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IN

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

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CONTENTS.

Authors' names arranged alphabetically.

BÁBU RANGALÁL BÁNERJYA:—
Copper-plate Grant from Kapaleśvara, in Orissa... 55
Rev. J. D. BATE:—
Queries on the Quara... 123
J. BEAMES, B.C.S., Kátak:—
Gauda... 160

PROF. RÁMKRISHNA GOPÁL BHÁNDÁRKA:—
Áchárya, the Friend of the Student, and the relation between the Three Ácháryas... 345
Dr. G. BUHLER, Educational Inspector, Gujeráti:—
Sanákit MSS.—extract from Preliminary Report... 27
INSCRIPTIONS FROM KÉRÍ:—
No. II... 144
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JALÁKÁPÁTHAN... 180
GRANTS FROM VAHÁS... 204
A GRANT OF CHITTIMÁRJUDEVÁ, MAHALÁNAPÁLÉVARÁ from the Kokkáta... 276
Analysis of the first seventeen Sargas of Bilahára's Vihārandakála, Válikarí... 317
A. C. BURNELL, P.A.D., M.C.S., Tanjor:—
Malabar Christians... 23
Literary Work in Java... 314

B:—

ABHÍNNA:—

REV. J. CAIN, Dumdugulam:—
Legends and Notes on Customs in the Káshí District... 187
The Bráhmadevá and Rákhapálli Tádákás, Godavári District... 301, 307

REV. F. T. COLE, Talíhári:—
Queries:—Thákar; Chánda, &c... 25
KILMARÍT HÉLMÉT'S MESOS... 221

DÁLAPÁNÍM PRÁNNIVÁN KÁHÁR:—
Inspector of Schools, Brújpú... 107
CASTES AND TRIBES IN KÁHÁRI... 351

THE EDITOR:—
The Dháráshira Rock Temples... 76

SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., Wolfése:—
 Notices of a Sculptured Cave at Utriépáši, in the Gátshór District... 80
ON SOME REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY AT HIMÁLAG... 177

REV. J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.:—
Sankeért and Old Casárae Inscriptions (continued from vol. IV.)
No. IX.—Kādáma inscription dated Śaka 941... 15
X.—Vijayamugam inscr., S. 1435... 19
XI.—Kalachárí Inscrip., S. 1168... 48
XII.—Pállava Inscrip... 50
XIII.—Chákáya inscr. at Añkón, S. 907... 67
XIV.—Vijayamugam, S. 1431... 73
XV.—Pállava... 154
XVI.—Sindhuvarmá, S. 1984... 174
XVII.—S. 1091... 175
XVIII.—Śálakáyana... 175
XIX.—Chákáya, S. 1015... 349
XX.—Kádásma... 356
XXI.—Vijayamugam... 363

A CHRONICLE OF TORKASAL... 38

J. H. GARSTIN, M.C.S.:—
Dolmens on the Coromandel Coast... 159
F. S. GOWSE, M.A., B.C.S., Madras:—
TRANSLATION OF AN EPISODE in the first book of TULÁSAÍ'S RÁMAYANA... 218
The Phrae Pancharama Thábála... 354
Dr. A. F. HOEBLE:—
The Ko-theory and Mr. Beames's Comparative Grammar... 119

The late C. HURWE, B.C.S.:—
Notes on HIMALAYAN VILLAGES in Colhane, Garh... 161
REV. J. F. KEARN, Tanjor:—
Átána Bódha Prakáyika... 125
Hira Sásana... 280, 288
The Right-hand and Left-hand Castes... 333
Dr. P. KEELHORN, Dekhan College, Páhú:—
The Námana of Dya Dývdéva... 115
REMARKS ON THE SIKÁSA... 141, 143
On the Mahaá Maháyana... 241

PROF. H. KERN, Leiden:—
Versions of some of the Ásoka Inscriptions (translated from the Dutch)... 257
REV. P. KITTÉL, Merkara:—
The WÁTRA KÁRÁSA, a Lángáyta Legend... 164
J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., Principal, Government College, Páchá:—
The Indias of Ásrian translated... 85
NOTES ON ARÁN'S INDIAS... 329
J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D. &c., Edinburgh:—
MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MÁHÁBHÁRATA... 350

KÁHÁRI'S Opinion of UNFAIR FIGHTING... 311

REV. G. U. POPE, B.D., B.R.A.S., Bengal:—
NOTES ON THE SOUTH INDIAN DRÁVIDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES... 157, 297, 308
E. REHATSEK, Bombay:—
The Twelve ÁLÁMS... 233
L. RICE, Bengal:—
Two KóŚGÉ or CHELÁ GRANTS... 153
REV. W. J. RICHARDS, KóŚGAÉ:—
Query... 303

BÁBU BÁM DÁS SEN:—
Gándhíram Dáç:—
W. F. SINCLAIR, B.A.C.S.:—
NOTES ON SOME PARTS OF THE AHMÁNADÁRA ZÍLÁ... 4
NOTES ON SOME CAVES IN THE KÁJÁT TÁLUKÁ of the Tálá ZÍLÁ... 309
H. J. STOKES, M.A., M.C.S.:—
A SóRARÁR'S Punishment... 355

