and atikarkṣaṇa is so used in the next verse. The alternative is to apply the Amarakoṣa’s synonym ōtāsārika, ‘one who does deeds of violence,’ more particularly ‘a robber’ as opposed to a thief, who avoids violence (cf. Meyer’s translation of the Kauṭ. Arthaśāstra, p. 801, note on 303, 37). Sajjalaka calls his theft sāhasa in the next act, p. 74, and sāhasika, Act ii, p. 37, means ‘robber.’

Turning now to the construction, I see only one way of interpreting the verse, as it stands; for I agree with the translators in rejecting Ganapati Sastri and Morgenstierne’s solution of construing sāguryam na bhavati, kārkṣyayatā bhavati. The construction with kāmam is unusually frequent in this play, occurring twice again, at i, 13, without any corresponding particle in the main sentence, and at i, 18, where hi introduces the main sentence. If Śūdraka’s text read hi in this latter passage, he found it difficult, for his corresponding verse reads tu. Hi may govern the whole sentence, i.e., ‘Vasantasena, you are perceived now; for, although you are not seen in the dark . . . , your perfume . . . will betray you.’ Alternatively it may be taken as introducing the speaker’s asseveration against somebody else’s belief or argument, a usage not uncommon in the dialogue of plays, but generally coupled with tena and never elsewhere following kāmam, i.e., ‘though (you think) you are not seen in the dark . . . , (I say) your perfume, etc.’ This would do here, ‘although the wiseacres call it . . . , I say it is heroism, not violence.’ In the other plays PN, iii, 5, has the regular kāmam . . . tu, but Dūtaghaṅgūkha, 14, kāmam . . . hi, unfortunately in a verse, the sense of which in its context is not clear to me (the difficulty lies in tulāyāpam, whose equivalence to yuktārāpam, as suggested by the editor, is impossible in itself and reduces the verse to nonsense).

But I regard this method of interpreting the verse as doubtful, and it has the disadvantage of not explaining tu in the third pāda, while the fourth pāda follows clumsily on the third, being rather an illustration of the proposition contained in the second. Accordingly I would suggest that the second and third pādas have been transposed. This must have happened at a very early date; for Śūdraka, whose alterations of the verse shows that he felt the same difficulties in it that we do, has the same order as the text of the DC. With this slight change the whole verse falls into order and is entirely free from objection. The translation would run, ‘Let the wiseacres, if they like, tell us this sort of behaviour to folks asleep is a low affair, yet independence though of ill report is far better than the folded hands of servility. For getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is heroism, not unjustifiable violence, and this was the road the son of Droṇa took when he slew the sleeping kings.’

Another, but perhaps inferior, alternative is to amend the second pāda so as to make it a parenthetical explanation of the opinion of the vibudhā in the first pāda. Thus the reading might conceivably be viśvaste hi na, etc., ‘let the wiseacres call it low, on the score that getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is not merely not heroism, but has not even
the merit of violence (or, firmness of mind?)'. Theft is not heroism; it does not even postulate the possession of the personal qualities required for robbery and is therefore low. Sūdraka may have had some such reading; for he modifies the second pāda so as to give it this effect (i.e. cauryaṁ na śauryaṁ hi tat), while getting rid of the dubious kārkasyatā. The standard text of his play spoils the effect of this by substituting, in the third pāda, hi for tu, which is required to counterbalance kānasm, but improves the fourth by reading mārgo hy eṣa.

If we carry out the transposition I propose, this latter amendment is unnecessary.

Ib., Act iii, p. 56. The Vidūṣaka says he cannot go to sleep, kattavekāraitīkidasankeṇa via sakkhasamayāno. This was conjecturally amended later by Ganapati Sastri to kattaveka-karathikidasankeśa, etc., accepted by the translators, tr., I, 92, 'A Buddhist monk that's made an assignation with a servant girl.'

Kartavyakarastri=paricārikā is highly improbable and a knowledge of Buddhism would have shown that the conjecture was entirely unnecessary. The reference is to the practice known as jāgarikā (see Rhys Davids—Stede’s Pali Dictionary s.v.), keeping awake at night to induce mystic meditation, of which a clear account will be found at Saundarananda, xiv, 20 ff. Kattabhakika in Pali means the task an aspirant has to perform to become an Arhat (Theragāthā, 330) and is the equivalent of karapīṭha in the formula of Arhatship. Saṁketa is properly either 'a characteristic trait' (Mahāvastu, I, 78, l. 10, cf. note) or is a synonym of vyavahāra and saṁvrti, 'truth as seen by ordinary men,' 'worldly usage' (Mūlasaddha-makakārikā, 28, n. 1, and 492, l. 11, and Mahāvutppatti). In classical Sanskrit riktikī is rare and late (PW and Schmidt’s Nachträge); but Buddhist tradition understood the root r ic to mean 'purify' (Mahāvastu, I, 531), and ritta in Pali means 'emancipated' (Suttanipāta, 823). The phrase is deliberately perhaps a bit of a jumble to make fun of the Vidūṣaka, but the literal translation is, 'like a Buddhist monk who has been emancipated from worldly knowledge by following the path to Arhatship,' namely by practising jāgarikā. The passage helps to date the play as early, because it indicates a time when the Hinayāna was still flourishing and familiarity with its practices could be presumed in a non-Buddhist audience. Like several others, it also shows that it is dangerous to take the words śramaṇa and bhikṣu in a non-Buddhist work as necessarily referring to Buddhist monks, unless qualified by Śākya or a similar word, or to assume that any reference to Buddhist mendicants can only be depreciatory.

Ib., Act iv, p. 79. The Vidūṣaka, describing the glories of Vasantasaṇi’s house, says nāhāpattānasaṇāgadehi ādīnihi puttaṁ vā cittantī. Tr., I, p. 100, ‘Visitors from various towns are busy reading,' following Ganapati Sastri’s chāya of putakā.

Agāmīka is a difficult word; the editor took it to be āgama and glossed śāstrajña, which seems entirely out of the question. The translators (like Filippo-Belloni l.c.) take it as equivalent to āgantuka. The only authenticated meaning is ‘relating to the future’; could it therefore mean ‘fortune-teller’ here, the same as ṣādeśika? But paṭṭana (or pattaṁ) is perhaps significant, for it means a big ‘commercial centre,’ ‘mart,’ from which trade radiates. Thus agāmika might be a name for travelling traders and this gives point to Dr. Morgenstierne’s comparison with the description of a similar palace in the Bṛhatkathāślokaśāstra, x, 99-102, where Gomukha’s passage through the numerous courtyards is obstructed by the various craftsmen pressing the virtues of their wares on him. The question then arises what to make of puttaṁ. Substantial amendment is impossible, since Sūdraka’s addhavācicido . . . potthau in his much elaborated version proves that he understood putaka here. This last is a rather late loan-word, introduced perhaps by Iranian-speaking invaders about the beginning of our era, and the earliest occurrence in literature is apparently in Kavī Arthāśāstra, ii, 7, in the sense of ‘ledger,’ ‘register.’ Are we to understand traders dictating the writing up of their ledgers? But this is hardly general enough for a very brief description, though it might well find a place in a more elaborate one. Moreover it demands the amendment putthād or potthād. If we adhere to the text, we could understand putrakā.

1 Accept preferably the explanation at Abhidharmakośa, vol. V, 269, n. 2.
which could only mean 'puppets.' Such a reference would be very interesting, but again is hardly probable. There is however another alternative and that is to refer it to the Prakrit word _potta_, meaning 'clothes' at Jacobi's _Ausgewählte Erzählungen_, 31, 8, and _Karpūrahāravija_ i, 27, which would be spelt _putta_ in the DC's Prakrit; _potti_ is used in the former work, 59, 30, for 'bathing wrap,' like Hindi _poti_. This seems to me to give the best solution, though it involves the admission that Śudraka, if he read _potta_, understood _putthā_. I would translate, 'Travelling merchants from the various marts are advertising their clothes.'

_Śūryahāra_, 15. Of galloping horses, suddenly stopping, _utkarnastimāṅcitākapīyalvala_._griyāpīyalgāmanāḥ._ The editor suggests _akṣa_ for _akṣi_ and the translators follow this and render, II, 37, 'They prick their ears and slightly arch their necks, strung with beads, and rub them with their muzzles.'

But is it necessary or right to amend? The PW quotes two instances of _aṅcita_ applied to the eyes from the _MBh._ and, to judge from Mallinātha on _Raghuvaṁśa_, v, 76, it simply means 'bright,' 'beautiful,' a development perhaps from phrases such as _bhūrāhādāncita-lokanā_ at _Dhārtarāṣṭrapiṇḍa_ 12, 1. 14. _Śūtā_ also surely requires the retention of _akṣi_. I understand the compound to mean, 'With ears pricked, bright eyes fixed, and muzzles resting on their arched necks.' They do not rub their necks, but are holding them well-arched, as if suddenly pulled up, or like horses with a bearing-rein.

_Avīmāraka_, Act v, 5. Avimāraka, reproving the Vīḍūṣaka for making fun of him, says:—

_Na te na buddhir mama dūṣanāya
yena prakāman bhavālāmī kāyaḥ_

Tr., II, 97, 'No blame to me and none to thee, if I should make thee laugh.'

_Surely na . . na is a strong affirmative used ironically, as at PY, Act i, p. 9, in Rumanvat's remark to Udayana to dissuade him from attempting to catch the fatal elephant, ya hu de eḷaṇgaṇaṇa vi disaṇghaṇa gaṇaṇa ya saṃdhaṇaṇa, not (tr., I, 10) 'Quite possibly you might catch, etc., but 'Of course you could catch, etc.' This outspoken remark of the blunt soldier is commented on by Yaugandharāyaṇa in his next speech. This hemistic-stich also illustrates the rule when gerundives take the genitive of the agent and when the instrumental (Speijer, _Sanskrit Syntax_, § 66 Remark). I would translate, 'Of course it is right for you to disparage my intelligence, so that I am to be laughed at by you as much as you like.'

The rule should be applied in two other passages. At _PN_, Act i, 31, _cīramātratūṛiyādān kīṁ dṛṣyān vacavadānem_, the translation (I, 166), 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark need see nobody,' presupposes the instrumental (and the emendation, _ko drṣya_ 1). The meaning, as the context shows, can only be, 'Those who dwell in forests clad in coats of bark have nothing worth looking at (by others)'; this brings out the point of the coats of bark as opposed to the ordinary gorgeous attire of princes. Similarly _Bālacarita_, Act i, 28, runs:—

_Kārṇīṇa akārṇīṇa a . . marāyāṇa
teyā bhavīṣyanti balāni loke_

The translation (II, 120), following the editor's conjecture of _akhilāmarāṇāṇa_ for the missing letters, has, 'The deeds of all immortals, good deeds and bad, will be forces in the world through thee.' This is ingenious, but is defective as affording no application to the next hemistic, which asks Kṛṣṇa to display his powers by making himself light so as to be easy to carry. Paleographically one would expect that the first _pāla_ should end _aparāmarāṇāṇa_, the likeness of the two syllables accounting for the omission, and the acceptance of this conjecture facilitates the translation. For, applying Speijer's rule and noting the references in the PW for _akara_ with the genitive (under _akara_ a) and for _kāra_ with the instrumental (under _kāra_ lā), we get a rendering which is more natural and fits in admirably with the context, namely, 'The manifestations of power in the world, which are beyond the competence of the other immortals, shall be performable by thee'; Kṛṣṇa is then adjured to begin manifesting his powers at once.
SOME NOTES ON NAMES IN HINDU GEOGRAPHY.


On the situation of Ali pura of Gupta history (cf. JBORE., XVIII, 29) we have a Purāṇik piece of evidence to help us to locate it in Madras. The Vāyu Purāṇa, which closes its historical review at about 348 or 350 A.D.,1 is a Gupta work. In its chapter on the geography of India (ch. 45) it mentions the Ali-Madras among the ‘Northern Countries’ (देशादेश देशीयों, verses 115-121): दिखाकोश-मूलभाषा घाटा (verse 120). The Ali-Madras were evidently a subdivision of the Madras; and evidently Ali pura was the town of the Ali-Madras. The encoun ter of Candra Gupta II with the Śakalāhipati (Śaka emperor) thus took place in Madra-desa.

2. Banni in Hindu Geography.

In the Mahā-Bhārata, Bhīmama parvan (the chapter cited by Wilson in his translation of the Vīggu Purāṇa, ii, 139-190) we find the Bāhikālas, the Dārvēs-Vānavas and the Dārvēs (p. 175)2 together. Dārvica has been broken up in the printed text as Dārīcā. This is wrong, for every name in the text is in the plural, as is seen in the next name, Vānavā. Dārvica and Vānavā make one grammatical unit: दारिक-दाविक: The Darvēs are the well known member in Dārē-Abhīṣṭa. The Vānavā are the people of ‘Vānu’, i.e., Bānī; and Dārvica is the exact equivalent of Dārvēs (=the Darvēs, or Darve khel of the frontier).3 Their neighbour, ‘Vānu,’ is thus the present Bānu or Bānī.

3. The Vātadhanas of Hindu Geography.

The Vātadhanas were Vṛatās, like the Līchchavis (Manu, x, 21), that is non orthodox Hindus. They were a definite community; and the Purāṇas count them amongst the peoples of northern Hindu India, or Bhāratavāraṇa, e.g., the Madaya (ch. 113. 40: भारतवारणानां), Varāhāmihira couples them with the Yaukeyas: वात्ताप-भूमिक (Bṛhatsamhitā, xvi, 22). They have remained unidentified.

The Prakrit equivalent of Vātadhāna would be Paṭadhāna, which is obviously our Paṭhān. The form Paṭadhān, instead of Paṭadhān, I have found still current in the speech of villagers in Northern India.

K. P. Jayaswal.

BOOK NOTICES.


Prof. Nilakantha Sastri’s first theme is the historicity of Karikala Cola. After briefly discussing the evidential value of early Tamil literature, and the colophons and commentaries associated with it, he examines the sources in chronological order, and traces the evolution of the Karikala legend from the earliest records down to the seventeenth century. His next subject is rural administration. He points out (what many writers fail to make clear) that the Tamil sabhd was in no sense a popular assembly, but an essentially Brahman affair, designed for the governance of Brahman villages. The interests of the laity found expression in the sr, the nagaram, and the sākta. He then reviews the history of the sabhd of Nālūr and Uttermāmēr, as recorded in inscriptions, which range through several centuries, and concludes with a detailed revision of Ven kayya’s rendering of the now famous Purāṇa epi graphs of Uttermārīr. His last essay is on a Cola feudatory, Nāralōkavīra by name, his achievements and charities. The whole series of studies is a model of lucid criticism.

F. J. R.


This volume treats only of the monuments declared to be ‘protected,’ so the reader will find therein no reference to many sites of archaeological or historical interest not so declared. But it is much more than a ‘list;’ as in the case of the more important sites useful historical summaries have been given, and the descriptions of the various monuments contain all essential details, including any associated inscriptions. As specially useful features may be noted the references under each monument to departmental, and some other, accounts previously published, and to the numbers of the photo-negatives in possession of the Archaeological Department. Most of the illustrations have been clearly produced. Comparatively full accounts have been given of the Old Rājgir, Nālandā, Rohtā-Saharan and Khaḍjarā site sites, and of Manor. A plan of the Nālandā area would have been welcome. The chief defects noticed are the typographical errors, and mistakes due

1 See JBORE., XIX (1933), p. 121-122, 131.
2 दराविक मानना दार। in Southern Text, bk. VI, ch. 9. 54. (Kumbakonam ed., p. 15.)
3 Hall, V.P., ii, 175, n. See McCrindle, Ptolemy, p. 141, where Po-na of Fa-hien is taken as Banū.
apparently to want of local knowledge and acquaintance with other available literature. To give a few instances, three of the names of the defenders of the 'Arrah House' (p. 139) have been incorrectly spelt. No officer named Nan (p. 140) played any part in the battle of Buxar (vide details given in JBORS, Mar. 1926). Bāndū Ghat is not one of the paths up the Rohtās hill (p. 148); Bāndū is a village on the bank of the Son river, 2 mi. SSW. of Dārānagar. Buchanan Hamilton's (then Buchanan) reference to the fallen bridge at Sher Shāh's tomb is dated the 5th January, 1813 (vide JBORS, 1925, p. 293), not 1832 (p. 187). The Karna charaur house in the Monghyr fort lies NE. of the large tank, not SE. (p. 208). The words "Damdam Kothi or Bathing Ghat" in brackets after the words "the Point" on p. 209 should have been omitted; the Damdam Kothi was not at the Point, which is the name of the projecting corner overlooking the Kastabara Ghat. Mir Jumla did not go through the "Sherghatı pass" (p. 212) to turn Shāh Shujā's position in Monghyr fort.

The idea of preparing antiquarian maps for each division was an excellent one, but it is a pity they were not drawn more accurately. As they are, they contain numerous errors, not only in the spelling of place names, but also in the positions of sites. C. E. A. W. O.


These tables, which enable students of Oriental history to convert dates in the lunar months of the Hijra era into their corresponding dates in the Christian era, have been printed in a handy little booklet that will fit in a coat pocket. They will be useful to readers who have not at hand other works containing such information, e.g., Wollaston's English-Persian Dictionary, in the Appendix to which very similar tables are given. C. E. A. W. O.


This report differs in form and contents from its predecessors. Printed on excellent paper, strongly bound and similar in size to this journal, it is in itself a neat and handy volume. The plates are well chosen, and (with three exceptions) each bears references to the pages on which the subjects illustrated are discussed. The printing is good; the index all that it should be. The subject matter is arranged under five headings. For Part I (Administrative) four pages suffice. Part II (Survey of Monuments) contains brief descriptions of various temples, Jain and Hindu, and an exhaustive account of the shrines, many of them originally cave temples, on the famous hill of Chitradurg. Dr. Krishna's excavations at the adjoining site of Chandravalli are reserved for a separate monograph.

In Part III (Numismatics) Dr. Krishna throws fresh light on the coinage of the Hoyasalas and the early rajas of Mysore, and on provincial issues during the Vijayanagara regime. The familiar "Vira-Rāya fanams," common throughout S. India, he traces to the Hoyasala, Vira-Ballāḷa III.

Under Part IV (Manuscripts) Dr. Krishna summarizes, inter alia, a Kanarese poem of about 1570 A.D. commemorating "Kampila Rāya," and his fights, not only with the forces of Muḥammad Tughluq, but also with the Hoyasalas and the Kākatylas. The account tallies closely with that of Firishka and Nuniz of the fighting round Kampili and Anequda in a few years before the foundation of Vijayanagara near-by.

Part V (Epigraphy) is inevitably the bulkiest section, for it includes the complete vernacular text of each inscription, with notes, and in some cases full translations. The year's harvest includes 117 inscriptions. These are arranged topographically, and a list is appended, tabulated by dynasties, of all inscriptions for which a dynasty can be assigned. The gem of the collection is a brief record of Mayūraśārman, the Brāhmaṇa founder of the Kadamba dynasty, enumerating eight kingdoms over which he was victorious, viz., Tresikāra, Abhilā, Pallava, Pārīyātra, Śakasthāna, Sendraka, Punātha and Maukhari. No mention is made of Śatavāhana, Gupta, Gaṅga or Vākāṭaka, and on the strength of these omissions Dr. Krishna would date this inscription about 258 A.D., i.e., after the Śatavahanas had fallen and before the other three empires arose; a century earlier than the date usually assigned. Whether this dating is correct or not, it is certain that Mayūraśārman's achievement was a bigger thing than was hitherto suspected, and not unworthy of the eighteen horse sacrifices ascribed to him.

Another record of first-rate importance is a grant by one Avidhēya of a village now in Kolhapur State. This ruler Dr. Krishna skilfully links up with the early Rāṣṭrakūta of "Mampur" in the Central Provinces, and the puzzling Śarbhapur grants of Chailastāgarh. For the grant he suggests the date c. 516 A.D., and cites in support some well-known Ācukya-Rāṣṭrakūta conflicts recorded in early Ācukya grants.

Mysore has been well served by her archaeologists. Lewis Rice's corpus of nearly 9000 inscriptions is a unique foundation; Messrs. R. Narasimachar and R. Shama Sastri, in their annual reports explored with scholarly craftsmanship the artistic and literary aspects of Kanarese culture; and in this, his first report, Dr. Krishna makes it quite clear that the national tradition is in safe hands.

F. J. R.
PLACES AND PEOPLES IN AŚOKA’S INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I. Aśoka’s Pāladas and Aṇḍhras, and the so-called Rāja-Visaya.

1. Rock Series Proclamations, Section XIII, mention the (1) Pāladas and (2) Aṇḍhras, which have not been correctly identified. No definite proposal has been put forward about the Pāladas; and the Aṇḍhras have been taken to be the Dakṣināpatha Andhras. As I shall show below, the Pāladas were in Afgānistan and are well-known to Sanskrit geography as Pāradas, and there were their neighbours Northern Andhras, according to the Purāṇas.

Pālada-Pālīda.

2. Aśoka’s inscriptions have two main forms of the name of the Pālada community:
   1. P[ā]lada [at Kālī]
   2. {Pāli[da] [at Shāhbağarhi];
     {Pārīnda [at Girnār, which is only a dialectic variant of Pālīda].

Curiously enough, the Purāṇas also have these two forms, as Pārada and Parita. The Matsya (ch. 113, 40-43), describing the ‘northern countries’ (desāḥ udichyāḥ), has:

वानस्कर्वानस्कुलिकाः
ग्राममात्राः पलिदान सांस्कृतिकः (41)

The Vāyu, in the corresponding place (ch. 45, s. 116), gives:

वानस्कर्वानस्कुलिकाः
ग्राममात्राः पलिदान सांस्कृतिकः

Here Parita has the hard form for the Palīdā of Aśoka. Pārada is the general form in Sanskrit literature, as we shall see below. In the Vāyu text, अन्तिकः: is a misleision for महाकः: On the Pulindaḥ (which occur in the same group in other authorities) we should recall here that Dr. Hall noted years back, in commenting on ‘the Sindh-Pulindas,’ that there were northern Pulindas as well as southern Pulindas. They are, I think, the modern Povinda clan of the Afgānāns. The form Kulinda is also well-attested (see the citations on Khasas by Sir George Grierson in L.S.I., IX, Pt. 4, pp. 3-5). It represents the Kūinda of the coins. In fact, one MS. of the Vāyu reads Kuninda. Possibly at an early stage the Kunindas lived in the region of the present N.-W. Frontier Province. Hārapārīka, is a corruption of the well-known हरा-हारिक, which I would take as a Sanskrit name for Arachosia. The Śakāḥ Drūhyāḥ (==Hradāḥ, ‘the lake people’) of the texts evidently represents the people of Seistan-Draghiana.

Location of the Pāradas.

3. Ptolemy’s Paryetae are our Paritās-Pālīdas. Ptolemy’s treatment shows that they were in Afgānistan. It should be noted here that, in the previous verse, the Vāyu has Aparitāḥ (==Afridis), distinct from Paritāḥ.

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1. Hultsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 211.
5. Anandārama ed., p. 138, MS, I.

Their identification with the Afridis is due to Mr. Jayachandra Vidyāśākara. JBORS., XVIII, 99, 97. They are the same as the Apariyata of Darius and Herodotus (III, 91). I have heard Ghazni men pronouncing the name as ‘apartī’ and ‘aparīṭ,’
Sanskrit authorities group these people along with communities most of whom are identical with those mentioned by Aśoka. They also afford data for their location. This will be better understood by comparing the following lists:

Asoka’s inscriptions.—Yona-Karnbojas [Kambojas], Nabhaka-Nabhaparmitas [=Gamdharas of RP., V.], Bhoja-Pitikinas [=Rāthika-Pitikinas of RP., V].
Aṁdhra [=Adha] Pāradas.
Rāmāyana (K. 43, 4-12).—Kamboja-Yavanas, Śakas, Varadas [=Pāradas].
Manu (10, 44).—Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahnnavas, Cinás, Kirātás, Daradas, Khaśas.
Mahā-Bhārata.—Śakas, Kambojas, Bāhlīkas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kulinjas, Taṅgaṇas.
Harivaṃśa.—(Yavanas), Śakas, Tukhāras, Daradas, Pāradas, Taṅgaṇas, Khaśas, Pahlavas, and other ‘barbarians’ (Mlecchas) of the Himālaya.

Here, in the Harivaṃśa, we have an express location in the Himālaya for the Pāradas.

A passage of the Mahā-Bhārata (Bāṣāṇa p., ch. 52, 2-3) also locates them between Western Tibet (Mandāra) and evidently the Hindukush (Meru) range, on the river Śailcā, which can only be the Kunār. I cite here the text:

They dealt in ‘ant-dug’ gold (cf. IA., 4, 225). There can be little doubt that the valley of the Kunār-Chitrāl river is meant here. By the process of allocation of known territories to some of their neighbours, the Pāradas would seem to have occupied the area between the region at present peopled by the Kāfīras (called Lampākas in Sanskrit literature) and the Mohmands, in the periods of Aśoka, of the Rāmāyana text, and of the Mānavā Dharmaśāstra. They seem to have been allied to the Aparitas, for the form Paritā is very near them, and the Mahā-Bhārata (Bāṣāṇa p.) reads their corrupt variants Aparāntā and Parāntā together:

If this be compared with the Vāyu text quoted above, it will appear that the Aparāntā and Parāntā of the Mahā-Bhārata stand for the Aparitas and Śudras of the Vāyu.27

8 Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, i, 142-143.
9 The countries mentioned are expressly ‘northern’ (verse 4) and in the Himālaya:
10 Chapman - Banda: काश्यपत्य स्वयम्भर: सका:
11 The Chinns are the Siqra race of Gilgit (i.e., IX, 4, 5, n. 5). The Daradas are the modern Dards; the Kirātas are the Kirantis of Nepal.
12 L.S.I., IX, Pt. 4, p. 3. Taṅgaṇapura was near Badrināth Garhwal), see L.S.I., ibid., n. 6.
13 L.S.I., ibid., p. 3.
14 Probably the origin of the classical stories of the river ‘Silas.’
15 Southern text, ch. 78, verses 78-79.
16 L.S.I., ibid., p. 4.
17 Wilson and Hall, Vishnu Purana, ii, 16.
4. It seems certain that there was a community called Andhras in the north. The Matsya, in the opening verse on the enumeration of the 'northern countries,' has Pur Andhras just in the place where Aparítas are given by the Váyu:

बांधका वादनांत्र आसीत्: कालोपक्षा:।
पुरान्त्राधिक मुद्रां पवित्राणोमिकय:॥

The Bhágavata (IX, 20, 30) includes Andhras in a list of northern peoples:


I am not in a position to ascertain whether any tribal name in Afghanístán at present corresponds with Andhra. It may, however, be pointed out that in the north of Afghanístán, about a hundred miles to the west of Balkh, there is the district of Andha-khui marked on the map; and according to the Matsya the Pur Andhras were in the Balhika group.18

The Andhras of Aśoka seem to have been the northern Andhras, as he mentions allied and neighbouring units in pairs, e.g., Yona-Kâmbhoja, Bhoja-Pitikina, Raṭhika-Pitikina, Andhra-Pâlîda. In the Hâthigumphâ inscription of Khâravela we have the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas together (E.I., XX, 87), as they were neighbours. Thus we may consider the Andha-(Andhra-)Pâlîdas to have been neighbours.

These northern Andhras were self-governing (see below), while the Daksinâpatha Andhra, according to the evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions and of the Aśoka stâpas noticed by the Chinese pilgrims, seems to have been under the imperial government.

Definite Location of the Northern Andhras and Pâlîdas in the Purânas.

5. Fortunately we are not left merely to infer the situation of the Andhras and Pâlîdas from mere strings of names or from a reference to such a comprehensive term as Himavat,19 which included the Hindukush, the Pâmirs and Tibet. The Purânas furnish data for a more definite location. There is a section in the Purânic geography of Bhâratavarṣa which deals with the watershed of a system of six rivers, three of which flow to the east, and three to the west. All these rivers had their sources in a lake system called Bindu-cara, situated in the region known as Himavârṣa (literally, 'the snow country').20 The three rivers flowing westwards are the Sîdha (spelt also Sîdha), Cakṣu and Sindhu:—

(See Matsya, ch. 120, 40; Váyu, i. 47, 39; Râmâyâna, Bâla k., 43, 11-14.)

The countries by the side of each of these rivers are given in detail (Matsya, verses 40-49; Brahmâyaḍa, ii. 18, 41-49).21 The Sindhu is undoubtedly the Indus. The Câkṣu is the Oxus, the Fo-tsu of Yuan Chwang.22 It should be noted that the Chinese pilgrim describes the Oxus region and the countries lying between it and the Indus (on the Indian frontier) in Hindu terms, which tally with Hindu geography. The Bhâratavarṣa of the Purânas extended up to the southern bank of the Oxus, and was larger than the present-day India in that direction.

18 I have ascertained since from Nazarkhan, an Afghân of Sarafza, Ghazni, that Andhert or Andhrt is a most warlike Gilzai tribe in Afghanístán.
19 E.g., in the Rámâyâna, Kâ. 43. There is a distinction between our Himálaya and Himavat.
20 Varṣa is, literally, a tract of country subject to its own system of rainfall, i.e., having a distinctive climate. The Purânas, however, base these divisions on culture, that is, on individual, characteristic civilisation.
21 The Brahmâyaḍa text has become more corrupt.
22 Life, p. 196; Beal's Si-ye-ki, ii, 289.
The name Cakṣu (‘eye’) is a sanskritisation of the original name of the Oxus, viz., Aksu, which had been understood as akṣu (=Skt. akṣi, ‘eye’). In Sanskrit literature we come across its other form, Vakṣu (also Vāṅkṣu), which is the origin of the Mongolian Baksu, Tibetan Pačkṣu, and Chinese Po-tsu or Po-su and is preserved in Vakhšen (modern Wakhân). Its neighbour, mentioned several times by Yuan Chwang, is spelt both as Siṭā and Śiṭā (‘cold’). There is no room for doubting the identity of Cakṣu with Aksu, i.e., the Oxus, supported, as this is, by the alternative and real form, Vakṣu. The countries on the Cakṣu, as named in the Purāṇas, are:

1. Cina-maru (Vāyu), Vira-maru (Matsya); 2. Kālika23 (Vāyu), Naṅgaṇa (Matsya); 3. Sarva-mūlikā (Vāyu), Śūlika (Matsya); 4. Tuṣāra (Tukhāra)-cum-Andhra (Vāyu), Tuṣāra (Matsya); 5. Tampāka23 (Vāyu), Barbara-Ânga (Matsya); 6. Balhava (Brahmāṇḍa), Pahñava (Vāyu), Yaṅgrha (Matsya); 7. Pārada (Matsya), Pāraṭa (Brahmāṇḍa), Darada (Vāyu); 8. Šaka (Vāyu, Matsya); Khaṣa (Brahmāṇḍa).26

Now, avoiding the question of the identification of each of these items, which is outside the scope of this paper, we are on firm ground in regard to Tuṣāra, which is a well-known spelling for Tukhāra (like Śaṣa for Khaṣa). Tukhāra is sufficiently described by Yuan Chwang,27 who visited all parts of the area that was included in ancient Tukhāra, i.e., the districts of the present Afghānistān that go by the names of Tokhāristān and Badakhshān. The Tukhāra country does adjoin the Oxus, and does extend to the valleys of the Chitral river, the country of the ancient Daradas and Cinas (=Śiṇas), on the east, and marches on the west with Balkh, which it once included within its limits. The Purāṇic description would place Pārada (the Pālada of Aśoka) between Balhava (Balkh) and Darada and Khaṣa (Dardistān), that is to say, the Pāradas would be located in what is now Badakhshān.28 The Andhras were next to Tukhāra. They too were by the Oxus. In the time of Aśoka there were no Tokhāris there, and probably the Andhras and the Pāradas were neighbours, the two peoples occupying the area between And-khui (Afghān Turkistān) and the frontier of Chitral. It seems that the Pāradas became insignificant in the early Guptā period, when the Vāyu was written in its present form, as it gives their neighbours, the Daradas, in their place, contrary to the Matsya, which was closed in the Kushāṇ-Andhra period (c. 250 A.D.). The neighbours of the Pāradas, called Ambasthas by Varāhamihira (Vañya-purāṇa: XVI, 22), were not the Aṃbasthas of India proper, but the people whom Ptolemy (xviii, 3) calls Ambantai and places in the Paropanisadai, to the north of the Parietai (see his map in McCrindle, p. 8). Ptolemy gives the other Ambastai separately.

23 Tāla in the Brahmadāṇa.
24 Masa-mūlikā in the Brahmadāṇa.
25 Lamsyā in the Brahmadāṇa.
26 The texts of the Matsya (c. 250 A.D.) and Vāyu (c. 350 A.D.) are given below:—

M. 120 : भश वीरसम्बैःैः कालिकासैः कृतिकासैः शूलिकासैः।
	तुभरागः बररागः गर्भः [मु] दारागः शकासैः ॥ 45

V. i. 47 : भश चीरसम्बैःैः नाशासैः नासुङ्गिकासैः।
	सामवशुरार्गिशबकासैः श्रवानाः दरासैः शकासैः ॥

V. ii. 47 : भश चीरसम्बैःैः नाशासैः नासुङ्गिकासैः।
	सामवशुरार्गिशबकासैः श्रवानाः दरासैः शकासैः ॥

Cf. Br. II. 18 : भश चीरसम्बैःैः तालिकाः ममसुङ्गिकासैः।
	प्रद्वित्यपशुरार्गिशकासैः वाहिनाः परार्गिशकासैः ॥ 46

28 We should, however, note that Yuan Chwang’s Varadasthāna was probably somewhat farther south (see Si-yu-ki, ii, 285). Varadasthāna would mean ‘the land of the Varadas,’ the form Varada being a softer development of Pārada. The form is met with as early as in the Rāmdyana.
For our period, Manu is a better guide; and Manu’s Code gives exactly the same situation as the Mātya, viz.:

Pāradas — Palhavas — Chinās — Krātās — Daradas — Khāsas (X, 44).

This means that in the time of the Code (c. 150 B.C.) the Pāradas and Palhavas extended up to the Chinās (Śīnals) and Daradas (Dards). Here Palhava seems to me to be a form of Valhava (Balkh), v changing to p, a change well known in Prakrit and in the area concerned. This Palhava of Manu has nothing to do with Parthia.

Monumental Evidence of Aśoka’s Rule on the Oxus.

6. Yuan Chwang includes the countries by the upper Oxus as well as the Pāmirs in Jambudvīpa, just as the Purāṇas include them in Bhāratavarṣa. When Aśoka mentioned Jambudvīpa, he probably referred to a division greater than Bhāratavarṣa. The then All-India, i.e., the India up to the Oxus (his empire) was included in it: it was something like Asia.29 That Aśoka ruled up to the Oxus is proved by his stūpa which Yuan Chwang saw in the Antarāpa, or Andarāb, country: “There is one stūpa built by Aśoka-rāja” (Life, p. 195).

Purāṇic Enumeration of Oxus Countries.

7. The name Vīra-maru (Mātya) was changed into Cīna-maru (Vāyu) owing to Chinese political influence reaching up to Persia in the first century B.C., embracing the ‘desert country’ (Russian Turkistān). By this maru (Cīna or Vīra) were meant the waste lands of Turkistān commencing above And-khuī on the Oxus. This is also suggested by Varāhamihira’s record:

Palhava-Śveta-Hāṇa (White Huns) — Cola (i.e., northern260) — Avagāṇa (=Apaqāṇa= Afghān) — Maru — Cīna (XVI, 38).

This maru was in Zend called Mouru, which survives in the name Merv. The Purāṇic enumeration seems to run from west to east. Taking the tract between the Oxus and the Paropamisus-Hindukush, the Purāṇic names may be equated with the modern names thus:—

Desert corresponding to Maru (Cīna)
Kerki
And(h) — khui
Balkh
Badakhshān
Shighnān-Wakhān
Pāmīrs
Kālika
Andhras
Valhava
Pārada
Śaka
Khāsā

In the time of Aśoka, the districts of northern Afghānistān now known as Andkhūi, Mazār-i-Sharif and Khulm seem to have been under the Andhras, and Badakhshān under the Pāradas.

Name of the Country of the Paradas.

8. The correct form of the name of the country is Pārada (Varada), and of that of the people, Pārada, as Valhava would be the place name, and Vālhaveya (and Vālhiika) the name of the people. The present-day Bārūzā, a Dūrrānī tribe, allied to the Yūsuf-zāi, seems to be their representative.

The a-Rāja-Viṣaya of Aśoka.

9. There has been a misreading and misappreciation of a term in Rock Series XIII. In connection with these self-governing communities, the emperor, after noting the success

29 Otherwise it would be identical with Bhāratavarṣa; but it seems that a term was designedly adopted to indicate a wider area. In Hindu geography Jambudvīpa is made up of several varṣas, including Bhāratavarṣa. I shall show in my note on the Aparāṁtas of Aśoka that he employed technical terms of Hindu geography. The wider significance of the name Jambudvīpa dates from a time anterior to Aśoka, and the name is to be found used in that wider sense in the Buddhist canon as well as in the Epics.

of his measures in the kingdoms of his foreign neighbours, outside his empire, records his success with regard to certain communities 'here,' i.e., within his empire. To take the translation of Hultsch:

"And this (dhašma-vičaya, i.e., 'conquest by morality') has been won repeatedly by Devānāṃpriya both (here) and among all his borderers, even as far as .......... where the Yōna king named Antiyoga ..........

"Likewise here in the king's territory among the Yōnas and Kambōjas .........." 20

In the king's territory is a translation of rāja-višayamhi (Girnār). The second member of this phrase had been misread by Bühler as višavya (Kaḷsi). I have compared the letters of the edition, and satisfied myself that Hultsch's reading is correct. What Bühler read as ji is really ści; and it has to be read along with višava as višavya (=Skt. viṣaya), corresponding with the Girnār višayamhi.

But the grouping of the two words hidā and lāja-(viśavya) is wrong. It should be hidādvajavīsavya (विशव्यात्तिविकित्रता), that is to say, it is hidā-, or hida-, a-rāja-viṣaya (i.e., 'here, in the non-monarchical tract'). The Girnār version has also hidā, not hida (see plate, p. 26). 31 At Kaḷsi we have both the forms, hidā and hida, but Girnār has only hida (for Skt. iha). It is thus clear that hidārāja (hida a-rāja, or hidā a-rāja) is engraved. This sort of sandhi is well known in Asoka's inscriptions (cf. Hultsch, pp. Iviii, Ixxiii).

[In the term a-rāja viṣaya, viṣaya probably has a technical meaning. It was a part of the empire, a province or a governorship, an administrative unit, like the viṣaya of Antara-vedi of the Guptas. There was probably a province of these republics, a separate imperial administrative unit, a protectorate province, like the Central Indian Agency of our day.]

II. Āparānta, not Āparānta.

10. There is misapprehension with regard to another word. In Rock Series V, the text has been taken as āparānta, and as meaning 'western neighbours,' taking the word as made up of apa-ra + anita. It might also be analysed as a-para + anīta, i.e., the 'home' or 'inside' neighbours; or possibly as avara + anīta, the 'inferior' neighbours. But these interpretations must be given up as inadmissible, for the reading is āparānta (at Girnār, Āparānta; at Dhauli, Āpalanīta), i.e., 'the peoples belonging to Āparānta.' The Āpalanīta of Kaḷsi is therefore to be taken as used just like the Āparāntaḥ of the Purāṇas. Āparānta is a term used by Hindu geographers: it means the division of India called 'Western India.' This Western India is thus described about 250 A.D. (Matyā Purāṇa, 113, 49-51):

कुलस्वरूप सतर्कता रूपस्तलापरि: सह ||
तथा देशिकविकृत वर्ण [ रा ] 32 रूपकत्वात् ||
[ ना ] 33 सिकबेजवम् ये चार्ये ये वैवाचरणम्-भमेन्त: ||
मारक्कर: स-महिं: सह ससस्तवत्वात् ||
कालवीकवेश सीताद: प्राणां घुड़ी: सह ||
इत्यत्र अपारान्तति

20 Inscriptions of Asoka, 1925, p. 48.
31 The point has been missed by Hultsch owing to the vowel sign not being prominent.
32 Hultsch translates as 'western borderers,' Inscriptions of Asoka (1925), p. 10. I had previously suggested this rendering (Hindu Polity, 1924, i, 43); but this is not maintainable, as we shall presently see.
33 ्रा, corrected from the Vāyu text.
34 ्पा, corrected from the Vāyu text.
35 पगररांपर, in the printed text is an obvious misreading.
11. The extra line in the Vāyu gives a definite datum in सूर्यकोटि (miscopied as सूर्यकक्ष), i.e., from Sūrpāraka, the modern Sopārā, which is described as the capital of Aparānta in E.I., XI. The name probably owed its origin to Sūrpāraka having been the port for sailing to Assyria (Śūra). कच्छ: are the modern Kachchis, the Gujarātispeaking people living in Cutch (Kacch), popularly known as 'Kacch-Bûj,' Samāhēyây I have subdivided as sa-Māhēyây, 'with the people of the Māhi valley.' Sārasvata refers to the river Sarasvati, still bearing its old name. It is to the west of the Māhi. Cf. Varāhāmihira:

According to the above text, Aparānta, lit., 'the western end,' extended from Nāsik to the Ran of Kacch, including the area now called Pārkar [=Pāraskara] on the northern edge of the Ran. It is for the most part identical with the Gujarāt country, with probably a later extension beyond the Tāpti river (Tāpakāhi saha).

III. Aśoka’s Aparānta?

12. Now, who were Aśoka’s Aparānta? The inscriptions are not very helpful here; in fact they are positively confusing, as will be seen from the extracts quoted below: —

Girnār ... Yona-Kamboja-Ganidhrānam (1) Riṣṭika (incorrect for Rāṣṭrika).-P[e]levikānām ye va pi amīne Aparantā (2).

Māṃsehrā ... Practically the same as above, except that it reads Raṣṭika-Pituṇakama.

Kālī ... Yona-Kamboja-Ganidhrānam eva va pi amīne Apalanāta.


Dhauli ... Yona-Kambocha-Ganidhalesu Laṭhikā-Pituṇikama eva va pi amīne Apalanāta.

It will be noticed that Girnār, Māṃsehrā and Dhauli would describe at least the second group (Rāṣṭrika-Pituṇaka) as Aparantas, and would seem to indicate that there were other Aparantas among whom Aśoka carried on his propaganda of positivism. Shāḥbāzgarhī, on the other hand, would indicate both groups as non-Aparantas, while Kālī knows only the first group, and will make them Aparantas! The first group, we know from the Rāmāyana downwards, to be udīcīyā (Northerners), and never Westerners. We have to regard Kālī as a misreading of the यान्तर of the Matyā son.
as defective, in omitting by mistake the mention of Rāṣṭrika-Pitinikānām. Similarly the Shāhbāzgarhī text is to be considered defective as omitting by mistake añe (other) before Aparānta. The mistake at Shāhbāzgarhī shows that in Gandhāra [Province] the engraver or writer on the rock did not know that Raṭhikas and Pitinikas were Āparāntas or that they were neighbours, for he makes them separate and does not group them. The mistake also shows that Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāra, which the writer knew well, were not Āparāntas. The writer at Kālṣi, who does not use the form Āparānta but has Apalaṁtā, missed or omitted the real Āparāntas and employed the non-technical apalaṁtā, and writing as he was in the upper Sīvālikas, he might correctly call the Peshāwaris and Kābulis ’the Westerners.’ The true text is at Girnār, Mānsēhrā and Dhaulī, according to which, read in the light of Shāhbāzgarhī, the peoples to whom Āparānta applied were the Rāṭhika (Rāṣṭrika)-Pitinikas (Petenikas).

Having Pitinikas as one of the Āparānta administrative units, we can safely infer that the next neighbours, the Bhojas (Bhoja-Pitinika, Rock XIII), were included in the ’other Āparāntas.’ We have thus three communities who were Āparāntas:

Bhojas

Rāṣṭrikas

Pitinikas

The Rāṣṭrikas were the connecting link between the two, and must have been in a position from which they could link the Pitinikas and the Bhojas with themselves. Thus, if we can fix the localities of the other two, we can guess the position of the Pitinikas almost to a certainty.

For a period of less than a hundred years after Aśoka, we have the evidence of Khāravela (E. I., XX, 79) that “all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas” fought against him together. This shows that there was more than one Raṭhika republican chief and probably more than one Bhojakas republican chief, and that the two were distinct, though closely allied. They were probably, therefore, close neighbours: Bhoja-Raṣṭrika-Pitinika made really one group.

Location of the Raṣṭrika, Pitnika and Bhoja States.

13. According to a passage of the Mahā-Bhārata one had to cross the Chambal to reach the Bhoja state and the Nava-Raṣṭras or Nine Raṣṭras.39 According to another passage, the Bhojas were between Karuṣa and Sindh (Sindhu-Pulindikas).40 The Bhojas were allied to Kṛiṣna’s kinsmen, the Andhaka-Vriṣṇis, and migrated with them to Western India from Śūrasena. They must have settled near them, that is near Kāṭhiavar. The position suggested by the Mahā-Bhārata 39 is below Sindh and to the west of the Mālavas, with whom are associated the Karuṣas (Karulas, Karoṣa, Matoja, 113. 52). By crossing the Chambal one came into the Mālava country. The locality thus suggested is between Sindh and Mālava. The limit of the Mālavas in Western India was Mount Abu, Arbuda, (Arbuda-Mālavā), i.e., the Aravalī range. Leaving the Bhojas here, let us see if we can be more definite about the Raṣṭrikas or Lāṭhikas.

Our best guide here is Ptolemy. He places Lāriṇa between the mouth of the Māhi river and the peninsula of Kāṭhiavar (McCrindle, p. 38) and extends its dominions from the mouth of the Narmadā (Barygaza) to the east of Indo-Skythia or Sindh (McCrindle, p. 152). Ptolemy’s Pouindai, whom Yule places to the NE. of the Raṇ of Kačch (McCrindle, p. 157), are the Sindhu-Pulindas of the Sanskrit texts. Lāriṇa is an exact rendering of Rāṣṭrika in its Prakrit form.

We have thus on the authority of Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) Lāriṇa extending from Bharoach to the Gulf of Kačch, i.e., the modern Gujārāt (west of Western Mālava). Lāriṇa seems to have extended up to the river Sarasvati—called by Varāhamihira as the limit of Western India (nātha vijnānēva sannātato prabhāswī rāpo) —which rises from the Aravalī hills and falls into the Gulf of Kačch. Ptolemy’s limits of Lāriṇa coincide with those of Lāṭa-deśa of Sanskrit
ADDENDUM
to "Places and Peoples in Aśoka's Inscriptions."

Bhojas (p. 129).—Enthoven, in his Tribes and Castes of Bombay (I, 229) writes: "Bhojaks, also known as Magas, are found in considerable numbers in Kāthiāwār and Cutch. They were originally Shrimāli Brāhmans who adopted the Jain faith for a living."

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, in a letter to me, notes their absence in the Central India States. In Rājpūtānā their number in 1931 was 2754. In 1901 they were all returned from Mewār, which is not far from Cutch. These facts point to Cutch being their original home.

I have ascertained at Koneh, near Tekāri in the Gaya district, that Śākaldvīpī Brāhmaṇa are also called Bhojakas. In the Deobaraṇark inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, Bhojakas appear as priests of the sun-god. The Śākaldvīpa, or Šākadvīpa, from which they came to Bihār was evidently Indo-Scythia, which comprised Cutch and Sindh. In the time of Aśoka the Bhojaka, who survived till Khāravela's time as a political community, must be regarded as connected with the ancient Bhojas (see Hindu Polity, i, 39, 89 ff.)

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writers (Apara-Mālava-paścimenā Laṭa-deśa). The names Lāṭhi, a State in Kāṭhiāwār, and Rāṭhi, a caste name among Mārvāri (Mālav-wār) Vaiṣyas preserve the ancient Rāṭhika.

Pitinka.

14. The Pitinikas, for the reasons indicated above, should have lived somewhere between the lower courses of the Māhī and Sarasvatī rivers. Now, about 40 miles to the south-by-east of Ahmadābād lies the modern town of Petlād, in what is now part of the Baroda State. The old name of this place was Petila (see A.S.R.W.C., 1920, pp. 47, 60). Petila = Petina. I think there can be little doubt that in this name we have a survival of the ancient Pitinka, Pitinka, Petenika (omitting the suffix), and that it suits the location otherwise suggested.40a

Bohjas.

15. The Bohjas, who, according to the Mbb., Bhīṣma-p. list, should have resided behind the Ran of Kacch, must have occupied Kacch. The popular name, Kacch-Bhūj or Kacch Bhoj, for that peninsula preserves the tradition. The Rāṣṭrikas, in the middle, extended up to the frontiers of the Pitinikas and the Bohjas. The Bohjakas, a caste, are today mostly found in Cutch and Kāṭhiāwār.41

Mahā-Rāṣṭra in Daksināpatha.

16. The Mahā-Rāṣṭras were, according to the Purāṇas, in the Daksinā-patha (Vāyu). They were thus not an Äparānta people. The Rāṣṭrikas should not, therefore, be identified with them. It is probable that some of the Rāṭhikas and Bohjas moved down to the other side of the Satpura hills, and settled there. But their chief home, especially in Aśoka’s time, was to the north of the Narmadā, in Gujarāt proper, from Kāṭhiāwār to Kacch.

Rāṣṭrikas and ‘Abiria.’

17. In the time of the Periplus (c. 80 A.D.) the very area called by Ptolemy ‘Larikē’ was called ‘Abiria.’ It seems that the Ābhiras or Gujarāt were the Rāṣṭrikas of Aśoka and the Yādavas of the Mahā-Bhārata. Again and again in that area we find republics. In the time of the Mahā-Bhārata they are Andhaka-Vṛṣipis and Bohjas (Yādavas) ; in the time of Aśoka we have the Rāṣṭrikas and Bohjas ; in the time of Khāravela we have the Rāṭhikas and Bohjakas ; in the time of Samudra Gupta we have the Ābhiras, while a contemporary Purāṇic text designates the Sauraṣṭras and Avantyas — Ābhiras ;42 in the time of Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta we have the Pusyamitras there. These were all one and the same or allied people, with different names at different times.

Rāṣṭrika-Bhōjas.

18. The treatment of these two in Aśoka’s inscriptions shows that to some extent the Bohjas were identical with the Rāṣṭrikas, for in Rock P. V and Rock P. XIII they interchange like the Nābhakas and Gāndhāras. It seems that the Bohjas were amongst the Rāṣṭrikas, as the Nābhas were amongst the Gāndhāras.

IV. Aśoka’s Republicans.

19. The Sauraṣṭras, who had been a republic (saṭṭha) at the time of Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, soon ceased to be so in the very time of Chandragupta, who had a governor in Sauraṣṭra (modern Soraṭ). Their political status was changed. Hence we do not find them in Aśoka’s republican list. Kāmbhoja, which had been a republic in early Maurya times, was still so in Aśoka’s time, but the Kṣatriya-Sreni ceased to be so. The enumeration in the Arthaśāstra is followed in essence by Aśoka, the Arthaśāstra’s list being :

‘Kāmbhoja—Sauraṣṭra-Kṣatriyasreni and others’ (Kauṭilya, Bk. X.)

The Kāmbhoja of Kauṭilya probably included the Yavanas and the Nābhas, and his Surāṣṭra probably included the Rāṣṭrikas.

20. The second list of Kauṭilya is :

(a) Licchavika — Vṛjikha — Mallaka (Eastern India),

40a For a Pētīna from Gujarāt in the seventh century see Moras, Kadambakula, p. 65; March, 1925, p. 83.
41 Entwoven, Caste and Tribes of Bombay. I am thankful to Mr. Hira Lal for this reference. This caste is the remnant of the ancient Bohjakas.
42 Bhāgvata (Cf. Vīṣṇu) in Pargiter’s PT., p. 54; JBOBS., XIX, 149-150.
Madraka — Kukura — Kuru — Pāṇchāla and others (Eastern Panjâb to Madhyadesa) who lost their political status by the time of Aśoka, though the Madrakas reappear in the succeeding centuries and continue up to 350 A.D. (i.e., the time of Samudra Gupta) as republican.

The republics with political powers and full autonomy in the time of Aśoka are a limited list (R. P. XIII): (i) the Yavanas, the Kâmbojas, the Nâhbas and Nâbha-Pâmntis, the Bhojas and the Pitinikas [the Raštikas were under the Rajukas of the king, like any other imperial district, according to the Yerragudi inscription—IHQ, IX, 112] and (ii) the Andhras (on the Oxus), with the Pâradas. The latter are found under a king, Pâradân shâh, in 293-294 A.D. [Paikuli Inscription, pp. 117-119, Berlin, 1924.]

Bhâratavarṣa and Himavarṣa.

21. Aśoka’s line of demarcation is Meru (Hindukush) with Nisadhâ (Paropa-Nisad). Those to the south of the Meru-Nisadhâ frontier are (i) the above, and those to the north of them, in Himavarṣa (Imaus), are the (ii), § 20. The territory commencing from the Hindukush is counted by Aśoka in his India, which was something like Bhâratavarṣa. The Greek writers have preserved the tradition that some reckoned India from the hindukush, and some from the Indus or the Köphen. The latter was what the Pûrânas call Kumâridvîpa. Aśoka’s Oxus Province was in his Jambudvîpa, which had been a well-established term before his time, as the Pâli canon shows. The Oxus Province we find included by the Pûrâpas in Bhâratavarṣa and Jambudvîpa—on the other side of the Jambô river. It seems that the Jambû river and Meru (Hindukush) constituted the limits of Maurya India, otherwise Aśoka would have started his arâja-visaṣya enumeration with the Andhra-Ândaras. Up to the Hindukush we find an actual Hindu population: Śaśi-gupta was a ruler there in the time of Alexander. Aśoka’s dividing line has a geographical meaning, which is explained by the Greek authors writing on the limits of India, and the Hindu divisions of Bhâratavarṣa and Himavarṣa.

The Kaṭhôja of Aśoka.

22. Kaṭhôja (Gîrinâr, Kâlsâ and Mânsehrâ, V and XIII), with its variants, Kâṭhôya (Shâhbazgarhi, V, XIII) and Kaṭhoça (Dhauil, V), is the Kaṭhôja of the Arthasastra (Bk. XI. c. 135). The regular form, however, in Sanskrit literature, from Yaska and the Râmâyana down to medieval inscriptions, is Kaṭhôja (country) and Kâṭhôba (people). The form Kaṭhôya suggests that in Aśoka’s time the name was pronounced thus in the country itself. From this, ‘Kâšboh,’ the name of a numerous Hindu caste found in the Panjâb is derived. Their tradition is that they came from Gajni (i.e., Ghazni), ‘near Kâmbay.’

Kaṭhôba and Kâbul.

23. The origin of the word is kambu, ‘neck.’ Both Kambu-jâ (and its derivative Kâṭhôja), ‘born in Kambu,’ and Kaṭhôba, ‘of Kambu,’ may be derived from kambu. The area where Kâbul is situated is just like the neck of a water-pot or a conch. Kâbul seems to be identical with the ancient Kaṭhôja. Its capital, according to the Buddhist sūtras, was Dwârakâ.

The Yavana-Kaṭhôjas were between the Yavanas (Yonas of Aśoka) and the Gândhâras. These Yavanas were pre-Alexander Yavanas, who are noted in the same position in the Râmâyana (Kiṅkindhâ, 43, 11—Kathiyo-yavana-âcayena) and in the Pâli canon.

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43 It is definitely clear that the Hindus named the two ranges, and it was their nomenclature which the Greeks found in use. In the Pûrâpic geography Meru and Nisadhâ are adjoinning, and between them the Jambû River flows (Vâya). Their Jambû-tree was probably the blue plum, which is associated in India with Turkwistân (‘diâ Bokhârî,’ ‘the round fruit from Bokhârâ’) and which in shape appears like the jâmun fruit of India proper.

44 Cf. Wilson and Hall, Vishnû Pûrâna, references in Index.

45 Rose, Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Panjub and North-Western Frontier Province, ii, 442 ff.

46 Ibid., p. 444.

47 Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 23-28.
PLACES AND PEOPLES IN AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS

(Yona-Kaṁbojas). These Yavana-Kaṁbojas of the Pāli texts had no Brāhmans according to the canon and Aśoka (R. P. XIII) ; they had only free men and slaves, which is an accurate description of a Greek community. The Pāli form, Yona-Kaṁboja, would mean that these Yonas were in the Kaṁboja country and a part thereof. In 1919 I had pointed out that these were pre-Alexander Yavanas, the Yavanas of Pāṇini and Manu, for Manu treats them as a Hindu tribe; and I identified them with the community at Nysa, below the Hindukush (Meru), with their president Akoubi (Ā-Kaubhi). The latter official presided over the people who dwelt between the Hindukush and the Kubhā (Kābul) river, i.e., to the north of that river. They claimed kinship with Alexander's Greeks, which was acknowledged. Patañjali notes their janapada: Naiśīya nāma janapadāḥ (M. IV. l. 4 on P. 4. l. 170).

From Arrian we get some light on the identification of

The Yona-Kaṁboja-Gaṇḍhāras of Aśoka (R.V).

In the edicts these are grouped together, which means, they were all neighbours situated in this order. The enumeration is scientific, being in geographical sequence, from west to east, which is confirmed by Arrian (I):

"The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Köphen, by two Indian tribes, the Astakenoi and the Assakenoi, who are not men of great stature like the Indians on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. . . . . The Nysaioi, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos. . . . . The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysa (i.e., the Naiśīya janapada of Patañjali) . . . . . and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Mēros (Meru) . . . . . . In the dominions of the Assakenoi there is a great city called Massaka, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Puskalavatī, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a western direction as far as the Köphen."

Arrian, in the above passage, indicates that Puskalavatī was easternmost in this enumeration, and his Assakenoi, or the Aśvakas, were on the Kābul river and between the Nysa Yavanas and Puskalavatī. Now Puskalavatī was in Gaṇḍhāra. Aśoka's Kaṁbojas were between the Yavanas and Gaṇḍhāra. The Kaṁbojas of Aśoka and of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts thus occupy exactly the same position as Arrian's Assakenoi (Aśvakas). We thus get another name for the Kaṁbojas, i.e., Aśvakas. The Kaṁbojas were famous for their horses, and as cavalry-men (aśva-yuddha-kuśalāḥ); Aśvakas, 'horsemen,' was the term popularly applied to them.

Gaṇḍhāra.

24. Arrian, starting his enumeration from the Indus westwards, mentions the Astakenoi first, which means that they were in Gaṇḍhāra. The Aṣṭakas are the well-known Aṣṭakarājya, 'the Confederacy of Eight.' They are now represented by Hashtnagar, the 'Eight Cities' tract on the lower Swāt in the neighbourhood of Puskalavatī (Chārsadda). The Gaṇḍhāra of Aśoka was divided into two parts, (1) on the eastern side of the Indus, with Takṣaśīlā as capital, which was an Imperial Province, and (2) the Bājaur and Swāt region under autonomous (city) states, with Puskalavatī as the biggest town amongst them. They formed a league of eight city-states. Now, in Rock P.V. we have the Gaṇḍharas, and in Rock P. XIII we have in their place (in the arāja-viśaya group) the Nāhaka-Nāhapaṁti (parīktī). Here the section of Gaṇḍhāra which was not under direct imperial rule was distinguished by these two names. Precisely in this region (Bājaur-Swāt) we have now the Nāhaka community and the Nāhaki Pass. Nāhaka is the exact equivalent of Nāhaka.

48 Majjima, ii, 149 (pointed out by Mr. C. D. Chatterji). These Yonas-Kaṁbojas had only two varnas (castes), viz., arya (free men) and dhea (slaves); and one could change to the other.

49 While delivering my Tagore Law Lectures before the Calcutta University. See Tagore Lectures, (1919), p. 83; Hindu Polity, i. 147—148.

50 Mahā-Bhārata, Śānti p., 105. 5 (Kumbakoṇam ed.)

I have given other reasons elsewhere for placing the Nâbhaka and the Nâbha ‘pañkî, or ‘Nâbha lines,’ in Gandhâra, on the authority of the grammatical literature, where they appear as Nabhaka and Urua Nabha. Pañkî is a synonym of śreni, ‘line,’ which is often used to denote a league of republicans. The Nâbhakas and Nâbha-panûtis had their confederacy of eight city-states. If we take the second member as Nabha Pañkî (as we already have the Nâbhakas), the Pañkî would be ‘the Panûtis’ in league with the Nâbhakas, and would be identical with the Paktyes or people of the Paktyika or Paktyike country named by Herodotus. The Nâbhas occupied the country just to the south of the gold-trading Dardistânis.

Nâbhaka and Nâbhaka occur as designations of Rishis in the Rigveda. Nâbha-nediśtha Mânava is well-known as one who was left out in partition by his father, Manu. Nâbha-nediśtha, ‘nearest in descent,’ has retained that meaning in the Avesta (Vedic Index, i. 442). The Nâbhas appear to have been a Vedic community.

The Nâbhas are now the Pañhâns of the Swât valley. Their seat (dôhana) was the ‘way’ (pûta, or vêta), and Pûta-dôhana or Vêta-dôhana was merely a descriptive title, not an ethnic name, as Pañhân or Pañhân is today. It was evidently the ancient Nâbhas or Nâbhakas who were described by Varâhamihira as the ‘city states’ (grâma-râstrâni) of the Vêtaêdânas, who are located along with the Yaûdheyas and Trigartas, etc.: Traigartta-Paurava-Ambaśtha-Pûrâna-Vâṭadânana-Yaudheyâth, Sâravastâ-Arjunâyana-Mateyârtha-grâma-râstrâni (Brihat-S., XVI, 22).

V. Aûksha’s International Conquest by Dharma, and his so-called “Ashashu” (Correctly, Ashurshu=‘in Syria’).

In Rock Proclamation XIII we have (quoting Hultzsch’s translation)
and that Dharma-vijaya (‘Conquest by Dharma’) of Devânâmprîya has been, again, obtained,
(a) “here (tha, ñha);
(b) “and in all the anûtas (=frontier states of neighbours-shavisne cha avteshu);
(c) “Ashashupi yovanashateshu (K. reading of Hultzsch) where the Yavana king Amityokha (lives or rules) (yatra Amityoko nama yona-loja (Shâhbâzgarhi);
(d) “beyond this Antiochus (where) the four kings (rule)
(e) “to the south—in Choûa-Paûnda down to Ceylon (Tambapanghi);
(f) “similarly here in the non-monarchical visêha—amongst the Yonas (etc.),
everywhere (i.e., in all the above places) Devânâmprîya’s Dharma-anushasti (instruction or command on Dharma) is followed;
(g) “and even there where the envoys of Devânâmprîya do not go (the peoples)
are not that dharmavutam (the law of conduct, visdhânma (authoritative rules and ceremonies) (and) Dharmânuvastî (Dharma commands) obey them (anuvriddyamya).”

We may note, in passing, that dharmavutam is a technical term of Buddhism, meaning the seven points of proper conduct (satta vuta-padam), viz., supporting one’s parents, revering one’s elders, kind language, abstinence from backbiting, abstinence from selfishness, truthfulness, and restraining anger (Dh., 185, 186, 189). This is in effect the Dharma preached by Aûksha. Here the conquest of Dharma by the emperor in his own empire, including

52 Hindu Polity, i, 145.
53 Compare the modern name, Ùpa (Pashtu, Ura), of the lofty ridge in eastern Swât identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the Aornos of Alexander’s campaign (A. S. I. Mem. 42, pp. 88, 90).—C. E. A. W. O., Jt. Editor.
54 See Cary’s trans., iii, 102; iv. 44.
56 Pillar, VII. EE, HH, Hultzsch, p. 136; Rock, III, IV, IX, XI, XII, G.; Brahmagiri.
protectorates, and outside, is described. The outside area was composed of two classes, viz., (1) the countries to which imperial envoys were accredited, and (2) those countries which did not possess that political dignity. Some of the countries to whose courts Indian ambassadors were deputed are noted by the mention of their rulers by name (in the case of the Greek sovereigns) or by the mention of the States (e.g., Chaδ, Paδδa and Taнbαpani (Ceylon)).

There were states where Aδka's envoys did not go; and one of these must have been the Satiyaputra which is mentioned in R.P. II, but is omitted in R.P. XIII from the list of the higher international states. The enumeration of the states in India follows a geographical order. The Satiyaputra state is placed between Kerala and Paδδa, and we can be certain of its position as being in the Tinnevelly district. Sαδγ (old form Satiyγ) in that district probably marks their capital. It was in this district that was situated the port of Korkai or Kolkai, near the mouth of the Tαmrapanγi river, whence vessels sailed for Ceylon. The states in (b) to (e) are definitely named, and are implied to be ambassadorial states. The states in (c), i.e., in Europe and Africa, are given, evidently, in the order of their individual importance.

'Ashashu.'

(c) [Buehler's and Hultzsch's reading] has been translated thus (Hultzsch, p. 70):—

"even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas, where the Yona king named Antiyoka (is ruling),

and (d) thus:

"and beyond this Antiyoka (where) four — 4 — kings (are ruling). . . ."

Ashashu pi is taken as d-shashu pi, and rendered "even as far as six." There are serious objections to this interpretation. Pi is after ashashu, and not after yojana-shateshu. Why should 'six' be emphasised? If distance was to be stressed, then why was not the greater distance of the countries beyond that of Antiochus given? Then, we have a [u] at Kαlsi, not d [u]; if d ('up to,' 'as far as') was intended, we would expect d, as in R.P. II (Girmγ: d-Taнbαpanγi), and in R.P. IV (Dhaul: d-kapαθ). Excluding Kharoṣṭhī versions, where long d is always omitted, we have nowhere a used for d, and everywhere d given in full force (Pillar II: d-pαna). As δka's 'Conquest of Dharma' certainly extended beyond 600 yojanas, there would be no sense in giving the lesser distance of the place where Antiochus lived or ruled if distance was to be emphasised.

Correct Reading: Ashushu.

The second letter is not shu, but shu. See the plate of Shαhβγαγri (Hultzsch, pp. 68-69). The u-mark to the first sh at Mαnsera is also clear; it is only a little more slanting and a little irregular (see Hultzsch's plate opposite p. 84). Its third and last occurrence at Kαlti (plate, p. 50, line 6) has a very thin tail to the bottom of sh. We have thus at Shαhβγαγri and Mαnsera Ashu", and at Kαlti, Ash(u)". Further we may distinguish on the top of the second sh at Kαlti a wavy horizontal line, distinguishable more easily in the plate of Buehler (E. I., II., p. 460), and a clear r added to the bar of the second sh at Shαhβγαγri and Mαnsera. The complete word, thus, is Ashushu, and the base Ashur.

Now Ashur or Ashu should be in a position from where ('beyond' which) one could get into the territories of the four 'neighbouring kings' (sαmγpa-rαδγαn, Girmγ; sαmγγha lαjαn, Dhaul and Jaugada). Such a position would be the sea-coast of Syria or Asia Minor, but as the first neighbour of Antiochus is the king of Egypt in the inscriptions, we have to take the country of Ashur as Syria, and probably not Assyria. Here, as in Herodotus, Syria is called Ashur (Assyria), not Shur.

57 Tamrapanγi is undoubtedly Ceylon. According to Hindu geography, Tamrapanγa (Tamrapanγa) was a δελπa separated from India by sea (Mateγ, Ch. 113; Vδya, Ch. 45, 70-78). The expression σαμγγha 'down to,' denotes that in the south (nich-pin) it was the southernmost state. The river Tamrapanγi is in the Paδδa country, and Paδδa is already separately mentioned. Megasthenes also has Taprobαγ for Ceylon (Merrilludd, p. 62), which corresponds to Tamrapanγi.

58 If Ashu is the form, it would correspond to the proper-name forms found in the cuneiform documents of the reigns of Antiochus I and his father.

59 Not sαmγγha rαδγαn, as Hultzsch reads. There is no anuvαδα; see plate, p. 4.
ON THE REIGN OF KRŚNA II, THE RĀŚTRAKŪṬA.

BY NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

Speaking of Prthivirāma, son of Mēḍāda, who was the first of the Raṭṭas to attain the position of a Great Chieftain (Mahā-Sāmanta), during the reign of the Rāśtrakūṭa king, Krśnarājādēva, the Saundatti inscription of the Raṭṭas, dated in 1096 a.d., 1 incidentally refers to his Rāśtrakūṭa patron, and in doing so maintains that “seven hundred and ninety-seven years of the Śaka era having elapsed, in the Mannatha samvatsara, that king caused a temple of Jīna to be built in the village of Sugandhavarti and allotted to it eighteen nivarṭanas.” 2 The date referred to corresponds to 875-76 a.d., and the context, which is replete with a brilliant description of a great king, is evidently applicable in so far as the builder of the said temple is concerned, to Krśnarājādēva, and not to Prthivirāma, who was no ‘king’ at all, and hence no claimant to all those superior royal epithets. According to the following lines of the same inscription, Prthivirāma himself, too, had had erected a shrine of Jīnēndra, the locality of which, however, is not precisely known. Now, the only king of the Rāśtrakūṭa dynasty with the name of Krśnarāja who could possibly reign in or about the above date was Krśna II, son of Amoghavarsa I, and the late Dr. Fleet, who edited this inscription, first admitted it. But since the Kanheri inscription of 877-878 a.d. 3 of Amoghavarsa I’s reign appeared prima facie in conflict with the reign of his son in 875-76 a.d., he later on “applied it as furnishing a date for Krśna II as Yuvarāja under his father Amoghavarsa I....” 4 But that again fell short of consistency with the imperial titles that have been used of Krśnarāja. So he ultimately concluded that

(1) the king who caused the temple to be erected at Sugandhavarti in 875-76 a.d. was not Krśnarāja, but the Mahāsāmanta Prthivirāma;

(2) the very “date of a.d. 875-76 cannot be an authentic one for Prthivirāma; for we know, from another of the Saundatti records, that he was the grandfather of a certain Sāntivarman..............who was the ruling Mahāsāmanta in December, 980 a.d. and the range of a hundred and five years for the three generations is far too great”;

(3) “the real patron and sovereign of Prthivirāma must have been Krishṇa III”, whose earliest known date is 940 a.d., and that the Saundatti record of 1096 a.d. “makes a confusion between Krishṇa III and his ancestor Krishṇa II.” 5

But if two generations of kings could be on a throne in 814 6 and in 911 a.d., 7 as were Amoghavarsa I and his son Krśna II, and if the Rāśtrakūṭa Chieftain Nandarāja, or Nannarāja, alone could rule for a period of at least 78 years, as is evinced by his Tiwarkhēd and Multāi plates, a hundred and five years for the three generations might not be far too great. Secondly, Dr. Fleet overlooked the fact that the long reign of Amoghavarsa was not a continuous one, which is borne testimony to by the versions of the Prāśnottara-ratna-mālā, 8 and an inscription found at Aihôle by Fleet himself. 9 The fourth line of this

2 Ibid., p. 200.
3 I.A., XIII, 135-36.
4 Ibid., XXXII, 220.
5 Ibid.
6 As indicated by the Sirur and Nilagurḍa inscriptions of the 52nd regnal year of Amoghavarsa I, and dated in 866 a.d.—I.A., XII, 216 f.; E.I. VI, 98 f.
7 I.A., XII, 222.
8 I.A., XII, 217-18, and XIX, 370.
9 I.A., XX, 114.
inscription reads: Śrī-Amoghavarsham nova-rājugam-gṛyē, i.e., 'while the glorious Amoghavarsha is reigning again,' and there are several copies of one, viz., the Digambara Jaina, recension of the Prāṇītottara-ratnamālā, a short treatise on the rules of good conduct, of which the concluding verse runs as follows:—

Śrī-Amoghavarsham nova-rājugam-gṛyē

Vivēkākhyānata rājugām Rājunālikā rachita-Āmoghavareṇa sudhīyām
(or su-ādiyā) sada-amūkṣītītī

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the earned, was composed by king Amoghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge" 30
(or, as the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar put it, "in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him"). 11

Thus, there might well be a temporary break about 875-76 a.d. in Amoghavarṣa I's reign, when Kṛṣṇa II might have acted as the king. We have now at our disposal also the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, according to which he had, even before 871 a.d., the date of the plates, relinquished his kingdom more than once. 12

An analogous instance of a king renouncing the throne out of spiritual fervour and again occupying it is furnished by Śrīn-tsan-Gāmpo, the Charlemagne of Tibet (seventh century), who, when a son of his reached the thirteenth year of his age, abdicated the throne in his favour and retired into solitude to pass his days in meditation, but resumed royalty when the son died at eighteen. 13 What exactly led Amoghavarṣa I to resume royalty after ceding it time and again cannot be divined, but in any case, we are not justified to correct or modify the text of the Saundatti inscription of 1096 A.D.

Amoghavarṣa I had embarked upon a disastrous campaign against the (Eastern) Cālukyas, and the fire of his prowess is said to have 'burnt the Cālukya race.' 14 Contest with these Cālukyas of Vēṇgi seems to have been a very significant event of Kṛṣṇa II's reign. Guṇakara-Vijayāditya III of this dynasty 'having made the firebrand Kṛṣṇa frightened and distressed, burnt his excellent city,' 15 (Mānyakheta). The Sirur and Nilgunda inscriptions of the time of Amoghavarṣa I refer to his being worshipped by the lord of Vēṇgi, 16 and the terrible invasion of Guṇakara-Vijayāditya III must have taken place after 866 A.D., the date of the two inscriptions, and probably also after the death of Amoghavarṣa I. On the other hand, the catastrophe had befallen the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before 888 A.D., when Guṇakara-Vijayāditya had ceased to be a king, and Bhīma I, his nephew, had been on the Cālukyan throne. 17 This, we should note, brings the date of the real accession of Kṛṣṇa II within a narrower limit, which extends from 877-78 A.D., the last known date of Amoghavarṣa I, to 888 A.D., the first known date of Kṛṣṇa II.

The Vēmāharpāḍu plates of Ammaraṇa II disclose the fact that Kṛṣṇa II later on went to wreak his vengeance upon the Eastern Cālukyas by falling upon Bhīma I and overrunning the land of Vēṇgi, but that the latter succeeded in freeing his territory from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa aggression. 18

We need not seriously doubt that ".........the support which Kōkkala (I, the Cēdi king) lent to Akālavarsa (Kṛṣṇa II) was given in all likelihood at the time when the latter was defeated, and his capital Mānyakheta occupied, by the Eastern Cālukya king

10 I.A., XIX, 379.
12 E.I., XVIII, pp. 248, 255.
13 JASB., 1881, pp. 221-22.
15 I.A., XII, 221.
17 I.A., XX, 102-103.; Duff's Chronology of India, pp. 81 and 279.
18 E.I., XVIII, 231; I.A., XX, 103.
Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III.” But the question is if Kökkala I married his daughter with Krṣṇa II, prior or posterior to the help he rendered to the Raṣṭrakūṭa prince in the South. The former alternative, however, would give us a reason why Kökkala should help Krṣṇa, and facts seem to corroborate it. King Indra III, grandson of Krṣṇa II, died in 917-18 A.D., leaving behind two sons who had attained such age as to succeed him on the throne. Supposing Indra III died when about thirty, at the earliest, we get at 887-88 A.D. as the hypothetical date of his birth, at the latest. His father Jagattuṅga II, who, though he did not reign, may yet be said to have lived for at least some twenty-five years, for he, too, had got two sons in Indra III and Amoghavarsa III. Thus Jagattuṅga may be supposed to have been born sometime in the first half of the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D., if not earlier, and his father, Krṣṇa II, had been wedded to the daughter of Kökkala I anterior to that, while the onslaught of Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III on Māṇyakēṭa could not have possibly taken place so early. Kökkala I thus seems to have succoured Krṣṇa II as his son-in-law, and this most probably not during the lifetime of Amoghavarsa I.

From the Bāṅgarh grant of Mahipāla I, the 9th of the Pāla monarchs, as also some other Pāla inscriptions of Bengal, we know that Rājyapāla married the daughter of a certain Tuṅga of the Raṣṭrakūṭa family. Prof. Kielhorn identified this Tuṅga with Jagattuṅga II. An inscription found at Bōdh-Gayā “records the dedication of a repository for aromatics and incense, or a well-scented temple (i.e., Gandhakūṭi) for the service of Buddha” and “the dedication was a king named Tuṅga, grandson of Nanda, a Rāhtr prince (“of the race of Raṣṭrakūṭa”) who once took or held the fort of Manipur.” The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee opined that the father-in-law of Rājyapāla was this Tuṅga of Magadha, of the Bōdh-Gayā inscription. But it does not necessarily follow from the Bōdh-Gayā inscription that Tuṅga, grandson of one who was in the possession of Manipur, had been the lord of Magadha. He, as a Buddhist, might well have visited Bōdh-Gayā in course of a pilgrimage. Granting, however, he had succeeded in carving out a principality of his own in Magadha, it would come to mean that Tuṅga’s usurpation of the Magadhan soil followed either from the hands of the (Gurjara) Pratihāras or from those of the Pālas themselves. But, in any case, he had tried to make intrusion and establish supremacy in Magadha, could not be friendly with the Pālas, and thus no matrimonial alliance was possible between these two houses at that time. Again, the description of Tuṅga, as it is in the Bāṅgarh inscription (“the high (tuṅga) high-crested (uttuṅga-mauli) moon of the Raṣṭrakūṭa family (Raṣṭrakūṭa-dānavya-ēndu)”) makes it indubious that the father-in-law of Rājyapāla, far from being a petty prince, like Tuṅga of the Bōdh-Gayā inscription, did belong to the Imperial Raṣṭrakūṭa family. ‘Tuṅga’ is a general epithet borne by the Imperial Raṣṭrakūṭas, and Krṣṇa II was called Subhatsuṅga, with whom Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies the father-in-law of Rājyapāla. This appears to be more tenable than Prof. Kielhorn’s identification with Jagattuṅga II, in view of the fact that the latter did not come to the throne at all, while Krṣṇa II had actually been a contemporary of Rājyapāla’s father, Nārāyanapāla, whose reign covered the latter half of the ninth century.

19 E.I., VII, 29.
20 I.A., XII, 250, 253.
22 J.A.S.B., LXI, 80, n. 9.
23 R. L. Mitra, Bōdh-Gayā, Ch. V, inscription No. 8, p. 194.
25 J.A.S.B., LXI, 80.
26 Cf. the Karhad Plate of Krṣṇa III, v. 6—E.I., IV, 287.
27 Vañger Jātiya Itihāsa, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 108.
INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

_Dyak_., 11 Jaargang, Nos. 5 and 6 (1931).—These parts contain a general survey of the indigenous industries of Java, Madura, Bâli and Lombok. The survey is the outcome of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Java Institute in 1928. The committee nominated to deal with the subject drew up and circulated questionnaires formulated in a methodical manner. The industries have been tabulated under 26 heads, and the information gathered by the inquiries has been collated and systematically presented by regencies, divisions, districts and subdistricts under each of those heads. Appended is a summarised tabular statement, arranged according to administrative divisions, i.e., on a geographical basis. The result is a valuable record for purposes of reference and for the use of any person interested in a particular industry or handicraft.

_Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, XXXI, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.-June, 1931._—In this number M. G. Coedès contributes another three of his ‘Cambodian Studies.’ In the first he presents revised readings of two Sanskrit inscriptions (1) from the knoll of Thâmpuó, and (2) from Tâ Prohm (Bati), which have hitherto been regarded as ‘Cambodian’ inscriptions, but which, he now conclusively shows, should be relegated back to Fou-nan times, and ascribed to the fifth century A.D. These inscriptions, one of which names the two last kings of Fou-nan, Jayavarman and his son, Rudraravaman, while the other (the older) names a king with the title ‘moon of the lineage of Kauṇḍinya,’ are of interest for more than one reason. They confirm the information derived from Chinese sources as to the spread of Indian culture to the East and the favour which Hinduism and Buddhism enjoyed there; and they prove that it was not the Kambujas who introduced the custom of recording inscriptions on stone. Readers of the I.A. will be interested to notice the almost exact similarity (to which M. Coedès has drawn attention) between the _akṣaras_ used in these inscriptions and those of the Uruvappalli copper-plates of Sir Walter Elliot’s collection, described by Dr. Fleet at pp. 50-53 of vol. V (Feb. 1876) of this journal.

In the second note (26) M. Coedès shows that the foundation of Kôh Ker and the installation of the royal god (styled Trihuvanaśvara) must be antedated by seven years, i.e., from 928 A.D. (according to Aymonier’s reckoning) to 921 A.D. The correction raises some interesting points, which have been indicated.

_Journal Asiatique, CCXX, 2, Apr.-June, 1932._—In our issue of Jan. 1932 (vol. LXI, p. 17) we referred to a note by M. Robert Fazy on the subject of an eclipse of the sun in the time of Asoka. M. Fazy suggested that the eclipse referred to in the story recorded by Hsian-tsang was one which, according to Oppolzer’s _Kanon der Finsterisse_ (1887), occurred on the 4th May 248 B.C. M. D. Sidersky, in the issue before us (pp. 295-297), now points out that the tables on which Oppolzer worked have since been revised by C. Schoch (1928), and that eclipses visible in the East occurred on the 4th May 249 (not 248) and the 15th June 242 B.C. He suggests that the story related by Hsian-tsang may have referred to the latter eclipse, which would have been almost total in the vicinity of Baroda, and sufficiently noticeable at Benares and the neighbouring areas, and that the interval of about seven years since Asoka’s pilgrimage (249 B.C.) to the spota sacred to the memory of the Buddha might have been employed in the construction of the legendary 84,000 stūpas. It is important that the correct dates of these eclipses should be thus recorded.

The article entitled “Is Wâk-wâk Japan?” by M. Gabriel Ferrand proposes a most interesting solution of the origin of this peculiar name, so familiar to us from the accounts of the Arab geographers and others, as well as of the location of the people described by it. M. Ferrand’s unrivalled knowledge of the Chinese and Arab geographical texts enables him to establish, convincingly we think, that the islands, or the country of the Wâk-wâk was not Japan, as M. J. de Goeje was disposed to hold. He traces the application of the name not only to a locality in the Eastern Archipelago, but also to the south-east coast of Africa, and he cites the opinion of Mr. R. N. Hall, who had long studied the question in those parts, that it was derived from the Bantu, who applied it to the Bushmen in minimsy of their speech, as being like the bark of the baboon (which closely resembles wâk-wâk). We seem to have here further evidence of the intercommunication in early times between the Malay Archipelago and Madagascar and the south-east coast of Africa, as well as, perhaps, of the conception, preserved in the maps of Ptolemy and the Arab cartographers, that the continent of Africa extended eastwards, enclosing the Indian Ocean on the south. M. Ferrand is inclined to hold that the _Pandanus utilis_ (the wâk-wâk of Madagascar) was the original of the legendary wâk-wâk tree, and that the association of wealth in gold with the people so called points to Sumatra (the ‘golden island’). In fact he concludes that the Oriental Wâk-wâks were inhabitants of Sumatra, whom he would identify with the Pakpakas, a Batak tribe that dwell in what the Dutch call Pakpakland, a territory in the north-west of the Tapanuli province, in the north-west of Sumatra, not very distant from the Baroes islands (the Bâlos of the Arabs and the P‘-lan-cho of the Chinese travellers).

_Acta Orientalia, IX, Pts. ii and iii, 1931._—This issue is devoted to a most valuable and scholarly work, viz., a translation from the Tibetan, with introduction and notes, by E. Obermiller of Leningrad of the
Uttaratantra, the fifth of the five treatises ascribed to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, with commentary by Aryasanga (fourth-fifth century A.D.).

In vol. XI, Pt. i and ii, M. Obermiller similarly presents a translation of the fourth of those treatises, the Abhisekamagadgānakāra.

The first of these treatises ascribed to Arya Maitreya, the Sutrā-jāmbakāra, was edited and translated (1911) into French by M. Sylvain Lévi from a manuscript brought by him from Nepal. The second and third treatises, the Madhūnta-vibhanga and the Dharma-dharmad-vibhanga, remain to be translated. The Uttaratantra is perhaps the most interesting of all five, as containing an exposition of the most developed monistic and pantheistic teachings of the later Buddhists and of the special theory of the Essence of Buddhahood, the fundamental element of the Absolute, as existing in all living beings. M. Obermiller is to be warmly congratulated upon the appearance of these two translations, which place students of Buddhism under a deep obligation to him. The work has been admirably performed, and we only wish that it (and perhaps certain other volumes of the Bibliotheca Buddhica) could be made available to scholars at smaller cost.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, IX, Pt. 1, 1932.—Among the papers in this number is one in which Th. Zachariae cites and comments upon a number of quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit texts in the works of certain commentators of Beugel who lived and wrote in the time of Laksapasaña (twelfth century A.D.). The references are interesting as indicating the spread of Buddhist culture at the period, and also because, as the writer notes, quotations from Buddhist works are seldom to be found in the commentaries on the classical poems, grammars and lexicons.

The much-debated question of the origin of Zarathustra is the subject of another paper by O. G. von Wesendonk, who, while drawing attention to available evidence and the more recent views expressed by others, comes to no very definite conclusion. He thinks it may be regarded as not at all unlikely that Zarathustra, though his field of work lay in eastern and north-eastern Iran, was a Mede; and that all that can be said with absolute certainty as to his epoch is that his activities long preceded the establishment of the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians.

In another article on 'The Morphology of Sanskrit,' which will appeal chiefly to students of linguistics, Max Waldeyer concentrates attention on the case of the locative sing. masc. neut., citing a large number of suggested parallels or examples from various Asiatic and eastern European languages. The question raised as to the use of particles to specialise or individualise the purely verbal conception merits research in other families of languages.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK NOTICES.


In this work, a thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts and which appears as No. 6 in the series of 'Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute,' the author disclaims any pretensions to discoveries of his own or to having in any way extended the limits of oriental scholarship or research. What, however, he has done with considerable success is to follow, in the form of a continuous history, the fortunes of Jainism for some thirteen hundred years. To this history he sets two limits, one geographical, the other chronological, dealing with north India only and not beyond 626 A.D. when the list of canonical works was finally drawn up by the Council of Vallabhi. In his introduction the author points out the neglect that Jainism, despite its antiquity, had suffered at the hands of orientalists, but acknowledges how interest in that religion has been stimulated by the works of Jacobi, Bühler, Hoernle, Charpentier and Thomas. He discusses the question of the founder of the religion and accepts the view of Jacobi that Mahāvīra was not that founder. He considers that the historicity of Pārśva is undoubted and that he lived, in all probability, about 626 B.C. He then sketches the historical background and political conditions in the time of Mahāvīra, recounts the main incidents of his career, and details the basis of his teaching and the principal Jain tenets. There is no minimizing of the schisms which rent the early church, and a brief account is given of the principal schismatic movements and of the epoch-making division into the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. To the vexed questions of the cause and date of this separation the author contributes nothing new, but points out that the idea that this occurred about the end of the first century A.D. is not entirely supported by the Matighara sculptures. In reviewing the relationship of the Jains with the rulers of northern India from 800 B.C. to the end of the Mauryan period he endeavours to prove that they were generally either Jains themselves or entertained friendly feelings towards that faith. The tradition that Chandragupta Maurya became a Jaina towards the end of his life is accepted, and the plausible suggestion is offered that the silence of the
Brāhmanical writers touching that powerful monarch may have been due in no small measure to that very fact. Close acquaintance is evidenced with all the leading authorities, but when the author turns to Jainism in Kaliyuga he has to fall back upon less reliable sources, the principal being the Khāravela inscription. Perhaps no epigraph has ever been subjected to such scrutiny with so little finality, and this section of the work, like the readings of that inscription, is very largely conjectural and open to criticism on points of fact and interpretation.

The author stresses the importance of the Mathurā inscriptions for the history of Jainism in north India, affording as they do evidence of the flourishing state of that religion in the Indo-Scythian period and throwing light upon the religion itself. Nevertheless we consider it unlikely that in this period Jainism was, in Mathurā itself, a serious rival to Buddhism, though it was certainly more tenacious of life, for from later inscriptions we know that the Jaina establishment on the Kaṭkali mound existed until the Muslim conquest, by which time all the Buddhist buildings had long fallen to ruin.

A survey is made of Jaina literature, and the author discusses how far the Digambara belief that the Siddhānta was completely lost or forgotten after the great famine in Magadhā is justified, and notes the evidence furnished by the Mathurā inscriptions on this point. He maintains that “the Jaina literature of the period under discussion does not yield to any other Indian literature either in quality or variety,” and he has some justification for this belief.

The last chapter deals with the sculptural, architectural and pictorial contributions of the Jainas to the history of North Indian Art in general. This contribution, we consider, small. We are prepared to accept the author’s dictum that there is no such thing as a Jaina style of architecture or sculpture. But there are nevertheless Jaina monuments and sculptures. Touching the images in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel writes that they are far inferior to contemporary Buddhist images and that their “conventionalism and uniformity will appeal even the most enthusiastic admirer of Indian art.” No Jaina paintings of the period treated are preserved, and those we cited illustrate the work are from a thirteenth century manuscript, and thus have no direct bearing on the subject under consideration. In this connection we note that the twenty-six plates are unnumbered and never once referred to directly in the text.

In his conclusion the author writes, “from the days of Pārśva or from 800 B.C. down to the conversion of the great Vokrama by Siddhasena Divakara to the beginning of the Christian era and to some extent even throughout the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods Jainism was the most powerful religion in the north.” The period, however, between the decay of the Kusamihāra power and the rise of the Guptas is one of the darkest in Indian history, and records of Jainism are lost in the general gloom. Even in Gupta times there is little in the way of inscriptions or other archeological evidence to prove that Jainism was more than tolerated under these essentially Brāhmanical rulers. The author seems to feel he has been unduly bold in his assertion, and in the very last paragraph of the book writes with commendable caution: “However, until the numerous Jaina inscriptions and manuscripts which exist everywhere in the north are collected and translated and until plans are made of the architectural remains and statistics gathered, it is idle to speculate upon the extent and strength of Jainism in the north or about its vicissitudes during its existence there.”

A full and careful index and an invaluable bibliography add to the merit of this well-balanced and serviceable work. H. Harikrāms.
that he has shown himself lacking in the capacity to deal with the exegesis of the Veda and the Avesta and with comparative philology. The case for the prosecution is supported by abundant evidence and the verdict will surely be accepted by most Sanskrit and Iranian scholars.

His own views may be briefly stated, though justice cannot be done to them in a few lines. In the first place he accepts the equation Sk. brahman = Av. barōman, whose sponsors have been Haug and Hillebrandt, and holds that the original meaning survives almost intact in the latter word. From the meaning of 'a bundle of grass,' used mainly as sacrificial strew, which may possibly still be traced in one or two Vedic passages, we get the derived sense of 'magic' carried out by such grass, still to be found in the use of the mūrīja girdle. Thence it comes to signify generally 'magic,' 'magic rites,' 'magic action,' 'magic spell.' A large number ofṚgvedic verses are critically examined, and it is shown that such a range of meanings gives them a much more forceful sense than they bear under the ordinary indefinite interpretations. Finally it is suggested that the word then developed on two lines, firstly into 'hymn' and secondly into the mystic sense which is so well-known to us. In the course of the discussion interesting sidelights are thrown on many passages, and bibliographical references are given on a generous scale. This inadequate summary will have entirely failed of its object if it does not induce readers, who have any interest in the Veda, to set to work at once on the study of an admirable book. In the reviewer it gave birth to the wish that, since the late Professor Macdonell died without giving us his eagerly awaited translation of the Ṛgveda, Professor Charpentier would step into the breach, and let us have the complete English translation, which we need so much and for which his learning and his command of our language so admirably fits him.

E. H. J.


The peculiar Indian institution known as 'Caste' has attracted widespread attention, and the number of books relating to it is legion. Some writers, such as Senart and his German critics, Dahlmann and Oldenberg, have discussed the way in which the caste system originated. There are many books containing a description of individual castes, of which Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal is one of the earliest and best-known examples. But hitherto there has been no general and comprehensive account of the actual working of the caste system and of its influence on the daily life of the people. A mass of information on this subject is to be found in various official records, and especially in the series of reports on the census of 1911, when the Census Commissioner invited the Provincial Superintendents to make a special study of the rules and restrictions which the caste system involves, of the penalties which are provided for their breach, and of the way in which they are enforced. The material thus provided has hitherto remained inaccessible to the general public. Mr. O'Malley, who was Superintendent of Census in Bengal in 1911, has now worked up this and other material in the excellent little book under review. He gives a very clear exposition of the social conditions which prevail under the régime of caste, and shows how a man must regulate his whole life according to the standards laid down by the community to which he belongs. He enumerates many typical rules and restrictions and describes the penalties which a man may suffer for neglecting them, and the way in which alleged offences are dealt with, and the penalties imposed and enforced.

In some parts of the book references are freely given, but in others they are omitted. For instance, no authority is quoted for the statement that some 'castes' insist on a man marrying outside his 'caste' (p. 2) and that some 'subcastes' also do so (p. 4). The book does not contain a definition of caste, but there can be no doubt that endogamy is its most essential feature. There are occasional exceptions to the general rule, but no group which prohibits endogamy can be regarded as a true caste or subcaste. The rule of exogamy applies to the smaller groups (gutras) which in the aggregate make up the caste or subcaste.

The chapter on the 'Untouchables' is of special interest at the present time. The people thus designated are themselves divided into a number of castes which are just as exclusive as the higher Hindu castes. The only thing they have in common is the slur of untouchability. This they can escape by conversion to Islam or Christianity, as mentioned in the footnote on p. 159.

In the thoughtful chapter on modern tendencies more prominence might perhaps have been given to the rapid disappearance of communal restrictions amongst the educated classes in towns, who often dine freely not only with Hindus of other castes, but also with Muhammadans and Christians.

E. A. GATT.


This booklet, of about sixty pages all told, contains an English version of four lectures delivered originally in Urdu. Mr. Yusuf Ali defines medieval India as the period between Harsha and the Mogul Empire, and he illustrates the life of the time by sketching first the seventh, then the tenth and eleventh, and finally the fourteenth century, more attention being given to social than to economic detail. The main object of the lectures was to arouse the interest of the hearers, and direct them to the sources of information; and they are well calculated to serve this purpose in their English dress.

W. H. M.
INITIAL FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES OF DRAVIDIAN.

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The affricates and fricatives occurring in initial positions of native Dravidian words are the following:

I. (a) The affricate c- and its voiced variety j-.
   (b) The dental affricate ts- and its voiced variety dz-.
   (c) The dental sibilant-fricative s-.
   (d) The palatal sibilant-fricative ə-.

II. The labial fricative s-.

III. (a) The velar fricative x [x]
     (b) The glottal fricative or aspirate k-.

[A] The distribution of initial c-, j-, s-, and ə- among the dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>c-</th>
<th>j-</th>
<th>ts-</th>
<th>dz-</th>
<th>s-</th>
<th>z-</th>
<th>ə-</th>
<th>ʒ-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malayālam</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
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<td>ə</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koḍugu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kūi</td>
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<td>ə</td>
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<td>Gōndi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kurukh</td>
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<td>ə</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brāhūi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*= of common occurrence.
†= of rare occurrence.

[B] The phonetic values of these sounds:

It would be necessary for the Dravidist who concerns himself with the history of these sounds to have a clear and definite idea of their precise phonetic values. The remarks made below regarding the values of the sounds of the southern dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayālam, and Tuḷu) are the result of personal observations made by the present writer. I have of course not had the help of instruments in analysing the peculiarities of these sounds, but I have tried to fix the common features of the enunciation of each sound by observing closely as many native speakers as possible. For the descriptions of the sounds of Kūi, Gōndi, Kurukh and Brāhūi I have had to rely on grammars dealing with these speeches.

The fricatives of this group are s- and ə-. The voiced varieties of the sound do not occur initially in any of the dialects of Dravidian.

The difference between s- and ə-, while unmistakable to the speaker and to the hearer, has resisted easy and summary definition by the phonetician, probably on account of the fact that several varieties of ə- could be produced, not all of which could be grouped together in one category on the basis of the features of articulation involved. Prof. Jespersen has pointed out (Lehrbuch der Phonetik, page 46) that no two phoneticians have definitely agreed in regard to the difference between s and ə. He has tried to get to the root of the matter by laying down the following rule: "There are two chief types of ə [ʃ]- sounds which differ in the manner of production but which have something in common, whereby they differ from s-sounds; and that, therefore, should be the characteristic feature of difference,

1 I have already dealt with the secondary glottal fricative of Dravidian in two previous papers of mine published in these columns.

2 The voiced variety of this sound, viz., ʃ [ʃdz] easily merges into the affricate j [ʃz] in the contexts in which it may be presumed to have occurred. ʃ, the voiced fricative, is unstable in medial positions also.

3 I
viz., the portion of the tongue which articulates is not the same as that which lies in normal rest-position exactly opposite to the point of articulation on the mouth-roof. In the case of s, if I may so put it, a portion of the tongue becomes active towards the region of the mouth-roof exactly opposite, while if the same portion of the tongue becomes active with the neighbouring region of the mouth-roof, \( \delta \) is produced; with one qualification, however, that when the region of the mouth-roof involved is that of the teeth, s is invariably produced.

Prof. Jespersen has noted two main varieties of \( \delta \):—one produced by the anterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue working against a region of the mouth-roof which lies farther back than that which, in rest-position, lies opposite to the foreblade of the tongue. This is the initial sound in English *shëd, shall*, etc. The other variety is produced by a portion of the tongue-surface farther back than in the above, operating against a more forward region of the mouth-roof.

So far as Dravidian\(^3\) is concerned, I have noted the following peculiarities. In Tamil where \( \delta \) in initial positions is general, except in Tinneveli and Jaffna, the fricative is produced by the raising of the middle of the foreblade of the tongue against the region of the mouthroof somewhat behind the teeth-ridge where a slight hole-like passage is formed through which air is allowed to escape. The sound approximates to the first variety of \( \delta \) described by Jespersen, but the point of articulation appears to be a little more forward than that of the English sound. This is the value of \( \delta \) in Tamil words like \( \ddot{a} \) (to die), \( \ddot{a} \) (small), etc.

But, as we shall see later on, Tamil has an affricate \( c \) [\( \approx \text{cf} \) in IPA script] which is constituted of a plosive element and a fricative \( \delta \). This fricative element in \( \text{cf} \) is always produced in Tamil at a still more backward position than in the variety described above, so far as both the region of the mouth-roof and the portion of the tongue-blade are concerned. The region of the mouth-roof is almost the middle portion of the hard palate, i.e., the same point at which the plosive element \( c \) of \( \text{cf} \) or \( c \) of geminated medial \( \text{cc} \) of Tamil is produced.

In Malayalam, initially, \( c \) alone is used, while \( \delta \) occurs only medially in native words. The greater frequency of \( c \) in initial positions of native words has led to all \( \delta \)-sounds being enunciated on the model of the fricative involved in the affricate, i.e., at a slightly more backward position than for Tamil initial \( \delta \).

Telugu, Kannada and Tulu \( \delta \) is, so far as I could see, like the Malayalam sound produced at the position where the front stop element of the affricate \( c \) is produced.

The Dental Fricative.

\( s \) is produced in all the Dravidian dialects with the foreblade of the tongue directly raised against the combined region of the teeth and the gums.

The Affricates.

There are two groups belonging to this class:

1. \( c \) \[\approx \text{cf}\] and \( j \) \[\approx \text{pj}\], both of which appear in initial positions in Kannada, Tulu and Telugu, while the voiceless variety alone is present in initial positions in Malayalam.

2. \( ts \) and \( dz \) which appear as the variants of initial \( c \)- and \( j \)- in Telugu before the dorsal vowels \( a, o \) and \( u \).

There appears to be little doubt that these sounds are genuine affricates, and not stops as they are usually described to be. In group (1) the plosive element \( c \) or \( j \) is discernible in

\(^3\) Sanskrit \( s \) is a true dental; \( c \) and \( j \) are produced with the "upper flat surface of the tongue" against the palatal region, while in \( \delta \) the "flat of the tongue operates against the forward part of the palatal arch." (Whitney's *Grammar*, pages 16 and 22.)

The descriptions of the sound \( \text{c}(x) \) given by Tamil grammarians may be cited here:

- Tolkappiyam, Sutra 89 of Elututigiram: \( \text{c} \approx \text{c} \text{c} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} \) "\( c \) and \( \ddot{a} \) are produced with the middle of the tongue and the palate."

- Nannul, Sutra 79: "\( c \) and \( \ddot{a} \) are produced with the middle of the tongue and the middle of the hard palate."

For Tel, \( ts \) and \( dz \), cf. Nannaya's Sutra (10): \( \text{addantyustalavyasew-vakrasydnmihavarnasaca} \)
the contact and release of the tongue-blade on the region of the mouth-roof whose position is denoted by 'g' in Jespersen's alphabetic notation. Immediately after the release of the stoppage, a fricative _shadow_ or _shadow_ follows, so that the sounds are homorganic with two constituents, viz., the plosive and the fricative.

In the peculiar Telugu affricates _shadow_ and _shadow_, the plosive and the fricative elements are dental.

Telugu  _c_ and  _j_ appear to be slightly more forward sounds (i.e., between the positions 'f' and 'g' of Jespersen's notation), than the Malayālam or Tamil variety. In fact these Telugu sounds retain their values only when the front vowels  _i_ or  _e_ follow them immediately. If the immediately following vowel is dorsal the plosive element  _c_ or  _j_ changes into  _t_ or  _d_, and the fricative  _ç_ or  _ç_ changes to  _s_ or  _z_. This is why Telugu words always possess in initial positions the affricates _shadow_ or _shadow_ when they are followed immediately by dorsal vowels.

[C] Occurrence of these sounds in initial positions in different dialects.

**Tamil.**—The same symbol denotes _shadow_ and  _c_ in Tamil; while used singly it has the value of  _ç_ and when geminated it is evaluated as  _cc_ [ _cc_].  _c_ or  _cc_ usually never occurs in initial positions in Tamil. The value of  _ç_ is general for this Tamil initial fricative, whether followed by a front vowel or a dorsal vowel.

In the colloquial of certain districts and certain communities, however, this fricative becomes a dental  _s_, when it is immediately followed by a dorsal vowel, e.g.,  _çappadu_ (meal),  _sollu_ (to speak),  _suttu_ (surrounding).

It may be noted that in these colloquials the dental  _s_ is almost never heard when followed immediately by the front vowel - _i_ or - _e_.

Sanskrit initial  _s_- is transcribed by the Tamil symbol for  _ç_ or  _c_ except by Sanskrit-knowing scholars, who use a foreign  _granthakṣara_ symbol ( _sw_ ) for this purpose. Sanskrit-knowing persons or those who come in contact with them give the correct value to initial  _s_- of Sanskrit words, even when it is transcribed with the symbol for  _ç_ in Tamil; but among others sometimes the symbol has been confused with its native Tamil value, so much so that a Sanskrit word like  _sakala_, transcribed as  _saw_ in Tamil is given the value  _bagala_. Tadbhava words like  _šīγam_ (from Sanskrit  _śima_ 'lion'), are always pronounced with initial  _ç_- except by pedants and purists. Cf. also the Tamil  _tadbhava_ adaptations  _santijam_ (from Skt.  _santika_),  _ṣuṣṭi_ (from Skt.  _ṣuṣṭhi_), etc.

**Kannada.**—Native words appear to have initially both  _c_-  and  _s_- . The value of  _ç_ for initial sounds does not usually appear in native words. The symbols for these sounds are all separate, the alphabet of Kannada (unlike that of Tamil) being modelled on the Sanskrit system.

\[\text{c-} \quad \text{cēlu, tēl (scorpion)} \quad \text{cf. pan-Dr. tēl.} \\
\text{cādar-, kēdar (to be dispersed)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil sīda-, Tulu kēda-, jada.} \\
\text{cīcū (fire)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil kītu, Kann. kīcū, Tel. cīcū.} \\
\text{cīkka (small)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil sī-, Mal. cīrūkkkan (boy).} \\
\text{ciiv-, ciiv- (to peel)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil sīv-.} \\
\text{ciic- (to titter)} \quad \text{cf. Tel. kēr-, Mal. cīrikkk-.} \\
\text{cēmbu (bronze vessel)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil ēmbu.} \]

\[\text{s-} \quad \text{sāy- (to die)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil sā-, Br. kah-.} \\
\text{sī (sweet)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil tī, tēn.} \\
\text{sīr, cīr-, kēr- (to become angry, to hiss)} \quad \text{cf. Tamil sīru, Br. kēseng (abuse).} \]

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4 In certain districts (e.g., Tinnevelly)  _c_- appears to be the value given to initial  _ç_ of Tamil.

6 Initial  _j_- in Kannada native words occurs in  _jēn_ (honey) — cf. Tamil  _tēn_.

  _jīr-, gēr- (to scratch) —  _kēr_.

  _jari- (to slide) —  _sāri_.

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The Indian Antiquary

Sutu (round about) ... cf. Tam. sut'tru.
Sot-, tolate- (to fail) ... cf. Tam. tol-

Tuju.—Initially c-, j-, s- and ɔ- are found, the last-mentioned (in the colloquial of certain communities) alternating with s-.

C-:——
celu, telu (scorpion) ... cf. Tam. tel.
carce, tarce (coconut-tree) ... cf. Tam. tōlai.
cadpu (leanness) ... cf. Mal. cadappu.
cint- (to burn) ... cf. Tam. tiy- (to scorch).
cù (alternating with sù, tā, 'fire') ... cf. Tam. tā (bright).
combu (bronze vessel) ... cf. Kann. cembu, Mal. cembu and Tam. sembu, all these being from kem- (red).
coli, soli, tōl (skin) ... cf. Tam. tol.

J-:——
jinj, dinj- (to be crowded) ... cf. Tam. tigw.
jire (small) ... cf. Kann. kīr, gir, cinna (small), Tam. ėrū.

S-:——
sir- (to hiss) ... cf. Tam. śiru.
sudu (burning) ... cf. Tam. śud-āl.
sul- (to be peeled) ... cf. Tam. tolī.
sù, tā, hā (fire) ... cf. Tam. tī, Tam. tu (bright), Brāhūi tā-be (moon).

seli, telī (to become clear) ... cf. Tam. telī.

Note.—Tuju has a large number of sub-dialectal words with initial s-. A number of words appear in Tuju with the dialectal alternants t-, s-, or h-.

S-:——
This sound alternates in some cases sub-dialectally with s-
sū (sweet) ... cf. Tam. tī, Kannada sī (sweet).
sir- (to correct) ... cf. Tam. tiru-tu, Kann. tidd-,
self- (to be spoiled) ... cf. Tam. kesu,

Note.—s- followed by dorsal vowels is absent in Tuju, except in Sanskrit borrowings with initial s-.

Telugu.—Native words usually show c- (before front vowels), ts- and dz- (before dorsal vowels).

c- (before front vowels):——
cin-ta- (to tear) ... cf. Tam. kīr-, Kannada gir-.
citsu (fire) ... cf. Tam. kiccu and Kannada ciccu.
cift- (small) ... cf. Tam. śiru, Kannada cinna.
cirra (anger) ... cf. Tam. śir-.
ciwu (to peel) ... cf. Tam. śiv-.
cir- (to scratch) ... cf. Tam. kīr-.
cen- (red) ... cf. Tam. sem-, Kannada kem-.
cēya (hand) ... cf. Tam. kai, Kann. gey, Gō. kai.
cevi (ear) ... cf. Tam. șevi, Kannada kibi, Gōndi kāvi, etc.

J- before front vowels is very rare in native words.
ts (before dorsal vowels):-

\textit{tsats}. (to die) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. ēṭa, Kann. sā, Malto ke, Kurukh khē, Brāhūi kah.}
\textit{tsūṭ}. (to see) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tulū tú, sā, Gō. sūr, Kūi sūr.}

dz (before dorsal vowels):-

\textit{dzāṭ}. (to slide) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. ṣarakk.} (to slide).
\textit{dzūḷa, kāḷuva} (river, etc., stream) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. sāl (canal), kāl.} (to flow).

\textit{s}. appears in words like \textit{sūḍi} (whirl).

\textbf{Kūi.}--\textit{s}. is most common initially in native words of this dialect; neither \textit{s}. nor \textit{c}. appears.

\textit{s}. :-

\textit{salba} (to go) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. śel.}
\textit{sāva} (to die) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. śā.}
\textit{sēmba} (to be sweet) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tel. tiye, Gōndī sē, Kurukh či.}
\textit{sīva} (to give) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tel. tiye, Gōndī sē, Kurukh či.}
\textit{sūṇja} (to sleep) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. ṭīṅga, Brāhūi ṭāh (to sleep).}
\textit{supa} (to spit) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. tupp, Kurukh tupp.} (to spit).
\textit{sūra} (to see) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Telugu tūḍ (to see).}

\textit{j}. :-- Examples of \textit{j}. words are rare.

\textbf{Gōndī.}--The affricate in initial positions is rare in native words. \textit{s}. appears to be completely absent.

Instead, \textit{s}. is very common.

In respect of the occurrence of initial fricatives, therefore, this dialect agrees with Kūi.

\textit{s}. :--

\textit{sāi} (to die) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. śā, Tulū sāi.} (to die), etc.
\textit{sī} (to give) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Kūi śī.}
\textit{sūr} (to look out for) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Kūi sūr (to see).}
\textit{sur} (to cook bread) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. śuṣ.} (to burn).
\textit{sīrī} (to be set on edge) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam., Kann. tīrī.} (to be turned).
\textit{sīkaṭi} (darkness) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tel. čkāṭi (darkness), Tam. tī (fire).}

Native \textit{j}. words seem to be very rare.

\textbf{Kurukh.}--Judging from the lists of words in Grignard's Dictionary, one might say that \textit{c}. occurs in native words.

\textit{c}. :--

\textit{cīc} (fire) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. kīṭu, Kann. cīcū.}
\textit{cīṭi} (to give) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Kūi and Gōndī śī.}
\textit{cīr} (to scratch) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. kīṛ, Tel. cīr.}

Most \textit{s}. words appear to be foreign borrowings.

\textbf{Brāhūi.}--Complete lists are not available. I have selected the following from Bork's valuable compilation "Vorarbeiten zu einem Br.-Wörterbuch," and from Sir Denys Bray's "Grammar." An examination of these would show that the affricate is represented.

\textit{c}. :--

\textit{ca} \{ \textit{tar} \} (to understand) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. terī.} (to know).
\textit{cūna-k} (small, child) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Tam. śīnna (small).}

\textit{s}. :--Initial \textit{s}. in native words appears to be a rarity. The following \textit{may} be native:--

\textit{sīl} (skin) \ldots \ldots \text{cf. Southern tôl (skin), Tulū sōl, cṑl.}
The possible mutual relationship of these initial affricates and sibilants.

The following significant facts may be singled out as emerging from an examination of the lists given above:

(i) The affricate $c$ appears to be widely prevalent in initial positions; Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Malayalam, Kurukh and Brâhûi show $c$, and among these Malayalam, Telugu and possibly Brâhûi and Kurukh favour only $c$, while Kannada and Tulu show a fairly large number of instances with $c$.

(ii) $s$ appears exclusively only in Kûi and Gôndî.

(iii) $\delta$ appears to have become generalized in initial positions in Tamil.

(iv) It will be noticed that $c$- and its voiced variety $j$- are in most instances followed by front vowels. We shall see below that these affricates are due to the palatalization of $k$-($g$-) (in most instances) and of $t$- (in a few others), cognates with $k$- and $t$- being widespread in the Dravidian speeches. The few very rare cases of $c$- followed by definitely dorsal vowels [as in the rare sub-dialectal Tulu $c_d$ (fire) alternating with $t_d$ and $s_d$] are presumably due to analogy with other $c$- words, as we know that such instances of $c$- followed by back vowels are far less popular and common than their counterparts with $s$-, which are invariably met with as popular variants of such rare cases with $c$- in the same dialect.

Initial $\delta$- and $s$-.

(i) Wherever the affricates and sibilants are traceable to the palatalisation of $k$- or of $t$-, the process of change phonetically could not be otherwise than $c > \delta > s$ (see below).

(ii) Tamil initial $\delta$- colloquially sometimes changes to $s$-, when followed by dorsal vowels. The foreblade of the tongue, under the influence of the dorsal vowels, moves forward here to the dental position. The secondary character of the dental $s$ is obvious here.

(iii) The greater frequency in Tulu and Kannada of $s$- forms followed by dorsal vowels also indicates here the action of dorsality.

(iv) The production of the dental affricates of Telugu is directly conditioned by the immediately following dorsal vowels. Cf., e.g., râsulu, the plural of râsî.

In all these cases, the dental $s$ appears to be secondary. It is prima facie possible, therefore, that $s$- in initial positions arose originally as a development of older sounds and became generalized in initial positions in the central Dravidian dialects Kûi and Gôndî.

Relationship of $c$, the affricate, to the sibilants.

(i) Phonetically $c$- is more closely related to $\delta$- than to $s$-, since $c$- itself is composed of the front plosive [c] and $\delta$. The point of articulation is the same for both $c$- and $\delta$, and in palatalization (of $k$- and $t$-) the affricate is anterior to $\delta$.

6 The so-called "change" of $s$- to $c$- or $\delta$- (vide Kittel's Gr. of Kannada, page 178) in compounds like mucecre [mucere], muced [mucel] is probably not a "change" or even a "reversion," but only a preservation in such compounds (where the initial component has a short vowel) of the older value of the affricate $c$.

7 Vide my paper on "Tulu Initial Sibilants" in QJMS, January 1932.
(ii) This relationship accounts for the two values c and  of the symbol s of Tamil. When the symbol appears singly in initial or medial positions, it is evaluated as  or c, while geminated  in medial positions is pronounced as cc.

That the initial  of Tamil (in at least a number of instances) is not original with reference to c occurring in other dialects in corresponding positions, but may be the resultant of a uniform simplification of the affricate, is what we are led to infer from the following facts:

(a) the occurrence of c in initial positions in all Dravidian dialects (either partially or exclusively) except in Kūi and Gōndi where, as we have observed above, the dental s corresponding to c or  has become uniform;

(b) the uniform occurrence of c in initial positions in the dialects of Jaffna and Tinneveli, and in Malayālam, a dialect closely allied to Tamil—which in this particular feature probably reflects an older stage common to these two dialects;

(c) the traditional view of Tamil grammarians that  stands for c and not for ;

(d) the historical development of these sounds, which (as we shall see below) points on the whole to the affricate being anterior to the sibilant wherever palatalization has occurred.

All things considered, therefore, it would appear that in a very large number of cases of palatalization the relationship of the affricate c and the fricatives  and s in initial positions would stand thus: c →  → s.

Among the dialects, generally speaking, the affricate sound is most widely prevalent in initial positions.

The palatal sibilant appears generalized in initial positions only in Tamil, and in Tulu it alternates with s sub-dialectally.

The dental s has become generalized in initial positions in Kūi and Gōndi only, while in Kannada and Tulu, it appears beside other sounds.

[E] Probable historical origin of the affricates and sibilants.

As the above postulate is made merely on the basis of the occurrence of the sounds in the different dialects, it is bound to be tentative till it is confirmed by the actual historical development of these sounds in the past.

The question of the origin of these sounds has, therefore, to be examined next; and this can be done only with reference to initial sounds of allied forms of different dialects.

(1) The initial affricates or sibilants of a number of Dravidian forms appear to be connected with k8 followed by front vowels. A number of instances have already been indicated in the lists given above; the following are others:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kannada</th>
<th>Brāhūti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kasa, kem (red)</td>
<td>xisun (red)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 For a detailed discussion of the instances in Dravidian of the palatalization of original k to affricates and sibilants, see my paper on The k-dialects of Dravidian, Educational Review, August 1931. A line of demarcation could be drawn between Tamil, Mal, and Telugu on the one hand and the rest of Dravidian on the other, in respect of palatalization of k; in a number of criterion-words, Cases of initial j ultimately traceable to k also exist, some of them being voiced from c, and others being directly connected with g (k).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurukh zəs (red, blood)</th>
<th>Mal. cen-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malto xəs (red)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada kibi (ear)</td>
<td>Tamil ševi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu kobi (ear)</td>
<td>Mal. cevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi kavi (ear)</td>
<td>Tel. cevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh xebda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhuṭ xaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel. kitṭu (fire)</td>
<td>Kurukh čičc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kann. kiccu</td>
<td>Tel. čičc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tam. kitṭu</td>
<td>Koḍagu čičc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu. kiccu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi kis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kann. kiru, kitṭu (small)</td>
<td>Tam. širu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel. kir</td>
<td>Brāhuṭ cunak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu kinna</td>
<td>Telugu čiṟ, ciff-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kann. čiṟ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada kettu (to chip off)</td>
<td>Tam. šettu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mal. cettu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel. cekku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada key (to do)</td>
<td>Tam. šey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi ki</td>
<td>Mal. cey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel. gey</td>
<td>Tel. cey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhuṭ ka- (to do)</td>
<td>Tam. šey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel. če-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kann. key (field)</td>
<td>Mal. cey in pun-cey, nan-cey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgandi key</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu key</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada kiṟa, kera (tank)</td>
<td>Tam. šiṟai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mal. cera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel. čeṟuṇu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following facts may be noted in connection with this change:—

(a) The sibilant š appears more commonly in Tamil in the above instances, the affricate c- in Tel. and Mal. mainly; while Kannada (along with Tulu and the central and north Dravidian dialects) shows k- more commonly. The change, however, is not absolutely uniform, since on the one side k- forms are met with in Tam., Tel., etc., and on the other, instances of palatalization occur in Kann., Tulu, etc.

(b) The influence of the front vowel is undeniable in these instances in changing k- into the sibilant or affricate. Phonetically, palatalized k- becomes [c-], i.e., the stoppage of the plosive is formed in the region of the mouth-roof, by the posterior portion of the foreblade of the tongue. As this [c] is very unstable
in Dravidian, it should easily have changed to [cf], i.e., c-, with the production of the sibilant-fricative s.

(c) In the above view, therefore, k- could be considered to be original.

If it is asked why this change did not affect all instances of k- followed by front vowels, we can only suggest that, judging from the above instances which are very ancient (their antiquity being attested by their occurrence in all dialects), the change was possibly active only at one particular stage in the past in connection with words where the palatalizing influence of the front vowels was strong. It is also possible that certain phonetic factors prevented the change in other cases; these factors are indicated by me in my paper on the "k- dialects of Dravidian."

(2) k- in the following corresponds to the affricate or sibilant in their cognates; but it will be noted that in some dialects, in the stead of -a we have front vowels also, so that the change here of k- to the fricative or affricate might have been through the palatalizing influence of the front tonality of a as attested by the existence of alternating front vowels in some dialects.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Brāhū́l ka} \quad \text{(to die)} & \text{śā-, śā- of the south.} \\
&a \quad \text{Kurukh khē} \quad \text{(to die)} & \text{Gōndi śāi-} \\
&\text{Malto qē} \quad \text{(to die)} & \text{Kūi śā-} \\
&\text{Tulu śāi-}
\end{align*}
\]

We have to note in this connection that—

(a) there are absolutely no instances in Dravidian of the change of k- to affricates or palatal fricatives, when followed exclusively by back vowels, k- in such positions being invariably retained in the southern dialects and being changed (in some instances) to x- in Brāhū́l, Kurukh and Malto;

(b) that even in this group the basic vowel of some of the extant forms is definitely 'palatal,'—a fact which attests the probable association of front tonality with the radical vowel of the common original base;

(c) and, therefore, it is possible that the affricates and fricatives in this group resulted from palatalisation. (For further details, see my paper on "The k- dialects of Dr." in the Educational Review, August 1931.)

(3) The correspondence of initial t- followed by front vowels to affricates and fricatives is observable in the following inter-dialectal comparisons. It will be noted that, while we can classify, on a dialectal basis, instances of a similar correspondence in the case of k- followed by front vowels, and roughly demarcate the "k- speeches" of Dr. from the "non-k-speeches" (vide supra, page 148), no such demarcation is possible in the case of t- followed by front vowels.

We can only cite the few instances available from the dialects.

(a) Kannāḍa ..celu, tēl
   st-, tt (to be scorched)  ~ cf. Tam. tēl.
   jēn (honey)            ~ Tam.-Mal. tt (fire). Brāhū́i tīn (scorched).
Tulu ..sikk-, cikk-, tikk- (to be crowded)
   cēnt-, cēnt-, sīnt- (to burn) ~ cf. Mal. tikk- (to be crowded).
   cārāc, tārāc (coconut tree)  ~ Tam.- Mal. tī (fire).
   ~ Tam. tālai.
cēlu, tēlu
śi, sī (sweet)

~ Tam. tēl, Kann. tēl, Brāhūi tēlā.
~ Tam.-Mal. tēn (sweetness, honey) connected with tīm, tī (sweet).
Kuruṅi tī (to be sweet), Tel. tiyya (sweet), etc.

cē, beside (sub-dialectal) tē.
~ South Dr. tēy (to be rubbed).
Kūi... eek (to be entangled)
semba (sweet)
sī-k (to scorch)

~ cf. tikk- of Mal. above.
~ cf. tēn, tī (sweet) above.
~ Tam.-Mal. tī (fire), Kann. sīk (burnt black).

sī- (to give)
~ Tel. tīy (to give), Br. tīn.

Gōndī... sī- (to give)
sikati (darkness)

~ Vide above.
~ Tam.-Mal. tī (to be scorched).
Kuruṅi... sī- (to give)

~ see sī of Kūi and Gōndī above.

Instances of this type are found in Tuḷū, Kūi and Kannāda. Even in these dialects the change is not uniform and regular, as they possess numerous words with an unchanged t- in initial positions followed by front vowels.

(b) A few forms with initial t- (followed by dorsal vowels) of some dialects correspond to forms of other dialects with initial sibilants.

(i) Ancient forms:

Tuḷū sī, hū (to see)  
Tel. tōd̐ (to see)  
Kūi sūr-  
Br. kūr-  
Gōndī sūr (to look out for), kūr (to see)

{ cf. Tuḷū tū- (to see), Malto tōg̐-, tūg̐ (to see), Kann. tōr (to be visible), Tam. tōd̐́r. }

(ii) A few others where the sibilants corresponding to t- are found in Tuḷū and Kūi mainly.

Tuḷū solika, alternating with toli  
(skin).
Kannāda soli, tol, togal (skin)  

{ cf. Tam. togal, toli, tōl (skin), Tel. tōl, Kann. tōl. }

Tuḷū sōl-, tōl- (to be defeated)  
Kann. sōl (  

{ cf. Tam. tōl- (to be defeated), toli (to fail), Kannāda tolagu, Tel. tolaṅgu. }

Tuḷū supu-  
Kūi supa  

{ to spit  

{ cf. Tam. tupp, Kuruṅh tūp-.

Kūi sūnja (to sleep)  

{ cf. sūn, tūṅg̐ (to sleep); Brāhūi tūgh̐ (to sleep), tūṅgan (asleep); Kuruṅh tūṅgul (dream) ?

Kann. sōge, tōke (tail, feather)  

{ cf. Tam. tōg̐-ai (tail > peacock).

(iii) Apart from the above, there are a few instances of the sub-dialectal alternation of t-, s- (and h-) in Tuḷū, when followed by front vowels, as in teḷi-, seḷi-, heḷi (to become clear), and in the adaptations, (from Skt.) sēja, tēja (lustre), sērka, tērka, etc. Palatalization cannot be postulated here, in as much as the intermediate stages with c- or s- are not represented either in Tuḷū or in any other Dr. speech. I would ascribe the change of t- > s- here to analogic fricativization.
(i) The correspondences of \( t \)-forms to others with initial sibilants or affricates do not appear to be very extensive or widespread inter-dialectally.

(ii) \( t \)-forms are retained extensively in large numbers in all dialects except in Tułu, where \( t \)-alternates with \( s \)- or \( h \)- in a large number of instances.

(iii) The problem of the relationship of \( t \)- to the initial sibilants and affricates is one beset with many difficulties. Few as are the instances that raise this question, the chronology of the change will have to be determined separately in each instance. This, however, is not now possible owing to lack of materials; and so we have to content ourselves with a few general perspectives.

\( t \)-in connection with front vowels in medial positions is known in the dialects to change into the sibilant or affricate (cf. Tamil \( adilu, adiccru \), 'having beaten,' etc.) on account of the influence of the vowel which raises the point of articulation of the tongue from the dental region to the alveolar position. A similar change (i.e., of palatalization) may safely be postulated in at least a few cases for the correspondences of words with \( t \)- followed by front vowels on the one hand, and their cognates with initial sibilants or affricates on the other.

(iv) So far as the parallels with immediately following \( dorsal \) vowels are concerned, two sub-groups may be distinguished (pointed out as \( b \) (i) and (ii) above, viz., one, comprised of an ancient group of instances occurring in all dialects; and the second, consisting of a few instances in Kūi and Tułu chiefly, and rarely in Kammaḍa; \( b \) (iii) is an exclusively Tułu group.

Is it possible for us to envisage the view that Dravidian initial \( t \)- may here have been secondary to \( s \) ?

(I) Tamil appears to have adopted and assimilated some Sanskrit words having initial fricatives, by changing these into \( t \)-, e.g., Skt. \( śrī \) ~ Tamil \( tirü \); \( senā \) (army) ~ \( tānai \).

(II) Tuлу changes initial \( s \)- or \( c \)- of some Sanskrit words into \( t \)-, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Skt. } sañci & \sim \text{ Tułu } tañji \\
\text{,, } sañgati & \sim \text{,, } tañati. \\
\text{,, } candana & \sim \text{,, } tannana.
\end{align*}
\]

Besides, a few cases of secondary \( t \)- (\( lai \) \( < \) \( sai \) 'to die,' \( tefṭ \) \( < \) \( seft \)) occur in native Tuлу words sub-dialectally.

Do these facts in any way warrant the postulate that \( t \)- in the instances given here is secondary to the sibilant-fricative ?

An answer to this question should take into consideration the following facts:

(i) Native \( t \)-forms are very widespread in the dialects, and the corresponding forms with the sibilants or affricates appear largely only in sub-dialectal forms of Tuлу and in connection with a few forms (comparatively speaking) in the other dialects.

(ii) The few cases of the change of \( s \)- to \( t \)- in Tamil adaptations of Sanskrit words noted above could be explained as being due to different phonetic influences.

(iii) Tuлу adaptations with initial \( t \)- of Sanskrit words with initial \( s \)- are probably due to the influence of the numerous sub-dialectal alternate forms with initial \( t \)- and \( s \).

(iv) In none of the native instances with \( s \)-, can we prove the sound to be original; on the other hand, the corresponding \( t \)-forms are so widespread as to suggest \( t \)- to be original,
These facts make it difficult for us to propound the view that would regard as secondary to the sibilant.

Nevertheless, one cannot completely rule out the bare possibility of at least rare cases of initial (in unrecognizable ancient loan-words) being secondary to the sibilant: Cf. for instance the suggestion raised by the correspondence: Tam. *tas* (cold) in *taṣār* (cold water) ~ Tulū *sas* ~ Tulū *saṣi*, *caṭi* ~ IA *jala*, *jala* (water). Nothing unequivocal can therefore be said in regard to the relationship of all t- words and their cognates with initial affricates and sibilants; but in my opinion one may tentatively postulate fricativization in (3) (b) on the fairly firm ground available for us, viz., that the t- forms here, which are undoubtedly native, are so very widespread in the dialects and that the corresponding s- cognates are so few and so restricted in occurrence.

I. Palatalization of k- and t- before front vowels.

(1)

Tam. ś- ~ k-.
Tel., Mal., [Kann., Tulū] c- ~ k-.
[Kann., Tulū j-, as in Kann. jīr, gīr and in Tulū *jādār-, gedār-*] ~ g-(k-).
[Kann. s- alternating with c- and k-, as in sīr-, cī-, kīr- ‘to be angry ’] ~ k-.
[Tulū ś- beside c-, e.g., *ṣat-, ceṭṭ and Tam. *keṭ-*] ~ k-.

(2)

[Kann., Tulū c- beside t-] ~ t-.
[Tulū j- beside d- (t-)] ~ d-(t-).
[Kann., Tulū ś- (a few only)] ~ t-.
[Kūi, Gōṇdi ś- (<*d-<c-<t*)] ~ t-.

II. Fricativization of t-.

Tulū, Tel., Kūi, Gōṇdi ś- (in forms for “seeing”) ~ t-.
Sub-dialectal Tulū [Kūi, Kann.] ś- in (b) ii ~ t-.
" Tulū ś- in (b) iii before front vowels ~ t- analogic fricativization.

[F] Conclusion.

(i) The initial affricates and sibilant fricatives of Dravidian do not (so far as we can see) appear to be original in a large number of instances,—a fact which emerges from the confrontation of inter-dialectal instances and from our reconstruction of the probable history of these sounds.

(ii) A number of these sibilant and affricates result from palatalization of an original k-, which changed initially to the affricate [cf] through the stage of the unstable palatal plosive [c], and then in certain dialects developed into ś- or s- (as the case may be).

(iii) Another group 3 (a) was possibly the result of the palatalization of older t- by front vowels.

(iv) A very small group of forms mainly confined to Tulū and Kūi show the dental sibilant ś-, which, so far as we can judge now, seem to be due to the fricativization of original t-.
The results we have arrived may all be graphically represented thus:

\[ k \]

- **Before front vowels**
  - **c** → Mal., Tel.; less frequently, Kann., Tuļu
  - **s** → Tamil
    - **s** → Rarely in Kann., Tuļu and in Tam. colloquial

- **Before back vowels**
  - Retained in south and central Dr., and changed to \( x \) in Br., Kur. and Malto.
Before dorsal vowels

- Tulu, Kann., Kurukh

Before front vowels

- Tulu, Koi, Gonds, Kannada

\( \rightarrow \)

Retained in a large number of instances in all dialects

Note: The instances illustrating the palatalization of \( t \) are only \& \( jw \) in the dialects concerned.

Generally retained in all dialects

Becomes fricativized to \( s \) in some instances chiefly in Tulu and in Koi.
II.

THE LIP-FRICATIVE \( v- \).


A marked cleavage is noticeable among the dialects. While Tamil, Malayalam, Kui, Telugu and Gondi show almost exclusively the fricative \( v- \) initially, the other dialects, Kannada, Tulu, Kurukh and Brahui, show \( b- \) instead of \( v- \) in initial positions of corresponding words.

Tamil and Malayalam completely fight shy of initial \( b- \) in native words. In Kui and Telugu, the usual rule favours \( v- \), but in a very small number of words \( b- \) appears on account of the influence of certain phonetic factors capable of being defined in each case. Initial \( b- \) in Gondi native words is confined to a few interrogatives, where \( b- \) is a secondary development.

[B] The phonetic values of the Dravidian fricative \( v- \).

Though the old Tam. grammars describe the sound as a lip-teeth one, in Tamil and Malayalam the usual value given to it is only that of a bilabial, where the lips remain far more apart than for [w] and make only a slight movement towards each other. There is a slight rounding of the lips also, though never to the extent that we find in the enunciation of English [w].

While the uneducated masses use only \( v- \) in Kannada and Telugu, educated speakers sometimes bring out the lip-teeth sound [v] by raising the lower lip towards the upper row of teeth. This [v] does not however possess the tenseness associated with English [v].

The voiceless varieties [F] and [f] are not heard in Dravidian except in Toda and in Cochin State Boya.

The fricative \( v- \) should be distinguished from the dorsal glide \( ə \), which characteristically appears in connection with dorsal vowels in Dravidian. While there is an appreciable forward and upward movement of the lips in the production of the full bilabial \( v- \), this movement is only very slight in the production of the glide.

This glide appears in initial and medial positions of Dravidian words in connection with the dorsal vowels \( a, u, o \).

[C] Occurrence of \( v- \).

Tamil \( v- \) appears only before the front vowels \( -i \) and \( -e \) and before the vowel \( -a \) with a front tonality.

Words beginning with \( vu- \) or \( vo- \) are absent in Tamil, though words beginning with \( u \) or \( o \) (and \( a \) also) have the dorsal glide \( ə \) incorporated initially in actual speech.

Malayalam: The remarks made above are true of Malayalam also.

These two dialects have so great an aversion to initial \( b- \) that Sanskrit words with initial \( b- \) are adapted with initial \( v- \) or more commonly \( p- \). For example:—Mal. vāḷyw for Skt. bāḷvam (childhood); Tam. vāḷamāḷ for Skt. bāḷāmḥa, a name; Tam. putputam for Skt. budbudā, etc.

Telugu: This dialect shows \( v- \) in most cases where \( v- \) appears in Tamil and Malayalam.

In few a instances \( b- \) appears :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tel.</th>
<th>Tam.-Mal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baydi (cart)</td>
<td>vəṇḍi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bengā (sorrow)</td>
<td>Base veg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belaiṅku (brightness)</td>
<td>Base vel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether these words are borrowings from Kannada or not, one cannot say owing to the uncertainty surrounding the chronological history of many Dr. forms like these. If they are really native in Telugu, one can only suggest that the nasal sounds in these words
may have exercised a regressive influence on an original -v-, and by inducing closure of the lips converted it to -b-. It is to be noted that such instances with initial -b- (corresponding to -v- of Tamil) are remarkably few in Telugu.

Telugu, Kannada, Kurukh and Brahui:

There are absolutely no instances of native forms with the full initial bilabial -v- in these dialects; in their stead -b- forms are found.

Kui: -v- forms are predominant, and they correspond regularly to the -v- forms of Tamil-Malayalam. A few instances of -b- forms are the following:—

*bondi* (for the sake of) . . . . cf. Mal. *vedi* in phrases like *ayallku vedi* (for his sake).

*bendi* (contrariness) . . . . . . . . . cf. Tam. *vēndā* (not necessary), Kann. *biddā*.

*bai, imbai* (who ?) where Aphesis has operated.

Gondi: -v- forms are regular. A few -b- forms are the following:—The interrogatives: *ból, bör* (who ?), *beqa* (why ?), *bappōr* (when ?), etc., etc.

It is not easy to explain the initial -b- of these Gondi words; either, these forms are the results of apæresis (as in Kui *bāi*, 'who,' from *imbai*, etc.), or the initial -b- is the development of the on-gliding -v- appearing before an original interrogative particle Ā with a dorsal tonality. Cf. Telugu vā (which ?, what ?) from Ā.

[D] Possible relationship of -v- and -b-.

The conspicuous cleavage appearing among the dialects raises the question as to which of these two sounds may be the original in Dravidian.

In this connection the relationship of -v- to -b- in medial positions of Dravidian words may be significant.

The fact that Sanskrit -b- appears sometimes as -v- in Tamil-Malayalam need not at all raise the presumption of -b- being the original in native words also. The fondness of Tamil and Malayalam for -v- might sufficiently account for the adaptation of Sanskrit -b- as -v-.

The problem can now be approached only from the standpoint of native forms.

An ancient affix -v- does duty in Tamil, Kannada and Telugu for the formation of certain grammatical categories: Future-aoristic tense, noun-derivatives, causatives, etc. Tamil shows the use of this -v- in its most elementary state in such cases, and these are confirmed by analogies in the other dialects also. In Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam this -v- changes into -b- (and sometimes into -p-) under certain conditions:—

These latter are:—

(a) The influence of a neighbouring nasal, e.g., *kāṇ* (to see) + -v-, producing the future stem *kānbh-; *mā* (to eat) + -v- > *mabh-.*

(b) The influence of accent in *kārita*s leading to the closure of lips and the conversion of -v- to the gemeninated surd -pp-, e.g., *kārita* bases like *ēdu* (to take), *kūli* (to take a bath), etc. -v- give the future stems *ēdupp-*, *kūlipp-*, etc. A similar phenomenon is observable in the bases of vi-causatives of Tamil also.

The base-extensions -v-, -b- and -p- of Kui furnish instances of a parallel change:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Influence of nasal</th>
<th>Kārita and causatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td><em>sāva</em> (to die)</td>
<td><em>tēlp</em> (to show)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of nasal</td>
<td><em>tēlp</em> (to eat)</td>
<td><em>tēlp</em> (to show)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārita and causatives</td>
<td><em>tēlp</em> (to eat)</td>
<td><em>tēlp</em> (to show)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These facts raise the question whether -v- may not have been original in initial positions also, and the initial -b- words corresponding to Tamil words with initial -v- may be secondary. The exact reasons for the uniform development of initial -b- in what we might term the "-b- dialects of Dravidian" [Kannada, Tulu, Kurukh, Brahui] remain, however, to be investigated and clarified further.
III.

THE BACK FRICATIVE \textit{x}.\footnote{Sir Denys Bray describes the sound (p. 28 of his \textit{Gr}) thus: "\textit{kh} is pronounced like the Persian-Arabic \textit{khe}, i.e., like \textit{ch} in German and in the Scotch word \textit{loch}."}

The sound transcribed as \textit{kh} by Sir Denys Bray in his \textit{Grammar} appears to be the velar \textit{x}; while the Kurukh sound (also transcribed as \textit{kh}) seems, from the description given by Father Grignard, to partake also of the value of the uvular spirant \textit{χ}. I have represented both these sounds with the symbol \textit{x}.\footnote{Kurukh \textit{kh} is described by Grignard thus: "The bottom of the throat and the upper portion of the windpipe being kept well open, pronounce the sound \textit{h}; the resulting broad sound will be a satisfactory approximation to the pronunciation of \textit{kh}."} in the following lists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South and Central Dravidian</th>
<th>Kurukh \textit{x}</th>
<th>Kurukh \textit{k}</th>
<th>Brāhūi \textit{x}</th>
<th>Brāhūi \textit{k}</th>
<th>Malto \textit{q} (\textit{x})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>\textit{kan} (eye)</td>
<td>\textit{xan}</td>
<td>\textit{xan}</td>
<td>\textit{xan}</td>
<td>\textit{xan}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kib} (ear) cf.</td>
<td>\textit{xe}</td>
<td>\textit{xaf}</td>
<td>\textit{xaf}</td>
<td>\textit{xaf}</td>
<td>\textit{xaf}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi \textit{kavi}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{xen}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kāy} (to be hot)</td>
<td>\textit{xāy}</td>
<td>\textit{cf. xāzar}</td>
<td>\textit{xe}</td>
<td>\textit{xē}</td>
<td>\textit{xē}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Kann.] \textit{kandu} (child) \textit{zadd} etc.</td>
<td>\textit{xēd} (child)</td>
<td>\textit{xēd} (child)</td>
<td>\textit{xēd} (child)</td>
<td>\textit{xēd} (child)</td>
<td>\textit{xēd} (child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kay}, \textit{kay} (hand)</td>
<td>\textit{zakkā}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{zē} (field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Kann.] \textit{kes} (red) \textit{kutt} (to dig)</td>
<td>\textit{xis-un} (red)</td>
<td>\textit{xu} (to fear)</td>
<td>\textit{xu} (to fear)</td>
<td>\textit{xu} (to fear)</td>
<td>\textit{xe} (red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kul-wi} (to be shaken)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{xi} (foot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kal} (stone) \textit{txajj} (mud, earth) ?</td>
<td>\textit{xal}</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde}</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde}</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde}</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kāy} (fruit) \textit{zāj}</td>
<td>\textit{xāj}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{xō}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{koy} (to reap) \textit{zōy}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{zo}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kōl} (leg) \textit{zed} (foot)</td>
<td>\textit{zed} (foot)</td>
<td>\textit{zed} (foot)</td>
<td>\textit{zed} (foot)</td>
<td>\textit{zed} (foot)</td>
<td>\textit{zed} (foot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kōnd} [past participle of \textit{kol} 'to take on,' appearing in \textit{kōndū vā} 'bring!' and in the contracted forms \textit{kōnd}, 'bring here!' etc.]</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zōnd} (to bring together)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zōnd} (to bring together)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zōnd} (to bring together)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zōnd} (to bring together)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zōnd} (to bring together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi \textit{kors} (to sprout)</td>
<td>\textit{xōr} (to shoot out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{xōr} (to shoot out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{xōr} (to shoot out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{xōr} (to shoot out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{xōr} (to shoot out new leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{cf. xar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
<td>\textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{zar} (to sprout out new leaves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{Drosse's description of Malto \textit{q} shows that it may be identical with Kurukh \textit{x}.}
South and Central Dravidian k. | Kurukh x. | Kurukh k. | Brāhūi x. | Brāhūi k. | Malto
---|---|---|---|---|---
kiš (below) | kiyu, kīta (below) | kid- (to put to bed) | kur- (to roll up); kurr- (to be shortened) | kī-, ke- | kār (to turn round)
kiša- (to lie down) | kir (to turn back) |  | |  | kār (to turn round)
kur-ugu (to be shortened) |  |  |  |  |  

kirugir- (whirling) | kis- (to pinch) | kud- (to string, thread) | kah (to die) | ke- (to die) | kārak (river-bank) 
[ Kūi-Gōndi ] kis- (to pinch) |  |  |  |  |  
kud. (to be joined) |  |  |  |  |  
cf. šd., sai, etc. (to die) | khé- (to die) |  |  |  |  

Tam. kar-ai (bank of river)

The following points are noteworthy in the above list:

(a) The velar fricative x. of Kurukh and Brāhūi is a special development in these north Dravidian speeches; Malto in corresponding positions shows also x. None of the southern and central Dravidian speeches show x. in initial positions but only k. (or g. in some dialects rarely). x. in Kurukh, Brāhūi and Malto may very probably be secondary growths in these dialects. The factors which influenced this secondary change in these dialects are not clear; but possibly the frequency in Kurukh and Brāhūi of loan-words (Persian and Arabic) with initial x. may have been a contributory factor.

(b) Both in Brāhūi and in Kurukh there are words with k. (II in list above) corresponding to k.- words of the rest of Dravidian. What exactly prevented the change here of the original Dravidian plosive k. to x., as in the other words adduced in the list, is a matter demanding enquiry. It is possible that (i) the spirantization was more active before back vowels than before front ones, and (ii) the existence of certain Indo-Aryan loan-words with k. may have exercised in some cases a preventive influence.

MISCELLANEA.

FRANCISCO PELSAERT IN INDIA.

When I was preparing for publication the version of Pelsaert's Remonstrants, made in conjunction with Professor P. Geyl (Jahangir's India, Cambridge, 1926), I was able to find very few data to show the extent of the personal experience on which Pelsaert based his observations. The gap is filled to some extent by incidental references to him in the MS. diary of Pieter van den Broeke (BPL 953 in the library of the University of Leiden), and the following facts taken from this source may be of interest to students of the period.

It must be premised that van den Broeke was a very unsatisfactory diarist, apt to record trivialities at length, and to ignore important occurrences in which he played a conspicuous part. No inference whatever can be drawn from his silence; we have merely to be thankful for what he gives, and regret that he did not give us more. Among many other omissions, it may be noted that he did not write a word regarding the genesis of the Fragment of Indian History, which he gave to John de Laet, and which the latter printed in his De Imperio Magni Mogolis (Leiden, 1631); the question whether that Fragment is Pelsaert's work thus remains undecided.

Pelsaert was one of a party sent, under the lead of Wouter Heuten, from Batavia to India on the Nieuwe Zeeland, which reached Maaslipatam in the autumn of 1620. The party travelled overland to Surat, where they arrived on 6 Dec. that year; Pelsaert's rank was then onderkoopman, that is, junior factor. On 20 Jan. 1621, he started with a caravan for Agra, as assistant to Heuten, who had been chosen by van den Broeke to take charge of the Agra factory.

On 28 Sept., 1623, Pelsaert, now ranking as factor, arrived in Surat with a caravan of merchandise from Agra. He worked for the next six months in the Surat factory, and on 22 March, 1624, he was sent...
to take charge of Agra, as senior factor, in consequence of Heuten's death.

He appears to have come down again with a caravan in the spring of 1626. On 25 Feb. in that year a caravan reached Surat under Hendrick Vapour; on 23 March a second caravan followed, the factor in charge of which is not named; and on 19 April a return-caravan started for Agra under Pelsaert and Vapour, so presumably it was Pelsaert who brought the second caravan.

He left Agra finally in the spring of 1627, after making over charge of the factory to Vapour. A portion of his caravan reached Surat on 12 May, and a week later he arrived in person, exceedingly ill. He must have spent the rest of the year in Gujarát, and on 23 Dec. he sailed for Holland as senior factor on the Dordrecht.

It will be seen from these data that Pelsaert had travelled six times between Surat and Agra, and that he had spent a year in all in Gujarát; his experience was thus much wider than might be inferred by readers of his Remonstrantie.

This opportunity may be taken to place on record some corrections and additions to the information given in Jahangir's India, most of them contributed or suggested by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Sir Richard Burn, Professor S. H. Hodivala, and Sir Walter Hose.

INTRODUCTION. P. ix, I. 10. For 'end of 1627' read 'spring of 1627'.

P. x, I. 23. Van den Broecke's diary shows that he landed at Surat on 4th October, 1620.

P. xi. The facts given on this page can be supplemented from the foregoing note.

TEXT. P. 3, note 2, and p. 57, n. 1. For Amil read Hakim.

P. 7, n. 2. In the MS. the words 'zelal' and 'tasy' are separated by a comma, but Professor Hodivala suggests that this may be a mistake, and that they form one name, jadalasi, of the same type as 'dy-

P. 19, n. 1. Tzierla must represent Hind. chharmal, which in Blochmann's Ain (i. 74) is given as a synonym for Persian ushna, a sweet-scented moss, used as an ingredient of the incense called rihafat. Pipel is for pippali, long pepper.

P. 27, n. 2. For cassia in this passage, read cafia, a word used in contemporary Dutch for a kind of velvet.

P. 30, n. 2. Professor Hodivala suggests that the reference is to Mungipattan on the Godâvâri, a place well known in history, and for a long time famous for its fine cotton fabrics.

P. 33, III. 4. Cashaer is probably for Kishtwâr, the district lying S. and SE. of the Kashmir valley. Lames must be corrupt. It would be easy to read Jamoes, i.e., Jammu, the district S. of Kishtwâr, but Jammu did not extend to the border of Kábul, which at this time was formed by the Indus. Alternatively, the name may be a persion of Lahor; the Mogul province of that name, which included Jammu, lay S. of Kashmir, and extended to the border of the province of Kábul.

U. 6, 7. Ponce is Puchen. Bangisa must be Bangah, now in Kohat and Kurram, classed in Jarrett's Ain (ii. 407) as a tamân, or subdivision, of Kábul. The correct name of its ruler at this time has not been found.

I. 9. No such names have been found to the N. of Kashmir. The first two strongly suggest the villages of Pâmpur and Bighâr, but these lay SE. of Srinagar, for Jahangir (Memoirs, ii. 170, 171) halted at them on his way to the source of the Jhelum. Conceivably Pelsaert put them in the N. because he knew that the general course of the river is from NE. to SW., and did not remember when writing that in Kashmir it flows from SE. to NW.

I. 23. The larger river is the Jhelum, or Bihat. Vînisâ is at, or near, its source: Achiauwel must be for Achibal, or Achbal, described by Jahangir (Memoirs, ii. 173): Matiaro may be for Watnâr, a short distance NE. of Vînisâ. Saluwarâ is probably Jahangir's Shâlamâr (ii. 151); the stream from it flows into the Dal Lake, whence a channel runs through the city.

I. 29. Swindessaway is much altered in the MS., and it is impossible to say with certainty what the copyist finally intended; possibly it represents the spring above the Dal Lake which is properly named Chashma Shahi, and is a popular source of drinking-water (Impl. Gaz. xv. 77).

P. 34, I. 8. The stronghold is presumably the hill known as Hari Parbat, which was fortified by Akbar (Impl. Gaz. xxiii. 99).

P. 35, last line. Casatuwary must represent Kishtwâr, though the distance is much under-stated. Jahangir wrote (Memoirs, ii. 138) that the saffron of Kishtwâr was better than that of Kashmir (in the narrow sense).

P. 41, n. 2. For 'between Surat and the sea', read 'two miles above Surat'.

P. 42, I. 13. The correct name of the Governor was Jam Quill Beg (The English Factories in India, 1622-3, p. 211).

P. 42, n. 1. The statement that Pelsaert had not been in Gujarât for some years is incorrect, as shown above.
into o, and the Pashtu origin given in this footnote appears to be more probable.

P. 59, n. 1. This is probably for Rājpipla, a State lying NE. of Surat, mentioned in Jarrett's Ain, ii. 251.

P. 61, n. 3. Taizwereddar must represent Hind. chaunértaddr, 'carrier of the fly-switch'. The variant sehdwar would be Persian jilauddr, 'groom'.

P. 63, n. 1. Pelsaert knew Persian well, and the phrase 'in their rich poverty' may possibly be an echo of Persian fuzz-Baani, which is used of a darwesh in the Tázk-i-Jahangir (p. 286 of Syud Ahmad's Aligarh text), and was rendered by Rogers 'rich in his poverty'.

P. 63, n. 3. Mossoroufs probably represents mušriff, the designation of an official concerned with accounts.

P. 65, n. 1. The word printed as mosseri is altered in the text, and can be read as moffari, i.e., Persian mu Farrith, an exhilarating drink. Dutch writers sometimes used j for final i, so faloní may represent Persian fiáni, probably a preparation of opium (see The Memoirs of Jahangir, i. 308 n).

P. 71, n. 1. For Mr. Beni Madho, read Mr. Beni Prasad.

P. 83, n. 1. The initial h. of hentesuni is clear in the MS., but it may well be the copyist's mistake for k, giving kanchani, a well-known class of public women.

W. H. Moreland,

BOOK-NOTICE.


Mr. Cousins has dealt with some twenty-five sites in the Káthiáwád peninsula, but save in respect of the remains at Somanátha-Páta and at and near Thán, and the Jaina temples on the Satrunjaya hill, the accounts are short, and cannot be said to furnish much fresh information of particular interest. The introduction and descriptive text runs to 87 pages, the great bulk of the volume consisting of plates, of which there are no less than 106. Many of the plates are indistinctly reproduced, and five of them seem to have been prepared from the negatives used for the photographic plates in Burgess's Report on the Antiquities of Káthiáwád and Kachh (1876), with which they compare unfavourably. Still it is convenient to have illustrations of these monuments collected together under one cover like this. The plans and drawings of architectural features, on the other hand, have been admirably delineated and produced. A few of the sites described are not marked on the map, which shows neither hills nor rivers. Inefficient proof-reading is perhaps responsible for many defects in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Arabic words. Surprise will be felt at the statement (on p. 18) that "the Mahábhárata makes no mention of Somanátha or of any other shrine in this neighbourhood."

C. E. A. W. O.

1 In Hindi the forms posh and pos are also used (suggesting Persian posh).—C. E. A. W. O., Jr.-Editor.
THE EXTENT AND CAPITAL OF DAKŠIŅA KOSALA.

BY RAI BARADER HIRALAL, M.A.

About half a century ago General Cunningham endeavoured to fix the boundaries of Dakšiṇa Kosala, to which he gave the alternative name of Mahā-Kosala, without stating where he found that name. He described its extent as comprising “the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narbadā at Amarkāntak, in the north, to the source of the Mahānadi itself near Kānker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangā, on the west to the Hasdo and Jonk rivers on the east.” But these limits, he added, “have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandla and Bālāghāṭ, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gangā and the middle valley of the Mahānadi on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur.” “Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south and 125 miles in breadth, east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary territories of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hwen Thsang’s visit in 639 A.D., he describes the kingdom as 6,000 li, or 1,000 miles in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by inclusion of the district of Vākātaka, on the west comprising the present districts of Chāndā, Nāgpur and Seoni. With this addition the kingdom of Mahā Kosala would have been just 300 miles from west to east.”

Since the above was written, full fifty years have passed away, during which several inscriptions have been found in and out of the so-called Mahā Kosala country, and a number of books on ancient historical places have also been written, but none of them seem to fix the boundaries of that country more definitely than what the father of Indian Archeology did. The latest book by a great antiquarian, which takes cognizance of this matter is Mr. R. D. Banerji’s History of Orissa, published in 1930, which states that “in mediaval ages the country to the west of Khīnjali was called Mahā Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala and was subject to the Somavāṁśis and the Haihayas of Tripuri and Ratnapura.” This description does not give any definite idea as to how far it extended in any of the four directions, not even on the east, where it is stated to have abutted on Khīnjali, in view of the fact that Mr. Banerji had a very confused idea of the limits of Khīnjali, as has been pointed out in JBORS., XVI (1930), pp. 113 ff. He does not state the limits in the other three directions, which he has left to be inferred from the vague statement about a region subject to the Somavāṁśis and the Haihayas. The Haihaya kingdom extended far and wide. To the north or north-west lay their original capital at Tripuri in the heart of the Dāhala country which extended to the banks of the Ganges. If that is to be taken as the northern limit, it would go far beyond the Vindhyas in the region of Uttarapatha, while Dakṣiṇa Kosala was admittedly one of the earliest Aryan colonies in the Dakṣiṇapatha or country south of the Vindhyas. After all, Mr. Banerji was concerned with Orissa, and perhaps it was sufficient for his purposes to point out that the western boundary of the country he was dealing with, marched with Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

1 The old Sanskrit literature does not seem to mention it. There are numerous references to that country, which is either designated Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala, in order to distinguish it from Oudh, whose old name was Kosala or Uttar Kosala. We find a king bearing the name of Mahākosala in the line of kings of the latter country, but he does not seem to have given his name to any country. In a country watered by the Mahānadi containing villages with names such as Mahā Samudra, Mahāvīnayaka (a hill peak in Jaipur Zambidāri) Mahendra (mountain), etc., it perhaps seemed appropriate to call Dakṣiṇa Kosala Mahā Kosala, especially when its area exceeded that of the northern Kosala, although Yuan Chwong assigns an equal extent to both.


Inscriptions found in the old Chattisgarh Division, which included the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur, the last of which is at present relegated to Bihar and Orissa, mention several gift villages as situated in the Kosala deśa. The kings are spoken of as Kosaladhiśa, Kosaladhhipati, Kosalanarendra, etc. This indisputably proves the identity of Kosala with the three districts named above. The area covered by these districts, including that of the Feudatory States attached to the Chattisgarh Division for administrative purposes and excluding the Bastar State, which epigraphical data show did not form part of the Kosala country, works out to about 45 thousand square miles only. This falls much short of the extent of Kosala as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. The boundaries being thus shut out on the south by the Bastar State and on the north by the Vindhya mountains, the conclusion is unavoidable that the country extended to the west up to the borders of Berar, thus absorbing in it the districts of Bhandārā, Bālāghat, Chindwār-cum-Seoni, Nāgpur, Wardhā and Chāndā, comprising an area of 30,000 square miles. Cunningham, in order to complete the area on the Chinese pilgrim’s scale, included a part of the Vakataka country, which he placed in Berar, but it is not necessary to do this, inasmuch as the deficiency can be covered by some States of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur, in which Somavamiśi inscriptive records have been found, which prove that they formed part of Kosala deśa as mentioned in them. I have summarised these in the appendix to my article on the Sirpur stone inscription (E.I., vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.) These are the states of Pātnā, Sonpur, Bāmrā and Rairākhāl, the combined area of which aggregates 6,000 square miles. With this addition the total area would be some 81,000 square miles, which would give a circuit of 6,000 li, or 1,000 miles. It would then appear that Daksīṇa Kosala at the time of Yuan Chwang’s visit comprised an area lying between 85° and 78° E. Roughly speaking, this coincides with Cunningham’s identification with a slight modification. If we cut out the portion of Berar included by him in the west, and extend the eastern boundary by including a few Feudatory States, we get exactly what we require.

To the north the boundaries ran a little below Amarakaṇṭaka, which the Mekals occupied, as we find them mentioned separately both in the Purāṇas and in epigraphic records. The Matsya and Vayu Purāṇas, when enumerating the dwellers in the Vindhya region (विन्ध्य रूप निवासिनः), say:—

मालवार्य कप्याग्रम मेकलार्वक्तकः सह।

तोपकारा: कोगलार्वेष वैपुर वेदियास्तथा॥

In the Bālāghat plates of the Vakataka king Prthvīśeṇa II belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., it is stated that his father Narendraśa’s commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava. Amarakaṇṭaka, the source of the Narmadā river, is the highest peak of the Mekala range of the Vindhya mountains. Indeed an alternative name of the Narmadā is Mekala-sutā or Mekala-kanyā, ‘daughter of Mekala.’ The range runs for about 130 miles in a south-westerly direction to Khairāgarh, indicating the tract which the Mekalas occupied, to wit, portions of Rewa State, Bilaspur, Maṇḍalā and Bālāghat districts and that portion of the Raipur district which is covered by the Feudatory States of Kawardhā, Chukhādan and Khairāgarh. In the Vayu Purāṇa, however, there is a mention of Paṇcha Kosalas, of which the Mekalas were one. Thus it would appear that there were semi-independent border chiefs subordinate to Kosala proper, the central portion of which comprised the present Raipur and Bilaspur districts.

5 The formation of a separate Orissa province has been recently sanctioned, and the Sambalpur district will be included in the new Province ere long.
6 A circuit of 1,000 miles in a perfect circle would give 78,545 square miles. Obviously Kosala was not a perfect circle, nor were the boundaries limited to the extents of the present units. They would require lopping off in certain directions and a bit of expansion in others.
8 Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 3.
We shall now proceed to locate the capital of the Kosala country. In the earliest times, when Nala, king of the Niṣadha country, was ousted from his kingdom, he started towards the south, and leaving his wife Damayanti in the forest to take care of herself, he moved on and arrived in the territory of the Karkotaka Nāga, who was evidently the ruler of the Nāgpur country. He afterwards reached the capital of Kosala, and took service as a charioteer of R̄ituparna, the then king of that country. The only ancient town which could have lain on the line of Nala’s march having traditions of visits from the heroes of Mahābhārata times is Bhāndak (old Bhadrāvati), 16 miles north of Chāндā town, the present head-quarters of the district of the same name. That this alone could be the residence of R̄ituparna is proved by the fact that Nala once drove the latter to his friend the king of Vidarbha, whose capital was at Kaundinyapura, in approximately 11 hours,9 in a chariot with only four horses. Now the distance between Bhāndak and Kaundinyapura is about 80 miles as the crow flies. Allowing 20 miles for the inevitably circuitous route taken by a horse-drawn vehicle, the speed of nine miles an hour is a plausible and even creditable performance for the horses under a good driver. The other known capitals of Dākṣīṇa Kosala are Sirpur (old Śrīpura) in the Raipur district and Tumāṇa and Ratanpur in the Bilāspur district. The first of these is the nearest to Kaundinyapura, but it lies as many as 250 miles away in a straight line on the map. This would give a run of 23 miles an hour for the chariot, and if the windings of the road are taken into account in the same proportion as in the case of Bhāndak, the pace would amount to 29 miles an hour for a continuous run of 11 hours without any change, which is impossible. In fact this rate would exceed the motor car speed attainable in these days, if not beat a railway train. But what we are concerned with is whether Bhāndak continued to be the capital until the advent of Yuan Chwang in 639 A.D. Cunningham, without having the foregoing data before him, tried to locate the capital from the bearings and distances noted by the Chinese pilgrim. The latter came to Kosala from the capital of Kalinga pursuing a north-westerly course of about 1,800 li, or 300 miles. For reasons best known to himself, Cunningham fixed the capital of Kalinga at Rājamahendra, from where he drew a straight line exactly to the north-west and found Chāndā, an important town with a fort and a circumvallation wall at a distance of 290 miles. Chāndā was once a Gond capital, but long after Yuan Chwang’s visit. It had, however, gathered some indefinite traditions which fitted his object, and he decided that it was the place visited by the Chinese pilgrim. Later on, Fergusson10 proposed Wairāgarh in the same district as the more likely place, but what is missing in both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhistic monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned. The latter states clearly that “there were 100 saṅghārāmaṇas there and 10,000 priests. There was a great number of heretics, who intermixed with the population and also Deva temples.” At Bhāndak one may see even today a rock-cut Buddhist cave in a fair state of preservation. There are also numerous remains of Hindu Deva temples as well as Jain temples. An inscription found in the Bhāndak cave shows that a line of Buddhistic kings belonging to the Paṇduvaṁśi line ruled in that place down to the ninth century A.D. (JRAS., 1905, p. 621). This discovery is of great importance inasmuch as Yuan Chwang mentions specifically that the king was of the Kṣatriya caste and deeply revered the law of the Buddha. Traditionally Bhāndak was a very big city which once extended up to Bhaṭāla,11 some 20 miles distant. The ruins lying between these places seem to indicate some connection between them.

In these circumstances when I happened to refer to Nāgārjuna, to whom a cave is dedicated on a hillock at Rāmtēk, I proposed Bhāndak as a still more likely place for Yuan

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9 Pradhan’s Chronology of Ancient India, p. 147.
10 JRAS., 1875, p. 260.
11 Nelson’s Chanda District Gazetteer, p. 571.
Chwang’s visit than Chândâ or Wairâgarh, giving in a footnote my reasons for that suggestion. The matter rested there, until 1928, when that footnote attracted the attention of my esteemed friend, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., who asked me whether, with my fuller local knowledge of the country after the lapse of a score of years, I still stuck to that opinion, pointing out at the same time certain difficulties which the description given by the Chinese pilgrim raised. I admit that I have found it very difficult to reconcile these, but I have endeavoured to reconsider the question and put on record what my acquaintance with the country suggested—a country which I have travelled through from the source of the Narmâdâ down to the Godâvari and from the Bámâ state of Orissa to Berâr.

In the first place, General Cunningham fixed Râjamahendri as the capital of Kaliṅga, but later investigations show that it was at Mukhaliṅgam on the left bank of the Vânsadhâra, 18 miles from Parlakimidi in the Ganjam District. In that case three other reputed capitals of South Kosala would at any rate require consideration before they can be summarily rejected, as Mukhaliṅgam would place them within the distances and bearings recorded by the Chinese traveller. These are Sîrpur (old Sripura) in the Raipur district and Tummâna and Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District. All these lie to the north-west of Mukhaliṅgam, but from Râjamahendri they would lie slightly east of north.

The distances are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From Mukhaliṅgam.</th>
<th>From Râjamahendri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirpur</td>
<td>221 miles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanpur</td>
<td>284 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tummâna</td>
<td>300 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted at once that Tummâna and Ratanpur did not become capitals until the ninth century A.D. or still later. The first was founded by a descendant of Kaliṅgarâja, a younger son of a descendant of Kokalla I of Tripuri, who flourished about 875 A.D.; and the second came into existence when Ramdeva, a later descendant of Kaliṅgarâja, transferred his residence to Ratanpur, which he named after himself. So, what remains to be considered is the claim of Sîrpur as the seat of the Somavâṇa kings and their predecessors. In the beginning of the seventh century A.D., a line of Rishitulyakula kings ruled there. The Årâng plates of Bhaimasena II give his genealogy for six generations. These were issued in Gupta Sâvat 282, or 601 A.D. This at any rate establishes the fact that Sîrpur enjoyed the honour of being a capital in the fifth century A.D., when the 5th descendant of Bhaimasena II must have been on the throne. It was just 38 years after the Årâng record that the Chinese pilgrim visited the capital of South Kosala. In view of the fact that Sîrpur even now possesses two images of the Buddha inscribed with the creed of his religion and numerous remains of Vaiśnava and Šaiva temples, it presents itself as a strong rival to Bhândâk, whose Buddhistic cave, carved out of the rock in the Wijâsan hillock, had ranged me in its favour, taking into consideration also the fact that an inscription was found in that cave mentioning a line of Kṣatriya kings, though belonging to a later date. The Rishitulyakula of Sîrpur was deva guru-brâhmaya bhaktâḥ, and as such out and out Hindu. It does not appear probable that it had changed its religion within the short interval of 38 years, unless it was superseded by another dynasty, which apparently, could not be other than the Somavâṇa one of the Pâṇḍu lineage, which played a conspicuous part in the history of Daksîna Kosala before the advent of the Haîhayas. Several inscriptions of kings of that dynasty have been found.

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12 Madras Provincial Gazetteer, vol. I, p. 228. For a collection of various views on the subject see an article on Kaliṅga in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. II, pp. 196 ff. Râjamahendri is said to have been founded by Râjarâja Narendra (1023-1065 A.D.) of the Eastern Châluhya dynasty and called after his surname, Râjamahenda (op. cit., vol. III, p. 144.)

the oldest being that of Tivaradeva, who has been connected with Udayana, a common ancestor of the Somavamśis of Sirpur and the Buddhist kings of Bhāndak. The time of the rise of the Somavamśis of Sirpur falls about Yuan Chwang’s visit, so it is within the bounds of possibility that an ancestor of Tivaradeva, who is described as prāpta sakala-Kosaladhi-patyaḥ (i.e., who had acquired the supremacy over all the Kosalas, or the whole of the Kosal country) may have held sway at Sirpur, and that he might have been a Buddhist, or at any rate well affected towards Buddhism. Tivaradeva himself was ‘a most devout worshipper of Viṣṇu’ and was ‘unweariedly worshipped by mankind in respect of his religious austerity.’

So far, then, the claims of Sirpur and Bhāndak stand on almost an equal footing. We have now to consider other points mentioned by the pilgrim, and see how they fit in. If the capital of Kaliṅga, whence Yuan Chwang travelled to the capital of the Kosal country, was at Rājamahendri, Sirpur is out of the question in view of the fact that its distance even as the crow flies is 370 miles, which is much in excess of what the pilgrim has recorded. The bearings would also vary, as Sirpur is slightly east of north, and not north-west, from Rājamahendri. But if we take Mukhaliṅgam close to Kaliṅganagaram or Kaliṅgapāṭanam as the capital of Kaliṅga, as proposed by Fergusson and accepted by Vincent Smith and others, the difficulty which arises is how the pilgrim made it out to be 1,400 or 1,500 li from Kung-yū-ṭo to Kaliṅga. Kung-yū-ṭo has been identified with the Kōṅgoda of the inscriptions, situated somewhere between Kāṭak in Orissa and Askā in the Ganjam district, close to the Chilka lake. The distance, however, from there to Mukhaliṅgam would be less than 125 miles in a straight line, and even if the windings of the road are taken into account, as they should be, still the distance could not amount to 1,400 or 1,500 li. It was perhaps this consideration which induced Cunningham to identify the capital with Rājamahendri. If, however, Mukhaliṅgam was really the capital of Kaliṅga, the claims of Chāndā or Bhāndak vanish, as their distance in a straight line would exceed 330 miles.

And now we have to take the data of the return journey into consideration. The pilgrim states that from Kosala he travelled south (Travels) or south-east (Life) through a forest for above 900 li to the An-to-lo country. This country was above 300 li in circuit and its capital, P’ing-k’i (or ch’i)-lo, was above 20 li in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil, with a moist hot climate; the people there were of violent character, their mode of speech differed from that of Mid-India, but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3,000 brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. From An-to-lo, or Andhra, the pilgrim continued his journey south through wood and jungle for over 1,000 li to T’s-na-ka-che-ka, which is identified with Dhanakāṭaka, the present Bezwāḍa. The distance between Sirpur and Bezwāḍa in a straight line is 350 miles, and that between Bhāndak and Bezwāḍa 270 miles. The traveller has recorded it as 1,900 li, or 316 miles. This again would appear to put Sirpur out of the question. In these circumstances it seems immaterial to locate the capital of Andhra, which lay somewhere midway between the capital of Kosala and Bezwāḍa. The pilgrim’s remarks in regard

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15 Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, p. 298.
16 Watters, Yuan Chwang, pp. 198 and 341.
17 The distances and bearings would point to Warangal (ancient Orukkallu, with the tradition of having been once the capital of Andhra), but how this name could be represented by P’ing-ch’i-lo in the Chinese language cannot be easily explained, unless Warangal had a different name in the seventh century. P’ing-ch’i cannot be Vengi, however much it may resemble it phonetically, as it would be too far away from any Kosala capital, and too near Bezwāḍa.
to the nature of the country he traversed, its people and language apply equally to both the claimants. Proceeding from Sirpur towards Bezwađa, we cannot avoid passing either through Bastar, or through the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency, apparently called Mahâ-kântâra (the great forest) at the time of Samudragupta’s conquest: and they remain primeval jungle up to the present day. The chief inhabitants are Gonds and Khonds (Kuis), still continuing in the wildest state. They have several times shown violence against authority by open rebellion and murder, or by merciless maiming of the limbs of their enemies, even during the British régime. When the Kuis once cut off the heads of Koltas, an Oriya cultivating caste who usurped their lands, they, on being asked why they did it, replied: “Koltas are goats, we are tigers, why should we not kill them?” The spoken dialects of these tribes are Dravidian, quite distinct from the languages of Mid-India; and in the southern area towards the Godâvari, they are replaced by Telugu. The Nâgavañši kings who ruled this country about the tenth century invariably recorded their grants and orders on stone or metal in Telugu characters to the south of the Indravati river, while all records referring to the same kings found to the north of that river are written in Nâgari characters. In the case of Bhândak, it may be noted that the whole of the tahsîl lying in the southernmost part of the Chândâ district, viz., Sironchâ, is Telugu-speaking. In fact it is the only tahsîl in the Central Provinces in which the recognised court language was till lately Telugu. The tahsîl abuts on the southern portion of the Bastar State and presents the same type of culture, the characteristics of which have been described above. The southern portion of the Chândâ district is full of dense forest. The writer of the Chândâ District Gazetteer says—“At times it must be admitted that the interminable stretches of the gloomy forest oppress the imagination and the traveller is glad to emerge for a space into the more open haunts of men and welcomes the uninterrupted view even of an Indian sun.”

It would thus appear that the country bordering on the Godâvari river was an out-crop of Telangana, or Telugu country, lying on the south of the Godâvari, and was “Andhra land with Andhra culture, tradition and language,” as Pañdit Nilakañtha Das, M.A., puts it (see JAHRSS., vol. II, p. 25); and a traveller returning from Bhândak or Sirpur was bound to cross it on his way to Dhanakañtha (Bezwâda).

As to the pilgrim’s description that Kosala was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, I think it is literally true. The country was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountains and on the south by those just described, and the other two sides were similarly wooded as they are today. In fact this country was called Dañdâ-kâranya in Râma’s time, and Mr. G. Râmâdas tells us that Dañdaka is a Dravidian term meaning ‘full of water.’ Wells were unknown in this country till recently. The country was full of tanks and lakes throughout its length and breadth, and there are still some places in the Drug district, formerly a part of Raipur, where marshes still survive.

From what I have said above, it will have to be admitted that there is some mistake in recording the distances or interpreting their exact value, whether one fixes the capital at Sirpur or Bhândak. To my mind, both the places seem at present to have equal claims to the honour of a visit from that great pilgrim of China, but Bhândak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur.

18 Nelson’s Chanda District Gazetteer, p. 8.

19 We have as a rule accepted 6 li to a mile. In a footnote on page 332, vol. II, of Watters’s Yuan Chwang, M. Foucher’s opinion is quoted that the expression ‘about 50 li,’ as used by Yuan Chwang, is ordinarily an approximate equivalent for a day’s march, which was variable in length, but averaged about 4 French leagues, or nearly 10 English miles; but Giles in the Oxford Dictionary lays down 10 miles as equivalent to 27½ li.
PROCLAMATION OF ASOKA AS A BUDDHIST, AND HIS JAMBUDVIPA.

By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (Oxon.), BAR.-AT.-LAW.

(a) **Explanation of the phrase 'gods made mingled with men.'**

The Rūpāṇī Series Proclamation (Hultsch, pp. 166, 228), miscalled 'Minor Inscriptions,' is the most important proclamation of the emperor. In this he issues his proclamation as an 'open Buddhist' (prakāśa Śāke; Maski—'Buddha Śake). He has no more hesitation in openly owning his religion which formerly the traditional constitutional position of the Hindu monarch prevented him from owning. He had preached the positivism of the Buddha's system, calling it his own, but now his conscience was moved to make a public declaration; and this declaration he couples with the result of his positive propaganda, summed up in one sentence:

"Those gods who during that time [i.e., his pre-conversion time] had been unmingled (with men) in JambudvIPA have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)."

(Hultsch, p. 168.)

Hultsch calls this enigmatical, and seeks to explain it by reference to Rock Proclamation IV, where the king mentions his shows of divine scenes (divyāṇi rūpāṇi—Girnār). Prof. F. W. Thomas (C.H.I., i. 505) takes it to signify that the king 'brought the Brāhmaṇ gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i.e., the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them.'

The meaning is, as we shall presently see, something different. The sentence is a masterpiece of epigrammatic statement, disclosing the great literary power of the emperor and at the same time intimate acquaintance with the traditional lore of the orthodox Hindu system. Aśoka turned back, surveying in the sīhāvaloka fashion, and saying to his orthodox countrymen, 'I, your king, have brought about the tretā-yuga in JambudvIPA.' His sentence puts in a summary form the Purāṇic description of the Golden Age of morality:

*Cf.*

Saptarshayo Manuṣ chaiva ādau manvantarasya ha,
prārambhante cha karmmāṇi manushyā daivataḥ saha

—Vāyu, i. 61. 164.

Men acting with the Devas (manushyā daivataḥ saha) initiate an order of perfect Dharma:

Manvantarārduḥ prāgeva
tretāyuga-mukhe tataḥ śv śvāṁ devās tatās tāvat evai
stite dharmē tu sārvāduḥ || (165).

The same orthodox Hindu tradition is to be found in the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba (2. 7. 16): saha deva-manushyā asmil-loke purā bahāvūḥ. In other words, Aśoka points out that he has brought about a new epoch, the ideal epoch. This was obtained through his approaching the Buddhist Saṅgha and by his own 'prowess' or 'exertion' (parākrama).

And this revolution was brought about not only in India but over a larger area, JambudvIPA, which obviously included the countries of some of his non-Indian international neighbours and the countries which had not the privilege of receiving his envoys, where his dharmānusasti, dharma-vutāṁ, and his vidhāna or dharma-vidhāna were being followed, and which had become subject to that form of his conquest which alone gave the emperor pleasure and satisfaction, i.e., his Conquest of Dharma (Rock P. XIII). The JambudvIPA of Aśoka thus meant an area larger than India, and it certainly included his own people on the Oxus.

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1 Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, ii. 45. He was bound by his coronation oath to protect the orthodox traditional religion.

2 Tretāyuga was essentially an imperial period:

 perpetrator śārira राजां सेवा संति है व्यक्तिरिप : 1 MBh., Bhīma, X. 11.
The implication is that the privilege which was confined by the orthodox system to the land of India, the privilege of having the moral yuga, a privilege which is expressly denied by the orthodox system to the countries outside the limits of Bharatavarsha, was made available, and demonstrably so, by the emperor to all, even to the Mlecchas.  

There was justification put forward here along with an open avowal of a non-Vedic or anti-Vedic system of religion, though at his coronation Asoka must have taken the oath to protect and follow the ancient orthodox religious system.

**Asoka’s Originality and Greatness.**

Asoka thus stood before his countrymen as the holy Indian emperor from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean—from Ceylon to Greece and Egypt—and as having brought about a new ethical order, and this also amongst those whom the ástras of his country had regarded as spiritually disenfranchised by the very law of primeval creation. The Buddha opened up Buddhism and sannyôsa to the whole of the non-Brâhman Hindu community; Asoka opened his Dharma to the whole of humanity. Without Asoka, Buddhism would have remained an intra-mural religion confined to India, a Hindu religious system confined to the Hindus, just like Jainism. Probably it did not occur to the Buddha to make Dharma available to the Mlecchas. The conception of a world-religion and enfranchisement of the whole world enabling the whole world—Indian and non-Indian alike—to partake of the truth, the positivism, of Buddhism, a truth which Asoka valued as the highest truth, was the originality of Asoka, not of the Buddhist Church as he founded it. He truly became an all-world conqueror, the Dharma-cakravartin over the known world. He, in the words of his race, caused the initiation of a new manvantara, a new kalpa, in the world. He expressed the hope that this new order (his Dharma) would last for a long kalpa, sincerely bequeathing it to posterity by the testament of his inscriptions.

(b) Jambudvîpa.

The name Jambudvîpa is found in Buddhist Pâli sútras as well as in Sanskrit literature. Its earliest definition in Sanskrit is to be found in the Mahâbhârata and then in the Matsya Purâña (c. 250 A.D.) They, however, avowedly borrow the geographical matter from the earlier edition of the Purâna text. The geographical material of the Purânas is of a very early date, which we shall presently see, and is probably even more important than the historical.

Jambudvîpa, according to the description therein given, comprised almost the whole of Asia. It is wrong to translate it by ‘India.’ I have pointed out above, on the basis of the inscriptions, that Asoka’s Jambudvîpa included much larger area than India, i.e., than India-cum-Afghânîstân. Now let us take the data of the Matsya.

(a) India Proper is called by it Mânavadevîpa (Ch. 113. 9-17), which some Purânas call Kumâridvîpa, named after Kumârî, a name which survives in our present day Cape Comorin. It gives the measurement of this dvîpa from Kumârî to the source of the Ganges.

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3 'There are four yugas in Bharatavarsha'—MBh., Bhîma, X. 3; Viśnu P., II. 3. 19.  
4 Bhîma, XII. 41.  
5 Brahmanda, 123. 9, and various other passages. Both have cited mostly identical verses.
6 In one place the MBh. employs the term in lieu of Bharatavarsha (Bhîma, vi. 13), but this was, as the commentator has rightly pointed out, due to the leading position of Bharatavarsha in Jambuvîpa; throughout its treatment the MBh. takes Bharatavarsha as one of the dvâpas of Jambukhaṇḍa or Jambuvîpa, like the Purânas, citing the very texts mostly. The MBh. at places condenses the Purânic text.  
7 The real source of the Ganges, according to the Purânas, lay in a lake in Tibet.
(b) India Proper was a part of Bhāratavarṣa, which extended in the north up to the valley of the Oxus (113. 40-43) (120. 43-46). The Bhāratavarṣa division goes back to the time of Megasthenes. See, for instance, Frag. IV of Schwanbeck (Strabo, XV. i. ii.; McCrindle, p. 48):

"India is bound on the north by the extremities of Taurois, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Parapanisos, and Hemodos, and Himaos, and other names, but by the Macedonians Kaukasos."

This larger area of India, i.e., Bhāratavarṣa goes really beyond the Maurya times. This is to be gathered from Herodotus, who says (iii. 102):

"There are other Indians bordering on the city of Kasparyros and the country of Paktyke, settled northward of the other Indians, who resemble the Baktrians in the way they live. They are the most warlike of the Indians and are the men whom they send to procure the gold [paid to the king of Persia], for their country adjoins the desert of sand."

(c) Bhāratavarṣa along with other varṣas made up Jambudvīpa. They were, according to an earlier Purāṇic division cited by the present Purāṇas, four, and according to another division, seven in number (Matsya, 112. 7). Varṣa means 'country' (112. 26) divided and bounded by mountain ranges. There are several mountain ranges in the continent of Jambudvīpa. One, to the north of India, is called Niṣadha. I take it to be the same as the Parapanisad of the Greeks, variously spelt as Parapanisad and Paropanisad.7 Parap probably represents para, which means a section of a range, according to Purāṇic geography.8 The Niṣadha and Meru were in close proximity, as a river (Jambu) is mentioned as situated by the south side of Meru and the north side of the Niṣadha (Meros tu daksinē pārīve Niṣadhasyottaraṇa tu—Vāyu, 46. 23).

There is no doubt that the Purāṇic Meru is the Meros of Alexander's historians, and the river is probably the Panjšīr.9 According to the Purāṇas it was a gold-producing area and its peculiar gold was called Jambunāda.

The central part of Jambudvīpa is the country of the Pāmirs, 'Meru-land.' Its range is Mahā-Meru (the Larger Meru). The region to the south of the Pāmirs is sometimes called Himāvarṣa,10 which Yuan Chwang calls Himā-tala.11 Probably it is this word that we find in the Greek form Himaos. ‘The Snowy Range’ of the Hindus seems to have included the mountains of north-western Afghanistān, and was more extensive than our 'Himalayas.' Cf. Yuan Chwang (Life, pp. 197-198):

"From this country, again going east across mountains 700 li, we reach the valley of Pāmīr. This valley is about 1000 li from east to west, and 100 li or so from north to south. It lies between two ranges of the Snowy Mountains....The soil is always frozen....12 In the middle of this valley is a great lake, 200 li from east to west, and fifty li from north to south. It lies in the centre of Jambudvīpa...."
This, along with the account of the Oxus and Šita rivers which follows, is almost a verbal corroboration of the Purānic description of the Pāmsār.

The four large divisions of Jambudvipa are:

N. Uttara Kuru, situated to the south of the Northern Sea (Uttara samudra).
S. Bharata.
E. Bhadrāśva (up to the sea, i.e., China).
W. Kētumāla (up to the sea, i.e., Asia Minor).

Kētumāla is identified by the later Hindu astronomer Bhaskara Ācārya, who calls its westernmost town Romaka, i.e., Constantinople. The Purānic description fully bears out this identification.

According to the second division of Jambudvipa referred to above, in which seven varṣas are enumerated, it becomes clear that the whole of Asia minus Arabia is included in Jambudvipa. By or below the Nīsadha there was Hari-varṣa. This country, Hari, is thus identical with the name and country called Harāya or Harīa by Darius, i.e., the country from Meshed to Herat, the Ariana of the Greeks. The old name survives in the modern Heri. The next varṣa or country in the Purāṇas is a large area called Ilavṛita, which must go back to the Elamite empire. Ilabrat was the chief messenger of the gods, or ‘the god of the wings’ (cf. Mythology of All Races, vol. V, Semitic, by S. Langdon, p. 177). To the Tibetan region and adjacent parts the Purāṇas give the name Kinnara- or Kimpuruṣa-varṣa, probably owing to the inhabitants being nearly devoid of moustaches and whiskers. To the north of the Pāmsār there are two parallel divisions, Ramapaka (or Ramyaka), i.e., the country of the ‘nomads,’ and Hiraṇya, which evidently stand for Central Asia and Mongolia, as the country to their north, Uttara Kuru was known as reaching the Northern Sea. Uttara Kuru thus represents Siberia.

Thus the four larger divisions are really the four most distant countries—India, Asia Minor, China and Siberia, and the seven consist of

1. India (with its frontiers on the Pāmsār).
2. The Herat country.
3. Tibet.
4. Ilavṛita, from the Pāmsār and Herat (probably) to the Persian Gulf.
5. Central Asia.
6. Mongolia.
7. Siberia.

Arabia is counted as a different dvīpa. It is bounded on three sides by the sea. A dvīpa, according to the Purānic description, should have seas on (at least) two sides. Arabia is called Pūṣkara, which according to the Purāṇas, is the only dvīpa which has no river and only one mountain. Its name, Pūṣkara dvīpa, the ‘lake dvīpa,’ is probably due to its being regarded as having inhabited land on all sides, surrounding an area of sand which represented a dried-up sheet of water.

The Purānic division of the then known world is thus ancient. It stands to reason that the ancient Hindus must have known their neighbours. The Purāṇas show a minute knowledge of Mid-Asia. Their name, Nila, for a large range of mountains is a translation of the Chinese name, ‘Blue Mountains’; and their ‘Golden Mountains’ represent the Altai Mountains, the Mongolian name for which (Altai-ulula) means the ‘mountains of gold.’ The Purāṇas assert that in the Central (Pāmsār) Region there was a very large lake, called by them Bindusara, which was the source of the Oxus and several other, named, rivers. Modern

13 C.H.I., i, 338.
research has shown that Lake Victoria is the remnant of a much larger lake that covered the valley in former ages. The Purāṇas say that the Oxus falls into the 'Western Sea,' by which they mean the Caspian. We now know that the Caspian was much larger in past ages, and included the present Sea of Aral. The Purāṇas call the Turkistán desert the 'desert of the sea.' These facts and the very ancient names Idrāvīda and Hari-varṣa prove that the Purānic geographical data of Jambudvīpa are much earlier than the time of Aśoka, and that the name which Aśoka used had long been established for the major portion of the known world. As the Purāṇas seem to have different names for Egypt (Kuśa-deśa) and Europe (Kauṇa-ca-deśa) we have to neglect Bhāskara Ācārya's view (which is much later in date) that Jambudvīpa included the whole of the northern hemisphere [the northern hemisphere according to him being land and the southern hemisphere being sea].

Following the definition of the ancient Purāṇas, it seems that Aśoka's Jambudvīpa was confined to Asia, and his success was more marked there than in Greece and Egypt, for in his summary of result he particularises Jambudvīpa.

MEAN SAMKRĀNTIS.

By A. Venkatasubbiah.

In his paper on 'The Brahma-siddhānta of Brahmagupta, A.D. 628; Mean System, published in vol. XVII of the Epigraphia Indica, the late Mr. Robert Sewell observed that, in India, details for the calendar, that is, of tithis, nakṣatras, samkrāntis, etc., were certainly calculated till the eleventh century at least everywhere, and for several centuries thereafter in some places, on the mean, instead of the true or apparent, motions of sun and moon. And he therefore published in that journal many tables by means of which one can calculate and determine, according to the Ārya and Brahma Siddhāntas, the moment when mean samkrāntis occurred, and mean tithis, nakṣatras, etc., began and ended.

Tables LXXVI and XC in these papers give the exact moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti according to these Siddhāntas, while tables LXXVII and XCI give the periods of time that intervene between this moment and the moments of occurrence of the other mean saṃkrāntis. Tables LXI and LXXXII, on the other hand, give the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrānti according to these Siddhāntas, which moment is quite different from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti. Now, the moment of occurrence of the Meṣa-saṃkrānti marks the commencement of the solar year; and it hence becomes evident from the above tables that Mr. Sewell opined that the compilers of the mean-system pañcaṅgas according to the Brahma, Ārya and other Siddhāntas put down in their almanacs as the time of commencement of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the mean, and not of the true, Meṣa-saṃkrānti, and that they made this moment the basis for their calculation of the moments of occurrence of the other mean saṃkrāntis.

To take a concrete instance, Mr. Sewell gives in tables XC and LXXVI the moment of occurrence of mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti, according to the Brahma and Ārya Siddhāntas, of Ky. year 4287 current (A.D. 1185) as 15hrs. 54m. 54s. on Monday, 25th March, and 16h. 55m. 0s. on Tuesday, 26th March, respectively, while in tables LXXXII and LXI, he gives the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrānti of the same Ky. year and according to the same Siddhāntas, as 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March, and 13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March, respectively. It is therefore apparent that, in Mr. Sewell's opinion, the compilers of the mean-system almanacs by the Brahma and Ārya Siddhāntas for the Ky. year 4287 current had put down in them Monday, 25th March, and Tuesday, 26th March (and not Saturday, 23rd March, and Sunday, 24th March) as the day on which the solar year commenced and that they calculated from these days the days on which the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other saṃkrāntis occurred.
There can be no doubt that Mr. Sewell had good grounds on which he based the above opinion; and it is hence all the more remarkable that in the few dates that I have met with which seem to cite mean samkranti, these mean samkrantis are calculated from the moment of occurrence of true, and not mean, Mesā-samkranti. These dates are but five in number and are the following:

1. Date of Arsikere inscription of the time of Viraballāja II (Ep. Car., V. Arsikere 93; p. 344): Šaka 1111 Kilaka, Pusya-amāvāsyā, Bhānuvarā, vyaśtpāta-samkramanā.

Śaka 1111 current=Kilaka by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, Pusya-amāvāsyā (i.e., the amāvāsyā at the end of the amānta month Pusya) ended on Tuesday, 26th December, and Monday, 19th December, A.D. 1188, according to the mean and true systems of working. No samkranti, mean or true, was associated with either of these two days; and the date is hence irregular for this year. It is likewise irregular for the northern luni-solar Kilaka also (concerning the use of northern luni-solar Jovian years in S. India, see my Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions, p. 4 ff.) for, in this year, Pusya-amāvāsyā began, by the mean as well as true, system of working, on Monday, 3rd December 1184, and ended on the next day, Tuesday, 4th December, and there was no samkranti, mean or true, associated with either of these days. In the year following this northern luni-solar Kilaka however (regarding such years, see p. 35 ff. in op. cit.) or the year but one preceding the southern luni-solar Kilaka (see regarding such years, p. 45, op. cit.), true Mesā-samkranti, according to the Brahma Siddhānta, occurred at 11h. 45m. 41s. on Saturday, 23rd March 1185 A.D., and the mean Makara-samkranti, counting from this moment, occurred 273 days 22h. 39m. 6s. later on Sunday, 22nd December 1185, at 10h. 24m. 47s. The mean Pusya-amāvāsyā too began on this Sunday at 14h. 17m. 0s. The mean Mesā-samkranti occurred on Monday, 25th March, at 15h. 54m. 54s. and the mean Makara-samkranti, counting from this moment, at 14h. 34m. 0s. on Tuesday, 24th December 1185, on which day the mean tithi Pusya-ba 1 ended and ba-2 began. The true Makara-samkranti too occurred on that Tuesday at 3h. 52m. 31s.

It is thus obvious that Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D., is the equivalent of the date given in the inscription, and that the compiler of the almanac from which the details of the above date were taken had given in it 11h. 45m. 41s. of Saturday, 23rd March 1185; as the beginning of the solar year and calculated from that moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Makara-samkranti.


It will be seen that the details of this date are identical with those of no. 1 given above with the exception that the weekday here is Monday, and not Sunday. Since we have also seen above that on Sunday, 22nd December A.D. 1185, the equivalent of date no. 1, Pusya-amāvāsyā began and ended on the following Monday, it is obvious that this Monday, 23rd December A.D. 1185, is the day denoted by the inscription. According to the Ārya Siddhānta, the mean Makara-samkranti occurred after 273 days 22h. 39m. 22s. counting from the moment of occurrence of true Mesā-samkranti (13h. 22m. 30s. on Sunday, 24th March 1185), at 12h. 1m. 52s. on this Monday; and the mean tithi Pusya-amāvāsyā too ended on this Monday at 14h. 27m. 28s.

In my above-cited book, I have given Monday, 24th January A.D. 1183, as the equivalent of this date (p. 100; no. 126) and also of four other dates. Comparison with date no. 1 given above, however, shows clearly that the equivalent of this date is Monday, 23rd December 1185, and not Monday, 24th January 1183. In the same way, the former Monday

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1 The mention of vyāśtpāta in this date, and in the following dates, is honorific (see in this connection op. cit., p. 19); for, the yoga vyāśtpāta can, in no circumstance, occur in conjunction with the tithis cited in these dates.
is the equivalent of date no. 127 also in op. cit. (Śaka 1107 Viśeśavasu, Puṣya-amāvāsyā, Monday, vyatipitā-saṃkrānta; Śaka 1107 expired=Viśeśavasu=A.D. 1185), while the latter Monday is the correct equivalent of dates no. 125, 129 and 128 in op. cit. The first two of these three dates mention the year Śobhakṛt and Śaka 1106 current and 1105 expired [==A.D. 1183] while the year Plavaṅga mentioned in the third must be understood to refer to the northern luni-solar year of that name, which corresponded to A.D. 1183.


Śaka 1084 expired=Citrabhānu by the southern luni-solar system. In this year, mean Makara-saṃkrānti calculating from the moment of true Meṣa-saṃkrānti, occurred according to the Śrīya Siddhānta, at 13h. 14m. 22s. on Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1162, and calculating from the moment of mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti, at 16h. 46m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December. The true Makara-saṃkrānti too occurred on that Tuesday at 6h. 16m. 48s. The mean tithi Puṣya-su 15 ended on the above Sunday at about 3h. 34m. 8s., while the mean tithis associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 2 (ending) and Puṣya-ba 3 (beginning). It is hence evident that this Sunday, 23rd December 1162, is the regular equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

4. Date of Belavāḷa inscription of the time of the above king (Ibid. Kaḏūr 16; p. 8):

Śaka 1094 Khara, Mārgāśirha-su 14, Somavāra, uttarāvāra-saṃkrānta-vyatipitā.

Śaka 1094 current=Khara by the southern luni-solar system; for this year the date is irregular. In the previous year however (regarding such years, see op. cit., p. 31 ff.), mean Dhanus-saṃkrānti, according to the Śrīya Siddhānta, occurred at 4h. 23m. 28s. on Monday, 23rd November 1170 A.D., when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meṣa-saṃkrānti, and at 7h. 55m. 56s. on Wednesday, 25th November, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of the mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti. True Dhanus-saṃkrānti too occurred on this Wednesday at 23h. 31m. 0s.

The mean tithi Mārgāśirha-su 14 began on the above Monday at about 4h. 16m. 32s., while the mean tithis associated with the above Wednesday were Mārgāśirha-su 15 (ending) and ba-1 (beginning); and it is thus obvious that the above-mentioned Monday (23rd November A.D. 1170) is the equivalent of the date given in the inscription.

Regarding the epithet uttarāvāra applied to the Dhanus-saṃkrānti, see op. cit., p. 25 ff.

5. Date of the Ānekere copper-grant of Virahallāḷa II (Ep. Čar., V, Cannarāyapatṭana 179; p. 462): Śaka 1113 Saumya, Puṣya-ba 11, Ādīvāra, uttarāvāra-saṃkrānta.

This date has already been discussed by me on p. 126 in IHQ., vol. 4. As I have said there, the date is irregular for Śaka 1113* which corresponded to Saumya by the southern luni-solar system. In the following year however, mean Makara-saṃkrānti, according to the Śrīya Siddhānta, occurred at 19h. 4m. 22s. on Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190, when calculated from the moment of occurrence of true Meṣa-saṃkrānti, and at 22h. 36m. 52s. on Tuesday, 25th December, when calculated from that of mean Meṣa-saṃkrānti. The true Makara-saṃkrānti too occurred on that Tuesday at 12h. 6m. 48s.

The mean tithi Puṣya-ba 11 began on the above Sunday at about 13h. 51m. 23s., while the mean tithis associated with the above Tuesday were Puṣya-ba 12 (ending) and ba-13 (beginning); and it is hence obvious that the equivalent of the date given in the inscription is Sunday, 23rd December A.D. 1190.2

2 The calculations in this paper have been made with the help of Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above; and in connection with dates 2-5, it may be observed that the results are the same if one uses the Sūrya, instead of the Śrīya, Siddhānta.

The hours, minutes and seconds given above should in all cases be counted from the moment of mean Laṅkā sunrise on the days mentioned.
These are the only dates that I know of in which mean *samkranti* seem to be cited; and it becomes clear from what has been said above that these mean *samkranti* have in all cases been calculated from the moment of occurrence of the true Meza-samkranti. In other words, the compilers of the professedly mean-system almanacs from which the details of the above dates were taken, had given in them as the beginning of the solar year, the moment of occurrence of the true and not the mean Meza-samkranti. This is, on the face of it, inconsistent; and the question hence arises in one's mind, why should this have been so? Why did the compilers of professedly mean-system almanacs give the moment of occurrence of the true, and not the mean, Meza-samkranti as the beginning of the solar year? The only answer that suggests itself to me in this connection is this: As is well-known, it is explicitly stated in the Arya and Brahma Siddhantas that, though the Ky. era began at mean sunrise on Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102, the year that began on that day (Ky. year 1 current or 0 expired) was the luni-solar year, and that the true solar year really began on Tuesday, 15th February B.C. 3102, at 20h. 27m. 30s. and 19h. 52m. 22s., respectively. It is easily conceivable therefore that a *jyotisika* who wanted to compile a mean-system *pañcāśāga* for, say, the Ky. year 4000 expired according to the Arya Siddhānta, would have chosen the above-given moment as his starting-point, and by adding to it 365.2586805 (length of the solar year according to the Arya Siddhānta) x 4000 days, arrived at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired began on Thursday, 22nd March A.D. 899, at 13h. 47m. 3s. With this moment as basis, he would then, by adding to it 30.438223 days and its multiples determine the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *samkranti*, and at the end, by adding 30.438223 days to the moment of occurrence, so determined, of the mean Mina-samkranti, arrive at the result that the mean Meza-samkranti of the Ky. year 4001 expired occurred at 20h. 0m. 0s. on Friday, 21st March A.D. 900. This however happens to be the exact moment of occurrence of the true Meza-samkranti. And thus the moment of occurrence of mean Meza-samkranti, determined in this manner by the *jyotisaka* aforesaid, would be identical in every case with that of true Meza-samkranti, due to the circumstance that this *jyotisaka* took as his starting-point 19h. 52m. 22s. of 15th February B.C. 3102.

At the same time, it is also conceivable that another *jyotisika* may have taken as his starting-point 0h. 0m. 0s. (i.e., exactly 6 A.M.) of Friday, 18th February B.C. 3102 (at this moment began the mean-solar year Ky. 1 current according to the above two Siddhantas), and by adding to it 365.2586805 x 4000 days, arrived (as Mr. Sewell has done) at the result that the solar year Ky. 4000 expired, according to the Arya Siddhānta mean system, began on Saturday, 24th March A.D. 899, at 17h. 20m. 0s., and calculated from this moment the moment of occurrence of the mean Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and other *samkranti*. These moments are, naturally, different from those determined according to the former method and also from those determined according to the true system of working.

This difference in the moment of occurrence of the mean *samkranti* leads, in its turn, to a consequence that we must take account of; it causes a difference in the names of lunar months. Thus, to take an instance, I have said in connection with date no. 1 discussed above that, according to the Brahma Siddhānta mean system, mean Puṣya-amāvāsyā began at 14h. 17m. 0s. on Sunday, 22nd December 1185 A.D. According to Mr. Sewell's method of calculating mean *samkranti*, however, the month of Mārgaśira was *adhipaka* in this year (see his table X) and the mean *tiṣṭha* that began on the above Sunday was not Puṣya-amāvāsyā, but Mārgaśira-amāvāsyā. According to the Brahma Siddhānta true system too, that *tiṣṭha* was Mārgaśira-amāvāsyā; but the intercalated month was not Mārgaśira but Bhādrapada (see his table LXXXII). On the other hand, according to the method of calculating mean *samkranti* that was adopted in connection with the five dates given above, there was no intercalation at all in the year A.D. 1185, and the mean *tiṣṭha* that began on the above Sunday was Puṣya-amāvāsyā; but the month Cātra was intercalated in the next year, A.D. 1186-7.
The difference in the method of calculating mean saṃkrāntis has thus, in this instance, led to a difference in the names of five lunar months; and what, according to one method, are the months of adhika-Mārgaśīra, Mārgaśīra, Puṣya, Māgha and Phāḷguna, are, according to the other method, the months of Mārgaśīra, Puṣya, Māgha, Phāḷguna and adhika-Caitra respectively.

As already observed above, however, I have not up to now come across any date which cites a mean saṃkrānti calculated according to the method adopted by Mr. Sewell, while, on the other hand, the five dates given above cite, clearly, mean saṃkrāntis calculated according to a different method. It would be well therefore if computers of Indian dates, and especially those that use Mr. Sewell's tables referred to above for this purpose, bear in mind that there is a method of calculating mean saṃkrāntis which is different from that adopted by him, and that the employment of this method leads, not only to a difference in the time at which the mean saṃkrāntis took place, but, occasionally, to a difference in the years in which intercalary months occurred, and in the names of lunar months also.

THE LUNAR CULT IN INDIA.

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

In an informing note on 'the Traces of Lunar cult in India' in the Rivista degli Studi Orientali, vol. XII (1930), Professor Giuseppe Tucci makes the following observation. "While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees." (Translated from the original Italian by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the Ind. Ant., Jan. 1932, p. 17.) An endeavour is made here to show that the lunar cult was as old as the solar cult, and the moon enjoyed an independent status like any other deity of the Vedic pantheon. The worship of the moon, like that of the sun, must be traced back to the Vedic period of India's ancient history. It is generally known that orthodox tradition classifies the Yaṣurveda saṃhitā into four kāṇḍas. These are the Prajāpati kāṇḍa, Saunya kāṇḍa, Āgniya kāṇḍa and Vaiśvadeva kāṇḍa. Of these, the Saunya kāṇḍa is in honour of the moon, who is raised to the rank of divinities like the Prajāpati-, Āgni- and Vaiśvadevas. The texts of the Saṃhitā which are devoted to the elaboration of sacrificial ritual refer to the moon as an adhipati of the sacrifice, and hence a devatā. If the evidence of the Yaṣurveda-saṃhitā teaches us anything, it is that the moon is raised to the rank of a yaśna or sacrificial deity and is undoubtedly a Vedic god. There is again the invaluable testimony of the Bhārāmaṇa literature where the moon is looked upon as an independent divinity. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa we have what is known as the Somasūktam, and this sūktam is celebrated in honour of the moon (II, viii, 3). These hymns in praise of the moon can be favourably compared to the Rudrasūktam, Puruṣasūktam and other Vedic sūktams of much importance. Added to this is the statement that the presiding deity of the yaḥbholā in the sacrificial literature is no one else than Candra or the moon-god. (Ibid., II, ii, 11-12.) Besides their use in the yaṣyaḥs or sacrifices, they are used in connection with a number of ceremonies attending the innumerable vrataṃs or special vows and the installation of images in temples, much adumbrated in the Purāṇa literature and the Āgama treatises as well. (See the Matsya-purāṇa, ch. 265, 24.)

The Purāṇas, which are regarded as the fifth Veda according to the tradition transmitted in the Indian religious and secular works, make elaborate references to the different aspects of the lunar cult. The moon is one of the ten dig-pālas or the guardian deities of the directions. (See the Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 266-26.) He is the lord of the twenty-seven nakṣatras (Ibid., ch. 23.1 ff.) and is one of the nine planets which go by the name of nava-grahas. (Ibid., ch. 93-10.) He is above all the ēṣadhipati, or the lord of oceans and plants. (Ibid., ch. 266, 25.)
Let us now turn our attention to the vast treasures of Tamil literature of South India, and try to find out whether the Tamil literary tradition has anything to corroborate the above statements and to throw fresh light on the topic under discussion. The Tolkāppiyam, which cannot be later than fourth century B.C., has a significant expression, arumugavēḻuttu, or in praise of six deities or persons. Perhaps Ilāṅko-Adigal follows this custom if one examines carefully the opening lines of that epic, the Silappadikārām. The author of the Silappadikārām mentions these six in the following order: moon, sun, rains, world, sages and the king of the land. (Canto I, ll. 1 ff.) It is of particular interest to note that the Tamil classic of the second century A.D. begins with an invocation to the moon god. (See M. Raghaiva Aiyangar’s Tolkāppiyā Poruladikkārā Arai, 2nd ed., p. 129, note.) According to the celebrated commentator Naccinārkkkiniyar, the VALLiṉuḷtu is the hymn in praise of Valli or the moon. (See the gloss on Tolk. Puratt. sūtra, 33.) It will thus appear that from the time of the grammarians Tolkāppiyar, if not earlier, the moon came to be recognised by the Tamils as one among their different deities, and a place of high honour is given by the prince-poet Ilāṅko-Adigal to the moon (tiṉgal). But what is more important and most interesting is the unmistakable reference to a temple of moon. The Tamil expression for that temple is Nālakkoṭum (Canto IX, l. 13), which existed in ancient Puhar or Kāvēripaṭṭanam. Here is an explicit statement of the existence of a temple dedicated to the moon which cannot be disputed. According to Ktesias (400 B.C.) there were temples dedicated to the sun and moon, at a distance of 15 days' journey from Mount Abu. After quoting this authority Mr. C. V. Vaidya further remarks: “There was a temple of the moon at Prabhāsa.” (History of Medieval India, vol. I, p. 255.) These evidences bear ample testimony to the existence of moon temples in India and moon worship both in the north and the far south.

Though the temples of the moon have disappeared, the worship of the moon still continues. A relic of the old custom which is frequently referred to in the Śaṅgam works and later Tamil literature goes by the name of Piṟaitoljatal, literally, the worship of the moon. (See Kuruntogai, stanza 307. Iṟayunār Ahapporul, sūtra 7, p. 67 and the stray but rare stanza quoted in the same page: Nālaṭiṟi, stanza 176: See also the Perumtooai collection of M. Rāghava Aiyangar, p. 32.) Here is a stanza praising the moon, technically entitled desapāṇi. That this class of poems existed is seen from the comment of Arumpadavurai ācāryiar on the line 37, Canto VI of the Silappadikārām.)

In this connection the Tirukkovai, which deals with Ahapporul, is worthy of note. The Tirukkovai, of Māṅikkavāsakam of the ninth century A.D. belongs to the high class works on Hindu mysticism which ordinarily seem to be texts on love poetry. (See author’s Studies in Tamil Literature and History, pp. 99-101.) The stanza (67) gives a glimpse of social life in ancient Tamil land. It was a custom with the ancient Tamils, and this is current even now, to watch the moon rising on the second day after the new moon day. This seeing of the moon is religious in character and tantamount to the worship of the moon. The maid waiting on the lady love, innocent of the fact that her mistress had already enjoyed, though secretly, her husband’s company, urges her to come out and pay her respects to the moon. But the mistress refuses to worship the deity, thus giving a sure hint that she had her own husband, who is to her all god. Incidentally we are introduced to a great truth and its practice in the Tamil land that chaste women do not worship any god except their own husbands, whom they worship as their god. It may be well to bear in mind that this was the great maxim taught by Tiruvalļuvār in his thought-provoking treatise the Tirukkulal (see the kuralveṛṭa, 55).

To return to the subject proper, the lunar cult was known in early Tamil India, as well as in Vedic India. There were temples dedicated to that deity, though such instances have become extinct. The worship of the moon as a planet, as a digpālu and as the lord of the vegetable kingdom is still largely prevalent.
IMPORTANT FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FOUND AT MAHĀŚṬHĀN (BOGRA DISTRICT).

(The following note on the Mauryan Brāhmi inscription recently found at Mahāśṭhān in the Bogra district was read by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar at the Symposium of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 2nd January 1933.)

This fragmentary but most interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmi was discovered, on the 31st of November 1931, by one Baru Faqir of the Mahāśṭhān village in the Bogra district of Bengal, not far from a mound which was being excavated by the Archaeological Department.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in the Brāhmi Alphabet of the Aśokan records. The language is the same as that of his Pillar Edicts, that is to say, it was the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Māgadhi, or rather the court language of Magadhā. The purport of the inscription is briefly as follows. Some ruler of the Mauryan period, whose name is lost, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Pundranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused apparently by famine to a people called Śāvadviggyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures were adopted to meet this contingency. The first apparently consisted of the advance of a loan in āṇḍaka currency, and the second of the distribution of ḍhānyā, or paddy, from the district granary. A wish is expressed that the Śāvadviggyas will thus be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of plenty they were asked to return the money to the Treasury and the grain to the Granary.

It will be seen that this epigraphic record is of great historical importance. In the first place, it establishes the identity of the present Mahāśṭhān with the ancient Pundranagara. The last line of the inscription clearly shows that it was fixed into the structure of a Granary which could not have been far from the place where the stone plaque was found. The Granary was thus situated in the present area of Mahāśṭhān. And as the Granary originally belonged to Pundranagara, there can be no doubt as to Mahāśṭhān being identical with Pundranagara. Cunningham, with his topographical instincts, had long ago identified the two on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. But his identification had remained more or less uncertain for want of epigraphic evidence. But the find of our record now leaves no doubt on this point.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. Mention is made in this inscription of the distribution of ḍhānyā, or unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations, and, also when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may, however, be asked: why money was at all distributed among the Śāvadviggyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal, where nature is so plentiful, a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāśṭhān, that is, Pundranagara, is situated on a river, namely, the Karatoṣyā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastation not simply to the crops in the fields, but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its border. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of āṇḍaka coins among the Śāvadviggyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, surely there would have been some reference to it in our record.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a safeguard against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is an inscribed copper-plate found at Sohagaur at about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur (J.A., XXV, 261 ff.). A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but to two granaries, and that this plate is an order to some Mahāmātra, stationed apparently at Śrāvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counteracting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and storehouses is pretty ancient in India, and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāśṭhān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the State to combat the devastation caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is a pity that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadeśa influenced by Māgadhi. It was really the language of the Mauryan Court in Magadhā, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadeśa but also over parts conterminous with it. In fact, it had become the lingua franca of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this lingua franca had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the fourth century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves.
it. It is true that Brâhmanism took a long long
time to spread over Bengal. The Aryan culture
seems for the first time to have been disseminated
in ancient Bengal by the Jainas. It is curious to
note that while Bihâr and Kosala were taken by
Buddha and his adherents Bengal was selected
by Mahâvîra and his followers for their proselytising
activities. It is true that no traces of this original
Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late
as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the
Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the
Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Pundravardhana
(Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst., XII, 104 f.). Only the
other day a copper-plate charter was discovered
during excavations at Pahâpur in Bengal, dated
G.E. 159=177 A.D., which registers a grant for the
worship of Arhata at a vihâra situated not far from
this place and presided over by the disciples of
the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin (E.I., XX, 61 f.).
No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to
Jainism and especially Nirgranthism, having been
prevailing in Bengal up till the seventh century A.D.
This at the most may explain the employment of the
Brâhmi alphabet in our inscription, but the use of
the court language of Pâtaliputra is a clear indica-
tion of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being
included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have
to consider is: who were the Samvângiyas, supposing
that was the name really intended.

Samvângiyas in the first place remind us of Samvâ-
vajis. We know that to the account of Fu-li-chih
(=Vrijis) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the
commentator, saying that “Fu-li-chih was in 'North
India,' and that the north people called it the
Sam-fa-chih (or Samvâjii) (Watters, vol. II, p. 81).
On this point Beal makes the following pertinent
comment: “The country of the Vrijis or Sam-
vijis, i.e. united Vrijis, was that of the confede-
 rated eight tribes of the people the Vrijis or
Vajis, one of which, viz., that of the Liechhavis,
dwelt at Vâsiyâ” (Beal, Records, vol. II, p. 77,
n. 100). Just as the eight confederate clans, of
whom the Vajis were the most important, were
called collectively the Samvâjis, or the united
Vajis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that
there were confederate clans in East Bengal who
were similarly conglomerated under the collect-
tive term of Samvângiyas. This shows that the
most prominent of these at the beginning was the
Vângiyas, after whom the confederation was styled
the Samvângiyas, or the ‘united Vângiyas’? The
second point to be noted here is that the people of
East Bengal are now called Vângas, and it may now
be asked where was the necessity of coming from it
a name which is an obvious derivative from it,
namely, Vângiya. If we now turn to the Vâyu
and Maitreya Purânas and study the chapters dealing
with Bhuvana-vinyasas, we find that they mention
the two allied clans, Pravangas and Vângiyas. But
be it noted that none of them has been called Vânga.
Secondly, the second of these names comes so close
to the Vângiyas of our inscription that our inscrip-
tion being earlier than any one of these Purânas
and being a genuine record of the time, Vângiya must
doubtless be considered to be the original name and
the reading Vângiya of the Purânas thus becomes a
corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravangas
are coupled with Vângiyas (wrongly called Vângiyas)
in these early Purânas shows that they were con-
 federated clans and fell under the Samvângiyas.
And, further, the reference to the Samvângiyas in
connection with Pundranagara goes to indicate that
the Purânas also belonged to the Samvângiya con-
federacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha
the capital of the Samvâjii confederacy was Vesiâ,
which was the head-quarters, not of the Vaj-jii, but
of the Liechhavis who were then prominent, it
seems that in the time of our inscription the capital
of the Samvângiyas was Pundranagara, which was
the head-quarters, not of the Vângiyas, but of the
Purânas, after whom it was undoubtedly called
Pundranagara.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST LOGIC: Volume II. By TH. SCHER-
BARTZKY. Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI. 9×6
inches : pp. vi + 469. Academy of Sciences of
the USSR: Leningrad, 1930.

Some thirty years have passed since Professor
Scherbatsky first began to write on the subject of
Buddhist logic, and the two volumes of the present
work, of which the second is the first to appear, con-
tain the matured fruit of his researches during that
long period. Here we have the materials on which
the first volume, not yet in the reviewer’s hands, is
based, namely a translation into English of Dharma-
kirti’s Nyâtigâbhâda and Dharmottara’s commentary,
accompanied by several appendices containing ex-
tacts on points of importance from Vâcaspati Mîra
and others. The author, as is well known, believes
firmly in the impossibility of translating Sanskrit
philosophical treatises with any degree of literalness
and in previous books he has paraphrased with the
greatest freedom, but with results that were most
decidedly open to criticism. For when strong views
are held about contentious matters, it is difficult to
be objective in paraphrasing and to avoid tenden-
ciousness; the views colour the translation and give
it a misleading effect. When also a text is not
quite correctly apprehended, too free a rendering
may result in something which bears no resemblance
at all to the original. In the present work, however,
his has successfully avoided these pitfalls and does
so by keeping in fact much closer to the text than
he has been accustomed to do. The *Nyāyabindu* and its commentary is straightforward enough in appearance, but the exact significance of each term and argument is singularly difficult to grasp in its entirety and still more difficult, when grasped, to render accurately and intelligibly. Yet here an extraordinary measure of success has been attained; for this is undoubtedly far and away the best translation of any Sanskrit work on logic that we have, a veritable *tour de force,* when we remember that English is not the author’s native language and that complete mastery of its idiomatic peculiarities is indispensable for a precise reproduction of the subtleties of the original. Even if occasionally there are lapses in grammar, they are no hindrance to understanding and an Englishman is the best person to bear witness to the high quality of the achievement. Much of the success, it should be added, attained in making Dharmakīrti’s and Dharmottara’s position comprehensible is due to the admirable notes, which bring out clearly the importance and originality of Buddhist logic by means of comparisons with modern German and English work in this domain.

In the absence of the first volume a discussion of general principles would be out of place, but in reviewing a book which will be read with the closest attention by specialists and which may be earnestly recommended to all students starting on the study of Indian logic, it is not otiose to indicate one or two points to which with diffidence I am inclined to take exception; with diffidence, not merely because it is a case of *impar congressus,* but also because in some cases disagreement may be due not to differences on matters of substance but to the failure of the translation to give exact effect to the intentions of Professor Stecherbsky. I notice he is reluctant to admit that *arthā* usually means simply the object to which *pratyakṣa* is directed, without any philosophical implications as to the nature or reality of the object; for instance, p. 7, 12-13, is correctly given literally in a footnote, but the construction put upon it in the translation seems to me to go too far. Again in text, p. 8, 5 and 8, the two occurrences of *ekadhāyāmahāyā* means something like ‘associated with a single object,’ which is translated the first time ‘as its implication,’ and the second time ‘inherent in the same object,’ so putting a wrong complexion on the whole passage. Similarly the long and important discussion of negation in the chapter on *arthaśāstra* is very hard to follow, because a number of different translations are tried for *ārya* and *āgra,* in order to import the idea, which is quite irrelevant to Dharmottara’s argument, that to a Viśākyavādin *ārya* means, not something real, but something imagined. When the author finally abandons the attempt and settles down to the equivalent ‘sensibilitia,’ he becomes intelligible again and gives us the precise effect of the text. The point I would make in referring to these passages is that Dharmakīrti and his commentator use ordinarily and of set purpose a vocabulary which would enable their theories to be professed either by realist or by idealist Buddhists. Each party could put their own construction on the language without impairing the force of the arguments, but I would hold that in certain cases the actual method used in the translation to force the views of one party, the idealists, into the text is open to criticism as befogging the issues and that a more straightforward rendering would have been more accurate and more comprehensible.

This may be illustrated by a point to which a more competent hand than mine (La Vallée Poussin, *Mêlanges chinois et bouddhiques,* vol. I, 415) has drawn attention, Professor Stecherbsky’s translation of *adrāyya* by ‘co-ordination’ with the implications he draws therefrom. The term is confined almost entirely in this work to perception. This latter is divided into two distinct stages, firstly the action of the sense organ, which results in an exact reflection of the object, always here called *pratiṣṭhāna,* and secondly, the action of *balancing,* the constructive imagination, which constructs an image out of the reflection. This image is regularly called *āyākāsa* by which is indicated a lack of exactness as reality, its nature as a product of imagination; in the one passage (text, p. 8, 2) where *avakāsa* is substituted for it the *āyākāsa* is probably interpolated, so that we should read *ārthābādha.* In the text, p. 15, 8 ff., the image is described as the shape (ābhāra) that the mind takes and thereby through the likeness (adrāyya) to the object the cognition of the object is completed (artha-pratiṣṭhāna); ‘co-ordination’ fails to express adequately this process, whose original purpose was to explain how cognition took place without actual contact between the mind, the sense organ and the object. Incidentally the theory of the reflection of the object cannot but strike one as possessing remarkable analogies with the classical Sāṁkhya theory of the action of *citta* in the *prakṛta.*

A minor matter is the translation of *mātra-vivaha-kramopadeśavat* (text, p. 2, 24) by ‘< that its aim was undesirable, > like the instruction about the ritual to be followed at the (re-)marriage ceremony of (one’s own) mother.’ Whether krama can mean ritual I need not discuss, but why ‘one’s own mother’? There are two alternatives, either by taking mātr as equivalent to mātrā, a common Buddhist term for ‘women’ generally, and understanding that widow marriage is entirely disapproved of, or, in view of the fact that the Kāśyapa’s section on the *punarāśi* proves the second marriages of women not to be uncommon or to be considered objectionable in certain circumstances, by translating mātr as ‘one who has borne children to her first husband’ and inferring that remarriage was improper in such cases only.

But, taken all round, the translation is remarkably successful for its accurate reproduction of the
arguments of the original in intelligible form and constitutes a contribution to the subject of the highest importance, for which all of us, whether specialists in logic or general students, cannot but be deeply grateful to the Russian scholar.

E. H. J.


Till recently it has been impossible to form any detailed idea of Buddhist Tantrism for want of original texts. The Baroda Oriental Institute has now published some of the most important in editions, which are readable but not up to the best standards of scholarship through failure to correct faulty MSS. by reference to the Tibetan translations and through omission to consult the few European publications on the subject. The obscurity of the wording is such that our knowledge has not been advanced as much as it should have been, and Dr. Bhattacharyya’s brief sketch is accordingly welcome. To what extent does he lead us to modify our previous views? At the end he remarks, ‘The Tantras should be regarded as the greatest contribution of India to world culture,’ a statement at entire variance with the rest of his book, which tends to prove the exact opposite. It is in fact hard to disentangle from the curious farrago of which most Tantric works consist those elements which are original and important, nor does the author give us all the help he might. For he is evidently insufficiently acquainted with the results of recent research on the Vijnanavada system, to which Buddhist Tantrism owes its philosophical framework, and I doubt the possibility of making definite assertions on points of doctrine till one of the leading treatises, preferably the Guhyasamaja, has been translated and explained to us in all its implications and double meanings in the light of the many commentaries extant in Tibetan.

Meanwhile, from what Dr. Bhattacharyya has to tell us, the main principles would seem to be (1) absolute submission to the guru, (2) belief in the possibility of attaining magic powers, (3) belief in salvation by the shortcut of such powers, (4) the release of aspirants and Yogins from all principles of morality. These magic powers are evidently closely connected with the phenomena of hypnotism, as appears from an excellent thesis just published by Dr. Lindquist (Die Methoden des Yoga, Lund, 1932); originally the practice of Yoga was undertaken to make the understanding of certain religious truths part of the personality by the process of auto-suggestion, but what was once a means has developed in this school to an end in itself. Naturally there will be a difference of opinion between those who accept the claims of the Tantrists at their face value and those, the majority, who do not.

Nothing in this book is likely to make the latter recede from their verdict that the Tantra cannot be held to have any real value as religion or philosophy and that in some aspects it is, as the author states in his preface, the product of diseased minds.

On one point we may be all agreed, that, whatever its other deficiencies, it did give rise to an art, which, if by no means of the front rank, has produced a body of work of definite aesthetic value, and Dr. Bhattacharyya’s publications with their admirable illustrations have done much to bring this home to everyone.

E. H. J.

GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM, by BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. 9½ x 6 in.: xxi + 89 pp.; with sketch map. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932. 2s. 6d.

This little volume, which contains a fairly complete collection of such geographical information as is to be found in the Pali Buddhist texts, will be of use to research students, inasmuch as it furnishes carefully collated references to the texts in which the names are found. Students of Indian history and geography are constantly confronted with the difficulty—at times insuperable—of identifying the territorial divisions and sites mentioned in the old texts. The limits of countries (deka) and other geographical divisions have altered from time to time, and their very names changed, while capitals have been transferred and sites abandoned for various reasons. Any evidence that will help to determine the geographical conditions at definite periods is, therefore, of value. Though we cannot find that any fresh identification of importance has been disclosed, we welcome this little compilation by one who has devoted so much time and labour to the furtherance of Buddhistic research. The sketch map, however, has not been prepared with sufficient care.

C. E. A. W. O.

O ORIENTE PORTUGUES, April, July and October, 1932.

We recently welcomed the revival of this journal, the organ of the Permanent Archaeological Commission of Goa. The issues before us contain much that is of interest to local antiquarians. From the nature of the case, most of the matter is ecclesiastical, but in the wider field of Indian history we may notice the text of an agreement made in 1856 between the Vicerey and some rebellious vassals of Sambhadri, and the exploration of a shrine of Siva, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century, and which appears to date from the days when Goa was in the possession of Vijayanagar.

W. H. M.
THE MĀṇḍūKYOPANIṢAD AND GAUḌĀPĀDA.

BY A. VENKATASUBBAIAH.

The Māṇḍūkya is one of the ten 'major' upaniṣads, the other nine being the Īśavāsya, Kena, Kaṭha, Prāśna, Muṇḍaka, Taṁtiriya, Aitareya, Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Though it is the shortest of the ten, and in fact, of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, it is esteemed to be the best. Compare, for instance, Muktikopaniṣad I, 26-29:

Māṇḍūkyaṁ ekam evadān munukṣadāṁ vimuktaye || 26 ||
tathāpy asiddhaṁ cej jīvadāṁ daśopaniṣadāṁ pātha ||
jīvadāṁ labhadhı́ cidda eva māmakāṁ dāma yadeṣā || 27 ||
tathāpy ṛṣiḥāṁ na ced viṣvānimetvajñanānte ||
dedrīṃdhyopaniṣadāṁ saṁadhārya niṣīrtya || 28 ||
videha-muktāv iechā ced āśottara-śatāṁ pātha ||

"The Māṇḍūkya alone is sufficient to lead aspirants to liberation. If even so (i.e., even after reading it), knowledge is not attained, read the ten upaniṣads; you will then soon obtain knowledge and attain my abode. If even then, O son of Aūjanā, there is no firmly-established knowledge, read again and again the thirty-two upaniṣads and return (to my abode). If there is desire for videha-muktī (liberation after leaving the body), read the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads."

The Māṇḍūkya consists of but twelve sentences, and the first seven of them, in which the teaching of the upaniṣad may be said to be complete, are found with little or no variation in the Ṛśimha-pārva-tōpīṇī (4, 2), Ṛśimottara-tōpīṇī ² (1) and Rāmottara-tōpīṇī upaniṣads also, while the substance of their teaching is given, in the same words mostly, in the Yojanavidmāni (72 ff.) and Nārada-parivarājaka (7, 3 ff.) upaniṣads.

The Māṇḍūkya has, as is well known, 215 kārikās or copious verses attached to it, which form an appendix or supplement to it. These verses are grouped into four prakaraṇas or sections known as Āgama-prakaraṇa, Vaitathyā-praṇā, Advaita-praṇā, and Alātasānti-praṇā, which contain 29, 38, 48 and 100 verses respectively. The verses of the last three prakaraṇas are to be read one after the other regularly, but those of the first are not. They are interspersed among the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya in the following manner: vss. 1-9 are interposed between sentences 6 and 7, vss. 10-18 between sentences 7 and 8, and vss. 19-23 between sentences 11 and 12, while vss. 27-29 follow sentence 12.

According to the opinion current among scholars of the Advaita school, the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya alone are śruti (i.e., divine revelation), and all the 215 kārikās are written by Gauḍāpāda, the teacher of Govinda-bhagavatpāda, who was the teacher of Śrī Śaṅkara-rācārya, the founder of the Advaita school. According to the scholars of the Dvaita school of Śrī Madhvācārya (or Anandatīrttha), however, the kārikās of the last three sections only are to be attributed to Gauḍāpāda, while those of the first prakaraṇa (which, as we have seen, are interspersed among the sentences of the Māṇḍūkya) form an integral part of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, and have thus the character of śruti.

It is my object in this paper to show that both these opinions are wrong. For, not only the 215 kārikās, but the twelve sentences that comprise the Māṇḍūkya also have been written by Gauḍāpāda, as comes out clearly from Śaṅkara’s commentary on the Māṇḍūkya and GKY ³:

1. The citations made in this paper from the ten major upaniṣads are based on the Anandāśrama editions; those from the other upaniṣads are based on the Nirnayaśāstra Press edition of the Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads published in 1913.
2. i.e., Hanumān. The passage is addressed by Śrī-Rāma to him.
3. This upaniṣad contains, with many additions, the last five sentences also of the Māṇḍūkya.
4. i.e., Gauḍāpāda-kārikās.
(1) After two benevolent stanzas, Śaṅkara begins the commentary proper with the following sentences:—


He states clearly in the first two of these sentences (a) that the work that he is going to comment on begins with the words om ity etad ākṣaram idam..., (b) that it consists of four sections, and (c) that the work with its four sections is an epitome of the teachings of the Vedānta. In the last five of the sentences cited, he states (1) that the first section explains the significance of the syllable om and the nature of the ātman, and consists mostly of propositions; (2) that the second demonstrates with reasons the falseness of dualism; (3) that the third shows with reasons the rightness of Advaita; and (4) that the fourth shows how the very arguments, urged by opponents of Advaita belonging to non-Vedic schools, are mutually destructive and serve only to firmly establish Advaita.7

The words om ity etad ākṣaram... cited by Śaṅkara form, as can be seen, the beginning of the Māṇḍūkya; and it hence becomes clear that, in Śaṅkara’s opinion (1) the Āgama-prakaraṇa began with these words, and not with atraite slokaḥ bhaveṣi || bхиṣ-prajño vibhurvidgav... as believed by present-day pandits of the Advaita school, and (2) that all the four prakaraṇas have the same author. In other words, it is clear that the twelve sentences comprising the Māṇḍūkya are, in the opinion of Śaṅkara, of the same nature as the verses which, with these sentences, form the Āgama-prakaraṇa, and that they have been written by the same person as wrote the 215 kārikās.

(2) That the Āgama-prakaraṇa began with the words om ity etad ākṣaram..., and that they were written by the author of the kārikās is, further, made plain by two observations of Anandagiri. When explaining Gk. IV. 1, Anandagiri writes: ādy-anta-madhaya-maṅgalāgranthāṣa pradērī bovaṃtvī ṣaṃśtu ṣaṃśtu om-kāroccāraṃvadante para-devatā-praṇāmavamadyeṣu potṛdaṃ pravṛṣamati. The words om-kāroccāraṃvad used here refer to the om that stands at the beginning of Māṇḍūkya: om ity etad ākṣaram idam,... Similarly, when explaining the second stanza, yo viśvaṁvā vidhīya-viśayaḥ..., that occurs in the beginning of Śaṅkara’s commentary, Anandagiri observes: anye tu ādyā-slokāṃ mula-slokāntarbhūtam abhyupagacchanto devīya-slokāṃbhāṣyakāra-prapṣamtabhyupayantai | tad asat | uttara-slokeṣviva-medyeṣvinaleṣvābhāsyakṣṭrovyākhyāna-praṇāpyenarṣaṅgat | om ity etad ākṣaram ity-ādyā-bhadāya-virodhac ca.

Anandagiri’s reference here to ‘other’ commentators (tikākāra) who looked upon the first benevolent stanza, prajñānāṃśu-pratānaiḥsthira-cara-nikara-vyāpikaiḥ... as ‘belonging to the original,’ and regarded the second stanza only as written by Śaṅkara, is of much interest in this connection. This first stanza is plainly benevolent in character, and strikes

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6 This is according to the opinion of Anandagiri. He has himself however reported in his tikā on Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya that there were some tikākāras among his predecessors who thought that Śaṅkara wrote one benevolent stanza only.

7 i.e., mere statements unaccompanied by reasons proving them.

And he thus indicates that the work with its four sections is a unity conceived and executed according to a well-arranged plan.
a personal note with its ‘I bow to Brahman’; and since none of the hundred-and-eight upaniṣads, with the exception of one, begins with any benedictory verse, it is clear that the ‘other’ commentators also, referred to by Ānandagiri, must have held the opinion that the work before them, beginning with praṭhānāṁśu-pratānaiḥ, containing the sentence om ity etad aksaram idam . . . . , and ending with namaskuru yathā-balam [GK. IV. 100d] was wholly written by Gauḍapāda. In other words, these commentators must have believed that the twelve sentences that are now regarded as comprising the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad formed part of the Āgama-prakaraṇa which was written by Gauḍapāda (and which began with the stanza praṭhānāṁśu-pratānaiḥ).

Parenthetically, I may observe that Ānandagiri’s objections against the first stanza forming part of the original work are not unanswerable. For, it is possible that it did really stand at the beginning of Gauḍapāda’s work and that Śaṅkara began his commentary with the explanation of the words of the work proper (i.e., of the sentence om ity etad aksaram idam . . . .) not thinking it worth while to explain the benedictory verse. His statement that the words om ity etad aksaram . . . . mark the beginning of the work would not be incorrect, as the work proper really begins with these words. And then there would be no need to search for an explanation (that given by Ānandagiri, as also the two mentioned by him as given by other commentators is not very satisfactory) as to why Śaṅkara wrote two benedictory stanzas having the same meaning. Moreover the stanza praṭhānāṁśu-pratānaiḥ . . . . faithfully reflects the opinions of Gauḍapāda, is just the one that he would write if he wanted to, and is in all respects well suited to stand at the beginning of Gauḍapāda’s work.9

(3) That all the four sections are written by the same author, and that the first section includes the twelve prose sentences (now known as the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad) as an integral part, is made plain by the cross-references also that Śaṅkara makes in his commentary. Thus, in his commentary on GK. I. 6, he observes, “Similarly the author10 writes below vandhyāputro na jānti” and refers to GK. III. 28cd. In his commentary on sentence 12 in the Āgama-prakaraṇa, he observes, “Similarly, the author writes below, dāramās trividhā hinaḥ [=GK. III. 16].” While explaining GK. II. 1, he writes, “It has been said above, jñāte devaitam na vidyate (=I. 18)” ; similarly, in his commentary on GK. III. 1, he writes, “The (result of the) full comprehension of the significance of the syllable cm has been declared above in the statements prapaṇcopaṇamah śivo devaita...ātmā (=sentence 12) and jñāte devaitam na vidyate.” The latter passage is referred to again by Śaṅkara in his commentary on GK. IV, 73, where he has observed, “It has already been stated above, jñāte devaitam na vidyate.”

It will be noticed that in the words cited above from Śaṅkara’s commentary on GK. III. 1, he makes no distinction between sentence 12 and GK. I. 16. Similarly it can be seen from the words, “Thus the author has said below, jñāte devaitam na vidyate,” that occur in his commentary on sentence 7, that he makes no distinction between the verses and prose sentences of the first section, but holds them to be the writing of the same author. These cross-references thus show that Śaṅkara holds that the verses in GK. II–III, and also the verses and prose sentences in the Āgama-prakaraṇa, are written by the same author.

8 The Nirālambopaniṣad; but there is no personal note in its benedictory stanza which reads, namā śivāya gurave sa-viś-dhāmam-mārtage | nīvīppaṇāyo kāntāya nirdhāmbāya tejase.
9 For it indicates what the subject-matter, purpose, relation, etc., of the book are. Compare in this connection Ānandagiri’s observation: arthaḥ apekṣitam abhiṣekhedāy-amrītāṃ api śiśyati.
10 There is no word in the original that corresponds to ‘author.’ Śaṅkara merely uses the verb dāh, leaving the subject to be understood. We can supply the word śrutā as subject if we like (one has to do so frequently in similar circumstances in Śaṅkara’s commentaries on the Ādīdīya and other upaniṣads) or the word udārāya (teacher), granthahkarī (author), or similar word. For the reasons shown, we cannot supply the word śrutā, and I have therefore supplied the word ‘author’ as subject.
(4) Who this author was, is made plain by the following verse which is found at the end of Śaṅkara’s commentary on GK.:

prajñā-vaiśākha-vedha-śukhibhā-jalanidhī veda-nāmno ‘ntarasthaṃ
bhūtāny ālokya māgnāṇy avirata-janana-grāha-ghore samudre |
kāravāyām uddahārāyām idam amaraśīr durilabhaṃ bhūtahetū
gos ta'm pūjyābhikīpiyajjaṃ parama-guruṃ amṛta pāda-pātir nata ‘omi ||

"I how and prostrate myself many times at the feet of my grand-teacher,"¹¹ that one who is adorable among the adorable, and who, seeing the world sinking in the ocean that is terrible with the crocodile of unceasing birth, out of compassion for it, extracted from the ocean named Veda, by churning it with the churning-stick of his discernment, this nectar (i.e., this work) which is unobtainable by gods."

We know from other sources¹² that this grand-teacher was Gauḍapāda; and since the Veda, like the ocean, is fourfold (consisting, as it does, of the Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan), it is indicated in this stanza that its essence, too, which Gauḍapāda extracted, is a four-sectioned work. In other words, this stanza too indicates that Gauḍapāda was the author, not only of prakaraṇas II-IV, but of the Āgama-prakaraṇa also.

(5) The fact that Śaṅkara regards the prose sentences and also the verses that comprise the Āgama-prakaraṇa as the work of Gauḍapāda, is sufficient by itself to show that he did not regard them as śruti. This is made plain by the word prakaraṇa also which he has used in the sentence vedāntārtha-ārā-samgraha-bhūtām idam prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam om-śca-ctada-ākṣaraṃ-īty-ādā śaraḥśabhyate which has been cited in (1) above. The significance of this word is well brought out in the following explanation¹³ given by Āṇandagiri: “The commentator explains his object with the words vedānta. . . . Is the work that he is going to comment upon a śastra or a prakaraṇa? It is not the first; for it does not deal thoroughly with all the matters that appertain to the subject treated. It deals with one matter only, and is therefore a prakaraṇa.”

This discussion about śastra and prakaraṇa and about the propriety of classifying the work in question under either of these two heads is very significant. It shows unmistakably that the work in question is written by a human author and is not a śruti text. Śruti texts are supreme and stand above all classification; and it would be regarded as sacrilege were one to examine a śruti text and declare in what particulars it satisfied, and in what other particulars it failed to satisfy, the definition of a śastra or prakaraṇa;¹⁴ compare the maxim,

¹¹ Or 'great teacher' parama-guru means 'grand-teacher' and also 'great teacher'.
¹² Works like Vidyāraṇya’s Śaṅkara-dīp-vijaya. According to these books, the line of succession is as follows:—Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda, Govinda-bhagavat-pāda, Śaṅkara. Each was the immediate teacher of the one next mentioned, and the immediate disciple or pupil of the one previously mentioned. Gauḍapāda was thus the immediate pupil of Śuka, and the immediate teacher of Govinda-bhagavat-pāda. This succession-list seems to be more than human, since, according to the above-named work (5, 94 ff.), Govinda-bhagavatpāda is identical with Patañjali, author of the Maḥābhāṣya; and hence I do not feel sure that Gauḍapāda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. Prof. Winteritz, on the other hand, has observed (Geschichte der ind. Literatur III, 430, n. 3) that ‘the order of succession—Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṅkara—is above suspicion.’
¹⁴ Nor is it necessary that one should first explain one’s reasons in setting forth to write a commentary on a śruti text. As explained by Śāyaṅa at great length in the introduction to his commentary on the Pūrva-sūkṣma, it is the duty of every deśī (twice-born one) to learn the Veda with its meaning; and hence one needs no apology for writing a commentary on the Veda.
niyoga-paryanuyogânarhā bhagavati ērutiḥ. Śaṅkara, assuredly, would not be guilty of such sacrilege; and his carefully-chosen words therefore make it plain that the four-sectioned book that he is going to comment upon is not a ēruti text, but the work of a human author.

Compare in this connection the sentences tad idam Gitāstāram samastavedārtha-sarma-prakaḥ-bhūtam and vedānta-mimāṃsā-dāstrasya vyācikhyāsitasayedam ērūmaṇī vāstram that occur in the introductions to Śaṅkara’s commentaries on the Bhagavad-gītā and Brahmasūtras respectively; and note the use of the word dāstra in both sentences and that both these books are written by human authors (i.e., are not ēruti). Contrast, on the other hand, the introductions to Śaṅkara’s commentaries on the nine ‘major’ Upaniṣads, and note that in not one of them is the word dāstra or prakaraṇa used.

It must be observed, however, that Ānandagiri interprets the word prakaraṇa-catuṣṭaya in Śaṅkara’s above-cited sentence as prakaraṇa-catuṣṭaya-viśiṣṭam. That is to say, he dissociates the epithet om-itṛ-etaḥ-akṣaram-itṛ-ādi (after which, according to him, we have to supply the words Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad-ātmakam vākyā-devadāsakam, or other similar words) from prakaraṇa-catuṣṭya (to which it plainly belongs), and wants us to understand that the discussion about dāstra and prakaraṇa is concerned with the four sections of Gaudapāda’s kārikās and has nothing to do with the Upaniṣad which begins with the words om itṛ etad ākṣaram.

But Śaṅkara’s words are quite unequivocal, and the word om-itṛ-etaḥ-akṣaram-itṛ-ādi is plainly an epithet of prakaraṇa-catuṣṭya. If, as Ānandagiri implies, Śaṅkara had used it with reference to the ‘Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad,’ he would without doubt have said om-itṛ-etaḥ-akṣaram-itṛ-ādī Śaṅkara would say, as, for instance, has been said by Nārāyaṇaśrīmin (see below); and hence Ānandagiri’s explanation is tantamount to saying that Śaṅkara is a clumsy writer and does not know how to write properly.

The fact is, Ānandagiri is one of those that believe (see below) that the Māṇḍūkyya is an upaniṣad or śruti: and since the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate only too plainly that it is not a śruti, he tries, by means of the above explanation, to reconcile these with his belief.

The explanation, however, is patently clumsy and can convince no one; it only shows up in greater relief the sharp difference between Śaṅkara and Ānandagiri, and also bears testimony that the above-cited words of Śaṅkara indicate unmistakably in the opinion of Ānandagiri too that the work beginning with the words om itṛ etad ākṣaram… is not śruti.

(6) That neither the prose sentences nor the verses that comprise the Agama-prakaraṇa were regarded by Śaṅkara as śruti is made plain, further, by some other considerations: also that are based on his works, that is, on his commentaries on the nine ‘major’ Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad-gītā and the Brahmasūtras: for I follow the general consensus of opinion in believing that these are the only undoubtedly genuine works of Śaṅkara.

(a) In the course of his commentary on the Brahmsūtras, Śaṅkara has had occasion to make hundreds of citations from śruti texts including the Rgveda-samhitā, Taittirīya-saṃhitā, Vājasaneya-saṃhitā, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, etc., and the upaniṣads. He has made numerous citations especially from the upaniṣads, not only from the ‘nine major’ ones (i.e., Iśavasya, Kena, Kaṭha, Prasna, Mundaka, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya and Brhadāraṇyaka), but also from the Śvetāsvatara and Kauṭīkaki upaniṣads. Even the Jābālopaniṣad is cited by him more than once; but the Māṇḍūkyya is not quoted even once, nor is the name Māṇḍūkyya mentioned by him even once. See in this connection Deussen, Sechzig Upanisads des Veda (1908), p. 574: “It is remarkable that Śaṅkara has not made any use of the Māṇḍūkyya Upaniṣad in his commentary on the Brahmasūtras”; see also the index of quotations given at the end of vol. 38, SBE (Trans. of Śaṅkara’s above-named commentary).
This observation holds good of Śaṅkara's commentaries on the nine 'major' upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā also; in these commentaries, too, Śaṅkara has quoted freely from the āruti texts, especially from the nine 'major' upaniṣads named above, and the Śvetāsvatara and Kauṭītaki upaniṣads. He has not cited even one single passage from the Māndūkya.

The objection that the Māndūkya is a very short upaniṣad dealing only with the letter om and its mātrās, and that hence there was no occasion in which Śaṅkara could, with propriety, quote passages from this upaniṣad, is not tenable. The Isāvāasya Upaniṣad too is almost as short as the Māndūkya; and yet Śaṅkara has cited passages from it on scores of occasions. Similarly, though the Māndūkya deals only with the letter om and its mātrās, there are occasions when citations from it would be quite apposite. Thus, for instance, in his commentary on the Vaiśvānavārdhikararā (1.2.24 f.), Śaṅkara has cited three passages—one from the Chāndogya and two from the Ygveda-saṃhitā, to illustrate his statement that the word vaisvānara is used in the Veda in different senses. Now this word is used in the Māndūkya (3), and there can be no doubt that a citation of this passage would be quite apposite in this connection. Similarly, there are passages in the Chāndogya, Brhad-āranyaka and other major upaniṣads which treat of the letter om and with the jāgrat, svapna and susupti conditions, and in explaining which, citations from the Māndūkya would therefore be quite appropriate.

One should contrast with these Śaṅkara's commentary on the Māndūkya and note how he has cited from the Chāndogya, Brhad-āranyaka and other major upaniṣads many passages parallel to those he is explaining.

The fact then that Śaṅkara has not cited any passage from the Māndūkya in his other works or even mentioned the name Māndūkya, shows quite plainly that he did not look upon the Māndūkya as a āruti text.

(b) This is shown, further, by a comparison of Śaṅkara's introduction to his commentary on the Māndūkya and GK with the introductions to his commentaries on the nine major upaniṣads. In the case of these upaniṣads, Śaṅkara has, it will be seen, used the words ārutiḥ, upaniṣad, mantra or brāhmaṇa, and thus indicated that he looked upon these texts as āruti; but there is not one word found, either in the beginning or elsewhere, in his commentary on the Māndūkya and GK that would even remotely indicate that he looked upon it as a āruti text.

(c) On the other hand, it is very significant that Śaṅkara has, in the latter, often cited āruti texts, not as mere parallel passages, but as authorities for the statements made. Thus, for instance, when explaining the word ānanda-bhūk in Māndūkya 5, Śaṅkara writes, evo'ya parama ānanda iti āruteḥ; in explaining sarveśvarāḥ in 6, he writes prāṇa-bandhanam hi somya mana iti āruteḥ; in explaining daksinākṣa-mukhe viśvo in GK 2, he writes, indho ha vai nāmaiva yo'yañca saksic'kṣaṇa puruṣa iti āruteḥ; in explaining sarvaṃ janayati prāṇaḥ cetomānaḥ puruṣəḥ pūthaka in GK 6, he writes, yatho rupanābhiḥ yathā'nyer visphulintā ity-ādi-āruteḥ; in explaining skāma-pratyaya-dhūram in 7, he writes, āmāyacatpadā iti āruteḥ; and in explaining turṣyaḥ tat sarva-dīk sadda in GK 12, he writes, na hi draṣṭā aha vāpiyati ity ādi-āruteḥ. In all these instances, it will be noted, Śaṅkara has cited the respective āruti passages as authorities on which are based the statements contained in the Māndūkya and GK. I. If he had regarded these as āruti, then these statements

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15 Of these words, āruti is a generic name and is synonymous with Veda; mantra and brāhmaṇa denote the two subdivisions of the Veda (compare Āpastamba- śrāuta-sūtra, 24.1.31: mantra-brāhmaṇagor vedamānadbhyam), while the word upaniṣad is applied to some select portions of the Veda that deal, not with ritual but with the knowledge of Brahman. That Śaṅkara understood by this word a part of the Veda, is made plain by the discussion in his commentary on Mūḍhaka 1.1.5.

16 The āruti passages cited here by Śaṅkara are, respectively, Brh. 4.3.32; Chān. 6.8.2; Brh. 4.2.2; 1.4.10; 1.4.17; 2.1.20; 1.4.7; 4.3.23 and 3.8.11.
themselves would have been authoritative, and there would have been no necessity to establish that they are based on śruti texts and are therefore to be accepted.

In the introductory portion of his commentary, when speaking of the prayojana (aim), Śaṅkara writes: adevaita-bhātāḥ prayojanam | devaita-prapacāsāvyādvāyād-kyātavād vidyāya tad-
upāsamaḥ syād iti brahma-vidyā-prakāśanādyāryam bhāṣāḥ kriyate | "yatra hi devaitam iva bhavati," "yatra ványad iea syāt tatrānyo 'nyat páṣyey anyo 'nyad víjaṇyaḥ," "yatra tv asya sarvasam átmajābhūtāh tat kena kam páṣyey kena kam víjaṇyaḥ" ity-ūdi-śrutībhūyo 'svyārthasaya śiddhiḥ.

He says in this passage (1) that the end desired is adevaita; (2) that devaita (dualism) is the result of avidyā or wrong knowledge and disappears in the light of vidyā; (3) that the work in question treats of this vidyā; and (4) that, hence, when wrong knowledge and its result devaita disappear, adevaita will be perceived as said in the śruti passages yatā bhi...and other similar ones. The śruti passages cited here by Śaṅkara are Brh. Up. 2. 4. 14 (or 4. 5. 15); 4. 3. 31 and 4. 5. 15; and the word adevaita occurs in the continuation of 4. 3. 31 (i.e., in 4. 3. 32). 17

Now, the same thing is said in Māṇḍūkya 12 also; and the fact that Śaṅkara has not referred to it in this connection shows that he did not look upon it as śruti. If he had regarded it as śruti, he would surely have mentioned it here and not had recourse to the Brh. Up. for an appropriate śruti passage.

Similarly, in the next paragraph but one, Śaṅkara asks himself the question, 'How does the understanding of the syllable om lead one to a knowledge of the ātmā?' and answers: 'It is so said in om ity etat | etad dlambanam, etad vai Satyakāna, om ity ātmānam yujñita, om iti Brahma, om-kāra evadām sarvam and other similar śruti texts.' The same thing is said in Māṇḍūkya 1: om ity etad akṣaram idam sarvam...also; and the fact that Śaṅkara did not include it among those cited shows that he did not regard it as śruti.

(d) In the course of his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras, Śaṅkara has had occasion to cite a kārikā from the Āgamaprakaraṇa (Vs. 16: anādi-māyāyā suptō yadd jīvaḥ prabuddhyate | ajam anidraṃ asvapnam adevaitam budhyate tadā) when explaining 2. 1. 9. He does not say there that it is śruti, but introduces it with the words atraktaṃ vedāntārtha-samprādaḥ-vidyā-vādirhīr dcārtyaiḥ, and thus distinctly says that the verse in question was written by a human author. Compare his commentary on 1. 4. 14, where he cites GK. III. 15 (mṛt-loha-visphulīāgīyaiḥ...), introducing it with the words tathā ca samprādaya-vido vādanti. A comparison of the two introductory sentences shows that Śaṅkara made no distinction between the kārikās in the first and third prakaraṇas, but looked on both as the work of a human author. 18

II. The considerations set forth above thus make it plain beyond possibility of doubt that Śaṅkara regarded the Māṇḍūkya and the 215 kārikās as the work of the same human author. But, it may be objected here, Śaṅkara, after all, is but one of the many

17 4. 3. 31-2 read as follows: yatā veda 'nyad iea syāt tatrānyo 'nyat páṣyey anyo 'nyoj jīvaḥ prabuddhante | ity-ūdi śrutībhūyo 'svyārthasaya śiddhiḥ...And it is this word adevaita that has been repeated by Śaṅkara in the śruti-devaita-bhāvah prayojanam cited above and later on in the sentence adevaitam iti śruti-kriyā vyakto na syāt that occurs in his commentary on GK. I. 3.

18 The passages cited here are, respectively, Kaṭha 2.15-17; Praśna 5.2; Mahānārāyaṇa 24.1; Taitt. Up. 1. 8.1; and Chāṇ. 2. 23. 4.

19 The words atratī ślokaḥ bhavanti occur four times in the Āgama-prakaraṇa when introducing the kārikās; and Śaṅkara in his commentary too uses the same word (śloka) when referring to them. See pp. 32-1, 26-2, and 32-1 (the figures refer to the pages and lines of the commentary in the second Anandaśrama edition of 1900), and compare also his observation prāṇādi-ślokaṃ prayojanam pลดīrtha-vyaktoḥ...on p. 88 in connection with some kārikās in GK. II. In the commentaries in the nine major upaniṣads, however, Śaṅkara usually paraphrases śloka by the word mantra; and the fact that he has not done so even once in his commentary on the Āgama-prakaraṇa is, it seems to me, a further proof that he did not look upon either the Māṇḍūkya or the kārikās contained in that prakaraṇa as śruti.
commentators on the Māṇḍūkya whom we know of; and though his testimony deserves credit, it is overwhelmed by that of the other commentators who have all said plainly that the Māṇḍūkya is a śruti text (while even Śaṅkara has nowhere said in so many words that the Māṇḍūkya is not a śruti text). Thus Madhvācārya writes in the course of his commentary iti māṇḍūka-rāpya saḥ tadādāra Varuṇah śrutiṃ; and Kūrānārayaṇa begins his commentary with the words mumukṣupūrṇaḥ advaita-kṣetrasaṁśaya parameśvarāya prabhava-prapātyādhyāya-bhagavad-upāsanāṃ vaktum pravṛttaye। upaniṣad. Nārāyaṇārāmin too begins his commentary with the following words: om-itty-eti-keśānum-sravam-itty-ādyāya Māṇḍūkya-aṅkaṇācaturākhyā | tām khaṇḍaṇāḥ pathāte 'traite śloka bhavanīttī catuh-parītya yāguṇātācārya Nārāyanānugrahapīya śloka-raganāya vyācakṣire | tena śruti-tad-vyākhyā-guhaṇaṃ prathaṇiṇāḥ prakaraṇaḥ śruti-prāyaṁ vaca tatra chandaśānām upaniṣad-vyavāhāraḥ pravṛttāḥ | evaṃ tad-vicāraṇāka-prakaraṇa-traye 'pi | vedāntārtha-sāra-samgraha-bhūtām idam prakaraṇa-catuṣṭayam | ata eva na pṛthak samśaṅbhāḥbhūtāḥ prayaṇānāṃ vaktavyānti.

Similarly, Śaṅkarāṇanda writes Māṇḍūkya-pāṇiṣad-vyākhyāṁ kariṣye pada-cāvāṁ in the beginning of his commentary; and Ānandagiri himself, in his śīktā on Śaṅkara’s commentary on the Māṇḍūkya, refers to it as upaniṣad or śruti on many occasions. Compare, for instance, p. 2, 3: Māṇḍūkya-pāṇiṣad-artheśvara-paraṇā api ślokaṁ; 4: 21: devītān Māṇḍūkya-śruti-vyākhyāna-rūpeṇa; 12, 1: artham upapāda tasmiṁ arthe śrutiṁ avatārayati... śrutiṁ vyācāśe; 12, 9: tasya śrutiṁ avatārya; 12, 10; bhūtaṁ ity-ādi-śrutiṁ ghiṭaṁ; 22, 1: vyākhyāyamāna-śrutaṁ; 25, 1: ācāraṁ Māṇḍūkya-pāṇiṣadām pathīte.20 Thus these commentators, though belonging to different schools of Vedānta, all agree in saying that the Māṇḍūkya is a śruti text; and the testimony of Śaṅkara, as against that of these other commentators, can be of but little account; moreover, the archaic style in which the Māṇḍūkya is written resembles closely that of the Chāndogya, Bhādaranyaka and Kaushitaki Upaniṣads and shows that the Māṇḍūkya-pāṇiṣad too, is, as indicated by its name, an upaniṣad or śruti text.

These objections are very plausible; but, as regards the latter, it must be observed that not all books written in an archaic style are śruti texts. The Caraka-saṃhitā, for instance, that has come down to us in an archaic style are śruti texts. The Caraka-saṃhitā, for instance, that has come down to us in an archaic style are śruti texts. Dṛḍhābala (see Winternitz, op. cit. III. 546 and n. 1) still retains abundant traces of the archaic style in which it was originally written.

20 Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tanjore Sarasvati Mahāl Library, p. 1054, no. 1556; in the third sentence I have corrected the reading śruti tad-eyakhyā into śruti-tad-eyakhyā. The meaning of this passage is as follows: ‘The words om ity etat akṣaram idam sarvam... mark the beginning of the Māṇḍūkya-pāṇiṣad which consists of four sections. Reading it in sections, the teacher Gaṇḍapāda, through the favour of Nārāyaṇa, explained it by means of verses which are in four series and are introduced (after each section of the upaniṣad) by the words aviṣe śloka bhavanī ‘In this connection are read, the following verses.’ Thus, since the first section consisting of the śruti and its explanation is preponderatingly śruti, the practice grew up among Veda-knowers of calling it ‘upaniṣad.’ Similarly in the case of the latter three praśarita too that treat of the same matters. This collection of four prakaraṇas is an epitome of the essence of the Vedānta-sūtra. And therefore there is no need to state separately (in words) the object aimed, the subject treated of, and the relation (between the subject and the book).’

21 Ānandagiri however is not quite consistent in his views. In the passages just cited, he refers to the Māṇḍūkya as śruti, while in his explanation of G.K. IV. 1 (cited far above) he holds that the words om ity etat akṣaram... (beginning of the Māṇḍūkya) have been written by the author of G.K. IV, that is, that the Māṇḍūkya is the work of a human author.

This inconsistency seems to be due to the fact that Ānandagiri lived in a time when the Māṇḍūkya was regarded as an upaniṣad by every one. This therefore was the view of Ānandagiri also; but since he undertook the work of writing a śīktā on Śaṅkara’s commentary on that work, in which commentary Śaṅkara has plainly indicated (as we have seen above) that the Māṇḍūkya is not a śruti text, his explanations sometimes reflect his own belief, and sometimes that of the bhāṣyaṅkara.
written; and this book, as we know, is not a śruti text at all. And, as regards the other commentators referred to above, even the earliest of them is posterior by at least three hundred or four hundred years to Śaṅkara, who is thus the earliest commentator that we know of on the work in question. As such, therefore, his testimony deserves far more credit than that of the other commentators; and when there is a conflict between the two, we have necessarily to give credence to the former and reject the latter. Now, though it is true that Śaṅkara has nowhere said that the Māṇḍūkyya is not śruti, he has said that it and the 215 kārikās have been written by the ‘great teacher’ (parama-guru). This statement effectively negatives the idea of the Māṇḍūkyya being śruti, and it becomes plain that the Māṇḍūkyya is not a śruti text, but that it forms part of a work, which contains, besides, the 215 kārikās, and which was written by a human author.

In that case, it may be asked, what about the circumstantial account given by Madhva about Varaṇa, in the form of a frog, ‘seeing’ the Māṇḍūkyya? We answer, it is all pure concoction. The Harivamsa does not contain the passage cited by Madhva or anything similar to it. Nor is there any possibility of its containing it; for, apart from other considerations, the Māṇḍūkyya was, as set forth above, written by a human author and not “seen” at all by any seer.

The charge has often been brought against Madhvācārya that he is addicted to the fabrication of evidence, and that he very frequently cites passages from books which do not, and did not at any time, exist. Appayya Dikṣita, in his Madhva-mata-viḍhwāmanasa, has compiled a small list of such books cited by Madhva which includes Caturamathā, Māṭhakaunārava, Kaunārava, Māṇḍava, Mārkaṇḍeya, Mauḍgaśya, Pauṣyāṇa, Saunārāyaṇa, Saurārāyaṇa, Kāṭhārāyaṇa, Pārāśārāyaṇa, Mādhyaśāntiya, Kāḍārava, Kaunārava, Kaunārava, Pṛshaduddālaka, Pūrṇākāyana, Kauṣika, Pauṣyāṇa, Vatoa-gauvādana, Bhālaveya, Āṅgivesa, Caturveda-sīkha, Caturveda-saṃhitā, Paramā Śruṭih, Adhaya-nārāyana-saṃhitā, Brahmacākarta, Bhaviyāt-parvan, Mahā-saṃhitā, Mahāśattra, Nārāyaṇanātra and Puruṣottamatatra. Similarly, the Viśeṣiva writer Nirvāṇa too, when criticizing Madhva’s views in his commentary on the Kriyāsūtra, uses the words (p. 24) sva-vacana-prakāśita-vaidika-mārginānugnaya-bhāgavatavatvedbhiṣhimata-vsa-kapola-kalpita-tacan, and thus says that Madhva’s quotation from the Bhāgavatatantra is fabricated by Madhva. His words, iti tad anadhīta-veda-gandha-Bhālaveya-Kāṭhārāyaṇa-Māṭharāyaṇa-Śruṭi-Vyomacāṃhitā-tadhghna na bhavati | kīṃ tu prasiddhā evopaniṣadi... on p. 33 too seem likewise to indicate that he considered mythical the Kāṭhārāyaṇa-Śruṭi and the other above-mentioned works cited by Madhva.

The justness of this charge is borne out by Madhva’s commentary on the Māṇḍūkya. In this commentary (Kumbakonam edition), Madhva cites passages from Pādma, Bhāt-saṃhitā, Harivāmśa (in the plural), Mahāyoga, Vārāha, Prakāśikā, Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmārtha, Gāruḍa, Māhātuṭya, Saṃkālpa, Pratya, Pratyāndrā, Mahopaniṣad, Prakāśa-Śruṭi and Ātma-saṃhitā, and many other works. Of these, Mahopaniṣad is the name of an upaniṣad; Pādma, Gāruḍa, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmānta and Harivāmśa are the names of well-known Purāṇas, and Bhāt-saṃhitā the name of Varāha-mihira’s well-known work. No works are known bearing the names Prakāśikā, Brahmārtha, Māhātuṭya,

22 It is interesting to note that, like the Māṇḍūkya, the Caraka-saṃhitā too has, at the end of many of its sections (chapters), verses that are introduced by the words atraśe or atraśe ṛddha bhavanti. This is the case with Vātāyana’s Kaumāsīra and Kauntīya’s Arthaśāstra also, works which were, like the Māṇḍūkya, written in the early centuries of the Christian era.

23 It is the accepted canon of the Mīmāṃsakas that the sole criterion of whether a text is śruti or not, is its being known by the name of śruti among the Veda-knowers from time immemorial (śrutiśveta-śrutiśva-kālā-vyavahāra). Such usage is not seen in the case of the Māṇḍūkya; for not only was it not known as śruti to Śaṅkara, who has commented upon it, but it is actually stated by him that it is the work of a human author.
Saṃkalpa, Pratyāya, Pratyāhāra, Mahāyoga, Prakāśa-śruti and Ātma-saṃhidā. The passages cited by Madhva from the Harivaṃśa, Mahopaniṣad and Brhat-saṃhidā are not found in the books mentioned bearing those names, and are evidently fabrications of Madhva. So are, likewise, the citations from Prakāśa-śruti and other mythical books; and to judge from these, it is also very probable that his citations from the Pādama, Gāruda and other Purāṇas are likewise fabrications.

It is of interest to note in this connection that, according to Madhva, the Māndūkyopaniṣad is in praise of the four-formed Nārāyaṇa, and the four forms praised of Nārāyaṇa, namely, viṣṇu, taitāsa, prājna and turiya denote, respectively, Gaṇeśa, Indra, Rudra and Nārāyaṇa himself.

III. From the colophon at the end of Śaṅkara’s commentary on prakaraṇas II (iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavatāḥ kṛtā Gaudaprāśīgamaśāstra-bhāṣya) and IV (iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavatāḥ kṛtā Gaudaprāśīgamaśāstra-vivaraṇa), we learn that the work comprising the Māndūkya and the 215 kārikās bore the name of Āgamaśāstra and was written by Gaudapāda.

The title Āgamaśāstra means ‘the śāstra founded on the āgama,’ i.e., Veda, and refers, without doubt, to the upaniṣads, on which, as a matter of fact, the book is based. There is hence no doubt that Gaudapāda chose this title for his work in order to show that it was based on the Veda and that it had for its object the establishment of Advaita as the only true doctrine and the refutation of the teachings propounded, on the one hand, by Vaiśeṣikas, Buddhists, and on the other hand, by Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Sāṅkhya and others, who, though acknowledging the authority of the Veda, yet taught doctrines opposed to it.

The word āgama in the title āgama-prakaraṇa, on the other hand, seems to have been used in a two-fold sense; and the āgama-prakaraṇa seems to be so called because (1) the teachings contained in it are based on āgama, i.e., the upaniṣads, and also (2) because the prakaraṇa consists mostly of āgamas, i.e., mere propositions or statements that are not accompanied with reasons.

IV. It is this title Āgama-śāstra, it seems to me, that has led to Gaudapāda’s work being regarded as śruti. This happened as early as the middle of the eighth century A.D.; for, as pointed out by Walleser (Der Aeltere Vedānta, pp. 21 ff.; see also Winternitz, op. cit. III,

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24 The only other alternative is to believe that copies of these works existed in a library to which Madhva had access, that these copies were unique, and that no other writer except Madhva (whether anterior, posterior or contemporary to him) had access to that library. This is impossible, and hence one cannot but conclude that Madhva fabricated evidence on a large scale.

For the rest, it is also most improbable that works could have existed bearing such names as Saṃkalpa, Pratyāya, Pratyāhāra, Mahāyoga, Prakāśa-śruti, Prakrāti and other similar names.

It is also most improbable that the Pādama contains the passage, dhāraya Nārāyaṇam desaṃ prasava saṃdhītāḥ | māndūka-rūpi Varunam tuṣṭāva Harim aṇjanam which Madhva cites from it. The story of the Māndūkya having been ‘seen’ by Varunā when he had assumed the form of a frog, is, as said above, an invention of Madhva; and the Pādama-purāṇa, as originally written, cannot therefore know anything about it.

25 This is shown by the words Gaudapāḍīya-bhāṣya āgamaśāstra-vivaraṇa found in the colophon of the third prakaraṇa also. The colophon at the end of the first prakaraṇa reads (in the above-cited edition) iti...Śaṅkara-bhagavatāḥ kṛtā āgamaśāstra-vivaraṇa Gaudapāḍīya-kriṅkā-sahasra-Māndūkyaopaniṣad-bhāṣya...; but there is no doubt that the last of the above-cited words (Gaudapāḍīya-ś.) has been added later by some one, in the same way as the headings aha Māndūkyaopaniṣat and Gaudapāḍīya-kriṅkā-sahasra-kṣetram aṅganarpanam have been added by the editor on pp. 11 and 25.

26 That is, the first prakaraṇa in it (the other three prakaraṇas are mostly argumentative); this is based on Brh. Up. 2, 1 and 4, 3; Praśna IV (see in this connection Śaṅkara’s commentaries on these passages), and similar passages in the Chāndogya and Kauṭūkā upaniṣads. Compare also the numerous references to the upaniṣads in Gk. II. IV and the expressions vedānta-nitāyāḥ and vedāntāś ca-viśeṣasmiḥ in Gk. II. 12, 31.
431, n. 1), the Buddhist writer Šāntirakṣita \textsuperscript{27} refers to Gaudāpāda's work as 'upaniṣad-
śāstra' and thus seems to have believed that Gaudāpāda's Āgama-śāstra as a whole (i.e.,
all the four sections of it) was an upaniṣad or śruti text. This opinion was current among
some pañcita in the time of Nārāyaṇāśrāmin\textsuperscript{28} also, whose words I have cited above; and
I remember to have seen a printed edition of the 108 upaniṣads in which it was stated
at the end of each prakaraṇa, iti Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad prathamaṃ prakaraṇam, devīyaṃ
prakaraṇam, etc. Similarly, the four prakaraṇas were treated as four upaniṣads in a manu-
script examined by the late Prof. Albrecht Weber who writes,\textsuperscript{29} "The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad
is reckoned as consisting of four Upaniṣads, but only the prose portion of the first of these,
which treats of the three and half mātrās of the word om, is to be looked upon as the real
Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad, all the rest is the work of Gaudāpāda." The verses cited far above from
the Muktikopaniṣad too show that the author of that text also regarded the 215 kārikās
as forming part of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad; for, his statement that 'the Māṇḍūkya alone is
enough to lead one to liberation' cannot, obviously, refer to the twelve sentences only of
the Māṇḍūkya, but also to the kārikās\textsuperscript{30}, which prove that dvaita is false, and advaita
alone, it is likewise interesting in this connection to note that the editors of the
Brahmasūtra-śāṅkara-bhāṣya with three commentaries that was published by the Nīrṇaya-
sāgara Press in 1904 have, on p. 320, said that the kārikā mṛt-loha-visphulīṇādyaiḥ... is
'Māṇḍū. 3. 15.'

I do not know when the view began to be current that the prose sentences in Gaudāpāda's
Āgama-śāstra formed an upaniṣad, and when the name Māṇḍūkya\textsuperscript{31} was applied to them.
As we have seen above, this is the view held by Ānandagiri, Nārāyaṇāśrāmin and other
writers of the Advaita school, and also by Raṅgarāmānuja of the Vīśiṣṭādvaita school.

The view that the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad comprises not only the twelve prose sentences
found in the Āgama-prakaraṇa, but the 29 kārikās also occurring in it, seems to be a still later
development. This is the view of Kūrānārāyaṇa,\textsuperscript{32} and perhaps of Doḍḍācārya or Mahā-
cārya also, both of the Vīśiṣṭādvaita school \textsuperscript{33}; and the words of Nārāyaṇāśrāmin cited above
show that he too was aware that some 'Veda-knowers' regarded the whole of the Āgama-
prakaraṇa as constituting the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad. According to him, this view had its origin
in the fact that the Āgama-prakaraṇa with its 29 kārikās is preponderantly śruti, while the
opinion that all the four prakaraṇas constituted the upaniṣad, had its origin in the fact that
all the 215 kārikās treat of the same subject, and are associated with the Māṇḍūkya-
śruti; see note \textsuperscript{30} above.

\textsuperscript{27} This writer was born in 705 A.D. and died in 765 A.D. according to the account given in S. C. Vidyā-
bhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, p. 323.

\textsuperscript{28} The exact time in which this author lived is not known; but he mentions Śāṅkara and Ānandagiri,
and is therefore later than both.

\textsuperscript{29} History of Indian Literature (translation of John Mann and Theodor Zachariae), 1892, p. 161. In
the manuscript in question, the four prakaraṇas of the Māṇḍūkya form the upaniṣads numbered 25-28.

\textsuperscript{30} Compare in this connection the following observation of Deussen on p. 533 op. cit.: "Dass die
Muktikā von diesen 108 Upaniṣaden in erster Linie Māṇḍūkya empfiehlt, ist, wenn wir die in der Sammlung
einbringen kārikā des Gaudāpāda darunter mitverstehen, von dogmatischem Standpunkte aus begreiflich;
beide bieten eine vortreffliche Übersicht der Vedāntalehre."

\textsuperscript{31} The nearest approach to this name that is met with in the Carāṇa-vyāha is Māṇḍūkya; and this is
there the name of a śākhā of the Īgveda.

\textsuperscript{32} According to Madhva, the prose sentences only constitute the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad; but the 29 kārikās
in the Āgama-prakaraṇa too, though not forming part of the upaniṣad, are śruti; they were 'seen' by
Brahmā originally, and Varuṇa, when he 'saw' the Māṇḍūkya, added the kārikās after the various khandas
of the Māṇḍūkya. Compare the stanzas, pramāṇasya pramāṇaṃ ca balavat vidyate mune | Brahma-dṛṣṭān
ato mantrā pramāṇaṃ samilevvarah | atra tālo bhavantitī cakrāvaiva prthak prthak || cited by Madhva
from the Gūḍrāja in his commentary on the Māṇḍūkya.

\textsuperscript{33} See Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in Review of Philosophy and Religion, 2, 55-6.
It is hinted by Nārāyaṇāśramin in his above-cited words that the epithet om-ity-etad-akṣaram-itum ādi in Śaṅkara’s observation (vedāntārtha-sāra-samgraha-bhūtam idam praṇarāṇa-catuṣṭhayam om-ity-etad-akṣaram-itum ādy ārabhyate) at the beginning of his commentary refers really to the Maṇḍūkya-upanisad and should not be construed with praṇarāṇa-catuṣṭhayam, which, as also the word vedāntārtha-sāra-samgraha-bhūtam, refers to the four sections of Gaṅḍapāda’s Kārikās. This interpretation is, as already pointed out above, quite untenable. In addition, it may be observed that, in case Nārāyaṇāśramin’s (and Ānandagiri’s) view is correct, there would be no necessity at all for Śaṅkara to discuss about ādstra and praṇarāṇa in the beginning of his commentary. It would have been enough if Śaṅkara had made the usual observations (compare the introduction to his commentary on the Kaṭhopanisad) about the meaning of the word upaniṣad; and since the four sections of the Kārikās form an appendix to the upaniṣad, there would be no necessity to discuss anywhere about ādstra and praṇarāṇa. Moreover, one finds it difficult to believe, as Nārāyaṇāśramin and Ānandagiri ask one to do, that Gaṅḍapāda began his work baldly and strangely, with the words atraite ēlokā bhavanti. No one has ever begun a book in this manner, and it is certain that Gaṅḍapāda too would not.

V. It is, as already observed above, very doubtful if Gaṅḍapāda, author of the Āgama-ādstra, was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara. In his commentary on GK, I, 9, and I, 12, Śaṅkara gives alternative explanations of pādas cd and the word sarva-dṛk respectively; this hardly seems consistent in one who was a grand-pupil of the author, and indicates, on the other hand, that there was a fairly long interval between the writing of the book and of the commentary. Similarly, Professors Belvarkar and Ranade too have observed on p. 96 of their History of Philosophy (vol. 2): “The Kārikās have been actually quoted by several early Buddhistic commentators of the Mādhyamika school, and dates make it impossible that they should have been produced by a teacher’s teacher of a writer of the eighth century, as Śaṅkara-cārīya is usually taken to be.” Dr. Walleser, too, similarly opines (op. cit., p. 5 ff.) that the Kārikās were written in about 550 a. d. which also makes it improbable that their author Gaṅḍapāda was the grand-teacher of Śaṅkara.

Dr. Walleser has also expressed (l.c.) the opinion that Gaṅḍapāda is not the name of a man, but is the designation of a school, and that the Kārikās are the work of this school. This opinion seems to be endorsed by Professors Belvarkar and Ranade also who observe (l.c.); “Further, seeing that even the author of the Naiśkarmyasiddhi, Śuresvarācarīya, refers to these Kārikās as expressing the views of the Gaṇḍas as contrasted with the views of the Drāviḍas (Naiś. IV, 41 ff.), a doubt can be, and has been, legitimately expressed as to the authenticity of the tradition which makes an author by name Gaṅḍapāda (the pupil of Śuka and the teacher’s teacher of the great Śaṅkara-cārīya) responsible for these so-called ‘Maṇḍūkya Kārikās.’”

This view is based on a misapprehension of Naiśkarmyasiddhi, IV, 41-44, which reads as follows:

kārya-kāraṇa-baddhau tāv iṣyate viśva-taijasaḥ
prājñāḥ kāraṇa-baddhau tu dvau tau tumye na sidhyataḥ || 41 ||
anyathā gṛhyataḥ svapno nidrā tatvam ajñānataḥ |
viparyayē tayoḥ kṣīṇe turiyam padam aśnute || 42 ||
tathā Bhogavatpādiyaṁ udāharaṇam:
suṣuptākhyāṁ tamojñānānam bījaṁ svapna-prabodhayoh |
ātma-bodha-pradagdham syād bījaṁ dogdham yathābhavam || 43 ||
evaṁ Gaṇḍair Drāviḍair naḥ pūjyair ayam arthāḥ prakāśitaḥ |

As explained by the commentator Jñānottama, the first two of the above-cited stanzas are from the Gaṇḍapāda-Kārikās (I. 11; 15) and the third from Bhagavatpāda’s (i.e., Śaṅkara’s) Upadeśasahasri (17. 26 of the metrical version); and hence the words Gaṇḍaiḥ and
Drávidaih do not mean ‘by the Gauḍa people and Drávida people’ but ‘by the Gauḍa teacher and Drávida teacher,’ i.e., ‘by Gauḍapāda and Śaṁkarā.’ The meaning of stanza 44ab, therefore is, “This has been thus explained by our revered teachers, Gauḍa[pāda] and Śaṁkarā”; and there is no mention in this stanza of the Gauḍa people and the Drávida people.34

For the rest, it also becomes plain from the Brahmaṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika of the same author, namely, Suresvara, that he knew well that the Gauḍapāda-kārikās were written by the teacher named Gauḍapāda. See, for instance, 1. 4. 389 (p. 510): anśicāt yathā rajjur iti nyāyopaprabhātam | sphutātmiṃ Gauḍapāditam vaco ‘rthe ‘traiva gīyate ||; 2. 1. 386 (p. 951): niḥśeva-veda-siddhānta-vidvadbhik api bhāṣitam | Gauḍacāryair idam vastu yathā ‘smābhīḥ prapaṇcītam ||; and 4. 4. 886 (p. 1866): ślokām ca Gauḍapādādher yathoktiḥkṣaya sākṣiṣay | adhyātma ‘tra yatnena sampradāya-vīdaḥ saṃyam. The second of the stanzas cited here shows that -pāda in Gauḍapāda is added only for the sake of respect (compare the words bhagavat-pāda, ācārya-pāda, pūjya-pāda, pitṛ-pāda, etc.), and that the real name is Gauḍa only. It is very probable that this was not originally a personal name but was an epithet applied to the teacher in order to distinguish him from other teachers, and that, in course of time, it wholly supplanted his personal name. Naiśkarmyamāndhi, IV. 44, cited above affords another instance of this word Gauḍa being used as a personal name.

VI. There is thus not the least doubt that there existed a teacher known as Gauḍapāda, and that he produced the work known as Agamaśāstra. As observed above, this work is a whole, conceived and executed on a well-arranged plan. It is the purpose of the work to establish the reality of Advaita; and this it effectively accomplishes, positively, by showing in the first prakaraṇa, that the ātmān in the turīya condition, when the world has disappeared, is identical with Brahman, and, negatively, by showing, in the last three prakaraṇas, that Dvaita is unreal.

This work is thus the earliest systematical work on Vedānta that has come down to us. And it says much for the genius of Gauḍapāda that he should have picked out, from the heterogeneous mass of teachings contained in the upaniṣads, that about the jñāna, svapna, and susupti conditions, as the one that would directly prove the truth of Advaita, given it clear-cut shape in the Agama-prakaraṇa, and made it the corner-stone of his system of Vedānta.

The value of this achievement is by no means lessened even if Gauḍapāda borrowed some theories, arguments, stanzas and even passages from various other writers; for, after all, it is his genius that has bound all these diverse elements into a single whole.

It follows from this that the writers who have interpreted passages from Gauḍapāda’s work in a non-Advaitic sense are merely deluding themselves and are in the wrong; for, it must be remembered that, in case the passages in question have been borrowed by Gauḍapāda, whatever their original meaning may have been, they are interpreted by Gauḍapāda in an Advaitic sense, and used by him to support his exposition of the Advaita philosophy.

The Agamaśāstra contains, as already pointed out by Deussen (op. cit., p. 574), all the essential teachings (māyā-vāda, ajñāti-vāda, rajju-sarpa-dṛṣṭānta, etc.) of the Advaita system. Śaṅkara35 has but elaborated and systematised these teachings, in the same way as Plato did those of Parmenides; and Deussen’s comparison of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara with Parmenides and Plato is, now that we know that the Māṇḍūkya too is the work of Gauḍapāda, true to a greater extent than was thought of by him.36

34 nah pūjyaśv Gauḍais Drávidaiś is equivalent to nah pūjyaśv Gauḍādīśyaśv Drávidādīśyaśv; the plural here is honorific.

35 And it is perhaps this fact that gave rise to the tradition that Śaṅkara was the grand-pupil of Gauḍapāda.

36 Lately, there have been published by Mr. B. N. Kriahnamurti Sarma two articles entitled ‘New Light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās’ and ‘Further Light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās’ in the Review of Philo-

sophy and Religion (2, 35 ff.; and 3, 45 ff.) in which he has endeavoured to show that (not only the Māṇḍūkya but) the 29 kārikās also of the Agama-prakaraṇa were regarded as drutē by not only Madhya and Kāraṇārāyaṇa, but by Śaṅkara himself, and also by Anandagiri, Suresvara, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and other advaitin writers. I shall therefore review on another occasion the arguments employed there by Mr. Sarma.
KĀŠHĪRĪ PROVERBS.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŠRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

(Continued from page 76 supra.)

Athaci ungaji pānts che na āśān kichāy.
The five fingers of the hand are not all equal.
(Used as meaning that all people are not alike, or that all do not attain the same rank in life.)

Bhaṭṭa chu baḷohiy zāts;
Jaldai talān tah jaldai tārān.
A pāṇḍīt is of the nature of a brass vessel,
[Which] quickly gets hot and quickly gets cold.
(This is said with the meaning that a pāṇḍīt spends his money, when he gets it,
too quickly, so that he soon comes to penury; this is regarded as a characteristic of the pāṇḍīt class.)

"Bhutṛās māj i gub kus?"
"Yus buth chalnay bhatā khiyi;"
Brānda pēṭha muthār kari;
Dohali nendar kari;
Grafta tala of khiyi."

"Mother Earth! who is heavy?"
"He who eats food without washing his face [is dirty];
[He who] urinates at the door-step [is lazy];
He who sleeps during the daytime [is slothful];
He who eats flour from the millstone [is greedy]."

Dārī kin anz tādmūt, tonti kēt maśāla phutaj kēt.
A grey goose flying in by the window, carrying in his bill a packet of spices (for use when it is killed and cooked).
(Said of a desire unexpectedly fulfilled.)

Ḍāmb Dēlīnyuk Jāṁbāzporuyuk tawāndār.
The Ḍāmb of Dēlīna amerced for Jāṁbāzpora.
(Said of an innocent person involved in trouble instead of another who is really guilty. Dēlīna and Jāṁbāzpora are two villages in the Bāramula Tehsil, five miles apart.)

Gagur pakān hul hul,
Par panani vāj kun syud.
The rat runs in a zigzag course,
Yet straight towards its own hole.
(Said of a person who looks a simpleton, but is very careful where his own interests are concerned.)

Goras āyov nāyid zangi:
Dusnas; "Buh ti be-mūlay tsa ti be-mūlay."
A barber came across a priest;
The latter said: "I carry on business without capital; thou too art conducting business without capital (i.e., we are both equal)."
Gor divān wudi ta wachas  
Kāmbari-pachas drāv na keñh.  
The priest is beating his head and breast  
[Because] the fortnight of śrāddha did not last long.  
(Referring to the first half of the month of Asoj, when Hindus make offerings to the  
priests in the name of their ancestors.)  

Kaišēn ziṭhi ta ziṭhen kaiši gatshan āsani.  
The young should have the elders, and the elders the young.  
(Such a combination means happiness.)  

Kashir chē par-dvāra.  
Kashmir is for outsiders.  
(Outsiders have always exploited Kashmir, as its history shows. Its own inhabit-  
ants have ever been sadly neglected by unsympathetic foreigners.)  

Kāv ai chelōn sazi sābaney,  
Kāvas kraññēl tsali na zāh.  
Aslas tah kamānas khisal naney  
Hāni lut kandilas gond bani na zāh.  
If a crow be washed even with vegetable soap,  
Its black colour will never be removed from the crow.  
The noble and the mean will disclose their intrinsic natures;  
A dog's tail can never change into a crest by being kept in a case.  

Lūc kani chē baji kani tal vēpān.  
A small stone fits in beneath a large stone (and then the latter becomes well laid).  
(This is used as meaning, e.g., that an officer cannot work properly without the  
help of his subordinates.)  

"Mājiy! mām hai oy."  
"Myon, hov putra, boi."  
"Mother! my maternal uncle has come."  
"Yes, son, my brother."  

Mūth myūth kataś;  
Sas myūth Bhaṭṭas;  
Nēndar mith drālid-kaṭas.  
Beans are sweet to a ram;  
Pulse is sweet to a pāṇḍit,  
Sleep is sweet to a lazy young man.  

Nagara nīrif Pāndreñthan.  
Going out of the city to Pāndreñthan.  
(Said of going a very short distance, as Pāndreñthan is quite close to Śrīnagar.  
The saying, however, can also be interpreted as meaning: Without leaving home, know thyself, i.e., be religious and pious without making any show.)  

Pints-kāni dapān Wulur pāzah.  
A finch boasts of draining the Wular Lake. (Said of a vain boast.)
Pitari gay mitsari-kanḍi—atsana bāz rozan na;
Pitareni gayi martsa-pipini—natsana bāz rozan na.
The male collaterals are like thorns: they will but prick (i.e., cause harm).
The female collaterals are like tops; they will but dance (i.e., mock). (Collaterals are often envious of one another.)

Qarzan chu āb-i-hayāt comut.
Debt has drunk the water of immortality.
(A debt must be paid sooner or later; it remains a debt till repaid.)

Qarzun larza.
Oh, the terror of debt! (Beware of contracting debt. Cf. Gulistān, chap. HI, tale 9:—

بنمای گوسنار ضرر نه کر کنارا ی زشت فصا بال

"It is better to die for want of meat than to endure the rude importunities of the butcher."

Shuri kor kāv kāv; bab vēṭhēv.
Baban kur kāv kāv; shuri dup bab matēn.
The child cried ‘Caw, caw’; the father was delighted.
The father cried ‘Caw, caw’; the child said his father had gone mad.

Trakar chē na kānsi hanz más zi pās karēs.
A scale is nobody’s maternal aunt, that it should be prejudiced in weighing.

Trats trits ta tre paṁṭhīy.
Slowly, slowly, and three paṁṭhīy earned.
(Slow and scanty earnings. Paṁṭhīy is the plural of paṁṭhu, which is equal to 2 bhoganis, or 16 kaurīs).

Wodapuryuk begharaz.
An apathetic [person] from Wodapur.
(Used of a person who takes no interest in anything. Wodapur is a village in the Uttarmachipura Tahsil, the inhabitants of which are famed as being too simple to take an interest in anything.)

Wāgāmyuk Gopāl.
Gopāl of Wāgām.
(Said of a very familiar person. Wāgām is a village in the Śri Pratāp Singhpura Tahsil, where lived a man named Gopāl, who used to visit everybody, generally uninvited.)

Yātay na pakay: nātay ṭakay.
At one time I would not walk; now, on the contrary, I would run.
(Said of a lazy person, who has suddenly become excessively active.)

Yusuy avid phalis suy chu gurnas.
The same taste is in one [grape] as in a bunch [of grapes].

Zār gav khowa.
Gambling is ruinous.
Zar taşadduq-i-sar.
Wealth is meant for one’s enjoyment.
Ani hanza kori sat.
The seven daughters of the blind woman.

Note.—A blind woman beggar gave birth to seven daughters, and with the birth of each daughter she began to get more alms. (Cf. the English proverb, 'Give and spend, and God will send.')

Bhaṭṭa chuy galī-kuteur, kanji pūnas ta goji lákan.
The páṇḍit is [like] a man cutting out kernels from water-chestnuts—the shells [he keeps] for himself, and the kernels [he sells] to the people. (A páṇḍit is unselfish.)

Dharmas karin tsoći.
He changed his religion into bread. (Said of an irreligious, worldly man.)

Dosi pēṭhi taka-ṇak.
To run a race on the top of a wall. (A hazardous attempt.)

Dumaṭṭas rīn lāyin.
To shoot pellets on to a dome. Cf. Gulistán, Ch. I:

“A person having an evil origin shall not receive the enlightenment of the good; To educate the worthless is like throwing balls upon a dome” (they will always roll down again).

Kali-yoga-ci baji-māji.
Elderly mothers of the Kaliyuga. (Said of young girls who have become mistresses of houses.)

Kanawāji ḍhas gav.
Yasi gav tasi gav.
The sound of an ear-ring [falling down] occurred. It occurred to whomsoever it did occur.

Kosi na khatu chu kentāhāyī jān.
Something is better than nothing.

Krisa kori baji-māji ta phoka-nēciv mugaddam.
Lasses collecting kris (a kind of yam, Dioscorea deltoidea) have become mistresses of houses, and simple lads, village headmen.

Māji māsi ta kori kus kāsi ?
To the mother [and] to the maternal aunt [it has happened thus], so who can prevent it [from happening] to the daughter ?

Māli sozayi kori progas dār kāsi ;
tamisanzi hashi dupas dār yiyas bēyi ;
kār kāsi suzna zī bēyi yiyas na.
A father shaved his beard [and] sent it to his daughter as a present in place of money on the occasion of a festival; her mother-in-law remarked that he would grow
his beard all right again; he did not cut and send his own head, lest he might not get another.

Note.—Hindu mothers-in-law were very exacting in taking customary money presents on the occasions of different festivals from their daughters-in-law’s parents. These presents have now been greatly curtailed, thanks to the efforts of social reformers.

Mē chē pananēn māsan hanz khabaray.
I am fully acquainted with my maternal aunts (i.e., you need not trouble to give me any description of them).

Mītras gatshī tawund aib buthis pēt wanun.
A friend should be told his faults to his face.

Mīr lāgit shatru.
An enemy in the guise of a friend. (Cf. ‘A wolf in lamb’s skin.’
Cf. also “Evil-doer behind your back,
Sweet-tongued in your presence;
Give up a friend of this ilk
As a pot of poison concealed by milk.”)

Or ma gatsh yūri woda
Do not go there, come here.
(Said of attracting the rabble.)

Rupayi nishiy chē wātān rupay.
A rupee comes to a rupee. (Cf. the English proverb, ‘Money begets money.’)

Note.—A simpleton heard this proverb and thought that if he had a single rupee he could amass a fortune easily. He got one and went to a banker’s shop. The banker had at that time a heap of rupees, which he was busily counting. There was a small hole in one of the walls of the shop. The simpleton hid himself behind this wall and thrust his rupee through the hole towards the banker’s money, thinking that, by doing so, the rupees in the heap would be drawn towards his, and he would take them away. But his rupee accidentally slipped from his fingers and got mixed with the banker’s money. Now the simpleton began to cry at the loss of his rupee. People collected and inquired the cause of his distress. He explained the whole thing to them. They smiled at his simplicity and told him that the proverb was true enough. Instead of the banker’s rupees coming towards his rupee, his went to them, and so the proverb was fulfilled.

Saif-Ullah Mirani safar.
Saif-Ullah Mir’s [long account of his] travels.
(Used in reference to long and tedious descriptions, e.g., of a man’s troubles and woes.)

Thak gav zi phak gav.
Stopped and stagnated.
(E.g., always taking out of the purse and never putting in soon empties it.)

Tehotun tāv zi hotsun āv.
Exhaustion came and putrefaction set in.
(Said, e.g., when a man’s income begins to decrease and he becomes involved in difficulties.)
Yā zarav nata birav
Either suffer or else get away.
(Cf. the English proverb, 'What cannot be cured must be endured.')

Yithi pîra khota chu be-pîray jân.
It is better to be without a priest than with such a priest.
(Bad principle is worse than no principle.)

Zyâth gau byâth.
Too lengthy results in a dead stop.
(Cf. the British proverb, 'Too much is stark naught.')

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INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. III (1933).—In this issue M. Mironov continues his interesting notes on Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the 2nd Millenary B.C., dealing with names of persons, gods and places found in the Amarna letters (Palestine and Syria, 1380-1350 B.C.), and among the Mitanni (1475-1250 B.C.) and the Hittites (1400-1250 B.C.), and adding linguistic remarks on the phonology and morphology of the names, many of which have a special interest for Indian readers. Some guarded observations are made on the evidence revealed by this material. M. Mironov regards the Indian character of the numerals noted in the Hittite documents as obvious, and he points out that it seems possible to assign the forms to a particular stage of development of the Indian language, the date of those documents being known with fair precision (viz., not later than 1200 B.C.). Though the material be too scanty to permit of definite conclusions, he considers the forms "may be assigned to the language of the Veda, but they do not seem to be archaic, i.e., to belong to the oldest strata of the Vedic language." He is led to the view that the facts seem to corroborate the conclusion drawn by Sten Konow from the (supposed) fact of the Ādivīn being mentioned in the Bogazkเคui documents as groomsman, that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Ādivīa had come into existence, and the oldest portions of that collection should accordingly be regarded as considerably older than the Mitanni treaty.

In the same issue Prof. Rayson replies to the arguments of Prof. Lüders (lb., X, pp. 118-125) regarding the date in the inscription on the Amohini Tablet at Mathurā, and gives some additional reasons in support of his view that the decimal figure in the date is 49, and not 70 as Prof. Lüders thinks.

Acta Orientalia, XI, Pt. IV (1933) contains a paper by I. Scheftelowiz on 'The Mithra Religion of the Indo-Scythians and its Connection with the Sāura and Mithra Cults,' in which he sets forth in considerable detail the numerous analogies between the cult as originally practised by the Śakas and as introduced into India, and quotes many references that throw light upon the spread and development of the cult in India and the effects of Brahmanical influences. Many aspects of this interesting subject, which had been so succinctly and ably outlined in Pt. II, Chap. xvi, of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc. (Grundriss series) will be found to be elaborated in this paper. The difficult question of the period at which the cult actually started in India remains, however, to be definitely solved.

Zeitschrift der D.M.G. (N. S. XI, Pts. 1 and 2), 1932.—In a paper entitled 'War Marco Polo auf dem Pamir,' W. Lentz states his reasons for holding that Marco Polo did not cross the Pāmirs, as hitherto generally accepted (e.g., by Yule, Cordier, Stein and others), but, having reached Ishkashim, he turned north by the valley of the Ab-i-Panja as far as the Wanj valley, and ascending it and crossing the Akbai Sitargi entered the Khingāb valley, whence he passed over the Gardani Kaftar into the Alsi valley, which he followed, in a more or less easterly direction, and so on to Kāshgar. He holds with Benedetto, that Seesem, and not Cazem, is the correct reading, and that M's town was Ishkashim, and not Kish. Marco's Vocan (one MS. reads Voca), hitherto always equated with Wakhân, he locates in the Khingāb valley, to portions of which we find the name Wakhīā ('upper' and 'lower') locally applied, according to Stein (Innermost Asia, II, 890). Suffice it to add here that, while the suggested route is attractive as being less perilous, there are many objections to accepting this as the route described in Marco's narrative, even as it appears in Benedetto's revised text.

C. E. A. W. O.
BOOK NOTICES


The first edition of Mahārāṇa Kumbha by Mr. Haribilas Sarda was published in 1917, and was welcomed by all students of Rājpūt history as a work of absorbing interest. The book has now been re-written and enlarged into the present edition, so much so that it is practically a new work.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters. The first three deal with the “Guhilot Family of Mewar,” “Rana Kachheta Singh and Laksh Singh” and “Mahārāṇa Mokal.” The next eight chapters discuss the history of the reign of the illustrious Mahārāṇa Kumbha of Mewar. Chapter XII sets forth the achievements of the Mahārāṇa, while Chapter XIII describes Kumbha’s monuments. In Chapters XIV and XVI, the author has estimated the position of Kumbha respectively as a scholar and as a sovereign. Chapter XV gives a summary of nineteen of the more important inscriptions of the time of the Mahārāṇa, along with a short note on the coins issued by this ruler. A valuable appendix is added, which not only gives the text of seven of the inscriptions of Kumbha, but also quotes an interesting passage from the famous Ekalīkha-mahātmya. Not the least important feature of the book is the Index, which the first edition sadly lacked. It is by no means free from foibles and inaccuracies, some of which we will notice shortly, but it cannot be denied that, taken as a whole, the book is a scholarly production, is written in such a style that it reads like a novel and is much more of a history than a compilation of history of which we have recently more than one instance, so far at any rate as Rājpūtānā is concerned.

Another interesting feature of the book is the way in which the author has tried to prove the partial and untrustworthy nature of the accounts of some Muhammadan historians, especially of Firishta, which is chiefly relied upon by European scholars. The author has impartially shown that Firishta has, in instances more than one, either remained silent about or slurred over the defeat of a Muhammadan king by a Hindu ruler. But we regret to note that the pleasure from the perusal of the book is somewhat marred by the numerous misprints, and the general absence, and, in a few cases, the improper use, of diacritical marks. We also regret that some of the views of the author cannot be acceptable. Thus, following an impossible theory about the “Krita-Gupta Eras,” Mr. Sarda has placed the date of Mihirakula’s battle with Bālāditya in “about 131 A.D.” (p. 54); we are also unable to accept his view that “Prithvirāja, king of Ajmer, ruled the whole of Northern India” (p. 82) or that the Chauhān king Vīsāladeva, uncle of Prithvirāja, “conquered the whole of upper India” (p. 196).

Mr. Sarda does not believe that the “chivalrous” Rāo Baṇmañ entertained any idea of appropriating the throne of Chitor (p. 61). Yet he speaks of the brutal murder of Rāghahadeva who was “loved through Mewar for his high character, courage, manly beauty and patriotism” (p. 41), and also refers to the gradual rise of the Rāḥbhodis, to whom “all positions of confidence and trust as well as those of political and military importance were bestowed” (p. 59).

In spite of these differences of opinion which are by no means of a serious nature, we have no doubt that it is a work worthy of a scholar and that it will be read with much interest and profit by a layman also. We hope that, like Hemādri during the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri, or Śāyana during the Vijayanagura rule, Mr. Sarda will find time to write more books of this nature.

D. R. B.

GAṅGĀ-PURĀṬATTIYAṆKA. 9½ X 7½ in.; 337 pages. Published from the Gaṅgā Office, Kṛṣṇa-Garh, Sūltāngarh, dt. Bhāgpalpur, 1933. Rs. 3.

Kumār Kṛṣṇānanda Sīnha of Bānāli and the editorial staff of the now Hindi illustrated monthly magazine Gaṅgā are to be congratulated on the enterprise and success shown in the publication of this special archaeological number of their journal, which contains a large number of instructive papers dealing with various aspects of ancient and medieval Indian history and culture, including archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, linguistics, scripts and printing, etc. We find here papers by some of the most distinguished Indian scholars of the present day, such as Rāo Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, Rāi Bahadur Hīrālī, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Mr. K. P. Jayaśwal, Dr. N. N. Law and many other well-known names. Some of the articles furnish useful summaries of the far-reaching results of the explorations carried out in recent times at Mohejodāro, Nālandā, Bāsāīr, Pahārīpur and other sites; others describe archaeological treasures preserved in some of the principal museums, while a few are of a more speculative character. Many of the papers are illustrated. The volume provides in a handy form a mass of information for the Hindi-reading public, not otherwise readily available to them in that language.

C. E. A. W. O.
FURTHER LIGHT ON RĀMAGUPTA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., HEAD OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, NAGPUR UNIVERSITY.

In his interesting article on 'A new Gupta King,' Professor A. S. Altekar has cited and discussed the following passage from the Kāvyamimāṃsā of Rājaśekhara—

इत्यः कथ्यति: लक्षणार्थन्ते देवीं पूजयते भद्रतामिनी
अन्यस्मृतविवेचनात्साहिते विवृते धीरमेव ( v. I. लेख ) गुर्गो इत्यः
देवमन्त्रव: हिमालये गुर्गुल्पक्रमणण्याक्षर्कर
gीतयं संवाक्तत्त्वतर्भं! मण्डल्यां वोल: कीति: = कीति:

In discussing the bearing of this passage on his reconstruction of Gupta history he has remarked as follows:—"The verse is addressed to Kārtikeya, who is obviously Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Kumāra and Kārtikeya are synonyms; peacock is the vāhana of the deity and we know that Kumāragupta has struck some coins of the peacock variety. The unknown poet of this stanza is contrasting the prosperous condition of the house under Kumāragupta with the dire distress to which it was reduced under Śārmanagupta." As the version of the incident given in this verse differs in some material points from the account of the same found in the works of Bāna, Viśākhadatta and Śankarārya, Prof. Altekar is constrained to add as follows:—"Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon," and, again, "it is not therefore unlikely that with a desire of having a romantic background and developing a poetic contrast, he may have permitted himself a little liberty with history by changing the name Śaka into Khasa."

These two statements involve a contradiction which Prof. Altekar has failed to notice. The verse cited above was evidently composed by some poet who was a contemporary of Kārtikeya, who is addressed and whose exploits are praised therein. If this Kārtikeya was Kumāragupta I, his court poet had undoubtedly "reliable historical tradition to rely upon." We must, therefore, suppose that he willfully took a liberty with history and that his contemporaries had so completely forgotten the incident in Rāmagupta's life within the short period of one generation that they allowed the poet to do so. Such a supposition is, however, unwarranted. If we read the verse carefully, we would find that the king Kārtikeya who is eulogised therein must have belonged to some other dynasty. No court poet of the Guptas would have thought of making such a contrast, and thereby focussing people's attention on that deplorable incident. As in the Saṅjāna Plates, the author of this verse is evidently referring to some king of another dynasty who achieved glorious success where Rāmagupta ignominiously failed. Who then is this Kārtikeya? No early king of this name is known to history. The Caṇḍakauśika of Aryakṣemśvar, which was staged before a king named Mahipāla, mentions his other name as Kārtikeya in the Bharatavākya.3

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1 J.B.O.R.S., XIV, part II, p. 223.  
2 Ibid., p. 242.  
3 Ibid., p. 243.  
4 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has discussed this question in the Mālaviya Commemoration Volume (p. 194) takes कामिकेनयेन as one word and locates it near the village Bajināth in the Almora district, U.P. According to him the verse is addressed to Candragupta, who is not named therein. This is hardly convincing. We must remember that Rājaśekhara has cited the verse as a type of muktaka, which means a detached stanza, complete in itself. When such stanzas are addressed to kings, their names are invariably inserted in them. (See, for instance, the 194 stanzas in praise of various kings collected in the subhadhara-bhadṛddha-nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa Sāgara Ed., pp. 118-128). We must, therefore, take Kārtikeya as vocative and try to locate the scene of the event in some other way.

5 शास्त्रविद्या प्रयोगे धर्मसिद्धांतविद्या नात्सिद्धांतविद्या नाभवः
क्षेत्रसंग्रहमेव अविनाशिनमुयात्साहिते तत्त्वात्त्विनाशिनथ भविष्यस्य कौटि:
परं स्त्राव्यमानं विवेचनार्थमात्रायामात्रायाः साधनोपसरण ॥
Scholars are divided on the question of the identity of this Mahipāla. Professors Sten Konow,† Keith and S. K. Aiyangar† take him to be of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, while Prof. R. D. Banerjee identifies him with Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The latter view is, however, impossible for the following reasons:

(1) Mahipāla I of Bengal was a Buddhist, and was not therefore likely to be transported with joy as described in this drama over the story of Hariścandra. There is no peculiar Buddhist trait anywhere in the drama — neither in the nāndī, nor in the body of the play.

(2) None of the inscriptions of this Mahipāla give Kārtikeya as his other name.

(3) This Mahipāla of Bengal is not known to have been hostile to the Karnāṭas. In the Cauḍākauśīka, however, the Śūtradhāra quotes the following gāthā, which, he says, is known to those who are conversant with tradition:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{म: सचिवत्वे यजुर्वेदमार्गम चाणक्यमीति} \\
\text{जिवता नन्दान तुतुंगतार्तिच वस्तुभोज जिगाय} \\
\text{कऽतिकन्ते चरुः प्रस्तुतात्मत्वं तत्तमेव हनुं} \\
\text{हृदेष्वाण्व: स पुनर्मिवधात्रीसहृदयेव:।}
\end{align*}\]

The late Prof. R. D. Banerjee tried to explain this verse as referring to the invasion of Bengal by Rājendra Coḷa; for "in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Kannāḍas and Tāmils." This argument is not convincing. It is more probable, indeed, almost certain, that Mahipāla of the Cauḍākauśīka was the first king of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. (1) We know that he was a follower of Hinduism. He calls himself a devotee of the sun in his inscriptions. But he was not a sectarian, for he secured the image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) which was afterwards placed in a beautiful temple at Khajurāho. The Pratihāras called themselves Sūryavahāśi, and traced their descent from Lakṣmana, the brother of Rāma. It is but natural that Mahipāla I should be overjoyed to see the life of one of his illustrious ancestors Hariścandra represented on the stage, as described in the Cauḍākauśīka. (2) Like his father and grandfather, Mahipāla I bore several names, Hārsa, Vinayakapāla and Herambapāla. He was also probably known as Caṇḍapāla. Caṇḍapāla is the hero of the Prakrit drama Karpuramaṇjari of his court poet Rājaśekhara. He is also probably referred to by the alternative title Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava of Rājaśekhara's other drama, Bālabhārata, which was staged before him. Āryakṣemiśvar also seems to refer to him by the caṇḍa in the title Cauḍākauśīka of his Sanskrit play. Both caṇḍa and pracaṇḍa are used several times in the two dramas Cauḍākauśīka and Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava. It is again in the fitness of things that Mahipāla I, the son of Nirbhayarāja (Mahendrapāla), should call himself Caṇḍapāla. Now Caṇḍa is one of the names of Kārtikeya, and so it is no matter for surprise that Āryakṣemiśvar calls him Kārtikeya in the Bharataavādyya. The verse from the Kāvyamimāṃsā cited at the beginning of this article describes one Kārtikeya who was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Rājaśekhara. As stated above, no king of that name is known to have flourished before the age of Rājaśekhara. It follows, therefore, that this Kārtikeya is no other than Mahipāla I of Kanauj. It may at first sight seem strange that Mahipāla should be known by three such names as Hārsa, Herambapāla and Kārtikeya, denoting the three deities Śiva, Gaṇapati and Kārtikeya. But we have an analogous instance in his grandfather, Bhoja, being called Mihiira (the Sun) and Ādivarāha (Viṣṇu).

6 Das indische Drama, p. 86.
7 Sanskrit Drama, p. 239.
9 JBORS., XIV, Part II, p. 520.
12 Caṇḍa is included in the names of Kārtikeya well-known in three worlds in the Mahābhārata, Vana-
parva adhyāya, 232 (Bom. Ed.)
(3) The gāthā in the Cauḍakauṭika speaks of Mahipāla’s hostility to the Kārṇātas. We know that Mahipāla I of Kanauj was obliged to leave his capital when it was devastated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III. Mahipāla afterwards regained his throne with the help of a Candella king, who was either Harṣa or his son, Yaśovarman. Āryakṣemiśvar has evidently composed or incorporated the gāthā in his play to please his royal patron, who must have been smarting under his humiliating defeat. The Kārṇātas mentioned in that gāthā are evidently the Kanarese Raṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, who were again assisted by his Kanarese feudatory, Arikesarīn Cālukya, as stated by the Kanarese poet Pampa.

We have thus seen that Kārtikeya whose exploits are described in the verse from Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyāmāthāsa was Mahipāla I of Kanauj. But did this king ever bring any part of the Himālayan territory under his sway? Professor R. D. Banerjee considered him incapable of any conquest. It is no doubt true that Mahipāla’s power declined towards the end of his reign, owing probably to the conquests of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri and Yaśovarman Candella. But we have no evidence to suppose that he made no conquests. On the other hand the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarman states that Mahipāla had secured the image of Vaikunṭha from a Śahi king of Kābul and the Panjāb on the strength of his army of horses and elephants. Rājaśekhara speaks of several wars of Mahipāla in the following verse in the Pracaṇḍapārṇḍava:—

मस्चिम्मुखलक्षणः पाको देशस्त्रायामेव स्वक्रित्वलिखितम्।
केषलिङ्केकलेखितोऽि।
अवि मित्रकुकुटः कृतवल्लिण्या हर्षसमावधिः।
श्रीमद्विपाकदेवः।

One of these wars was against the king of Kulūta. Kulūta was a kingdom on the right bank of the Sutlej, south-east of Kashmir and north-east of Jālandhara. One of these conquests may have been described in the verse in the Kāvyāmāthāsa.

The next question that presents itself in connection with that verse is, how far is the version of the incident about Dhruvavasmīni given in that verse historical? Professor Altekar is of opinion that the author of that verse took some liberty with history in describing it in that way. We may readily agree with him when he says that data in that verse should be taken to mean datum anumatya, for Dhruvavasmīni was never actually handed over to the enemy. Rāmagupta only consented to do it as stated in the Devi-Candragnuptha. The author of that verse had to compress so much matter into four lines that he may have taken that liberty. His purpose was to bring out a contrast between the glorious success of Mahipāla and the ignominious failure of Rāmagupta, and it was immaterial whether the queen was actually handed over to the enemy or whether that calamity was averted. But in other respects the verse may be taken to state the version of the incident as it was traditionally known at the time. It would lose all its point if the incident about Dhruvavasmīni and the conquest of Mahipāla had occurred in different places—the former at the capital of Rāmagupta in the plains, and the latter in the Himālayan hills. Besides, the context in which that verse occurs in the Kāvyāmāthāsa shows that it was based on tradition (kathotha). Like Bāna, Rājaśekhara also had historical sense. It is unlikely that he would cite a verse to illustrate how a present incident should be described by putting it in relation to a past event known from tradition, if the tradition had been materially changed or distorted in that verse.

After all, have we got incontrovertible evidence to prove that the version of the incident given in the Kāvyāmāthāsa is incorrect? It states that Rāmagupta went on an adventurous

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15 कैलासस्यकृत्वम्: सुविशेषी च तत: योगाराजः: प्रेमिक| साधितस्यमावयम् विवुमतिक्षेत्रम् हर्षवर्षकः।।
16 Cf. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 162.
expedition to a Himalayan country. His progress was checked, and he had to retreat ignominiously after handing over Dhruvasvāminī to a Khasa king. This account is not contradicted by any passages cited by Professor Altekar. None of them gives us any clue as to the scene of the incident. Professor Altekar supposes that it was in the dominions of Rāmagupta, on the ground that in one of the passages Rāmagupta is represented as having consented to hand over Dhruvadevi to the Śaka king for the safety of the people (prakṛti).  

From the verse in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, however, it appears that Rāmagupta was accompanied by his family, and possibly by his minister and other retinue, when he entered the Himalayan country. It is these people whom Rāmagupta wanted to save. In a passage from the Devī-Candragupta quoted in the Śrīvīrānaprakāśa cited by Professor Altekar the place where the incident occurred is called Alipura. As Mr. R. Sarasvatī has pointed out, this is corroborated by the passage in the Harṣacarita where the reading arīpura is evidently a mistake for alīpura. If this view is not accepted there would be tautology in the expression satroh skandhāvara alīpūram. Again, skandhāvara does not necessarily denote a camp. It also means a capital. So the expression can be taken to mean 'Alipura, the capital of the enemy.' This Alipura must have been situated somewhere in or near the ancient country of Kuluta.

It is also possible that the real name of the capital was Nalinapura, as stated in a manuscript of the Harṣacarita. If so, it may be identified with the Teng-kuang mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, which was 'apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad.' As Watters has pointed out, one name for the city was Padmapura ('lotus city') which is only a synonym of Nalinapura. It is easy to imagine how Nalinapura was in course of time read as Alipura and then as Aripura. As we have seen above, Mahipāla had conquered Śāhi, the king of Kābul and the Panjāb, and forced him to surrender a beautiful image of Viṣṇu. The identification of Nalinapura with Hsüan-tsang's Teng-kuang is, therefore, supported by the passage in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā as well.

In the Kāvyamīmāṁsā the enemy who reduced Rāmagupta to dire distress is called Khasa, while almost all other authorities name him Śaka. As we have seen, the author of this verse flourished in the tenth century, when the Khasas were ruling in Nepal. They are mentioned in an inscription at Khajuraho as vanquished by Yāsavarman Candella. If the correct reading is Khasa, we have here an instance of anachronism, for, as Professor Altekar points out, the Khasas were not so powerful in the fourth century as to dictate terms to Rāmagupta. It is, however, more likely that Śaka is the correct reading, as Rājaśekhara, who was well read, must have known this incident from the Devī-Candragupta and other works, and is not likely to have quoted a verse in which the tradition was distorted. In that case the Śaka enemy must have been the Kushān king who is referred to as Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānamahāhā in the Allahabād Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We know that the Kushāns were ruling over the Panjāb and Kābul till the fifth century a.d.

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17. प्रकृतीमाधवालनाय शक्तस्य कृपाका प्राक्रिया स्वयम्भु राजा रामद्रव्य हिर्मिद विद्यां: श्रवणश्रवणेऽविद्यां: कुमार- नान्दो विद्याय विद्याय.
18. सूत्रमणिकात्मकायः शरोः स्मायारामसदित्यशः शर्वलिंगायामसः। I.A., 11, p. 183.
19. Ibid.
20. अद्वेये च यत्रस्थितानस्य कालिनाविश्वास्यायः श्रवणश्रवणे।
22. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal also locates the place in the Doā of Jālandhara.—JBOES., XVIII, p. 29.
23. Watters, On Yuen Chwang, I, p. 188.
Let us next consider the objection that Professor Altekar has raised against the above identification. He says: "Chandragupta II must have taken the first opportunity to retrieve the honour of his house by destroying or at least defeating the Kushāns. But are there any indications of Chandragupta II having led any military expedition in the Punjab. None whatsoever." But this absence of evidence is at best a negative argument, and is not conclusive. Unfortunately we have very little knowledge of the events in Chandragupta's reign. He may, for all we know, have proceeded against the Kushān king and reduced him to submission but spared his life, as later on Harṣa seems to have done in the case of Śāśānaka. There is no evidence to suppose that the war against the Satraps of Ujjayini was the first campaign in which he was engaged. We know that the Satraps continued to rule in Mālwā till 388 A.D. at least, i.e., for more than ten years after Chandragupta's accession. During this period he may have been occupied other places e.g., in the Panjāb and Kashmir, subjugating the Kushāns. It is noteworthy that the minister Āmrakārdava, who made a gift to the Buddhist monastery at Sāñchi, describes himself as "अनेक समरा धार्मिक स्थानाएँ". The many battles in which he had won renown were not evidently all of them fought in Mālwā.

I have thus tried to prove that

1. King Kārtikeya to whom the verse दुधबा कुर्मरति, etc., is addressed was Mahīpāla I of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj;
2. The incident of the surrender of Dhruvasvāmī occurred either near the Jālandhar Doāb or near Jalālābād;
3. The Śaka enemy who reduced Rāmagupta to such plight was the Kushān king who ruled over the Panjāb and Kābul.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF ĪŚOPANIŚAD.

BY PROF. F. OTTO SCHRADER, PH.D., KIEL.

"No knowledge without virtue" may possibly be the thesis propounded in the conclusion of Kena Upaniṣad; yet it is Īśa Upaniṣad that first deliberately teaches the samuccaya doctrine. The importance, however, of this precious little text for the history of Indian thought is still greater in that it is also the first gospel of that karma-yoga which is often erroneously believed to have appeared with the Bhagavadgītā only.

Karmayoga is clearly taught in verses 1 and 2 of this Upaniṣad. These verses (as also 9 to 11; see f.-n. 29) are a protest against that well-known growing tendency of the Upaniṣads to denounce acts as a hindrance to liberation. Acts, says our Upaniṣad, should be done by all means (kuruvaṁ evehā), and life may even be enjoyed (abhūjīthāḥ), supposing we renounce ahamkāra (instead of the acts) by constantly realizing that the Lord is in everything. Tena tvaṁtena is one of the rare absolute instrumentals occurring in Sanskrit literature (see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 372), and it means "by renouncing it (the world, jagat)," viz., in favour of the idea that the world is entirely God's. This meaning persists, however we explain tādeviṣam. It is emphasized by the second half of 2 which I understand thus: evam eva na cānyathetāḥ "na karma lipyate nare " iti tve asīti, i.e., "In this very way, and not by any method different from this, it (the teaching) does hold true with thee that karma

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1 Belvalkar, History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, p. 177.
2 Two commentaries (viz., Anantādārya’s and Bālākṛṣṇapāla’s, which together with that of Rāmacandra I consider the best on Īśa Up.), explain tān by īd, and tvaṁtena by dattena, with dhāmena understood. This is, no doubt, a very tempting suggestion, because it facilitates the connection with the following pāda (ibd dhikam md grīhāḥ, A.), but this meaning of ṭaṅj is unfamiliar to the older as well as the later Upaniṣads.
does not adhere to the soul." This need not be a wholesale condemnation of the fourth āśrama, but it clearly dispenses with it as a conditio sine qua non of liberation.

Īśāvāsyam may be either īśā + vāsyam or īśā + ādīṣvayam. In the former case the underlying root could only be vas "to put on, to wear (a garment)" and not vās "to dwell" which is intransitive and would require a locative (absent in our passage). Vāsyam, again, cannot be a simple gerundive, because vas āchādāne has no non-causal passive forms, but must be a gerundive of the causative; and thus īśā vāsyam īdāṁ sarvam could only mean "All this is to be clothed with God," i.e., by the imagination of the adept. However, vas āchādāne, both with and without one of the dozen or so prepositions it may take, is conspicuous by its absence in the Upaniṣads where its meaning is almost expressed by other verbs, such as parīdhā, ācchādā, samacchād. And so there remains as the most likely padaccheda īśā + ādīṣvayam and the meaning "to be inhabited by the Lord," i.e., "to be looked at the Lord's abode." The meaning would also result in the compound īśāvāsyam-īśāvāsyāvyogayam.  

The pantheistic idea expressed here of God being in everything is of course well-known from innumerable passages (such as those on the antaryāmin), while the more philosophical idea of the world being enveloped by, i.e., contained in God may be instanced by the phrase víśvasyākṣara pariveśitādram occurring thrice in Śvetāśvatara U. and by the epithets víśvāvāsa and jayānandasa. That both ideas (sarveṣu bhūteṣu tīrthān; ātmani sarvāni bhūtāni) were perfectly familiar to the author of our Upaniṣad, is clear from his giving them side by side in stanza 5 (tad āntar asya sarvasya tad u sarvānāya bāhyataḥ), and once more in stanza 6.

Stanza 3 is evidently directed against materialists and atheists. This stanza is connected, by way of contrast, with stanza 6 (note the tu). The intervening two stanzas (4 and 5), with other metres, are consequently quotations and may have been interpolated by a later hand.

One more quotation (but hardly interpolation) seems to be stanza 8, where the omission of one word (yādāthāyataḥ) and the reading vyadhāt (comp. paryagāt) for the ill-suited imperfect vyadhāt would shoot the metre, though merely as to the number of syllables. Here Śaṅkara takes paryagāt in the intransitive sense (samanāt ad āgat, ākāśavād vyākhyā prathā), and he declares šukram, etc., to be neutrals (in the nominative) which, however, should be understood as masculine (!): "He (the ātman mentioned in 7) is all-pervading, is the pure one ... (he) the kavi ... has allotted ...." A partial improvement on this interpretation is Rāmacandra's who, while accepting paryagāt=jaḍag vyāpyāśa, takes

3. The word asti, though spoiling the metre, has a function here; it may but need not have crept into the text from a gloss.
4. Only with one of the prepositions uṣa, anu, adhi, ād it becomes a transitive verb with its adhikarṣa in the accusative (Pāṇini 1, 4, 48).—The Vedic root vas "to shine" (comp. usas and, probably, vāsudeva) with its causal vāsasyati and also the denominative vāsasyati "to perfume" (from vās "perfume") may be left out of account here. The latter would, indeed, give a good meaning (essentially agreeing with our own conclusion), but it is (as the doubtful form vāsasyati, Kūrīkā U. 19) rather too late for our Upaniṣad.
5. Except vasita and vatisita, which, however, occur in the epics only (see Whitney, "Roots").
6. Vaste being ātmanepada, its causal vāsasyati really means "to cause (somebody) to dress himself" and should, therefore, be expected to be construed like vaste, i.e., with the accusative of the thing to be put on (vasaraṇas vaste). But this construction is confined to its literal sense (as found, e.g., in Mani VIII, 396). More frequent, from Vedic times, is vāsasyati "to clothe with, to envelop in " (Ātma: "to clothe one's own self") construed with the accusative of the direct and the instrumental of the remote object (see Petersburg Dictionary, s.v.).
7. Colonel Jacob's Concordance has for it the sole passage īśāvāsyam which should not be there.
8. The verb īśā occurs also in Chāndogya U. V, 1, 9 and, later than īśā U., in Nādāhinda, etc. It has been recognized in our passage, so far as I know, only by Bālākṛṣpadasa (a follower of Nimbarka). Other commentators speak, indeed, also of īśā nīchā, but, instead of thinking of the preposition, give no further explanation or a forced one, e.g., by means of bikhulaka.
sukram, etc., as true neuters (yat brahma paryagāt . . . . . ), but connects saṅ with kaviḥ,
etc., as referring to the same Brahma in its aspect as the personal iśvara. Another improve-
m ent would seem to be possible by looking at sukram, etc., as adverbs; but considering the
sparing use made of adverbs in Sanskrit it must be doubted that the passage has ever been
understood in this way. On the other hand we may, as most commentators do, understand
sukram, etc., as accusatives dependent on paryagāt conceived transitively with the ātmavid
of the preceding stanza as its subject. As a matter of fact, paryagāt (as also parigam)
cannot be shown to have ever been employed without an object (excepting only the post-Christian
parigata “spread out, diffused”), and Śaṅkara’s forced explanation, as any others based
on it, must therefore be rejected. It is clear, moreover, that for fixing the meaning of an
Upanisad passage no commentator can be more authoritative for us than the oldest traceable
paraphrase of it in the Upanisads themselves, i.e., in our case, Brhadāranyaka Up. IV, 4,
13: yasyāṃ uvitthā prati-buddha ātmā . . . . . . . . so vīvaktiḥ so hi sarvasya kariṇā . . . . . . . . .9). Still,
such constructions as in Rāmacandra’s second suggestion, viz., yaḥ sukram . . . . . brahma
paryagāt sarvabhāvena jñātavān . . . . . so brahma-jñānāḥ kaviḥ . . . . . , are certainly not ad-
missible. But we need only turn to another Upanisad for the definite solution of our prob-
lem. Kāṭhaka Up. V, 8, which is evidently the source of our passage, runs: ya esa suṇīṣau
jāyati kāṁ ca kāṁ nirmināyāḥ tad eva sukram tad brahma, etc.10 Here we have the
neuter noun sukra; here we have the masculine corresponding with the neuter (yaḥ . .
tad)11; and here we have the correspondence with arthān vyadhātā. I, therefore, regard
yātātāthayato ‘rithān as corrupted (through a gloss) from yo ‘rithān, because the omission of
the relative pronoun is utterly improbable here, and construe: yaḥ kavi . . . . arthān,
vyadhāt (for vyadhātā; see above) (tat) sukram akāya . . . . apā-paviddhāṃ sa (ātmavi) paryagātā,
i.e.: “He has reached the bodiless . . . . Essence12 (which is also) the . . . Sage who has allotted . . . . .”13.

For the interpretation of stanzas 9 to 11 and 12 to 14 first of all four general points have
to be noticed, viz. (1) that the two triplets are meant to be exactly parallel; (2) that the four
terms vidyā, etc., are all of them ambiguous, and that, therefore, though in 9 and 10 and in
12 and 13, respectively, they are, of course, used in the same sense, they may be used in a
different sense in 11 and 14, respectively; (3) that in the second half of 11 and 14, respectively,
the gerund is more likely to mean simultaneousness than previousness, because the two phrases
mṛtyum taraṇi and amṛtaṁ aṁṣate are generally used without a shade of difference in the
Indian religious language; and (4) that by the word anyayad in 10 and 13 more likely than not
the same reference is intended as by tad in 11 and 14.

9 The use made of Īśā Up. in Brhadāranyaka Up. IV, 4, 10 ff., is quite evident: after stanza 10,
which is identical with Īśā 9, and stanza 11, which is Īśā 3 slightly modified, there follows 12 which is essen-
tially the same as Īśā 7, and then, with the same metrical change as in Īśā Up. from the anusṭubh to the
triśṭubh, the paraphrase referred to above of Īśā 8. Finally, there is a correspondence in both the meaning
and the last three words of stanza 15 with Īśā 6. Brhadāranyaka Up. is as a whole of course older than
Īśā Up., but the whole section IV, 4, 8-21 introduced by tad ete itukō bhavanit ā is evidently a more medley
of quotations (modified or not) from Īśā, Kena, Kāṭhaka and one or two unknown texts.

10 Note the celebrity of the phrase tad eva sukram tad brahma. It is repeated in Kāṭhaka Up. VI,
1, and Śvetāvatara IV, 2, and also used in Mahānārāyaṇa I, 7, Maitrāyaṇa VI, 24 and 35, and (with the
puruṣa placed above brahma, as in Bhag. Gitā XIV, 3) in Mundaka III, 2, 1.

11 Comp. Kāṭhaka Up. VI, 17: tamaḥ vidydeh chukram amṛtam. Considering the mahāvākya ayaṃ
dūmade brahma it is strange that Śaṅkara could not avoid having recourse to liṅgavatyaṣya.

12 Or “Light” ; comp. Bālakṛṣṇadāsa: sukraṁ vīvabhijām tejaḥ.

13 Instead of the neuters we could, of course, have masculines by regarding sukram as an adjective
and supplying tām (or śārvaram or paramātmam) instead of tad. But the series of epithets used here is of
the kind found generally with the neuter brahman or aksara only, and the Upanisads distinguish between
sukra, which is a noun, and sukta, which is an adjective.—It must also be doubted that the advaitic turn
of Brhadāranyaka Up. IV, 4, 13 (see above) is in agreement with the (more theistic) spirit of Īśā Up.
Now, from (1) it follows that vidyāyā and avidyāyā, respectively, of stanza 10, which are parallel to sambhāvī and asambhāvī in 13, have been preferred here merely for the sake of the metre to vidyāyāḥ and avidyāyāḥ, respectively (which are, indeed, the Mādhyandina readings), and that it is wrong, therefore, and unnecessary to assume with Prof. Deussen "a bold ellipsis." We have here the instrumental of comparison which, though absent from classical Sanskrit, is known from archaic and epical literature. Our third point also is in conformity with actual usage, as every Sanskritist knows. The two remaining points will come out in the course of our inquiry.

Of the two triplets, the one on sambhātī and asambhātī is the less problematical, because it gives us synonyms, and we may, therefore, expect to facilitate our further task by taking it up first. In doing so we follow the Mādhyandina recension, which has the two triplets in the reverse order to that found with the Kāṇvas and in most editions of the Upaniṣad. Which order is the original one can, of course, if at all, not be decided as long as we are in doubt as to the original meaning of the stanzas.15

In my opinion stanzas 12 to 14 Kāṇva counting refer to the nature of the Absolute (brahma-svarūpa) or, respectively, the condition of the liberated. They are an answer to the doubt expressed in Kāṭhaka Up. I, 29: geṣam prete vicikītā manuṣye: astity eke nāyam astītī caikē. The Absolute, says st. 13, is different from both sambhātēva "existence" and asambhātēva "non-existence."17 which can only mean that in regard to the common meaning of the word existence (jāyate 'sti vardhate vipariṇamate 'pakṣyate naṣāyati) the Absolute is neither (merely) "existent" nor (merely) "non-existent." Accordingly, in st. 12 those may be meant who (without being materialists18) adhere to (upāśāte) some sort of śūnyavāda,19 and (2) those one-sided pantheists who believe God to be the world and nothing more.20

14 See Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 107, and compare especially the instrumental connected with the Vedic preposition paras "beyond" (e.g., in para mātraṇā) and with anyatra "except" in Buddhist Sanskrit (and in Pāli), with bhūyate "keeps aloof from," and (occasionally) with adhika; also the instrumental with sama, samānā, etc.

15 It might be conjectured that either recension had originally but one triplet, viz., the one to which it now gives the first place; that is to say, that the Upaniṣad started with a single triplet; that this was modified in a later school; and that finally each school added to its triplet the one of the other school. But this is such a complicated hypothesis that it could be only accepted if we had still a trace of this evolution, e.g., if manuscripts of one of the two recensions would have but one triplet, which is not the case.

16 Which passage does not refer to ordinary death, as Śāṅkara would make us believe, but (as already noticed by Deussen) to what the Upaniṣad calls the Great Passage (mahān dāmparīyākā), viz., from the saṃsāra to what is beyond it. See B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma’s paper "A Critique of Śāṅkara’s Rendering Yeyam prete" in the Annamalai University Journal, vol. I, No. 2.

17 Sambhātēva means, indeed, "birth, production," etc., but then also "existence" in a quite general sense, as can be proved by many passages. Sambhātī, again, means primarily "birth, origin," etc., but in the Brāhmaṇa period also "growth, increase" and thus may also stand for existence generally.

18 Materialists are, no doubt, the dīmakahana janāh of st. 3, the vittamohana mūdhāh of Kāṭhaka Up. II, 6 (comp. Śā U. 1: mā gṛhāḥ kaśyāvīd dhānām). For, to them our Upaniṣad holds out the asurya lokāḥ; and the Asura, as well known, is the typical materialist denying immortality in any sense: "āyam loko, nāsti parāḥ" (Kāṭhaka Up. II, 6; comp. Bhag. Gītā XV, 8 and 29).

19 Comp. Bālākrṣyadāsya: ye . . . prāpaṇīdāvabh karādhyayupagacchanti te anyāḥ tām tayam āvādanti . . . na hi kevalavedhōbhōvām karāh kāṁṣe karaṇāvine svavākhyātām nādyādram avālam-bate. The present-day Southern Buddhists seeing only the negative side of Nirvāṇa also belong to this class.

20 I. e.: who do not see that God is also sarvasya-dāhṣyaṭāḥ, viz., with his transcendent "four quarters." They are worse than the asambhūti-upāśakas, because they confine God to his worldly "quarter." Bālākrṣa is inconsistent here in explaining: ye sambhūtyyam utpadayam ratāḥ kāryamānam eva vastu manvantre na kṣaraṇāpām iti. Considering his definition of the asambhūtivāda he ought to have said: ye sktiripam eva vastu manvantre sktirādparam param evam param evam upāśakam. To understand with Śāṅkara and most other commentators asambhātī as the avayākṛt prakṛti (whose worshippers are the Śāṅkara-upāśakas of Bhag. Gītā XII) is tempting, indeed; but then sambhātī must be explained as God Brahmā (so Śāṅkara) or the devas, which is far from convincing and moreover renders st. 14 unintelligible.
finally, holds out liberation to those who understand the teaching of st. 13: they are liberated through vincâya or becoming non-existent to the world and through sambhûti or becoming existent as to their true nature.21

Turning hence to the second triplet (the first in the current editions), I shall begin by trying to explain it as immediately connected with the first, i.e., as referring to one more problem of the very nature of the first but subsidiary to it and therefore dealt with in the second place only in the Mâdhyaandina (=original ?) recension. I mean the problem raised, in Brhadâranyaka Up. II, 4, 12, by Yâjñavalkya’s statement na pratyâ samâjâstî. It is clear that here again not ordinary death is the topic, but the “Great Departure” of the liberated. Now, does this event mean cessation of consciousness in the absolute sense? Undoubtedly not a few philosophers have understood it like that, though, as a rule, without denying the post-mortem existence of the liberated. I need only mention the jâdâtmavâda attributed to the Mîmâṃsakas and others, and the asaśâṇivâda recorded among other heresies in Pâli texts; and even in Buddhism itself the death of the liberated implies the complete cessation of consciousness. But Yâjñavalkya did not understand it in this way. For him the liberated becomes so to speak superconscious: he loses what we understand by consciousness and obtains instead the “mere” or unlimited consciousness of the One which, being “without a second,” can have no objects of consciousness. And after Y. also all Védântic systems agree in teaching that in final death limited consciousness is exchanged for unlimited consciousness. Assuming, then, for the moment that vidyâ can, and in our triplet does, mean consciousness, everything is clear: the Absolute is different from both consciousness and unconsciousness, i.e., in the usual meaning of these words (st. 10); a man “believing it to be unconscious will sink down in the saṃsâra, while the one who believes it to be conscious (and thus not the Absolute but only a highest person) will sink to still deeper depths (st. 9); but he who understands the teaching of st. 10 (excluding from God, the superconscious, both unconsciousness and limited consciousness) will “cross death” through the loss of his individual consciousness and “enjoy immortality” through superconsciousness (st. 11).

This interpretation of the vidyâ-avidyâ triplet is, apart from its starting-point,22 essentially that of Bâlakṛṣṇa, who, while explaining the vidyâ-upâsakas to be those who look at their Self as an object of knowledge (svâtmānam jñânavâpyaparanopâde), declares the avidyâ-upâsakas to be such people as avidyâm jñânavâpyam âtmânam upâde, the result being some sort of śûnyavâda or jâdâtmavâda. For, an åtman that has no other than the empirical consciousness (vidyâm = pramânaprameyådîvyayavahâram, B.) belongs through it to the world of experience. But can vidyâ mean “consciousness”? This meaning is not known to me from any other passage; yet, considering the fluctuating use, in the older and even later language, of most words denoting “to know” or “knowledge” 23. I consider it possible, indeed, that our poet has here taken the liberty to make vidyâ a synonym of samvid.

21 Change of term or meaning, respectively, in third stanza of triplet (see above, p. 207, lastpara): “becoming non-existent” (vincâya) for “non-existence” (asambhûti), and “becoming existent” (sambhûti) for “existence” (do.).—All commentators understand saha as one word. But, the particle ha “verily, indeed” being exceedingly frequent in the older language, we should rather read sa ha.

22 Which is with B.: yam manasâ na manute (Kena Up. 5).

23 Reminding one of the English “to know” which means both German er kennen and wissen, to come to know and to have a knowledge of. Sanskrit vid also, though generally used as a present perfect, may as well mean to come to know, to become aware, to be conscious; compare, e.g., the frequent vidim calâra, or Brhadâranyaka Up. I. 3, 2 te viduh, or ibid. IV, 3, 21 na dhyâya kîrṣcana veda āntaram “is not conscious of anything external or internal.”
There is a passage in the Ānandavalli of the Taittiriya Up., viz., its sixth anuvāka and beginning of the seventh, which so strikingly approaches the view I have taken above of the two triplets that I cannot help reproducing it here in full: 

ascena eva sa bhavati asad brahmety 
veda cē | aśti brahmety cē veda santam ēnam tato vidur iti
(comp. Īsā 12-13). (tasyaiṣa eva śārira ētām) (interpolation), atīhato 'ṇupraśnāḥ (a "subsidiary problem," see above, p. 209) | utāvīteva i.e., as one without consciousness) amūm lokam pretya kāścana gacchati | āho vidvā (as a conscious being) amūm lokam pretya kaścīt sāmaṁ uta u ||24) so 'kāmayata bahū syāṁ prepajāyeta | sa tapas tapaḥ idam savior asṛjata yad idam kīṁca (comp. Īsā la-b) | tat asṛjita ād idam pravīṣat (comp. Īsā la: Ṛāvīṣyām) | tad anu praviśāya sac ca tyoc cābhavat (i.e., both prapañca and prapañcābbāva, nature and the supernatural, not merely one of them; comp. Īsā 13) niruktaṁ cāniruktaṁ ca nīlayanan ca nīlayaṁ ca cānīlayaṁ ca viṣijñānam ca viṣijñānam ca (consciousness and unconsciousness=ordinary and transcendent consciousness; comp. Īsā 10) satyam cāntām ca (explanation follows) | satyam abhavat (i.e.,) yad idam kīṁca (viz., the prapañca; see above) tāt satyam (empirical reality) ity ācāryate (and, consequently, anṛtām=aśaḥ=the supernatural) | tad apy eṣa śilo bhavati | asad vā idam agra āsīt, tato vai sad ajāyata (i.e., sambhava from asambhava, the supernatural being the non-existent from the worldly point of view) || , etc.25)

It now remains to be seen whether in the Kāṇva text the different position of the triplets may not be an indication of their having from the start been understood there in a different way. One thing, I believe, is certain, viz., that here not the same sort of logical sequence (confirmed by Taitt. Up.) as in the Mādhyaninda text can be established. With the Mādhyaninda both triplets belong to metaphysics; with the Kāṇvas the second (on sambhūṭi, etc.), whatever it may mean there,26 can also only belong to this province, but the first may well for them have always had an ethical rather than metaphysical bearing. For, the very fact that the vidyā-avidyā triplet stands first here seems to exclude from it a meaning of these terms which cannot (as it can in the Mādhyaninda text) be derived or guessed from the preceding verses. Here, then, vidyā and avidyā were in all likelihood understood in a less uncommon sense which might even have come in vogue already in the Mādhyaninda school as an optional explanation. For, it was well-nigh inevitable that the triplet came to be referred to "knowledge" and "ignorance," or parā vidyā and aparā vidyā, or karman, respectively, and so it is, indeed, understood in all commentators preserved to us (with the sole exception of Bālakṛṣṇapāda's, so far as I know) in spite of the difficulty arising from anyad in st, 10 for which in this case some other word than brahma must be supplied.

This view of the triplet can be substantiated by several Upanişads. Kāṭhaṇa Up. speaks of vidyā and avidyā as "widely different" (II, 4) and understands by vidyā that "wisdom" (prajñāna, II, 24), i.e., ētāmavidyā, which cannot be gained by tarka (II, 9), pravacana, maṅgha, and bahuvrūta (II, 23); and it calls avidyā the ignorance of the sensualist.

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24 It is not possible here to understand videdū and avidedū in the ordinary sense, because we have every reason to assume that at the time of Taitt. Up. the necessity of jñāna for mokṣa was no longer questioned by anybody, the problem being only whether karman too was necessary, and how long. Moreover the context shows that viṣijñānam (line 11) can only mean consciousness, as in śloka 2 (quotations!) of Taitt. Up. II, 5, the parallelism of which with verse 3 of our triplet is evident.

25 It is hardly possible to make out the age of this section in relation to Īsā Up. I am inclined to believe that these anuvākas are earlier than Īsā Up., though not, perhaps, as a part of Taitt. Up., but Dr. Belvalkar classifies them (Taitt. Up. II, 6-8) as a late interpolation in the Ānandavalli, which, as a whole, he is probably right in regarding as posterior to Īsā Up. (Hist. of Ind. Phil., vol. II, pp. 98 and 135).

26 Possibly it meant the same with them, originally, as with the Mādhyanindas; but see the commentators. How enigmatic the whole Upaniṣad has become also to the Mādhyanindas is shown by Mahādhīra's constant alternative explanations. I do not propose to discuss here the various views about the triplet. Not one of them gives complete satisfaction. Mahādhīra, e.g., starts with the seemingly excellent idea of understanding asambhūṭi as a denial of reincarnation (which, by the way, does not exclude the belief in a continuance after death), but then finds himself compelled to explain sambhūṭi as the ātman!
(II, 4; vittamohena mūḍhaḥ II, 6, the kāmakāmin of Bhag. Gitā II, 70), who prefers enjoyment to spiritual welfare (preyas to śreyas, II, 2), and the mock-wisdom of philosophical materialism (II, 5-6). So also Maitrāyaṇa Up. (VIII, 9) calls avidyā or "false learning" the doctrine imparted to the Asuras by Bṛhaspati (Śukra). Munḍaka Up. understands by avidyā (I, 2, 8-9) the aparādī clear of the Karmakārya (I, 1, 4-5), speaks with contempt of the pious vaidikas (I, 2, 1-10, source of Bhag. Gitā II, 42 ff.), and denies brahma-loka to be accessible through karman (nāstī akṛtaḥ kṛtena, I, 2, 12)—which seems to be the very attitude declined in Īśa Up. 2. Vidyā appears in Munḍaka Up. as samyoj-jañna (III, I, 5). In Kena Up. also vidyā is ātmanvidyā (12), and this higher wisdom is expressly stated to be different from empirical knowledge (3 and 11).\(^2\)

On this basis, then, we have the choice of understanding vidyā and avidyā either as ātmanvidyā and any other vidyā (orthodox or heterodox), or (viz., abhāmyavat, Anantācārya) as ātmanvidyā and karman. But, since in those texts vidyā, as contrasted with avidyā, means always ātma- or brahma-vidyā only, we are Not at liberty to understand it, as Śāṅkara does, the polytheistic theology (devatāvivayam jñānam) which he contrasts here as a higher science (vidyā) with the sacrificial or lower science (avidyā) with which it is connected. For, the sacred text he refers to for it (viz., vidyāvā tapaḥranti | vidyāvā devalokah | na tatra dakṣyā yanti | karmād pūrṇaḥ) does not support his view, because devaloka, as the terminus of the devayāna, is in the older Upaniṣads the world "from which there is no return," as is clear from even the quotation itself; and we cannot help admitting that the conjunction impossible except for a fool, according to Śāṅkara, of the knowledge of the Absolute with any other knowledge or with karman\(^3\) has actually been performed by the author of the Upaniṣad who was hardly a fool, though a strong advocate of that very theory of jñānakarmanasamucayā so passionately combated in the later Advaita. We may, however, concede to Śāṅkara that a juxtaposition of what is phalavat and arhalavat (karman and vidyā) is not likely in a passage like ours. But this leads us just to deny that the noun to be supplied for anyād in st. 10 is phalam. Phalām is unlikely also because of the forced construction it demands (ellipsis), avidā and avidyā, being not themselves phala or not, phala but only productive or not productive of such. Curiously enough, this has been overlooked by all except Kūranārāyaṇa, a follower of Rāmānuja, who supplies the word mokṣa-sādhanam which is, indeed, quite acceptable. One more supplement, viz., kevalam, for both vidyā and avidyā, is employed by all commentators, and this is really indispensable for making sense of the triplet. Now, vidyā being ātma- or brahma-vidyā, avidyā must be either non-Vedāntic philosophy or karman (with the science relating thereto); and, as liberation is in our Upaniṣad taught to result from vidyā and avidyā Combined, this combination can with a champion for karman not well be one of brahma-vidyā and āvīksīki, or the like, but only the well-known one of the jñāna- and the karma-kandā. And so we may now explain the triplet as follows.

The Upaniṣad, as already stated, begins with a vigorous protest against naiṣkarmya. After dealing, as equally necessary, in stanzas 1 and 2 with the Way of Works and in 3 to 8 with the Way of Knowledge it takes up their mutual relation in the triplet on vidyā and avidyā. Those who neglect or reject vidyā, it says, are condemned to darkness (low births), and those who pride themselves with avidyā, rejecting Action, are condemned to still greater darkness (9), because they are worse than the man who has no knowledge but does his duty.\(^4\)

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27 Kena Up. 3 and 12 seem to correct Īśa Up. by removing the instruments of st. 10 and the apparent obscenity of st. 11, but the third and fourth khandas of Kena Up. are undoubtedly prior to Īśa Up. The chronological relation of Kāṭhaka and Munḍaka to Īśa Up. is not clear (Dr. Belvarkar thinks they are later); Maitrāyaṇa Up. is, of course, later.

28 Yadd 1āmākatavejīrānam tan na kecārit karman jīdadvarteṇa 1d bh avādavam samuccītāti.

29 The preference given here to the avidyā-upāsaka is in conformity with the polemical attitude taken from the outset by our author.
Neither by carana alone nor by vidyä alone can the goal be reached (10), but he who recognizes and practises both until his end, is by both together released from rebirth (11).

There is in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (VI, 6) a remarkable story (referred to by Rāmānuja in his Śrībhāṣya) which makes use, though not saying so, of the triplet as explained above. There were two kings, we are told, called Khāṇḍikya and Keśidhvaja, of whom the former was a great authority in the karmamārga, while the latter was well-versed in ātmavidyä. But Keśidhvaja wanted liberation and for this purpose took also to sacrifices (iyāja so 'pi suvāhāṃ yajān), viz., in order to "brahmavidyām adhiṣṭhāya tattva mṛtyum avidyāyā." At one time, being at a loss concerning a prāyaścitta, he asked for and obtained instruction from Khāṇḍikya, whom he then, at his request, rewarded with ātmavidyā in the place of a daksinā, and so at last both of them were in possession of the twofold means of liberation.30

I said that in the Kāṇḍa recension the connection of the first with the second triplet is less evident than with the Mādhyandinas. Still, here also the connection can be easily established, viz., by means of the question whether the double effort expected of the mumukṣu in the first triplet is really worth being made, if it results in a state which according to some philosophers is tantamount to non-existence.

To return now to the problem of the different position of the triplets in the two recensions, I would say that this discrepancy is less difficult to be accounted for on the supposition that the Mādhyandina text is the older one.31 For, then we could assume that the position of the triplets was intentionally reversed by the Kāṇḍas, because of the greater importance they attached to the vidyā-avidyā triplet in the sense in which they understood it, after the original meaning had been forgotten or put in the shade by the new one. On the other hand there is this to be said in favour of the Kāṇḍa text, that in it the position and meaning of the said triplet is in harmony with what seems to be the principal object of the author of the Upaniṣad, viz., the inculation of samuccaya32; and that, looked at from this point of view, the position of the triplets as found with the Kāṇḍas might appear to be the original one, as it could here be accounted for by the author's wish to deal first with the practical, and for him more important, problem of the mokṣāsādhana before dealing with a merely theoretical doubt. In this case, then, the Mādhyandinas, without (rather than with) changing the meaning of the vidyā-avidyā triplet, would have reversed the position of the triplets in favour of what appeared to them the more logical order. There is, however, one serious drawback in this second hypothesis, viz., its inability to refer the words anyad and tad occurring in both triplets to one and the same word and the only one which can be supplied for them without difficulty and from the wording of the Upaniṣad itself. The first impression of the unbiassed reader, and the last after having carefully examined everything implied, must, in my opinion, inevitably be that both these words in either triplet cannot originally refer to anything else but the Absolute (the brahman called tad in st. 4 and 5, and śukram in 8). The Absolute—our author meant to say—is neither merely existent and conscious nor merely non-existent or unconscious (st. 10 and 13), but is rather both (st. 11 and 14), viz., the latter from the worldly point of view and the former in a higher (metaphysical) sense, i.e., within its own realm which is not really accessible to definitions (yato vāca nivartante).

30 The point of the story has been entirely missed by Prof. Wilson, because he was not aware of its source.
31 That is to say, in this particular point, but not necessarily as regards the readings vidyādyāḥ and avidyādyāḥ.
32 Note the emphasis laid once more on works in the concluding section of the Upaniṣad (st. 17).
A COMPARISON BETWEEN SIGNS OF THE 'INDUS SCRIPT' AND SIGNS IN THE
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ETRUSCARUM.

By Dr. GIUSEPPE PICOLLI.

As Orientalists are aware, there has been discovered, up to April 1931, in the basin of the
Indus, at Mohenjodaro1 and Harappa, an ancient script in syllabic writing. I propose
to show that certain characteristic signs recurring in this script will be seen to be identical
with those found on various Etruscan utensils and monumental remains.

For the present we shall consider all those puzzling signs, which, while not identified
with the elements of any Etruscan alphabet, can be compared with similar signs in the records
of the Indus script, as also those characters and initial letters of typical Etruscan alphabets
which are found in the Indus script. It will be well to note, in advance, that in the case
of the Etruscan remains the signs are generally found isolated, on the inside, on the edges
or on the bases of the bowls, cups, pottery vases or other objects pertaining to the tombs.
The same signs or marks appear, moreover, at the top and at the foot of epigraphs, on tomb
covers, on small clay pyramids, on partition walls (e.g., in the Cavone di Fantibassi), and,
finally, on the squared blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia.

With these prefatory remarks, we may turn to the comparative tables, A and B, re-
produced on the annexed Plate, in which are shown those signs of the Indus script2 (col. A)
which in their forms and arrangement recall corresponding signs in the Corpus Inscriptionum
Etruscarum and the Corpus Inscriptionum Italcarum3 (col. B). The identity of the signs
in the two columns is clear and definite, inasmuch as the correspondence between them is
remarkable. Possibly the solution of some Etruscan problem may provide a more reason-
able explanation than that the resemblance is a purely fortuitous coincidence.

Let us now compare individual signs of the CIE. (which have been indicated by Arabic
numerals only) with signs of the Indus script (indicated by Roman numerals). Rather than
follow a purely consecutive order, I shall follow the criterion of greater rareness or singularity,
some of the Etruscan signs standing out as peculiar and not represented in any hitherto known
ancient alphabet. But first of all, attention may be drawn to the theory of the introduction
by the Etruscans4 into Latium of the Greek alphabet of the Chalcidian Ionians. Since the
classical tradition tells us of two types of Greek alphabets, characterised respectively by their
similarity to, or dissimilarity from, the Phoenician and Pelasgian alphabets, it remains to
decide which of these two types of Greek alphabet it is that the Etruscans handed down to us.
Perchance the signs of our Indus script may be able to give us some enlightenment in this
connexion. It should be noted as not irrelevant to our investigation that the latter script has
come to light from the 'Indus Valley Civilization,' in which peoples of various races and
cultures must have come together, among whom were also people of 'Mediterranean Race.'5
There have, further, been discovered there a variety of relics of inestimable value for the
study of Egyptian, Babylonian, etc., cultures, as may be seen from the shrewd observations
of the eminent writers who have contributed the several chapters in the great work published

   News, 1924 and 1926; Annual Reports, A.S.I., 1923-24 et seq.
2 In JRAS, April 1932, p. 466 f., G. B. Hunter, after several visits to the sites, has collated and arranged,
   with their variations, all the signs in his note entitled "Mohenjo-daro—Indus Epigraphy." The Roman
   numerals in col. A of the accompanying Plate correspond with those given in Mr. Hunter's "Sign List"
   (ib., pp. 494-503).
3 Carolus PauI, Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Leipzig, 1892-1902.
   A. Fabretti, Corpus Inscriptionum Italcarum, Turin, 1867; id., Supplementi I, II, III.
   In this paper these two works are referred to by the initials, CIE. and CII. respectively.
4 V. Heltig, Bull. dell'Inst., 1883, p. 109 f.
5 The races of the 'Indus population' are thus specified in Marshall's work as—(1) Proto-Australoid,
   (2) Mediterranean Race, (3) Mongolian branch of the Alpine Stock, and (4) Alpine Race.
Confining ourselves here to the script found at Mohenjodaro, we may note that it contains signs in common with the Vikramkhol inscription, and with old inscriptions found especially in Central Asia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. For some of the signs an Asiatic provenance has been unmistakably established. Certain signs, again, have been interpreted as meaning 'son', 'sun', 'moon', 'temple', 'king', 'god'; others as representing charms. In particular Prof. S. Langdon has noted that:

(1) the Indus inscriptions are to be read from right to left;
(2) some of the signs must be independent of the phrases or words;
(3) certain signs are similar to those of ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc.;
(4) these it may be possible to interpret with the aid of old Sumerian;
(5) the Indus script is predominantly syllabic.

It is indeed interesting to find linguistic affinities with words of the Sumerian, Elamite and other kindred tongues, and between certain signs and letters of the Brāhmi script. Take the instance of the Indian (Sansk.) word mudrā, Gk. μυθρος, a 'lump of (hot) metal', Sumerian mudru, 'comb'. Now the sign representing a comb occurs frequently both on the ancient 'Hyderabad pottery' and on that found in the Indus Valley.

In the CIE. also we find a syllabic script predominant, reading from right to left a prevalent feature, and in certain inscriptions several signs which should be regarded as independent or separate from the lines of script, etc.—a few coincidences, not fortuitous, these, which must not be overlooked. Nor must we forget the 'Etruscan affinities in a Ras Shamra tablet' pointed out by the late Dr. A. H. Sayce, where that illustrious scholar agrees with the present writer in some of his grammatical and lexical remarks, and where he considers the Etruscan words aisar, asuar, eiser, 'god', quoting in evidence σαιοι, σωτι, τριτι υπ'ενσανον (Hesychius), as related to A-s-r-r of the tablet referred to.

In this connexion reference should be made also to the cases of material correspondence between, for example, the Etruscan ilwu of the famous 'Devoto' of Monte Pitti (Campiglia Marittima) and the Akkadian I-lum, a family or clan name, which also occurs frequently in Sumerian epigraphs with the Hittite Ilōni, the name of a divinity in several hieroglyphic inscriptions; with the Chaldean Ilou, a name for the supreme deity found in inscriptions in Asia and Mesopotamia; with the Yoruba Ilō-, Ilu-, roots of place and family names in Northern Nigeria.

Availing of the decipherment of some signs of the Indus script which decorate some pieces of pottery excavated at Mohenjodaro and Harappā, we shall try to interpret the corresponding signs of the CIE. For the present the following brief notes are recorded for consideration:

(a) The signsa II, VI, X, XXXVIII, XLII, XLIII in col. A are numerals. These signs occur respectively "under the base of a small vase", CIE. 3316; "on a piece of broken tufa stone", CIE. 5019; "under the base of vases", CII. 2260; "on the upper side of a weaver's weight", CIE. 8368; in the Cavone di Fantibassi," just half-way along the trench", CIE. 8427; "on the neck and on the middle of an oinochoe", CIE. 8304; "under the base" of the saucers, CIE. 8302 and 8303; "on the walls of the excavated way", CIE. 8427;b

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6 Indian Antiquary, LXII (1933), p. 58 f.
7 JAS., 1932, Pt. I, p. 43 f.
9 The sign II (col. A) engraved, for instance, on the cup CIE. 8066 is usually confused with the sign IIb or the sign VI. Here, however, we have to deal with two different signs, inasmuch as that of CIE. 8066 is a syllabic sign, while those of CIE. 5089, CII. 2260, etc., are numerals, rather than "lapidary's marks," as will be seen when I deal with this question.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate A</th>
<th>(Indus Signs)</th>
<th>Plate B</th>
<th>(Signs from the CIE. and CII.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II U, U, V, V, V, Y, Y, _</td>
<td>8066 U, 2458 V, 3316 _</td>
<td>8188 _</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III U, U, U, U</td>
<td>3307 U, 8296 U, 8298 U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI U, U</td>
<td>5019 _</td>
<td>2260 e _</td>
<td>4956 V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII O, _</td>
<td>4706 _</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII _</td>
<td>8329 _</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X _</td>
<td>8368 Y, 8427 a, o, 8292 Y, 8307 Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV _</td>
<td>8529 _</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI _</td>
<td>* * _</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0</td>
<td>4715 0, * * 0, 2204 0</td>
<td>4732 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0</td>
<td>* * _</td>
<td>3322 0, 4722 _</td>
<td>8330 _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>XLII</td>
<td>8304</td>
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<td>XLIII</td>
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<tr>
<td>XLIX</td>
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<tr>
<td>LII ) Y, ( Y, ( Y, / Y</td>
<td>3315 ), 9033 ), 8292 ), 3316 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX _</td>
<td>4731 c / 8069 Y, 4715 ≤, 4721 ≤</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX _ _ _</td>
<td>3308 ↑, 8427 a, e ↑</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII _ _ _</td>
<td>2260 x ✶, 5221 ✶, 4733 _ _ _ _</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241 ✶</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
so also under the lines of the inscription CIE. 2458 and in the middle of the stone is found the same sign as II, and which, from its form and position cannot be considered to be a letter forming part of the inscription itself.

(b) The sign XCV in col. A is an ideograph, and probably a title, with its two variations respectively, which are indeed frequently met "in the middle of the base" of the saucer, CIE. 8324; "on the inside" of the cup, CIE. 8435; to the right and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4715; in the middle and beneath the inscription on the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4726; "on several isolated blocks of travertin of the Etruscan walls of Perugia", CIE. 3309 and 3319; on top of the "sepulchral tile", CIE. 4731; "on the front of the tomb", CIE. 4947, to which the numeric value of X was assigned.

(c) The signs CXIX in col. A are regarded as the initials of some name or else of a solemn formula. These appear ("once only") upon the blocks of the Etruscan walls of Perugia, CIE. 3323; as a component of a monogram engraved on the cup CIE. 9339; as a component of another monogram "beneath the bases of the vases", CII. 2260.

The sign CXX, which is also frequent in the Etruscan alphabets, might have the value of δ; the sign CXIV = δ, as in Brāhmī; the sign XXIX open at the bottom probably represents (.....), that is to say, a repetition of the sign LII. So the two vertical strokes, rather long and straight (thus : || ), especially when found by themselves on certain Etruscan objects, might represent the number XX.

(d) The signs (, >), very often accompanied by +, x, which are found isolated at the end of various Etruscan inscriptions, may also be interpreted as ã, or perhaps as the initial of some name or solemn formula. The same may be said of the sign II engraved upon the cup CIE. 8066.

The following call for separate consideration:—

"The form of a letter which is not Faliscan", CIE. 8296, identical with the sign III (col. A); the design of a "wagon", CIE. 4706, similar to VII; the sign CIE. 8529, which was connected with the Greek ψ, identical with XV; the sign CIE. 4722, which was regarded as th conjunct, similar to XXIX; the last letter "not closed" of CIE. 4788, identical with XXIX.; the sign "on the front of the tomb" likened to the form of a "number representing 100", similar to LX; the sign CIE. 8069, which is perhaps only an initial of the type of XVII. In like manner we may associate with CXVII the sign CIE. 8183, which was interpreted as a Faliscan m, or a Latin M (=1000); and so also the sign CIE. 8377, which was connected with the Latin X or the Faliscan t, may be found in the Indus sign XCVIII.

Finally attention should be drawn to the "circular"10 shape of the Etruscan alphabetic elements, comparable with the Indus forms II, III, LII, in which is reflected a common origin with the same signs that appear in the ancient inscriptions of Mesopotamia.

THE WISE SAYINGS OF NAND RISHI.

By Pandit Anand Kou, President of the Srinagar Municipality (Retired.)

Kashmir is a land of striking contrasts. Its snow-clad and sunlit panorama of mountains, its mirror-like lakes and sparkling springs, its silvery rivers and streamlets, its emerald-green dales and hills—in short, its varied scenery of vast grandeur and little beauty-spots—while charming those in pursuit of worldly pleasure and enjoyment, afford peace of mind, mingled with bliss, to those striving for the attainment of a higher purpose, the solution of the riddle of life. This land has produced, in the past, many saints and seers, among both Hindus and Muhammadans, who preached virtue and moral truths with such eloquence and poetic power as to sink deep into the hearts of the people.

10 Prof. S. Langdon (vide Marshall's work cited above) thinks their circular shape and sequence are unusual, and that "they were probably manufactured in Mesopotamia."
Amongst such saints was the famous Nand Fishi, alias Shaikhul-alam or Shaikh Nuru'd-din of Tsrar, about whom a Persian poet has fitly sung thus:—

شیخ نورالدین که نورافزار خان او آید بیرون
فکر گوناگون ز روح پاک ای آید بیرون

"Shaikh Nuru’d-din—lustre, beams forth from the dust of his grave,
"A variety of grace flows out from his holy soul."

A brief outline of the life of this renowned saint has already been given by me in this journal (vide vols. LVIII and LIX). A number of his sayings, which I have been able to collect, are reproduced with English translations, below. Pregnant with eternal truth and eminent wisdom as they are, they show that he was not only a great seer in the world beyond but also a sage humanist, whose mission in life was to teach the highest morals in sweet, terse and inspiring language. These wise and vivid sayings represent ancient culture, and display what is best and finest in humanity. Their study stimulates theological and philosophical thought. They contribute to the evolution of human ethics and, moreover, possess a poetic charm dominated by measureless power to moralize and spiritualize. In short, they are an ideal gift of olden times to the modern age, full of perennial interest and value to deep thinkers, as well as to philologists and Oriental scholars, whose aim is to make history re-live for us by their researches into things antique.

(1)  
 أدام اکوی تا بھون بھون وار—
 Ak layi mukhta ta ak layi na hår.
 Tsandun ti dår, arkhor ti dår,
 Arkhor ási na barkhurdår.

Man is the same [but] of different qualities;
One is worth a pearl, another is not worth a shell.
Sandal is wood, arkhor is wood, [but]
Arkhor is not of any use.

No carpenter in Kashmir will work with the poisonous arkhor (Rhus Wallichii). The sap of the green wood causes weals and blisters.

(2)  
 آدانا ارچانہ کارائ مئے تسر،
 Wuni pyom tsechas griggs vizi nûn.

I performed no devotion to Him (God) in my younger days;
Now, at the moment of boiling [food], I have remembered [to obtain] salt.
I.e., too late.

(3)  
 اکس دیت عارنا تا خسے،
 Akis dütta norma ta khâsê,
 Akis jandah palas nay.
 Akis dítat barni-nyâsê,
 Akis tsár áy dorân Lhásê.

To one Thou [O God] gavest shawl and linen,
To another not even a rag quilt.
To one Thou [O God] gavest [enough for enjoyment] just near his own house
To another thieves came running from [such a long distance as] Lhasa
[and stole all he possessed].
(4) Aśīye ta buchis bhojan dizey.
    Nanis prīsh zi na kyā chay zāt.
Tava sātī, āda gun puni prāvīzey.
    Ha Nandī! sukry rāviy na zāh.

If thou canst afford, provide the hungry with food.
Do not inquire from the nude what his caste is (i.e., of whatever caste he may be, clothe him).
By doing so, thou shalt obtain virtue one thousand times over.
O Nand! a virtuous deed shall never be lost.

(5) Awval bhangi-kon uopun maidānay;
    Chis kāghaz karān dasīt kyēt;
'Imuk kalima likhuk ada tasay.
    Su kath zāts āv wasīt kyēt?

In the beginning the hemp plant grew on a plain;
It was beaten down and made into paper;
Then [after undergoing such affliction] the word of learning was written on it.
Which class was it degraded to? (i.e., on the contrary, it became elevated and consecrated).

(6) Buthā chalīt, bānga parīt;
    Kawa zāna, Rishi! kyiāh chuy wasawas.
Deshāna rust 'umrā bharat;
    Daflam te te namāz kurat kās.

Having washed thy face, thou hast called the believers to prayer;
How can I know, O Rishi! what thou feelst in thy heart, or what thy bows are for?
Thou hast lived a life without seeing [God];
Tell me to whom didst thou offer prayer.
(i.e. a hypocrite).

(7) Gānṭh kyiāh zāni yīra wasun,
    Khor kyiāh zāni saha sund zyuth,
Shānt kyiāh zāni lōlun ta rasun,
    Hānṭh kyiāh zāni prasun kyuth.

What does a kite know of swimming?
What does an ass know of the prey of a tiger?
What does a pious woman know of murmuring and being displeased?
Does a barren woman know what labour is?

(8) Graha yēli āsiy kāsun Shāhas
    Tēli ho sapadī Tāzi Bhaṭṭī kān.

When the King (God) wills to remove ill-luck from thee,
Then it will be like Tāzi Bhaṭṭi’s arrow.

Explanation.—Tāzi Bhaṭṭi rose to high position under King Zainu’l-ābidin (1421-72 A.D.).
He was originally a poor man. The King once placed a ring upon a wall and issued a proclamation that whoever could shoot an arrow from a certain distance straight through the ring
should receive a reward. The best archers in the kingdom tried, but none succeeded. One day Tâzi Bhaṭṭ, who was passing that way, firing his arrows in all directions in a most reckless fashion, came to the place where the ring was suspended, and, more from a playful feeling than from any thought of accomplishing the difficult feat, let go an arrow, which, to his great astonishment, passed clean through the ring. He was immediately conducted to the presence of the King, who praised him and gave him the promised reward.

(9) Guḍanīc rani chay tīl cirāghas:
   Guḍanīc rani chēy bāṅhac hiy:
   Guḍanīc rani chēy nāra-phāk Māgas:
   Guḍanīc rani chēy panani ziṣ:
   Guḍanīc rani chēy brānā sangūlas.
   Dojīm rani chēy mālān drot:
   Triyām rani chēy hāy zan krīlās:
   Tsūrīm rani chēy gharības ghātīt.

The first wife is [like] oil to a lamp;
The first wife is [like] a flower-bush in a garden;
The first wife is [like] the warmth of a fire in January-February;
The first wife is [like] one’s own earnings.
The first wife is [like] a step up to the door-chain.
The second wife is [like] a sickle [applied] to the roots;
The third wife is [like] soot on the front door;
The fourth wife is [like] darkness to the poor.

(10) Hāras nindar piyām yūtām pava gom;
   Kāras dōh grinz tāśām na ak.
   Ādana ghaṛey kādān me uah gom,
   Nīt pāthas mē hēkīm na tsak.
   Telī pīyos fākri yēli Waṭūn kōh gom;
   Pūt ām bor wati kuḍum na thak.
   Tsyānum na yūtām mandenēn dōh gom,
   Zyānum na kentsha lajīm patay hak.

I fell asleep in Har (June-July) until the stream of water dried up;
On no single day did it appeal to me to work.
While yet forming, the alluvial deposit [in the stream] got washed away;
I could not carry turfed earth to the fields.
I came to my senses when Waṭāyan became difficult to ascend like a hill;
The load pressed [heavily] on my back, but I did not take rest on the way;
I did not see until the day finished at noon;
I did not gain anything until a cry to halt reached me.

(11) Harum kyāhtām mē, Hara gutshum.
   Sor kajī trāvīt tamīy kajī drīs.
   Pār kun pakān ta wath mukajīm:
   Lajīm buchi ta tawday ās.

Something was shaken from me; I desired to find God.
I came with that desire, after abandoning all [other] desires.
In going towards the East (i.e., towards God) the path cleared for me;
I got hungry, and therefore I came.

(To be continued.)
BOOK NOTICES.


Robert Sewell always saw the forest, however numerous the trees. His Lists of Antiquities is a model survey, topographical, condemning in handy and intelligible form a mass of information, still invaluable, for every district and taluk in the Madras Presidency. It is a pity that his load was never followed. His history of Vijayanagar is a masterpiece of shrewd scholarship. Although much new material has come to light since 1900, when it was first published, there is little in it that requires correction, and its reissue in facsimile a quarter of a century later is evidence of its soundness.

The last fifteen years or so of Sewell's life were devoted to preparing the volume now under review. He was well equipped for the task by years of patient work on the intricacies and pitfalls of Indian chronology. Among the many thousands of inscriptions recorded in S. India (up to 1923) Sewell wisely concentrated on those which he vetted sound. A few undated records of outstanding historical value are also included in this collection. The inscriptions are arranged in chronological order, and are correlated with the general trend of Indian (and Sinhalese) history by the frequent insertion of short explanatory paragraphs at appropriate points. The record begins with Asoka and ends with Queen Victoria, covering just over 300 pages. It is preceded by a short introduction to the early period up to the second century A.D., and succeeded by an exhaustive series of dynastic genealogies, with annotations, which runs to nearly 90 pages. Sewell is never dogmatic or argumentative; the academical controversies with which Indian history bristles he leaves alone, simply stating that authorities differ.

The value of this work can hardly be overrated. It supplies the foundation and framework for the reconstruction of S. Indian history, and brings into one view the unceasing interplay of cultural and political forces through a period of over two thousand years. It is a unique source-book of permanent worth.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's editing is judicious. Sewell's text he leaves untouched, indicating in short footnotes such modifications as are needed. He also contributes a map and an index. The index is a little puzzling in parts, e.g., there are 16 "Krishnas," and it takes time to sort them out; entry No. 1 refers to three different persons; Nos. 3, 5 and 6 all refer to the same person, while No. 4 is the river of that name. Some references to Venkaṭappa of Kejadi appear under "Venkaṭappa," others under "Kejadi," and there is no cross reference and so forth.

The Madras Government, with their usual readiness to promote S. Indian research, have financed the publication.

F. J. R.

Etudes d'Orientalisme, publícées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier. 2 vols. 10x64 in.; pp. vii+562, with 70 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1932.

The graceful prefatory words of M. René Grousset and the papers contributed spontaneously by so many distinguished French scholars, which fill these two handsomely illustrated volumes, bear testimony to the high esteem felt for the brilliant young lady to whose memory they have been dedicated. Mention can be made here of only a few papers that may specially appeal to our Indian readers. The first, by the late Raymonde Linossier herself, is a collection of descriptive labels, serving, when thus printed collectively, as a catalogue, of the Tibetan paintings in the Loo collection—models of what such descriptions should be—that will be very useful to students of Tibetan Buddhist iconography. Then there is a suggestive paper by Madame Foucher on a type of coinage of Pañcālā, in which she has, correctly, we venture to think, interpreted the figure on certain coins reproduced by Cunningham (cf. CAJ, PI. VII, nos. 12, 13 and 15), not as Agni but as a 'five-branched tree,' but as a five-hooded naga. Mme. Foucher, in seeking an explanation of this symbol, draws attention to the snake legends associated with Pañcālā, and suggests that we may have here evidence of a connexion between coins and the patron divinities and religious sites of the towns where they were minted. We think, however, it should be considered whether this may not have been a dynastic symbol; and in this connexion attention may be invited to the views contained in Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's article on the History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. (Pt. I, Ch. iv) in JBORS., XIX (1933).

In the paper entitled 'Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art: Comparisons,' Dr. C. L. Fabri has presented, with useful illustrative sketches, a series of striking parallels in selected elements of Indian art, viz. (1) the Zjassurat motif, (2) the sun disc, (3) the sacred tree, (4) the jug of superfluity, (5) the lion and the bull, (6) the throne with the lion leg, (7) winged animals and other fanciful creatures, (8) the hair curls of the Buddha, and (9) the mukhāhād girdle. The correspondences revealed are quite patent, and
we shall look forward to the publication of the complete material collected, of which this paper contains but samples. Dr. Fabri would emphasize two conclusions, firstly, that a long connexion between Indian and Western Asian art must necessarily be supposed, and, secondly, that "it is not Persia, or at least not only Persia from which Western elements of Indian art are borrowed, but both Persian and Indian art have borrowed from a common source, mainly independently from each other; and this accounts for the partial similarities as well as the great differences of Persian and Indian art alluded to by recent authors."

In another paper M. René Grousset points to correspondences between the Pāla and Sena art of India and that of which examples are found in Ceylon, Java, etc. Consideration of the analogies presented leads him to envisage a diffusion of the later ("Bengali") art of the Pāla and Sena periods not less important than that recognised in the cases of Gandhāran and Gupta art. It would be interesting, he adds, if historians of Indian art, instead of considering the art of India proper, of Central Asia and of Insulinde each separately, were to deal with all three simultaneously, showing for each of the schools (Gandhāra, Mathurā, Gupta, Pāla and Sena) how their influences had spread to the shores of Further India.

M. J. Hackin gives a very brief survey, illustrated by 12 plates, of the more recent discoveries made by the French archaeological mission to Afgānistān at Kakrak and Bāmiān. M. Jean Przyluski discusses the symbolism of the animals sculptured between the wheels on the capital of the Asoka column at Sārnāth with his wonted fertility of suggestion. The sculptures at Māmallapuram have inspired two short papers, one by Dr. Vogel suggesting a reminiscence of classical art, and the other by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the "Descent of the Ganges."

C. E. A. W. O.


In the current year's volume of this journal we find a most important contribution by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to the history of India during what has been described as the 'dark period,' viz., roughly, from 150 to 350 a.d., or the period intervening between the breaking up of the Kuśāpa ascendency in the north and of the Andhra dynasty in the south and the consolidation of the empire of the Imperial Guptas. By skilfully piecing together and interpreting in the light of numismatic, epigraphical and other evidence the scanty references to be found in certain Purāṇas, Mr. Jayaswal now fills this wide gap with the dynasty of the Bhārāśivas (Nava Nāgas) of the (Yādava) stock of the Nāgas who ruled at Padmāvatī (Padam Pavāya in the Gwalior State), Kāntipuri (Kanit, Mirzapur dist.) and Mathurā, and the early Vākṣṭakas, Vindhyasakti, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. He contends that it was the Bhārāśivas, who had ten adevamedhas to their credit, who freed the Ganges valley and northern India from the anti-Brahmanical Kuśāpas, re-establishing Hindu ascendancy and Brahmapical culture on orthodox lines, and that the Vākṣṭakas, who were Brāhmaṇa, but connected by marriage ties with the Nāgas (the son of Pravarasena I being married to the daughter of the Bhārāśiva Bhava Nāga) succeeded to their heritage and maintained it, until Samudra Gupta, by defeating and killing Rudrasena I, suppressed the dynasty, which, however, regained importance afterwards in the time of the later Vākṣṭakas. He is also of opinion that the Imperial Guptas took over and carried on the administrative and cultural system of the Vākṣṭakas.

The Bhārāśivas appear to have had capitals at Mathurā and Cāmpāvatī (which latter place Mr. Jayaswal equates with Bhāgalpur). The dynastic title Vākṣṭaka Mr. Jayaswal takes to mean simply 'of Vākṣṭa'; and this place, Vākṣṭa, he finds in the ancient Brāhmaṇ village now known as Bāṛatī, in the north of the Orcha State, some 6 miles east of Chirāgon in the Jhānsi district.

Among the numerous fresh ideas presented in this valuable monograph should be mentioned that of recognizing the era of 248-49 a.d. (commencing 5 Sept. 248), sometimes called the Traikūṭaka or the Cheti Era, as the Vākṣṭa Era, established probably by Pravarasena I to commemorate the rise to power of the founder of the dynasty, his father Vindhyasakti.

This bold, and in many respects brilliant, essay to elucidate one of the most puzzling periods of Indian history will be welcomed by all Indian scholars interested in the history of their country, as explaining many difficulties that have hitherto defied solution, and as forming a basis for further research, to be confirmed, modified or amplified as may be found necessary; and whether the main conclusions be accepted or not, recognition must be expressed of the wide research and remarkable aptitude for collating and interpreting scattered items of evidence shown by the author. As an example of this may be cited the contents of Appendix D, in which is discussed the evidential value of the exploration and finds at Bhīṭā, the important site to which attention was first directed—as in so many cases—by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

C. E. A. W. O.
NEW LIGHT ON CHARLES MASSON.

BY FRANK E. ROSS.

Among explorers of Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century the name of Charles Masson is by no means the least noteworthy. Historians have noted his work and given him due credit—but have been unable to clear up the mooted question of his nationality. The recent discovery of the Masson MSS. in the India Office at London enables the author to reveal Masson’s origin and to fill in several gaps in his career.

James Lewis, for such was Masson’s real name, was born in Aldermanbury, Middlesex, England, on February 16, 1800. His father, George Lewis, of London, married Mary Hopcraft, of Northamptonshire, on March 6, 1799. George Lewis became a Freeman of the Needle Makers’ Company in February 1799 and a Liveryman of that Company in November 1800.

In 1821 James Lewis enlisted in the British Army and embarked on board the Dutchess of Athol, January 17, 1822, for Bengal. While serving as a private soldier in the Bengal Artillery he attracted the special notice of Major-General Hardwicke, commandant of that corps, who employed him in arranging the Hardwicke collection of zoological specimens. As a trooper in Captain Hyde’s First Brigade of Horse Artillery Masson served in the siege of Bharatpur. Shortly thereafter he and a fellow trooper named Potter deserted, July 4, 1826, and went to the Panjâb.

Taking the name of Charles Masson, Lewis began a long and distinguished career of exploration and antiquarian research in Central Asia. British officials whom he encountered in his travels were told that his name was Masson and that he was a native of the State of Kentucky, U.S.A. Never thereafter (1826) did he use the name Lewis. His nationality was sometimes contravened (Asiatic Journal, London, April 1841), but not authoritatively; officials of the East India Company kept their own counsel.

Traversing Râjpûtânâ, Masson entered Bahâwalpur, journeyed to Peshâwar (1827), and through the Khaihar Pass on the high road to Kâbul. From Kâbul he went to Ghazni, where he interviewed Dost Muhammad Khân, Amîr of Kâbul. Proceeding to Qandahar, he made a remarkable journey to Shikarpur via Quetta and the Bolân Pass. He then visited the Panjâb, and finally voyaged to Persia via the Persian Gulf. At Bushire (1830) he prepared lengthy memoranda of his travels for the British Resident, printed in George W. Forrest, Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Bombay, 1906, pp. 103-187.

Proceeding to Urmara, on the Makrân coast, Masson sustained himself by the practice of medicine, until his professional reputation declined, following an injudicious prescription of sea water for a purge. Travelling through Las Bela and eastern Balûchistân to Kalât, he was the first white man to climb the heights of Châhiltan, near Quetta, whose misty legend he recorded.

During the next few years Masson engaged in archaeological excavation and exploration in Afghânistân. By 1834 he had obtained many ancient coins, which he transferred to the Government of India for preservation in the East India Company’s museum at London, in exchange for an allowance. Thus financed, he continued his work with notable success, which he described in articles and letters in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, April, July, 1834, April 1835, January, March, September, November, 1836, January 1837 and in a valuable “Memoir on the Topes and Sepulchral Monuments of Afghanistan,” printed in H. H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan, London, 1841, pp. 55-118. By 1837 the Masson collection of coins totalled between fifteen and twenty thousand. It “proved a veritable revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, and contributed enormously to our positive knowledge of Central Asian history” (Thomas H. Holdich, The Gates of India, London, 1910, page 394).
In 1834 Masson made his peace with the East India Company and became a political correspondent of the Government of India (Parliamentary Papers, Indian Papers, No. 5, 1839, No. 131-II, pp. 19-22; and Masson MSS.). The Governor-General of India recommended to the Home Authorities that a pardon for his desertion be extended to Masson "in the event of that individual's fulfilling the expectations which are entertained of him" (Bengal Secret Consultations, June 19, 1834).

In Kâbul Masson collected information about Afghan affairs and forwarded it to Government via the Khaibar Pass and Captain C. M. Wade, British Political Agent at Ludhiâna. He remained in the Afghan capital until the failure of the Burnes mission, when he returned to India (1838). Burnes considered a buccaneer, and he severely criticised the Afghan policy of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General. He resigned the employment that he had long felt to be "disagreeable," "hopeless and unprofitable," and denounced the service of the Government of India as "dishonourable" (Narrative, post, 1842, III, 484, 486).

During the First Afghan War Masson went to Baluchistan, intending to resume his explorations. He arrived at Kalât shortly before an outbreak against the British occupation, and upon his return to Quetta he was arrested by Captain J. D. D. Bean, British Political Agent, on suspicion of being disloyal and of being a Russian spy (1840). He was treated with brutality, according to his own account. Little food was provided. Once he was given sheep's entrails, "a mess......which any dog in Quetta might have claimed for his own" (Narrative, post, 1843, pp. 259-260). Upon his eventual release he returned to England.

In London, where he arrived in February 1842, Masson wrote a Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjâb, 3 volumes, London, 1842, and a Narrative of a Journey to Kalât......and a Memoir on Eastern Balochistan, London, 1843. The two works were combined and reprinted in 4 volumes, London, 1844. Masson also published Legends of the Afghan Countries, in Verse, with Various Pieces, Original and Translated, London, 1848, and read papers before the Royal Asiatic Society: "Narrative of an Excursion from Peshâwer to Shâh-Bâz Ghari" and "Illustration of the Route from Selucia to Apobatana, as given by Isidorus of Charax" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, volumes VIII, 1846, and XII, 1850).

Masson's work was peculiarly distinctive and valuable. A shrewd observer of all matters political, economic, scientific, and social, he took the role of an Afghan traveller, clad in native garments. He lived and travelled not with the chiefs but with the people, a manner never since duplicated in Afghanistân and a method which gives "a peculiar value" to his works. There is scarcely a place in the Kâbul area which he did not visit and describe. Many of the names and events he mentioned were so unfamiliar to his contemporaries that he was called "fanciful" (Calcutta Review, August 1844, page 449). For many years his work remained unchecked, but was finally proven to be "marvellously accurate in geographical detail" (Holdich supra, page 348). Half a century later, after twice invading and occupying Afghanistân, the British authorities possessed no knowledge of the country that they could not have obtained from Masson (Ibid., page 362). For fifteen years Masson was "an irreclaimable nomadic vagabond." His life was constantly in danger. Often he fell among thieves. Once he was stripped of clothes and money and left "destitute, a stranger in the centre of Asia...exposed...to notice, inquiry, ridicule, and insult" (Narrative, supra, 1842, I, 309-10). But if there were hardships, there were also consolations: occasionally Masson paused in his travels to comfort a lonely female in some far away corner of Asia (Ibid., I, 375).

The Court of Directors of the East India Company indicated its approval of Masson's work by a donation of £500 (India Office Collection No. 97, 534) and a pension of £100 per annum, beginning in January 1845 (Minutes of the Court of Directors, January 15, 1845). Upon Masson's death in 1853 the Court of Directors gave his widow a donation of £100. (Ibid., March 15, 1854).
WISE SAYINGS OF NAND RISHI

BY PANDEIT ANAND KOUL

(Continued from vol. LX, p. 32)

Kaliyuga apazē dīṭhim tosān;
Śāntēn handi ghari dyūthum paśūn vai
Mahāzanaa bharut bhatta dyūthum na pośān;
Kozanaa dyūthum myūth māzi ta pulāv
Pās dīṭhim jath kanaa kasaān;
Raza-hamsās runān dīṭhim kāv

During this Iron Age I found liars prospering;
In the house of the pious I found grief born of poverty.
I did not find the good getting full meals;
I found delicious mutton and curry being served to wicked people.
I found hawks tearing out feathers from their own ears;
I found crows pecking at the swans.

Kasāṭi pheṛyās andī andīy;
Kānṣi na hitum brānday nāv
Jandasa yēstitución karaṇi pāistungiy,
Tēlī lokāv dyuṃpum Nandey nāv
Mana yēlī hyutum, kath gayam banday
Bu na kānth ta mē kyā nāv
Ākhīr kānth chū na kānṣi hunday—
Khet zan tsolān prāṃśuṃ kāv

I wandered round Kashmir [doing no work];
Nobody asked my name from the door-step.
When I began to mend my ragged quilt (i.e., began to work),
Then people called me by the name of Nand.
When I remembered [God] in my mind, my speech stopped.
I am nothing. What is my name? (nothing).
In the end there remains no one attached to any other—
Just as crows fly away after eating the offering of food [so all depart from
this world].

Khē hī múdiy, na khē hī múdiy.
Yēmī zuvī karīnām ziv dēh nāv
Yimau na khē yim wānān rūdiy,
Timāṇay ada drāv Nandey nāv

Having eaten food we die; having fasted we die.
This life called me soul and body,
Those who fasted [and] those who lived in forests,
They then were called by the name of Nand.

Koṭar phalis war-haji ganey
Pāṭsi-khaney kyaḥ dima lat
Hutimātis bhatas koṛzi-rapey—
Yīmaṃ pāntsan chē kuniy gat

Grape-seed, a knotty block of wood,
A linen quilt—why should I kick to press [and wash] it?
Boiled rice turned putrid, a remarried wife—
These five are of the same nature.
Makka Madin mana gwär, nakha wathā chay.
Hagğâq tay tâk mâr, Sahâza kray hâviy tsêy.

Think in thy mind of Mecca [and] Medina; this is the shortest way.
Turn to God, kill anger; the Self will show thee [how to do rightly] an act.

Mari dup mē kun "Zuva ! kyâ buvey ?
Kênh doh tê mē sati àsay sây.
Za zani bechdy sodâ wânas;
Su sàr ta pânas pânas gay,"

The body spoke to me: "O soul! what has happened to thee?
Thou wert keeping company with me for some days.
Two persons sat in a shop of merchandise;
When it was exhausted the two went away."

Mo gatsh Ñëkas ta Piras ta Mullâs
Mo bêh gupan palani arkhoras satiy;
Mo bêh masjidân, jangalan cîlas;
Dâm hêth âts kandi Dayas satiy.

Do not go to Shaikh and priest and Mullâ;
Do not feed the cattle on arkhor [leaves];
Do not shut thyself up in mosques [or] forests for 40 days [of lonely penance];
Enter thine own body with breath [controlled in communion] with God.

Mo mâz mâzas ta masas ta mânas;
Sinuk kul bodiy śinas tal.
Nasaro ! zân thav Jâñ-Âfarînas;
Ada ho ainas tasiy mal.
Nafsdînîyat chay nuqśán dînas,
Boviy na at zamînas phal.

Do not desire flesh-meat, wine and fish;
The tree of thy chest will [otherwise] get buried under snow.
O Nasâr! keep acquaintance with the Creator of life;
Then the dirt will be removed from thy mirror.
Selfishness is harmful to religion;
This land [of selfishness] will not yield any produce. ¹

Note:—The play upon the three Persian letters, sin, sîn and sîn, is noticeable in this saying.

Pânay myâni tśîrévi ago !
Lâimay doga tay phulham na zâh.
Pânay myânîo há mana sêtho !
Doha khuta doha chay gani pośhân.

O my body [that art like] a knotted block of apricot wood!
I gave thee strokes, [but] thou never wert worn out.
O my body [that art] sixty maunds in weight!
Thou art adding flesh every day.

Note:—A Kâshmirî man is equal to ½ ser.

Phal ðher tràvi tâl ðher vivum :
Kal budh ganeyam din kyâh râtay.
Tîy harda lûnam yi sonta wîvum :
Sumbrit lagum pânas satiy.
Having left a heap of grain, I winnowed a heap of dirt;  
My sense and understanding increased day and night.  
That I reaped in autumn which I sowed in spring;  
Having gathered the harvest [good or bad], it remained with me.

_Pʌz dapana keśh ti no chuney;_  
_Apur dapana, tâwan piyej._  
_Yi krit chi soruy waw ta lon—  
Yêli kara wuw karay khasey._

By telling the truth nothing will be lost;  
By telling an untruth there will be loss.  
This act is like sowing and reaping—  
When peas are sown, then peas will grow.

_Riśi āsan nāṭan kresān_  
_Nāhaqq râvruk dēn kyâva rât_  
_Katanay waluk; atha āy wâṭān._  
_Wonî kyâ graśān chay Riśan zât!_

The Rishis will pine to get meat.  
They wasted day and night for nothing  
They clad themselves [with cloth] without [the labour of] spinning; they came  
away with their fists clenched (i.e., with money greedily collected).  
Now, what good feature is there in the nature of Rishis?

_Tṣēj yud karak, soruy con._  
_Yi lâni āsiy ti anit diyį._  
_Tṣa yud karak myon zi myon,_  
_Ada anmutuy cânî atha niyį._

If thou hast patience, everything is thine.  
Whatever is in thy fate, that will be brought to thee.  
If thou sayest "It is mine", "it is mine" (i.e., showest greed),  
Then whatever thou hast gathered will be wrested from thy hand.

_Sarpas tsalzey astas khandâs._  
_Sahas tsalzey krohas tôm._  
_Wathawâras tsalzey waharas khandâs._  
_At dēka-lânis tsalzi kut tôm?_

A snake may be avoided by moving a cubit's length [from it].  
A tiger may be avoided by running away a couple of miles [from it].  
One may escape a devastation for a year.  
From Fate how long can one escape?  
(There is no way of avoiding one's fate.)

_Til trâvit lâsi yus zâley_  
_Kāyi kazul athan phak._  
_Ak khur wûzhali ak khur návey_  
_Pûr pakit ta pachum tsâk._
Anybody who, having discarded oil, burns blue pine
Will get his body blackened with soot, and his hands will smell foul.
[A man with] one foot on the bank and the other in the boat [will run the risk
of being drowned].
By walking towards the East (i.e., towards God) I left anger to the West
(i.e., behind me).

_Tāthyo ! buth tsa kor khasak ?_
_Kyāh bhaya pānuik āsak nāve ?_
_Dunyāki sukhay kyāh ratsak ?_
_Tyut karith laagak moh lāpaney ;_
_Him zan galak, cacak ta pēk ;_
_Patō mīn zan laagak tāvev._

Beloved! Why shouldst thou disembark?
What fear of the water is there to thee in the boat?
What will avail thee the pleasures of the world?
At length thou shalt be exposed to the burning heat of spiritual ignorance;
Thou shalt melt and thaw as snow does;
In the end thou shalt enter the frying pan like a fish.

_Tea chuk kunuy, nāc chuy lacha ;_
_Cāni kirit rust ak kachā ti na._
_Zanam zonum Pohnuy pachā._
_Ahāra rust thavat machā ti na._

Thou art One, [but] thy names are a lakh [in number];
There is not a blade of grass without (i.e., that does not sing) Thy praise.
This life I found [as short as] a fortnight of the month of Poh (December-
January).
Thou hast not left even a fly without food.

_Tehānjām tran bhavanān biyi daēi dēsan ;_
_Neb ta niśān lubmas na kuney._
_Pritshām ada sādhan biyi tapa riśan ;_
_Tim ti būzit lajiyay rivaney._
_Dab yēli ditum rāgan ta viśiyan ,_
_Ada Suy mē labum pānas niśey._

I searched Him in the three worlds and ten directions;
I could not get a clue or a glimpse of Him anywhere.
I then inquired from Saints and Fishis performing penances;
They too began to weep on hearing it.
When I gave up desires and passions,
Then I found Him near myself.

_Yahay kand zāyi ta yahay kand āsey _;
_Zēt pīn wolum tula._
_Jachām juryām hunari sāsey ;_
_At na hār lajīm mula._
_Gom bhangi andar natsun gub gom āswāray _;
_Gayīm kācan donta tsūran pula._
This body was born and this body will be [in future births];
By taking birth I degraded myself.
I strove [and] tried by a thousand accomplishments;
It did not cost me a shell.
It became like dancing in a plantation of hemp (i.e., useless), and my breath
became heavy;
It happened as if crows separated and thieves united.

Yamikuy dār tamikuy pon;
Timan don vapun makh.
Nār gos tshēta ta kār sapun.
Tati upadān f'al ta athan phak.

Whence the timber, thence the wedge (i.e., both are of one and the same nature,
the latter helping to split the former);
With these two, the axe was furnished with a handle (to cut the wood itself).
The fire got extinguished, and the thing was done (i.e., the split wood was all
burnt).
There rubies are found, and a bad smell sticks to the hands.

Ye'mi vānsi sandhyā, tapasyā kar na;
Min ta mámas yas tāpuna āv,
Kyāh prov tamī utam kula zēna?
Tamis hā ḍobi na Brahman nāv.

He who did not perform sandhyā [and] austere penances throughout his life;
He who could chew meat and fish,
What did he gain by being born in a holy family?
He does not deserve to be called a Brāhmaṇ.

Yēnan vēna ta vanan lasī;
Kanan lugum pāsun nāv.
Tsalit dyās panani ādeśi
Dēva kuni nēرسم riśi nāv.
Ati me kṛṣṭeṣu tatiki nīśi
Riṣān ti kyāḥṭāṁ dūṣan āv.

Mentha is growing on the banks of rivulets, and blue-pine in the forests;
The wind is playing in my ears.
I ran away from my native place
So that I might be called ‘Rishi.’
Here I fared worse than there;
Something wrong has taken hold of the Rishis.

Yim andra śuda darśan galiy,
Tim nēbra zariy ta kaliy chiy;
Tim toha nāra drāy śīhliy,
Ada timay la'l mulaliy chiy.

Those who melt inwardly by pure vision,
They are outwardly deaf and dumb;
They came out cool from a fire of chaff,
They, then, alone are precious rubies.
NOTE ON A STONE IMAGE OF AGNI, THE GOD OF FIRE, IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR ERIC GEDDES.

By J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D.

\begin{quote}
\textit{viśāṃ rājānam adbhutam}
\textit{adhikāṣam dharmanām imam}
\textit{Agnim śle.-Ṛgveda VIII, 43, 24.}
\end{quote}

"Of settled tribes the wondrous king,
The warden of eternal laws,
Agni I praise."

In the summer of 1932 Sir John Marshall drew my attention to a piece of Indian sculpture belonging to Sir Eric Geddes, and, with the owner's permission, afforded me a welcome opportunity to inspect the original, which is preserved at the latter's country seat, Albourne Place, near Hassocks. I here wish to record my indebtedness to Sir Eric Geddes for kindly allowing me to examine the sculpture in question and to make use of it for publication purposes. The excellent photograph reproduced here (Plate I) I also owe to his courtesy. The sculpture is here published for the first time.

According to the information kindly supplied by Sir Eric it must have been about the year 1898 that the sculpture was presented to him by the well-known numismatist, Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret.). Concerning the locality from which it originates, Mr. Wright has been good enough to supply me with the following particulars in a letter dated the 10th October 1932:

"I came across it when I was camping as joint Magistrate in the Sirathu and Manjhanpur Tahsil of Allahabad District, in the cold weather of '94-'95 or '95-'96. I can't remember the exact findspot, but think it was near Kara in Stirathu Tahsil, though it may have been near Kosam (Kausambi) in Manjhanpur. I found it lying about in a village, and negotiated "for its purchase."

The circumstance that the sculpture apparently comes from Kosam or from a place nearby adds greatly to its interest. Thanks to the researches of Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahnhi, the present Director-General of Archaeology in India, the identity of Kosam with the famous town of Kausambhi, first proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, may now be considered as established. I presume that Kara in Sirathu tahsil is the fort of Karā, where the inscription was found which has contributed to the identification.

The stone sculpture, which on account of its style may be attributed to the 11th century represents Agni, the Vedic God of Fire. The central figure is characterized as the Fire-god by the oval of flames surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The goat, too, standing on the right hand side of the figure, is the usual vehicle of the divinity in question. The god has a pointed beard, a moustache, elongated ears and a high head-dress, the matted hair being gathered on the top of the head in the form of a top-knot (Sanskrit jāta). This is still a well-known feature of ascetics in the India of to-day. He is dressed in a single garment, the well-known Indian dhoti, which leaves the upper part of the body bare.

The abdominal development is another noticeable and rather conspicuous feature not uncommon among the gods of the Hindu pantheon. In connexion with such deities as Kubera, the god of wealth, and Ganesa, who is essentially a god of good luck, it is a characteristic requiring no further explanation. In the case of a god like Agni it is not so easy to explain. It may, however, be pointed out that, strange as it may seem, corpulence is sometimes associated in Indian iconography both with asceticism and wisdom.

\footnote{Cf. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1928 (Loyden 1928), pp. 10-12.}

\footnote{Sanskrit \textit{agni} (s) "fire", the same word as Latin \textit{ignis}. The sculpture is made of grayish limestone. It measures 2 ft. 5 in. in height and 1 ft. 4 in. in width. The central figure is 1 ft. 9 in. high.}
Image of Agni in the possession of Sir Eric Geddes.
The ornaments worn by Agni are less compatible with the Indian type of the ascetic or rāhi. But they are inseparable from royalty. There exists a close relationship, almost amounting to an identity, between gods and kings. The sculptor, while adorning his deity with the combined attributes of the rāja and the rāhi, has united in him the types of these two categories which are considered supreme in Hindu society.

The prominent abdomen to which we have called attention is supported by a girdle (Sanskrit mukhāla). Besides this, we notice a broad decorated band passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The meaning of this object is not very clear. At first sight it might be taken to represent the sacrificial cord or janeo (Sanskrit yajnopaveita), which is the characteristic emblem of the members of the Brāhmaṇa caste. The position of the band in question would agree with this assumption, but not its shape.

The ornaments to which we have referred consist of a necklace, somewhat defaced in front, a long garland hanging down from the left shoulder and thrown over the right hip, and bracelets both on the upper part of the arms and round the left wrist.

The right arm, which is broken off above the elbow, was probably raised in the attitude of protection.\(^3\) At any rate, the right hand did not rest upon the body, as there is no trace of a break on the latter. The hand may have held a rosary or akṣamālā which is sometimes associated with Agni images. The left hand holds a vessel.

The various figures of considerably smaller size which appear grouped round the deity in the centre, are no less curious than the main personage, and, partly at least, more puzzling. The goat, to which we have had occasion to refer, is the ordinary hircine animal, so common in India, with its beard, drooping ears, and small, slightly curved horns. It bears an ornamental necklace; its hind-quarters are concealed behind the legs of its master and were apparently left unfinished by the sculptor.

On the left side of Agni and under his left hand there is the figure of a male worshipper clad in a dhoti and wearing the usual ornaments. His high head-dress is somewhat reminiscient of Bharhut sculpture, although there can hardly be any connexion, considering that the present sculpture must be more than a thousand years later in date. The worshipper is shown with his hands raised and joined in the gesture of adoration. He is purely human in appearance and evidently represents a human devotee of the god, possibly the individual to whose piety the sculpture owes its existence.

The group which we have described so far is flanked by two goat-headed attendants, each of them holding an indeterminate object in his raised right hand, whereas the left is placed on the hip. These satellites wear a dhoti and arm-rings on the upper arms and round the wrists.

The remaining portion of the slab is adorned with six figures or groups of figures symmetrically arranged on both sides of the central image. There evidently exists a close connexion between the four single figures, all of which are shown in a slightly bent position, as if doing obeisance to the god Agni. The two figures above have their hair tied into a knot on the nape of the neck.

The left hand figure holds with both hands, two objects, apparently a sacrificial ladle (Sanskrit sruc- or srucya-) and a vessel of ghee(?) In the case of the corresponding figure on the right these objects are broken and no longer recognisable. Both these personages wear a broad band over the shoulder.\(^4\) The other pair of worshipping figures, somewhat smaller in size, is placed on both sides of the Fire-god about the height of his waist. A very remark-

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3 The technical name of this gesture (mudrā) in Indian iconography is abhaya-mudrā (lit. the gesture of 'no-danger').

4 In the case of the right hand figure it is laid over the left shoulder, whereas the other figure wears it over the right shoulder. In both instances it passes under the right arm.
able feature of the figurine near Agni’s left arm is the position of the hands which are crossed. Can it be the attitude adopted by the Indian devotee when offering an oblation to the manes or ancestral spirits (Sanskrit pilaras, lit., ‘fathers’)? Judging from this detail, we may perhaps conclude that the four figures last described are sacrificers, possibly representing various forms of the Vedic sacrifice, that to the manes coming last. This assumption agrees very well with the chief function of Agni as god of the sacrifice.

Between the two sets of worshippers we notice two groups each representing an emaciated bearded person seated on a solid stool or bench, and apparently addressing or teaching a youthful person sitting at his feet. The teacher with his hair tied in a top-knot has the appearance of an ascetic. Round his knees and waist we see the strip of cloth (paryāṅka) still used by Indian ascetics of the present day. In sculpture it is usually associated with the cross-legged posture.

The meaning of these two groups is not very clear, but it deserves notice that the stool or bench on which the gaunt personage is seated somewhat resembles the Vedic altar (vedi), which is described as being slender in the middle. Hence a maiden with a slender waist is compared by Indian poets to such an altar! Can it be that the ascetic seated on the bench is Agni again as the sacrificial fire and at the same time the teacher of wisdom?

In order to account for the characteristics of the image described above, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the Indian Fire-god according to Vedic and epic literature.

"The chief terrestrial deity [of Vedic mythology] is Agni, being naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacrificial fire, which is the centre of the ritual poetry of the Veda. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the Rg-Veda [the whole collection consisting of some 1000 hymns], and in several besides he is invoked conjointly with other deities."

Though essentially a terrestrial god, Agni is sometimes said to appertain likewise to the other two spheres of the Universe. For he is identified both with Sūrya, the Sun-god, and with lightning. He is said to be born in the highest heaven, although as the Fire of Sacrifice he is produced by the rubbing together of the two fire-sticks (araṇī), which are considered to be his parents. He is the kinsman of man, "more closely connected with human life than any other god." He is both the spark of vitality and the goblin-slayer (rakṣo-han). But his chief function is that of transmitting, in the form of the sacrificial fire, the oblation of the worshippers to the gods. Hence Agni is considered to be "the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood." He is both the priest and the seer.

In the Rgveda "the anthropomorphism of his physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire, mainly in its sacrificial aspects." Hence the epithets applied to Agni in the earliest Veda, such as "butter-backed," "butter-faced," "seven-tongued," "thousand-eyed," do not find expression in later iconography. Even the epithet "flame-haired" does not really apply to the sculptural representation, which shows the flame as quite distinct from Agni’s hair.

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5 According to the Vedic ritual the worship of the ancestors requires acts opposed to those practised in the cult of the gods. In the former the circumambulation to the left is prescribed (prasāvya), in the latter that to the right (pradakṣihā).
6 A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 88.
7 Ibid. p. 95.
8 Ibid. p. 96.
9 Ibid. p. 88.
Fig. a. Figure of Agni. Mathurā Museum, No. D. 24

Fig. b. Image of Agni from Mathurā. Lucknow Museum, No. T 123.

Fig. c. Image of Agni. British Museum.

Fig. d. Image of Agni. British Museum.
and surrounding his head after the manner of a halo. The character, however, of Agni as the priest among the gods is clearly expressed in sculpture by his general appearance and attributes.

In the Egeeda, the god Agni is likened to, and sometimes identified with, various animals, particularly with a bull, a steed and a winged bird. But it is in the Great Epic that he appears as a goat. The explanation given by the American savant, the late Professor E. Washburn Hopkins is that Agni “is fond of women and is an adulterer, and for these reasons, he is presented as a goat.” Another explanation which I venture to advance is that up to the present day the he-goat and the ram are the animals generally used as victims in the animal sacrifice, the cow being excluded owing to its sacred character, and the pig on account of its being regarded as unclean. However this may be, the fact remains that in Hindu iconography the goat is both the cognizance and the vehicle of Agni. In the Mahabharata Agni is called goat-faced (chāpavalktra). This is of interest in connexion with the two goat-headed satellites in our sculpture.

Considering the great importance of Agni in the Vedic religion, it may at first seem surprising that images of the Fire-god are so very rare.

In the Caleutta Museum, which contains by far the largest collection of Indian sculptures, I can find only one specimen of an Agni image. It is No. 3914 which was described by Dr. Theodor Bloch as “a statue of Agni, riding on a ram (meṣa), with two hands, one of which holds a rosary and the other a kamandalu [i.e., a gourd used as a water-pot.] Agni is represented as a corpulent dwarf, with a beard, and flames all around his body (From Bihar). 1'8½" by 11½.”

The Mathurā (Muttra) Museum, too, contains only one example of an Agni figure (Plate II a). Here Agni has the usual pointed beard and halo of flames. He stands between two miniature attendants, one of whom has a goat’s head. The upper corners of the sculpture are occupied by two garland-carriers hovering in the air. It is a curious circumstance that this image (height 2'7''), before being brought to the Museum, used to be worshipped by the Hindu villagers as the divine seer Nārada. On account of its style it may be assigned to the later Gupta period.

In the Indian collection of the British Museum I noticed two late medieval reliefs of blue stone representing Agni, which both belong to the Bridge Collection (Plate II c. d). In both these sculptures the Fire-god is seated on a lotus-throne. His raised right hand holds a rosary; his left, resting on the left knee, holds a vessel of some kind. He is bearded; his head is surrounded by flames, and a goat is shown lying at his feet.

What I believe to be the earliest known image of Agni, is a sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (Plate II b), which seems to have been excavated by Dr. Führer and which was subsequently published by Mr. Vincent A. Smith. It is made of red sandstone and measures 2'8½" in height. Unfortunately it is badly damaged, the face, arms and legs being broken. But there can be little doubt that it must belong to the Kuśāṇa period (circa 50—250 A.D.)

10 E. Washburn Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 103.
13 V. A. Smith, The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā. Allahabad, 1901, p. 44, pl. LXXXVIII. The museum number is J 123.
Dr. Führer called this image "a statue of Vardhamāna surmounted by the Lambent Flame of Sanctity," whereas Mr. Smith rejects this identification and calls it a "Statue of a boy with aureole of flames." On account of this aureole of flames, the corpulence of the figure and its hair-dress, I feel inclined to interpret it as an early representation of Agni.

Another Agni image in the Lucknow Museum (Plate III c) shows the Fire-god seated on a padmāsana with his goat lying in front of him. This very mediocre piece of sculpture, which measures 2'5" by 1'7", came from Rudrapur in the Gorakhpur district, and seems to belong to the medieval period.¹⁴

In this connexion we may also draw attention to a fragmentary medieval sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (no. 0 266) which was acquired from Śivadvāra, a village in the Mīrzāpur district of the United Provinces (Plate III b). It shows two groups of attendant figures, placed the one above the other. A goat-headed attendant is to be seen in the lower group, while the upper group consists of two emaciated male personages, evidently ascetics, standing with the upper part of the body slightly bent forward and arms held straight down in front of them, crossed at the wrists. On account of these attendants there can be little doubt that the main figure, which is entirely lost, must have represented Agni.

Finally it should be remembered that certain Pañcāla copper coins belonging to the kings Agnimitra and Bhūmimitra bear the effigy of a standing male figure with a five-fold crest, which has been explained as a representation of the Fire-god Agni. Recently, however, Madame E. Bazin-Foucher has proposed another interpretation.¹⁵ According to her the figure in question is a Nāga, or more correctly the Nāga who according to a Buddhist legend related in the Divyāvadāna was the tutelar genius of Northern Pañcāla. The new identification seems very acceptable, and the images of Agni which are reproduced here may be said to confirm it in so far that none of them bears a five-fold crest like the one which characterizes the figure on the coins.

With regard to the scarcity of Agni images, it should be borne in mind that Hinduism, although derived from the Vedic religion, has a pantheon very different from that of the Vedic hymns. In Hinduism the supreme deities are Viṣṇu and Śiva. The ancient Fire-god Agni has lost the position which he held in Vedic times. No temples are dedicated to him, and his images are extremely rare.

Although his fundamental character is to be derived from the Vedas, we shall have to turn to the Epics and Purāṇas to find a description of his characteristics corresponding to those of the images before us. Thus we find in the Matsya-purāṇa an account of Agni which answers to our sculpture in almost every detail. It runs: "Let one make the god provided with the sacrificial cord and having a long beard, with a gourd (kamayāḍalu) in the left hand and a rosary in the right, provided with a canopy of flames, and with a goat as vehicle, blazing and standing in the fire-pit (kuṇḍa) and provided with seven flames on his head."¹⁶

Other references to Agni from the Purāṇas or allied sources which will help to elucidate the doubtful points will be extremely welcome.

¹⁴ Cf. B. C. Bhattacharya, Indian Images, plate XVII.
¹⁶ Quoted by B. C. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 27, no. 4.
THE SUMERIAN SACAEA AND ITS INDIAN FORM.

By B. C. Mazumdar.

As illustrating the historical significance of the two Hindu social customs noticed in the following paragraphs, I would refer particularly to Professor S. Langdon’s paper on “The Babylonian and Persian Sacaea” in the January 1924 issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I begin with a description of the highly interesting custom of yearly rejuvenating, or rather of securing longevity to the Rājâ or the ruling prince by observing a magical ceremony, which obtains in the Chauhān ruling houses of Sompur and Patna in western Orissa. How very ancient this custom is, and how deeply it is connected with what prevailed once in olden days in Persia, should be considered.

On the Daśāhré day, which falls on the tenth lunar tithi of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Āśvin at the end of the Devi Pūjā session of the season, a purohit or Brahmān priest in the employment of the Rāj family goes out riding a pony with a retinue of men selected for the purpose, declaring that he has become the ruler of the territory. The crowd in the streets hails him mockingly as the Rājâ, and the priest on the back of the pony, to demonstrate his ruling authority, imposes fines of some easily recoverable amount on this man and that man, according to a pre-arranged method. The mock Rājâ of the hour then returns to the Rāj palace to doff his authority at a sacrificial altar, being jeered at by the crowd when thus returning; when the ceremony is over, the real Rājâ, or ruling prince, puts on his ceremonial dress and sits upon the Rāj gaddi to accept tribute of honour from a large number of representative subjects of the State. That the purpose of this ceremony is to give a fresh lease of life to the ruler in a mysterious, magical way will, I anticipate, be very clear when the ceremony is compared with the old western Asiatic festival of Sacaea.

It may be noted here that the prehistoric Sumerians began their year in the autumn, when the festival of giving fresh life to the king bearing resemblance to the festival of the Chauhān rulers, had to be celebrated. Once in ancient India also the New Year commenced in the autumn. The term varṣa meaning a year, is derived from the word varṣa, ‘rain’, and the New Year was once calculated as commencing with the asterism of Āśvinī at the end of the season of rain. When the New Year began in the autumn, the first two months constituting that season were named Īśa and Ěṛja; this calculation of the autumn season by Īśa (Āśvin) and Ěṛja (Kārtik) still prevails in India.

It was in autumn that the New Year festival was celebrated by the Sumerians, when there was a carnival of the ‘Lord of Misrule,’ and men and women were free to indulge in what may be said to be far from moral practices. At the end of this festival, lasting from five to six days, the king had to appear before the priest in a temple and after submitting to some mock blows from the priest, received from him his royal garments and other insignia, to reign over his kingdom afresh. During the five or six days of the festival a pseudo-king was set up; he moved about in the streets with a merry retinue, defying all rules of social decorum and decency. Professor Langdon gives us the report of Strabo and others that this pseudo-king, or ‘King of Misrule’ was scourged and hanged on the final day of the festive session, and on the death of that scapegoat, who carried away the evils besetting the king, the latter, as I have mentioned, got a fresh lease of life to rule his kingdom. With a distinct object in view, I note here that I mentioned many years ago in my paper on the goddess Durgā,1 that on the 3rd or navami day of the pūjā singing of obscene songs was once in vogue in Bengal.

Now it is very important to note that at a later period, many centuries before the Christian era, the time for the commencement of the New Year in Babylon and Assyria was fixed at the commencement of the spring season. Even when this change in the calculation of the year was effected the old time reckoning of the year from the first day of the autumn

season did not fall into disuse, and in the calendar two New Year's days were set down, one in the autumn and another in the spring, and on both those days the carnival referred to was celebrated. It is also of importance to note that this carnival fixed for celebration in the spring passed from Babylonia into Persia under the patronage of Anaitis or Anâhita.

As the Persian form of celebrating the carnival in the spring strongly resembles our Indian spring festival called *Holi*, I mention here the widely known fact that our *samvat* era begins in the month of *Caitra*, which is the *Madhu* month, or the first month of the vernal (*mīdhāvaru*) season. It need hardly be stated that this reckoning of the New Year from the spring came into vogue in India very long ago, though the term *samvat* was not applied to the era to start with.

The old Persian way of observing the *Sacaera* may now be briefly described. When this carnival was celebrated in the spring, the king of the realm only nominally, or rather for appearance sake as observing the rules of the festival, ceased to rule temporarily, and a fool was chosen for the festive occasion as the bogus king. This bogus king, as Professor Langdon informs us, rode naked upon a horse, holding a fan and complaining of the heat. He was escorted by the king's servants and demanded tribute from everybody. Pots of reddened water were carried, with which all were bespattered, and the crowds in the streets enjoyed the fun very much. The people in general, men and women alike, are reported to have enjoyed these days in merry-making and in singing obscene songs, forgetting temporarily the usual moral habits of society. The fool, or bogus king, was bespattered with filth by the people, but he ceased to play the fool at the end of the carnival, and the real king reassumed his duties in a ceremonial manner.

We all very clearly see how our *Holi* festival agrees with the *Sacara* in several details. In many villages in Bengal the practice still survives that a fool is dressed up in a funny fashion and is carried on a litter through the streets, the assembled crowd singing obscene songs and sprinkling reddened water on one another. This fool is called in Bengal *Holi Râja*, or the king of the *Holi* festival. It may also be mentioned here that in connection with the *Holi* festival in Bengal there is a ceremony called *meçápođá* in which there is the symbolical burning in a hut of a lamb, an effigy of a lamb being made of rice paste. Another practice observed in many districts of Bengal should also be noticed. To celebrate the *Holi* festival an earthen *maicz* is erected with three graduated floors, the top story being made the smallest. Access to the top floor, on which the idol of the presiding deity is seated for purpose of worship, is obtained by a winding staircase. The whole of this earthen *maicz* looks almost like a Babylonian *zikkiurat* in external appearance. It is well-known how throughout northern India the men go along the streets, sprinkling reddened water on everybody, and how they make indecent jokes at the womenfolk assembled by the roadside as onlookers. How there should be such a family resemblance between customs of Western Asia and of India, is not easy to determine.

Now it has to be carefully noted that of our *Holi* festival, which is so widely popular all over India, we get absolutely no trace either in the Vedic literature, or in the sacred texts of pre-Purânic days. It cannot be that this festival of such wide popularity came suddenly into existence at some past time when the Purânic cults and practices commenced to come into force. Even though our very early religious works do not recognise it, we cannot but presume, looking to the existence of it in one form or another in all the provinces of India, that the festival with its main features must have been in vogue in India among the common people, while the Rishis and their orthodox successors were not disposed to recognise such vulgar rites. Independent growth of the festival in India and in Mesopotamia and Persia cannot be thought of, since the details are such as could not possibly originate in that manner. What relation, ethnic or cultural, subsisted in the remote past between India and parts of Western Asia, is a matter for serious research in the interest of the true history of our country. Attention need hardly be called to the importance to this inquiry of the results of the recent excavations at Harappâ and Mohenjodaro and of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations between the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf. I do not myself draw any inference from the facts set out above, but leave the question to scholars competent to deal with it.
Note: The contour lines (except in case of Fig. 12) = 1500 ft.
Note—The contour lines = 1500 ft.
GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

By P. J. Richards, M.A.

A trip to India raises two problems: (I) how to get there, and (II) what to do when you arrive.

I. Of the routes to India I need say little; but an understanding of them is vital to problems of Indian archaeology. From Europe you can go by ship (a) by the Red Sea, (b) by the Persian Gulf or (c) you can walk, if you prefer, through Persia. You can start from the Mediterranean or from the Black Sea (Fig. 12).

From China access is more difficult, for the impossible plateau of Tibet intervenes. China has struck westward along the great silk routes which led to Rome, first under the Han dynasty round about the beginning of the Christian Era, again in the 7th century under the Tangs, on the eve of the Arab irruption, and lastly under the late, lamented Manchus. The Chinese never got into India, though they got very near it, but their culture is saturated with Indian influences.

The eastern frontier is as difficult; true the Burmese and Shans have ravaged Assam, and the Arakanese E. Bengal; but the flow of Indian influence is eastward, penetrating Indo-China and the isles as far as Borneo. The meeting points of Chinese and Indian culture are in Turkestan and N. Annam.

II. Having arrived in India, what is the next step?

British interests in India began with trade. (Fig. 1). Our base was the sea. After several abortive efforts, the Company secured a foothold in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Calcutta brought us in touch with outlying provinces of the Mughal Empire, Bombay with the Marathas, and Madras with the French.

(1) From Calcutta, we advanced up the Ganges valley to Patna. Our next moves were to Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamuna meet, and up the Doab to Delhi. Oudh lapsed only in 1856.

(2) In Madras our struggle with the French brought us (i) the N. Circars, centring in the Masulipatam and the Kistna-Godavari delta, and (ii) the domination of the Carnatic. A forty year's struggle ensued with Mysore.

(3) In Bombay we were up against a tougher folk, the Marathas, and a tougher hinterland. Our thrusts were towards Gujarat, Poona and Delhi. Nagpur lapsed in 1853.

(4) The Indus valley failed to attract us till after we had boggled our First Afghan War. The Mughals' base was Kabul (Fig. 2). Their first advance was on Delhi, via Lahore, and down the Doab to Allahabad. From Lahore they thrust to Multan and the sea, and northwards into Kashmir. From Delhi via Ajmer they got to Gujarat; from Agra through Ujjain to Khindesh; and from Allahabad into Bengal and Orissa. Then came a pause. The Deccan proved more difficult. They advanced in two stages, first on Ahmadnagar and Berar, then on Bijapur and Golconda and on to the Carnatic and Masulipatam.

The Marathas' base was Poona, in the heart of the Marathas' country (Fig. 3). Thence they struck south-east as far as Tanjore, where they founded a kingdom; north into Gujarat, and through Malwa to Delhi. From Delhi they moved down the Ganges valley and north-west to Lahore and on to Multan. In Nagpur they were in their own country. (Their break through to Orissa was an exceptional military freak.) The states they founded in Gujarat (Baroda) and Central India (Indore and Gwalior) and the little state of Sandur en route for the south, still survive.

All these 'thrusts' have one factor in common, although they radiated from such different bases (Fig. 4). Their objectives in each case were the centres of population and trade, where wealth accumulates. Of these there are four, in order of size:

1. The Gangetic Plain.
2. The South.
3. The Kistna-Godavari delta.
Now density of population is dependent on permanent factors, such as fertility of soil, water for irrigation and drainage, a reasonable climate and rainfall. Trade in turn is dependent on population; and on other factors, such as accessibility by land or water.

The movements of the British, the Mughals and the Marāṭhās are typical of all movement, racial and cultural, in India; the objectives and the routes by which they are attained are more or less the same. I say ‘more or less’ because all generalizations are ipso facto wrong. In India there are some physical factors which are not permanent, the rivers for example.

The plains of the Indus and the Ganges are covered with almost unfathomable silt. Boreings 1,000 feet deep have failed to touch rock bottom. In such a plain the bed of a large river may be twenty or even thirty miles wide, and the river is free to oscillate within these limits. The Indus is the worst offender. I shall not recite the full dossier of its crimes. Its waters at one time flowed into the Rann of Cutch. One fine day it appears to have gone west, near the Sakkur dam. Perhaps it was demoralised by the desertion of its principal consort, the Jamunā, which is proved to have formerly flowed into the depression now known as the Hākār.

I shall not dilate upon the causes of this river shifting, a common phenomenon all over India. There is evidence of climatic changes within historic times and before history began, but its interpretation is debated. The hand of man had certainly something to do with it, digging irrigation channels and clearing silt. Deforestation, too, may have been a contributory factor, and rivers are apt to choke their own courses with the silt they bear. But the results are important to the archaeologist, for the shifting of rivers involves the shifting of human habitation, and accounts for the deserted cities which are scattered all over the Indus basin and the delta of the Ganges.

Malaria, again, is a factor to reckon with. Of the history of malaria we know little, but we do know that vast tracts of country both in N. and S. India have been thrown out of occupation, even in the past century or two, by its ravages.

But these variations do not invalidate my contention that the routes followed by British, Mughals and Marāṭhās are a constant factor in the genesis and growth of Indian civilization. The general pattern is simple, a sort of distorted ‘Z’. Approaching by land from the northwest, the first thrust is through the Ganges valley, the second from Agra (or Delhi or Allahabad) through Mālwā or Ajmer toward some seaport in Gujarāt; the third diagonally across the Peninsula towards Madras. Other thrusts, down the Indus valley to the sea, across the Deccan towards Masulipatam, or into the fertile valleys of Kashmir or Central India, are subsidiary. The deserts of Rājpūtānā and the broken country that intervenes between the valleys of the Ganges and the Godāvari are avoided, except by refugees, for “the hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains”. This pattern emerges in most phases of Indian history and culture.

Consider Languages (Fig. 5). Indo-Aryan speech falls into two main categories, “Inner” and “Outer”. Linguistic evidence indicates that the centre of diffusion of the “Inner” languages (the purest form) lies in the “Mid-land” (Medhapedesa) astride the Ganges-Indus waterhead, the home of W. Hindi. Westward and north-westward they pass through Panjābī to the “Outer” languages of the Indus valley, eastward through the “Mediate” E. Hindi to the “Outer” languages of Bihār, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. But southward (along the middle stroke of the ‘Z’) they break through the “Outer” ring to the sea (Gujaratī), separating “Outer” Sindhi from Marāṭhī.

In Peninsular India, Marāṭhī, advancing south-east (part of the way along the lower stroke of the ‘Z’) is brought up short by Dravidian resistance. The “Outer” languages of the Indus valley are up against non-Indian influences, the Irānian speech of Afghan and Baloch, and the Dardic languages which survive from Kashmir to Kāfrīstān. In the ‘nō man’s land’ between the Ganges and the Godāvari pre-Aryan tongues of the Dravidian and Austroic families still hold their own.
Linguistic differences are as significant as linguistic affinities, for the border zones between the chief national languages are also controlled by geographical factors. Thus, the Gangetic plain falls into four main cultural areas (W. and E. Hindi, Bihār and Bengal), each with its own traditions and customs, each with its own groups of capitals, past and present; the Indus valley has three such areas (Sind, the Middle Indus, N. of Sukkur, and the Panjāb proper, between the Jhelum and the Sutlej); Peninsular India has five (Marāṭhā, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil and Malayālam), and on the flanks of the Central Indian uplands are Gujarāt and Orissa.

This grouping is reflected roughly in the traditional, but inexact, classification of Brāhmans, the Siārasvata, Kānya-kubja, Maithila, Gaur and Utkala of Upper India, the Gurjara, Mahārāstra, Karṇāta, Andhra and Drāvida of the Peninsula. It is reflected, too, in the Military History of India (Fig. 6.) As the ‘cockpit of Europe’ is Flanders, where the cultural currents of northern and southern Europe converge, so too, the cockpits of India lie in or near where a ‘thrust’ impinges on a transition zone between one cultural area and another, e.g., on the Jhelum, where the ‘thrusts’ from W. and N. Asia emerge through the Salt Range; north-west of Delhi, on the threshold of the Mid-land; and round Agra, where they meet the routes from western India and the Gangetic plain; on the western borders of Bihār, round the gateway to Bengal; on the routes from Gangetic to western India, and on those across the Deccan to Madras.

The distribution of Religions is equally instructive. Early Hinduism arose in the Midland. Bihār, the home of Buddhism and Jainism, lay beyond the ‘Aryan’ zone. Both these religions challenged ‘Aryan’ orthodoxy; both permeated all India. Buddhism lasted till the twelfth century in Bengal and in the Deccan; today it lingers only in the hinterland of Orissa. Jainism survives in Rājpūtānā, in Gujarāt and in the Kanarese districts of Bombay, in S. Kanara, and in a little group of villages on the border of N. and S. Arcot—areas away from the main stream of Indian movement and remote from the land of its birth.

İslâm came to India (a) by land through Persia and (b) by sea. The Indus valley can be got at both ways, and is overwhelmingly Muslim. In the transitional zone of the Panjāb the percentage of Muslims falls below 50, and Hindu influences become active; the resulting compromise is the religion of the Sikhs. Passing into the Ganges plain the percentage of Muslims steadily declines from about 35 in the Sikh country to less than 10 in Bihār; then on the threshold of Bengal it suddenly rises again, culminating in about 80 in the Ganges-Brahmaputra doāb (Fig. 15). Elsewhere in India the percentage is less than 10, except for a slight rise round certain centres of medieval Muhammadan rule (e.g., Ajmer, Māṇḍū, Ahmadābād, Daulatābād, Gulbarga, etc.) and on the west coast, where it jumps to 22 in Broach and 32 in Malabar. In the Marāṭhā and Tamil country, in Mysore and E. Hyderabad it falls below 6, and almost peters out in the coastal plain between Midnapur and Guntur, and the ‘no man’s land’ that lies behind it, zero being reached in Ganjām.

The trade of Broach and Malabar has been of world importance since the days of Augustus, and the maritime influx of Western influence is borne out by the distribution of finds of Roman coins (Fig. 9), by the settlement of Parsis and Ismaillīs in Gujarāt and Bombay, by the Syrian Christians of Tranvancore and Cochin (with their Pahlavi inscribed crosses) and by the Jews of Cochin.

With this pattern the archaeological evidence conforms, as a glance at the sketch map in the Imperial Gazetteer atlas will show. Roughly India falls into four major cultural divisions, (A) the Indus basin, (B) the Ganges basin, (C) the Central Belt of hills and desert, and (D) the Peninsula;
A. THE INDUS BASIN.

The modern kingdom of Afghānistān is composite. (1) Herat belongs to Persia; culturally and, through most of its history, politically too. (2) Balkh (Bactria) in the Oxus valley connects up with Central Asia and China. (3) Kābul lies within the Indus basin, and is, like Assam, a cultural annexe of India; it was once a hive of Buddhism, and the seat of a Hindu kingdom. (4) Qandahār, the focus of Afghān power, controls the routes from Persia to India via Kābul and via Multān.

Baluchistān is shared by the Baloch (of Persian origin) and the Dravidian-speaking Brāhuis. Makrān, as a channel of communication, has been practically out of action since the days of Alexander, but in the third millennium B.C. it was fairly well populated, and it linked ‘Chalcolithic’ India with Mesopotamia (Fig. 8). The westward penetration of Hinduism is to this day testified by the annual pilgrimage to Hinglaj.

Under the Achæmenids the Indus valley was Persian. Alexander came to India to assert his rights as a Persian king. Seleucus ceded it to the Mauryas, and when the Mauryas collapsed, the Greeks pushed in from Bactria, to yield it in turn to Parthians and Śākas from Persia. Then from Central Asia came the Kushāṇa, whose sway lasted longer. Their heirs, the Shāhis, hung on to Kābul and Und till the coming of Mahmūd of Ghazni, who was by culture a Persian. He annexed Kābul and the Panjāb, and Sind acknowledged his suzerainty. His successors lost their Persian possessions to the Seljūks, and were finally pushed off the Širāzi plateau by a Turkman raid, which left them only the Panjāb. Then came Muḥammad Ghori, whose armies smashed through the Indus and Ganges plains to the sea.

Yet the Indus Valley was not ‘de-indianized’. The distribution of cultural impacts is not, however, uniform. Four main cultural areas may be distinguished, (1) the tract north of the Salt Range, (2) the Vale of Kashmir, (3) the upper reaches of the Panjāb rivers (Central Panjāb), and (4) the Indus Valley below the Salt Range (W. Panjāb and Sind).

1. In the amphitheatre north of the Salt Range is the densely populated district of Peshawar, which might fairly be called the ‘transformer station’ in the transmission of cultural currents from Western and Central Asia. Here, on the lower reaches of the Kābul river, Alexander found the city of Puškalavatī. On the eastern rim of the basin was Taxila, with its Indo-Greek city of Sirkap and its Kushāṇa city of Sirsukh, for centuries a centre of Indian culture and of the ‘Hellenistic’ art of Gandhāra. Not far distant at Mānehrā and Shāhbazgarhi, are the only two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka.

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet is an adaptation of Aramaic (the script of Persian officialdom) to the requirements of Indian phonetics. Its use in India, as against the essentially Indian Brāhmi, is characteristic of the Indus basin, a distribution which anticipates the latter day rivalry between Persian and Nāgari scripts.

The history of the Greek tradition in this area is vividly reflected in the coinage. Already in Bactria the Greeks had been to some extent ‘persianized’. As soon as they crossed the Hindu Kush, Indian scripts and Indian languages appear on their coins. The gods remain Greek, though some Greeks, we know, became Buddhist, others Hindu. The Kushāṇa took up the Greek tradition, and added to it a cosmopolitan galaxy of cults, Irānian, Buddhist and Hindu. On the coins and monuments of the Kushāṇa the process of ‘indianization’ can be traced in detail. Kanishka stood forth as the Constantine of Mahāyāna Buddhism; Vāsudeva, his successor, was an ardent Śaiva. With the decline of the Kushāṇa Taxila waned, and a new cycle began far away in the Ganges plain. Of the rest of the Indus basin little need be said.

2. Kashmir, a cultural cul de sac, developed on her own lines the tradition of Gandhāran art, evolving a style of architecture which is almost Hellenic in the severity of its ornament, and quite unlike anything to be found in India. Under Muslim rule Kashmir became even
more eccentric; anything more un-Indian or more un-Saracenic than a Kashmir mosque it would be difficult to conceive.

3. The Panjab is sterile in relics of the past.

4. South of the Salt Range a line of Buddhist stūpas follows the course of the Indus almost to the sea, a faint but quite clear echo of Gandhāra. Hinduism flourished in the ancient city of Brāhmaṇābād and in the port of Tatta, too; a reflex apparently of the culture of Gujarāt. Sassanian contacts are frequently in evidence, and the cult of the sun, of which Multan was a centre, owed its vogue, perhaps, to Zoroastrian influence. The Arab conquest (711 A.D.), which extended to Mulkân, cut Sind adrift from Indian life. Of the Arabs nothing of note survives. Under the Delhi Sultanate art revived at Multân, with a Persian leavening which gathered strength till it culminated in the intensively 'persianized' tombs of eighteenth century Hyderabad.

B. GANGETIC INDIA.

The Ganges plain, as already noted, comprises four main cultural areas, (1) the Midland, the home of Western Hindi, (2) a transitional area centring in Oudh, where Eastern Hindi, mediate between 'Inner' and 'Outer' languages, is spoken, (3) Bihār, or rather the area of Bihārí speech, and (4) east of the salient of the Rājmahāl Hills, Bengal, with extensions into Assam and Orissa.

From Vedic literature it is inferred that 'Aryan' culture, established in the first instance in the Panjab, shifted to the Midland and then down the Ganges-Jamunā doab, and finally embraced Oudh and N. Bihār. At each stage it grew less like the culture of the Rīg-veda, and closer to the India of today; in short, it became 'indianized'. This indianized culture flooded Bengal, Orissa and Assam and pressed on to Indo-China. Its 'area of standardization' lay between the Sutlej and the western border of Bengal. It saturated Buddhism and Jainism, which re-interpreted but did not repudiate it.

Of the pre-Buddhist culture of this area, except for some scattered finds of stone and copper implements, archaeology knows nothing. The earliest datable remains are Mauryan, centring in Bihār, and of them the best known are based on Persian models; in fact, some scholars would postulate a 'Magian period' of Indian history. But Aśoka's free standing pillars differ in many details from their structural prototypes at Persepolis; in short, they are not Persian, but Indian.

On the fall of the Mauryas other centres of cultural activity arose. The history of post-Mauryan art can be traced at Mathurā, in the opposite end of the Ganges plain, or at Sārnāth near Benares. Mathurā was held by the Kushāns; naturally evidence of Kushān influence and the Greek tradition which the Kushāns carried on is there abundant, mostly Jain, and intensively indianized. But the Kushān tradition is not alone in the field. Another factor, which owes little to Greece or Persia, is operative, crudely at first, but destined to bear fruit in the art of the Guptas, and to crystallize in the curvilinear spires and exuberant decoration of the 'Northern Style' of architecture. Its place of origin we do not know; there are several types of spire, none of which can be assigned to any particular area. Quite possibly they were evolved from the simpler village temples of Bihār, and bent bamboo roofing may or may not be their prototype. The style survives most completely in the temples of Orissa, where Muslims are so few. It extends, with local variations, throughout Upper India, as far west as Sind, into the Bombay Deccan to Paṭṭadkal, within the Kanarese border, to Ganjām on the east (Mahendragiri, Mukhalīgām) and even to Himālayān Kāṅgrā. The 'Northern Style', however, and the Hinduism for which it stands, were not alone in the field. Under the long-lived Pāla dynasty Bihār and Bengal, distinct as usual, as the ruins of Nālandā and Pahārpur testify, preserved their native Buddhism till the Muslims came.
With the Muslim conquest the centre of cultural energy shifted to Delhi. The Delhi Sultans began by building mosques from the debris of temples. Then they set Hindu craftsmen to interpret Islamic forms. Under the early Tughlaqs there was a brief reversion to Islamic purism, but Indian feeling soon asserted itself, and the break-away of the lower provinces, Jaunpur and Bengal, involved artistic as well as political independence. The Hindu artists employed by the African Shakhir of Jaunpur aimed apparently at novelty and attained it in the Egyptian-like 'propylons' of their mosques. The architects of Muslim Bengal never grasped the spirit of Islamic art, their mosques are ill-proportioned, their decoration over-elaborate; the blend of the two cultures is less successful than elsewhere.

C. THE CENTRAL BELT.

The affinities of north Rājpūtānā lie with Delhi, those of south Rājpūtānā with Gujarāt. Mālwā and Bundelkhānḍ are associated in language and culture with the Mid-land; Rewa and the little group of States to the west of it, which constitute Baghelkhand, speak a dialect of E. Hindi. They are in close touch on the north with Allahabad, where Ganges and Jamunā unite, and on the south with the upper reaches of the Narbada and the Mahānadi (the Chāttīsgārh plain). The Narbada marks traditionally the border between N. and S. India. Across it run the chief routes from Upper India to the Deccan and the sea. Culturally its middle reaches belong to Mālwā. It is bounded on the south by the Satpura, Mahādeo and Maiikal Hills, a cultural barrier dominated by Dravidian and Munḍā speaking tribes, which broadens out eastward into the Chotā Nagpur plateau. Cross these three ranges, and you are among Marāṭhās, and Gōṛās.

The Copper Age culture of the Ganges valley extends over the Chotā Nagpur plateau and southward into the Central Provinces as far as Gungeriā, in Bālāghāt district, on the watershed between the Narbada and the Godāvari. South of this it did not go (Fig. 8).

In the Mauryan period and after, the key positions were Sāṅchī and Bharhut. Bharhut is in Baghelkhand on an ancient route from Allahabad to Jabalpur. Sāṅchī lay apparently at the junction of several routes leading from the upper Ganges valley to Ujjain and thence to Paithan and the Deccan or westward to the sea at Broach (Fig. 7). Round Sāṅchī, where Asoka carved his edicts, is grouped an instructive series of monuments. The Besnagar pillar is typical; the capital is of Mauryan pedigree, but the shaft is quite un-Persian; it records, in Brahmī characters, its dedication to Vishnu by Heliodorus, a Vaishnava Greek and envoy of King Antialcidas of Taxila at the court of a Śunga king. Near by is a record of the Andhras, co-heirs with the Greeks and Śungas of the Mauryan heritage. Sāṅchī plainly was the meeting point of Andhra, Śunga and Greek. Sāṅchī and Bharhut disclose the growth of Indian culture up to Gupta times; and it is in this Central Belt that Gupta art is best preserved (Fig 11). South of the Satpura-Maiikal barrier, the Vākāṭkas took up the Gupta tradition. It was they apparently who passed it on to Ajanta, and from Ajanta the Cālukyas, not long after, derived certain Gupta elements in their art.

As already noted, the Central Belt lay within the area of the Northern Style; and it preserves at Khajurāho, Gwalior and other places some of its finest examples. Under the Kalacuris of Jabalpur and Chāttīsgārh the Gupta and Northern styles were blended. The only part of the Central Belt in which the Muslims won a foothold was Mālwā, and here, at Munḍū, though not uninfluenced by the decorative taste of Gujarāt, they followed Delhi models more closely than any other 'Provincial' school. Of the Gōṛ kingdoms in the south (Munḍā, Kherla, Chāṇḍā), which held Islam at bay till the eighteenth century, nothing of distinctive artistic interest remains.
D. PENINSULAR INDIA.

Though evidence of a definite chalcolithic culture is wanting in the Peninsula, remains of the Stone Ages and of a 'megalithic' culture are abundant. Paleolithic artifacts of early types and mostly of quartzite occur plentifully on and in the laterite of the Pāḷār plain behind Madras, and scattered over the Deccan plateau south of the Kistnā; elsewhere the finds are not so numerous, possibly because they have not been looked for, but the distribution is wide. Neolithic celts of ordinary types are common in the uplands, especially around Bellary, and are also found in the plains; and the 'shouldered' type, characteristic of Malaya, have been found in the Godāvāri Agency and in Singhbhum. 'Pygmy' flints occur in Śindh, Gujarāt, Bundelkhand and elsewhere. But in the present state of knowledge no inference can safely be drawn from these distributions (Fig. 14) of types so standardized.

The 'megalithic' culture, on the other hand, is more specialized, and cultural areas are well defined. Dolmens, kistvaens and stone circles are found all over the Deccan plateau from Nāgpur almost to the Nilgiris and in the plains behind Madras. A rather different culture is found in the Nilgiris themselves. In Malabar the graves take the form of rock-hewn tombs. Around Madras clay coffins are in fashion, in Tinnevelly urn burials. The grave furniture suggests that all these cultures are connected, and associated coin finds in N. Mysore and elsewhere indicate that the culture was in full swing at the beginning of the Christian era (Fig. 15).

So much for prehistory. The history of the Peninsula dawns with the edicts of Aśoka at Gīṁrā and Soparā in the Bombay Presidency, Jaugad in Gāṇjām and at four sites on or south of the Kistnā (Maski, Koppal, Siddhapura and Yerragudi). This distribution (Fig. 10) suggests routes which follow the 'Z' pattern of other cultural distributions.

Gujerāt is traditionally regarded as 'southern', though all but a little of it lies north of the Nārbadā. Historically it is associated with Rājpūtānā, Mālā and the Deccan. At Gīṁrā, in Kāthiawār, are records of Aśoka, of the Satrap Rudderāman and of Skanda Guptā. The Āndhras, too, held part of it for a time. The coins of the earlier satrapas bear legends in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script (all on the same coin), the Greek being used for transliterating Indian words. Čaśṭāna's successors dropped Kharoṣṭhī, and their Greek degenerated into illegibility. These types the Guptas copied for their western provinces, substituting Hindu for Buddhist symbols. Guptā art did not reach so far.

Medieval Gujarāt conformed to the 'Northern Style', but enriched it with the most exquisite carving in stone. The passion for decoration, which transformed the severe traditions of Mauryan and Kushān into the exuberance of Sāṇchī and Amarāvati, in Gujarāt attained its highest expression, and had lost none of its vitality when Islām took possession. It is to this that the Muslim art of Gujarāt owes its peculiarly Indian charm.

In the rest of S. India, there are five main cultural areas answering to the five chief languages, Marāṭhā, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Malayālam.

1. In the Marāṭhā country the early satrapas and their successors, the Āndhras, left something more than their signatures in the caves of Nāskik and Kārlī. They transplanted there the tradition of Sāṇchī and all that lay behind it, a tradition which inspired the sculpture and painting of Ajanta, till the Cālukyas established their sway over the greater part of the Deccan and transferred the centre of Deccani life across the Dravidian border to Bāddāmī. Centuries later, the Yādavas of Mahārāṣṭra broke away from Kanarese rule, renewed contact with the North and dotted the lava plains with curvilinear towers.

2. As above noted, the Telugu Āndhras' hold on Paithān placed them in touch with Sāṇchī. In the Telugu country proper their capital was at or near Amarāvati on the Kistnā. Amarāvati became a Buddhist centre probably in the second century B.C., and Buddhism
throve there under the Andhras and their successors, the Ikṣvākus. The stūpa was rebuilt or re-embellished more than once, and the sculptures, which now adorn the staircase of the British Museum, belong to its latest phase. Their affinities lie with Gandhāra and Mathurā, and it is probably through Sānchi that they came. But here that culture struck no deep roots, and did not survive the Cālukyan conquest of Telingāna and its later absorption in the Chōḷa empire.

3. Meanwhile, in the Pāḷār plain, the Tamils got busy with rock-cut temples and launched 'Dravidian' architecture on its long career. Structural experiments soon followed, for the seventh century Pallavas were vigorous and creative, and by the end of the century the 'Dravidian' type was established, owing little except its sculptural themes to any other culture. Under the Chōḷas the centre of activity shifted to the plain of the Kāvēri, and a new phase opens with the great temple of Tanjore. Later developments are rather obscured by wholesale rebuilding under the Vīrānagār emperors, who spread Dravidian architecture all over their Telugu and Kānarese dominions. After them, in the south, the Madura Nāyakas elaborated the tradition of Vīrānagār; and it still dominates the southern half of the Peninsula.

4. In the Kānarese country, thanks to their geographical position, the Cālukyas of Bāḍāmi had several cultural alternatives from which they could choose. In and around their capital they experimented with the Ajanta tradition, the 'Northern Style' and that of their predecessors, the Kaḷāmbas, but the basic ingredient was Pallava. Then came a break. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas took over the Western Deccan (754-973 A.D.), and concentrated their artistic energies on a rendering of Cālukya models at Ellora. Their fall marks a new departure. The restored Cālukyas modified the Pallava tradition on 'Northern' lines, and embellished it with a wealth of sculptural detail second only to that of Gujarāṭ. Their heirs, the Hoysalas, brought this new 'Chāḷukyan Style' to maturity, but it did not survive the destruction of their capital by the armies of Delhi.

5. The Malayālam culture of Malabar, Cochin and Travancre is an unsolved puzzle. The language is closest of all Dravidian languages to Tamil, yet it has the highest percentage of Sanskrit words of any Dravidian tongue, while Tamil has the fewest. The Nāmbūdris are the strictest Brāhmaṇs in India, and in practice the most unorthodox. It is possible that, secluded from foreign intrusion by the Ghāt, the Malayālam preserve a more ancient type of orthodoxy than the rest of India. The architecture, both Hindu and Muslim, except in the south of Travancre, where Tamil models prevail, is unlike anything else in India, and the nearest parallels are in Kashmir. The archaeological evidence is meagre and difficult to interpret, even the Pahlavi of the Syrian crosses. Yet no part of India has been in closer touch with the West.

Of the Deccan Sultanates, Ahmadanagar and Berār (and the Bahmanis, too, according to Firishta) were of Brāhmaṇ origin; Ahmadanagar, Golkonda and Bijāpur were Shah; Bidar was Turki, from Georgia. None of them had much in common with Delhi, and, once the tie was cut, they were thrown on their own resources, and on what fresh blood they could import from Persia or Africa. Up to 1400 A.D. the Bahmanis followed Delhi models, due, no doubt, to the wholesale importation of Delhi craftsmen by Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1329. Then Persian architects were imported, but with the decline of the Bahmanis indigenous influences came into play, for under the later Sultanates Indian craftsmen, Indian clerks and Indian languages were freely used.

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The foregoing survey explains to some extent the unity and diversity of Indian culture. Northern India is an area of shifting boundaries. From the Salt Range to the seas there
is no substantial physical barrier, no clearly defined belt of cultural transition, except perhaps at Delhi and on the threshold of Bengal. In the south the boundaries of Tamil, Marathi and Gujarati are well defined by wide zones of rough country. Marathi is separated from Kanarese and Telugu by the line between lava and gneiss. Only the Kanarese-Telugu frontier is ill-defined.

The geography of Upper India favours uniformity of culture, but the area is too vast for political cohesion; even the Mughals held it together with difficulty. The smaller and better defined geographical units of the Peninsula foster cultural variety and the development of conscious and politically well-knit nationalities. On the other hand, Northern India is open to the impact of foreign influences from the West and Central Asia. Such impacts, whether destructive or creative, reach the Peninsula either from Upper India (at reduced voltage) or by sea; and the sea-borne impacts are rarely transmitted through the Western Ghats. The direction along which cultural currents travel is governed by permanent geographical factors. Their effect varies with the distance from source and the cultural medium through which they pass; but the medium is sufficiently continuous to ensure that, whatever changes may occur, the product is unmistakably Indian.

KĀŠMĪRĪ PROVERBS.

BY PĀṆḌIT ANAND KOUL, ŠRĪNAGAR, KĀŠMĪR.

(Continued from p. 199 supra, and concluded.)

Apis dani mushkil pēnī.
A lump of flesh given to a person of low degree is difficult for him [to eat]. (i.e., out of vanity he becomes more concerned to display it to others than to eat it himself.)

Azmuyat gav poṃvat.
One who has been tested is [easily] vanquished. (e.g., even a proud person is apt to yield to a person who knows his secrets.)

Begāri ti gatsāhi brouṅthī gatsāhī.
Even to perform impressed labour, it is well to go early. (e.g., an old prisoner may become a warder, vested with authority over prisoners who have come in later.)

Begāri ti gatsāhi jān pāṭhī karāni.
Even impressed labour should be performed properly. (i.e., it should be a first principle in life to perform with all earnestness the work we have to do.

Chentī phar ta gontshan vār.
Vain bragging and twisting of moustaches. (Used in the sense of 'smart clothes and empty pockets.' Cf. the Hindi, phar kī kori mūcāhē hī mūcāhē haiā.)

Dohay doh chi na hīhīy āsān.
All days are not equal. (Cf. ‘Christmas comes but once a year.’)

Dudarhāmyuk hak?
[Is it the truth, or is it merely] drift wood of Dudarhāma?

Note.—Hak has a double meaning here, viz., ‘truth,’ and ‘drift wood.’ At Dudarhāma, 14 miles north of Šrīnagar, drift wood is collected in large quantities from the Sindh river.

Jinnas ku-jinn.
A demon met by a more ferocious demon. (Said of a wicked person having to deal with a person more wicked than himself. Cf. the saying, ‘diamond cuts diamond.’)

Kāṇī kāṇi akh kathīn pilan,
Kēśēh sēs shaitāṇ tut kūt pilan.
The one-eyed made a hard wink with his blind eye,
How can even sixty thousand Satans attain to that height!

Kūl, kāṭsur ta mačhi-tical dushmane Paighambār.
The dark, the brown-haired and the freckled [is] the enemy of the Prophet.

Explanation.—This saying has reference to Shimar, one of Yazid’s generals, who was of this complexion, and who slew Husain, the second of the two sons of ‘Ali and grandson
of Muhammad, on the plain of Qarbalá; hence a person of this complexion is reproached as being by nature vile and infamous.

Kúr gáyi šír—yút kánán-kash kash kádés tyút thud wáti.

A daughter is like an arrow, [which] will reach as high as the archer can shoot it.

Explanation.—The marrying of a daughter to a great man’s son depends upon the amount of the dowry that can be given her by her parents.

Kátki kátki káraban ghara, anná yárákat-kátki dinak na karana.

The wives of brothers would live [peacefully] together, but the women who meet them at the ghát will not let them. (i.e., these women ever gossip and delight in sowing seeds of discord.)

Kúris ta krúséhis chi sóriy khotón.

All are afraid of the malevolent and the malignant.

Mé kun zan tsé kun wuchán, sháris shor andriy ásán.

Looking towards me, [but in reality] looking towards thee, the squint-eyed [is] tainted internally.

Note.—Compare with this the Hindi proverb, sau méñ phúlá, hazár méñ káná, savá lákh méñ énchá-táñá, meaning, ‘of persons with leucoma in the eye, only one in a hundred; of the one-eyed, only one in a thousand; of the squint-eyed, only one in a lakh and a quarter can be trusted.’ Cf. also the Sháhábád proverb quoted by Mr. Oldham in Folklore, XL1, No. 4, p. 340.

Návi náván ta práni pránán.

The new are becoming newer, and the old older.

Explanation.—This is said, in jealousy, by old servants of new servants, or by children of a deceased wife in regard to their step-brothers and step-sisters.

Ptúmut ánní.

A demon, and literate to boot. (The idea being that a wicked person becomes worse if he receives a little education.)

Pyud shál gav pádar-sah.

A tame jackal is [equal to] a lion. (e.g., a servant acquainted with his master’s secrets and shortcomings becomes dangerous.)

Qibláas kun gíyám zanga.

My feet happen to turn towards Mecca.

Explanation.—Muhammadans bow their heads in prayer towards Mecca. To stretch the feet towards that city would savour of irreverence. The saying is used by way of reproof for rudeness towards an elder.

Sháyí chukho zi jáyí chukho.

If at home, thou art in the [safest] place. (Cf. the English proverb, ‘East or west, home is best’; and J. H. Payne’s line, ‘Be it ever so humble, there’s no place like home.’)

Tsúr gav lámáacha ‘Irú’íl.

A thief is a blow from the Angel of Death.

Wanana wanana chu koh tání nashón.

Even a hill is worn away by talking and talking. (Said of a talkative, stingy person).

Cf. the English proverb, ‘Constant dropping wears the stone; also the Indian proverb, ‘By continual use the rope cuts the curbstone of the well.’

Wóf ai íshána ta sóda kamí?

If I leap down (i.e., incur risk), what will be the gain? (Cf. the English saying, ‘Look before you leap.’)

Yuthuy zuwa zíthuy suwa.

As much as I can afford I shall sew (i.e., make clothes to wear). (Cf. the English proverb, ‘Cut your coat according to your cloth’; also the Italian, ‘According to your purse govern your mouth.’)
BOOK NOTICES.


It was my privilege in the September number to review the second volume of this work, containing the translation of the Nyāyabindu and other passages in Indian treatises on logic, which provide the basis for the exposition of the system in this volume; and through the courtesy of the author the latter has been received in time for me to review it. But circumstances beyond my control debar me from attempting adequate appreciation of an epoch-making book, whose theories will be the subject of discussion for many years to come. The labour of a lifetime by a scholar of the first rank in that department of Sanskrit literature, which of all others is the most difficult to comprehend and which has never yet been fully explored, is commendable, and must command respect. All I can do is to emphasize a few of the aspects which appear to me specially deserving of attention.

First let no one be put off by the title, thinking that a book on logic must of necessity be dry and repellent. For Professor Stcherbatsky looks on it as a subject of the greatest importance and succeeds in communicating to his readers the thrill he himself experiences in his study. This I would attribute only secondarily to a gift for setting out his views cogently and attractively, and primarily rather to prolonged hard thought which has enabled him to unravel the leading principles from a mass of tangled comment, and to his knowledge of Greek and modern European thought by which he illuminates his subject with striking comparisons. The method is unquestionably beset with pitfalls. For under the rules governing Indian philosophical discussions the fundamental ideas are often not explicitly brought to daylight or are befogged by the use of terms which can be interpreted in more ways than one, so that, as we know from many examples, comparison with European systems may guide us to wrong conclusions. Such a charge has at times been laid at the author’s door with some degree of justification, but just as he avoided tendentiousness on the whole in translating the Nyāyabindu, so here he shows himself conscious of this danger by indicating points of difference as well as of likeness, and even in occasional passages would I suspect him of reading into his philosophers a meaning they did not intend. The parallels indeed are worked out with such critical acumen that his book may well exert considerable influence on European thought. For if we accept his views, we must look on Buddhist logic as one of the most original products of the Indian mind, or even as the most original. Dignāga was, however, too much in advance of his times to make his basic principles generally acceptable to his contemporaries and succeeding generations, and thus it came about that his work has influenced the details of orthodox Indian logic to a greater degree than the layout of the system.

The treatment adopted by Professor Stcherbatsky is suited to Buddhist logic in a way that it would not have been to the more involved thinking of the Nyāya-vaśistha system. The difference between the two, as he rightly emphasises, ultimately derives from the attention paid by the Buddhists to epistemology. As they took up detailed study of those subjects only which had a well-defined bearing on their beliefs, we must assume that the reason for this is to be sought in the philosophy of their religion. To have accepted the realist views of the Nyāya would have been fatal to their doctrines, and by demonstrating that knowledge is expressible in words, whether derived from perception or inference had behind it only the authority of our imagination and did not necessarily correspond to any external reality, they made ready the path for Mahāyāna dogmatists. That logic was applicable only to the saṁvīrti plane of knowledge was thus no objection to its practice; na hi saṁvīrti-papānam antareṇa tattva-prakāśakādikhārāṇam vipācetvē, as they were accustomed to say. Except where this principle of the two planes of knowledge is insufficiently recognised by the author, his arguments seem to me to be in the main conclusive. His explanation of the Buddhist theories on the perceptual judgment, inference and syllogism is novel, illuminating and convincing, epistles which apply equally to his description of their views on negation and relations. Nowhere else for instance are the exact implications of the tāvāpya of the middle term so clearly brought out.

But is he really right about the nirvikalpaka form of pratyakṣa? The object of perception is stated by Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara to be svalakṣaṇa, and the perception itself is necessarily limited to a point-instant, a kṣaṇa; it is inexpressible in words and conveys merely an impression of the senses, before the imagination starts to interpret the pratibhāsa, the image which the sense concerned imparts on that one of the five sensory consciousnesses which is related to it. It is this first instant of perception which alone is effective as being devoid of the aid of the imagination; its action is denoted by the indefinite word, arthākriyā, which is sometimes explained as paramādīthaśat. The term svalakṣaṇa is here translated by the Thing-in-itself, an unfortunate term, which inevitably brings in associations foreign to Buddhist conceptions; and, basing his exposition on the late Tatvavāyatana (a work, of which we urgently require a good translation), the author concludes that these logicians looked on this part of perception as attaining ultimate reality. Some justification might be seen for this in the fact that the word nirvikalpaka applies also to knowledge that has reached the stage of omniscience, but it is quite certain that Dignāga accepted the Mahāyāna doctrine of dharmasārīrāṃya, prevalent in his day, according to which the analysis of phenomena into point-instants and dharmas was true for the saṁvīrti only and did not represent ultimate reality. In the Nyāya-prakasha (tr. Tucei, 50) he opposes the sāndhyāna cognised by inference to the svalakṣaṇa apprehended by perception, and the lakṣaṇa, we are told (ib., 53), consists of many dharmas. This reminds me of Asvaghosa’s phrase (Saundarananda, xvi, 45) that the elements must be considered sāndhyānakhila ca lakṣaṇaḥ, “with respect to their general
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

specific characteristics." In fact Dinnagha's view is that perception apprehends only the viśeṣas of an object, as opposed to Prahastapāda's doctrine that bare perception, dinaṇamādīra, 'gives' svāya, that is, both the viśeṣas and the adināya. The standard illustration of perception in the Nyāyabindu, that of nīla, is perhaps significant; for according to the dogmatists the object, viṣaya, of each sense was divided into a number of primary varieties, nīla being one such of rūpa. It looks therefore as if the specific characteristic apprehended by perception consisted of the dharmas, making up one of these primary varieties. Arthakriyāgīra again indicates that it is this first moment in perception alone which is effective and that it is so as determining our attitude to the object, whether of attraction or repulsion; it is therefore a correction the Nyāyā view on this point and is paramāttasa, because on the plane of sāmyabhiḥ the point-instant alone is real and everything else intellectual construction. How far later Bud- dhist logicians developed Dinnagha's theories on this aspect of perception seems to me a matter for further enquiry and on more rigorous lines than those followed by Professor Scherbatsky, whose views about the thing-in-itself should for the present be regarded with much reserve.

The above discussion suggests the one obvious weakness in his equipment, a certain blindness to the historical development of ideas. This is plainly visible in his attribution to the early Buddhist dharma theory as set out in the Abhidhamma-pitaka, and equally to my mind in his assumption that the form which the Sāṁkhya system took in the classical period was already present in its original formulation. Buddhist philosophy and logic took many generations of laborious thinking to work out, and we cannot hope to understand either completely unless we are alive to the various steps by which they were reached. But the day for such understanding has hardly arrived yet, and will not do so till all the available texts are published and the higher criticism has been applied to them.

Though I have insisted on a side of the book which raises a spirit of opposition in me, its real value is not impaired thereby, and I would observe that a work so powerful and so original cannot expect immediate and entire acceptance, and that it has advanced our knowledge to a degree that will take much time for assimilation. Our grateful recognition of the author's achievement will be best shown by a more prolonged critical consideration than I have been able to give it for the purpose of this review.

E. H. JOHNSTON,


The subject of the political institutions of the Mauryan dynasty is so well-known, not only as thread-bare, a theme, that nothing that is both new and true about it is to be expected except from specialists, and the author of these reprinted lectures, who is clearly no specialist, would have been better advised to keep to the beaten track and avoid controversial matter so far as possible. In the passages where he does so, he shows he can write sensibly enough, and nothing is to be gained by discussing the disputed matters, on which his views seem to me demonstrably wrong. But it should be stated clearly that his contention that Asoka was not a Buddhist is definitely incompatible with the evidence now available. If he had suggested on the strength of the edicts that we are mistakenly inclined to see too deep a gulf between Hinduism and Buddhism at that period, his view would have been worth considering; for it is possible to hold that Buddhism was not then regarded as further outside the Hindu fold than, say, the worship of Śrīga that must have been already in its early stages. Those who like speculation might even think that in Asoka's reign Buddhism reached the parting of the ways and took the road which led both to its becoming a world religion and to its separation from Hinduism with the consequence of ultimate extinction in the land of its origin. I should also point out that no discussion of the Asoka legends is of any value which ignores, as is done here and in another recent publication I have been reading, Prayulska's now famous book on the subject, in which the original authorities are translated from the Chinese and brilliantly interpreted.

Much space is given up in this book to a considera- tion—on faulty lines, of the date of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya; as it is evident not yet realised that there is no hope of arriving at a definite date till much more research has been done, it may be of use to mention those points which are fundamental. Firstly only two quotations in literature are of real importance; that from the Pratisjātya-sarvan- dhrṣṭya, assuming that the play is by a kavi of the first rank and that therefore it is Kautilya who is the borrower, gives us the upper limit, the author of the play being acquainted with Áśvaghosa's Buddhacarita. The lower limit is given by Śūra's Jātakamālā, but is unfortunately uncertain in its effect (I never said, pace the author, that this work of Śūra's was translated into Chinese in 434 A.D.) Next a stringent lexicographical examination is required for words such as pustaka, nirājaya, nīś, etc., which seem to belong to a later period; the earliest occurrence of each word in other works or inscriptions should be noted. There may also be words which dropped out of use in a later period. Further all technical terms and their earliest use elsewhere should be examined. Thus prakṛti was evidently borrowed from that Sāṁkhya school, which postulated eight prakṛtis as the primary constituents of the individual. Any cultural indi- cations, such as the use of war chariots, must be considered. Finally, detailed comparison is necessary of the exact stage of Kautilya's political categories and legal conceptions. Important work has already been done in this last direction, but with inconclusive results for want of bearing in mind that while the Arthaśāstra is a unitary work, free from extensive interpolation, other legal and political works have had not the same fortune; much circumspection is required in drawing conclusions. The indications at present point to some date in the early centuries of our era, but it would be absurd to be dogmatic till some scholar of encyclopedic knowledge and sound judgment is prepared to spend years examining the evidence.

E. H. JOHNSTON

Of recent years considerable attention has been directed towards a group of languages spoken by three or four million people in the mountainous and jungle tracts between the Deccan and the Ganges valley. These are the Mundâ or Kol languages. Attempts have been made to show their connection with languages further to the east, with which it has been alleged they form a so-called Austro-Asiatic group. On the other hand J. Przybucki, in a number of brilliant articles, has demonstrated that Sanskrit, and Indo-Aryan generally, borrowed at some early period a certain part of their vocabulary from languages of this family. In these circumstances it was regrettable that so little material concerning these interesting, but rapidly disappearing, languages had been collected. Indeed the only considerable collection was Cameron's Sanskrit-English Dictionary. But in 1939 there began to appear the Santal Dictionary of P.O. Boding, which marks a considerable advance on that of Campbell. And now, before that has been completed, there has come the exhaustive work of Father Hoffmann on a Mundâ dialect closely akin to Santal. This work, of which half has been published, is both dictionary and encyclopedia. The importance of these long articles both for linguistic and the anthropologist cannot be overestimated. Not less important for both is the volume of illustrations which has already appeared; nothing so instructive as this has appeared since Sir George Grierson's famous pioneer work in his Bihâr Peasant Life. If in the remote past Indo-Aryan borrowed from the Mundâ languages, in more recent times these languages have been penetrated through and through with the vocabulary of their Indo-Aryan speaking neighbours. In many cases Fr. Hoffmann has indicated this, though there remain a considerable number of words certainly of Indo-Aryan origin which he has left unexplained. On the other hand we often make comparisons with the Dravidian languages, Oraon and Tamil. These have not much probative value: Oraon is an uncultivated language greatly penetrated by Mundâ elements, while Tamil cannot safety be used by itself in attempting to establish original connection between Primitive Mundâ and Primitive Dravidian. No such comparisons will have much value until the comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages is made. Singhalese, which the author classifies as Dravidian, is of course Indo-Aryan, though it contains a considerable number of Dravidian and especially Tamil loanwords.

In a work of this character and of this high scientific value it appears out of place to insert homilies on Roman Catholic doctrine, such as that on Marriage and Evolution, pp. 193-201, especially when the cost of production is borne by Government.

At the present rate of production we may hope for the conclusion of this great work in a comparatively short time. When that time comes, may we ask the editors to place all readers, and especially anthropologists, under a still further debt of gratitude by adding a detailed index relating to the immense mass of anthropological material which the encyclopedia contains, for at present there is no means of reference to a particular subject other than reading through the whole vast work or knowing the actual Mundâri word relative thereto.

R. L. Turner.


Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, who laboured in Southern India from 1584 to 1632, when he died at Cochin, appears to have been a man of rare intellectual attainments and energy. The discovery that a valuable anonymous manuscript in Portuguese preserved in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 1820) was written by him is due to Prof. Charpentier, who with the help of Fr. G. Schurhammer ingeniously traced its authorship. It is this MS. that has now been carefully edited with a very full historical and bibliographical introduction dealing with the growth of European acquaintance with India, and particularly with the early travellers and missionaries who have left records relating to its religious and social life. An interesting feature of Prof. Charpentier's researches has been the identification of Fr. Manoel Barradas as the probable channel through whom the information recorded by Fenicio reached, and was utilised by, Faria y Sousa, Baldeus and Idahoepousus.

The notes alone are a veritable mine of bibliographical information, and the Index enables the reader to identify many names that appear in puzzling forms in the Portuguese text. Prof. Charpentier has rightly appraised the value of this manuscript, and our only regret is that it has not been found practicable to append, as originally projected, an English translation for the use of those not conversant with Portuguese.


To give within the limits of a little volume like this a connected survey of the history of the continent of India from prehistoric times down to the year 1932 is a task before which most scholars would quail, and Mr. Mitra deserves commendation for the degree of success attained. The test of such a work lies chiefly in the discrimination shown in the selection of matter for mention; and, on the whole, we think discretion has been suitably exercised in this respect. The author has endeavoured to deal impartially with the thorny questions of racial and religious differences that have so largely influenced the history of the continent. The book is not a mere list of events and dates; continuity of narrative has been steadily kept in view, and cultural and economic conditions have also received attention. The illustrations have been well chosen.

M. Hackin gives a brief summary (with references to the detailed reports hitherto published) of the results achieved by the French Archaeological Delegation at various sites in Afghanistan. The volume is illustrated by a number of excellently reproduced plates. These researches were initiated under the expert guidance of M. Alfred Feuchère, and continued by MM. Godard, Hackin, Barthoux and others. Interest will centre chiefly perhaps around the discoveries at Bāmiyān and the quantity and character of the finds at Hadda (the Hi-lo of Hsian-tsang) some 5 miles south of Jalālābād (the ancient Nagarāhāra), specimens of which are now on view in the Musée Guimet, Paris. It may be said that the successes recovered from the latter site have revealed a development of "Greco-Buddhist" art of which the sculptures of Gandhāra and Uḍyāna previously known to us give no conception. Here we have not the traditional, almost stereotyped figures of Gandhāra, but figures evidently of actual living types—local rulers perhaps, of the uncultured inhabitants of the surrounding regions, of "Scythians" that may have followed a Kaphises or Kanishka, and possibly of Hūnas and even Mongols. Attention is drawn to the affinities of certain figures with examples of Grecian sculpture in the museums of Europe; and some of the work reminds us forcibly of Gothic and medieval art. One is tempted indeed to speculate as to what artistic developments might have been achieved in this region had they not been suppressed by the invasions and devastations of the Hūnas, and later of the armies of Islam. Short accounts are given of the excavations at Pātāvā and Begrān, near the modern Charikar, and of the sculptures, paintings and fragments of MSS. found in and around the grottos at Bāmiyān. Here and in the vale of Kārakār nearby, and again at Doğhtar-ż Naikān, about 60 miles farther north, we meet with much evidence of Sasanian influence. The dearth of finds at Balkh and its vicinity has been described and explained by M. Feuchère elsewhere.


This volume deals chiefly with temples in the Thāna, Kāndesh, Nāsiq, Ahmadnagar, Sātrār and Sholapur districts of the Bombay Presidency, in Berar and at Aundha in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions which date from the period of the Yādava rulers and their feudatories, to which the term Remāpantī has been rather indiscriminately applied. The descriptions contain more detail than is given in Burge's Lītis prepared in 1885 and revised by Mr. Coussins himself in 1897. Of the plates, 63 are reproductions of photographs of the temples, etc., while 51 are plans and drawings of particular features. Many of the photographs are wanting in definition of detail, which may be due to weathering and crumbling of the stone (amphoe- loidal trap) generally used, or to inexpert photography or perishing of the negatives, or perhaps to a combination of these causes.

In an Appendix on Purl, the ancient capital of the Śāhāras, Mr. H. Cousins, in general inscriptions, the site of which has not yet been satisfactorily determined, Mr. Coussins suggests that remains traceable about a mile to the north of Marol village on Sihētlē Island probably mark the situation of this town; but the reasons given do not appear to be convincing.

C. E. A. W. O.
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Sc. stands for the Supplement The Scattergoods and The East India Company (continued from vol. LXI), pp. 203–278.

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