SÁKRISHNA SÁSTRÍ TALEKAR:—
Karikála Bráhmás... 25

Prof. C. H. TAWNEY, Calcutta:—
METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VÁRÁMAŚA SÁTSAKÍA, E. or Hundred Stanzas on Asceticism, by Bhúpí... 1, 65, 224, 225, 305
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metrical Version of part of the XVith Canto of the Bhagavat Gita...</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Despondency of Arjuna, from the Ist Canto of the same...</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., Bombay:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Samudra-jaya of Anandagiri</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAYAJI VASUDEVA TULLU, M.A.:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMKAAR MINORIYA</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. J. WILKINSON, late M.C.S. —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES (cont'd. from vol. IV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. IX.—Folklore—Omens, Spells, and Charms, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.—The two Kasaara Colossi</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI.—A Jain Temple and Sasanian</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII.—Aquamarine Gems</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII.—Wigs, Ascetic and Ancient</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on the communications of Mr. J. H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garstin and E. W. W. respecting Dolmens and Extinct Races</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines by Warren Hastings and Indian Arrow-heads</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAJOR J. W. WATSON, Kashiavd: —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORICAL SKETCH of the Principal CHAVADA SETTLEMENTS in Gujard</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. A. WEBER, Berlin:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reply to Dr. Kielhorn on the Sikhaas</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPT. E. W. WEST, Sangi: —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Extinct Race</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The BENDUR CEREMONIES at Sanghai</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROF. MONIER WILLIAMS, Oxford: —</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUNERAL CEREMONY at Bombay</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAKHUDA CEREMONIES at Benaras</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAKHUDA CEREMONIES at Gayy</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Jungle Folk</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine among Suflis</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalangi, Jodhpur, Jasemler, and Pohran</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhujia in the Dhungs</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan Festival</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambat MSS.</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Gods</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist MSS. in Ceylon</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Goldschmidt's Report on the Ceylon Inscriptions...</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Text of Tabari</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom among the Lamas of Tibet</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snakes</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Buddhist Jataka from the Chinese</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Lassen</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Unwilling Guest, from the Persians</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastakapuru—Asatkapura</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor R. C. Childers</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wak-Wak</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epigram on an Atheist</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tanjore Marthā Princelyship, by Wn. Hickey</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Stances Erotiques, Morales et Religieuses de Bhartrihari, traduits du Sanscrit par Paul Regnaud</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Langue et la Litterature Hindostanielle en 1875, par M. Garcia de Tassy</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indian Travels of Appolinus of Tyana, by Osmond de Beavoir Prioua</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Bühler's Vikramāṅkadeva-vatit ava</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allégories, Récits poétiques, et Chants populaires, par M. G. de Tassy</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakuntalā in Hindi, by F. Pincott</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold's Indian Song of Songs</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. W. Jacob's Hindu Tales</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Tenjore Marthā Princelyship, by Wn. Hickey</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Stances Erotiques, Morales et Religieuses de Bhartrihari, traduits du Sanscrit par Paul Regnaud</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Langue et la Litterature Hindostanielle en 1875, par M. Garcia de Tassy</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## BOOK NOTICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, by Osmond de Beavoir Prioua</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Bühler's Vikramāṅkadeva-vatit ava</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allégories, Récits poétiques, et Chants populaires, par M. G. de Tassy</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakuntalā in Hindi, by F. Pincott</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold's Indian Song of Songs</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. W. Jacob's Hindu Tales</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 Copper-plate Grant of the Kings of Vengi (2 pages)</td>
<td>176, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Plan of the Forts of Hānapal, in Dhrēvād</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Plan and Elevation of the Temple of Tārakāvāramādeva at Hānapal</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Two Inscriptions from Jhārāptahas (2 sides)...</td>
<td>180, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Copper-plate Grant of Dāravaesana of Valabhi (Plate I)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 &quot; &quot; &quot; of Guhasena</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 &quot; &quot; &quot; of Silādhīya III (Plate I)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 &quot; &quot; &quot; of Silādhīya III (Plate II)</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 &quot; &quot; &quot; of Silādhīya III (Plate II)</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Terracotta Column of Pānikāram Dēval, and Sāracapan from Gehrēh</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Girār Āśokā Inscription—Edicts I—IV.</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 &quot; &quot; &quot; of the Vērān̄aśī</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 &quot; &quot; &quot; of the Vērān̄aśī</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 &quot; &quot; &quot; of the Vērān̄aśī</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 &quot; &quot; &quot; of the Vērān̄aśī</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Stone Inscription of Kadambar</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Stone Inscription of the Vijayanagara Dynasty at Hārhar</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRÂGYA SÂTAKAM,
OR HUNDRED STANZAS ON ASCETICISM, BY BHARTRIHARI.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The stanzas of Bhartrihari on Vairâgya (Le Renoncement, as the word is translated by M. Regnault) strike a note familiar to all students of Sanskrit literature. The Moha Mudpâra and other poems (many of which are referred to in the commentary of Mr. K. T. Telang) treat in much the same style the same topic of the vanity of all earthly enjoyments, and the duty of retiring into a forest and meditating on the Supreme Soul, or some favourite individualization of that all-pervading divinity. But it is perhaps scarcely an over-refinement to detect in these stanzas something more than this. It is hardly possible to read them without being struck by the reflection that the traditional account of Bhartrihari explains the fact that so many of his bitterest taunts are directed against kings and their courtiers. Even if we had no tradition of the kind, we should be inclined to invent one for ourselves, and it is quite possible that the one we possess has been so invented. All we contend for is that many of these stanzas were written by one who, if not a king himself, had been brought into intimate relation with kings, and thoroughly understood the tricks of the trade. The account which is given in the Vâchâpanâchâriaâvâshyâtâ is—that Bhartrihari had a fruit presented to him which conferred immortality. This he bestowed on his favourite wife, who gave it to her paramour, the head of the city police, and thus it eventually returned into the king's hands, who in a fit of disgust quitted his throne and retired into the forest. This story, whether true or not, is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the stanzas on asceticism, of which we are now attempting a metrical rendering. There is nothing to our notions very meritorious in a king who had felt the "sad satisfaction" of pleasure, and was as weary of the joys as of the cares of empire, exchanging them for grass and the fruits of the jungle. But similar retirements have taken place in European history, though perhaps of a less sincere character.

The Vairâgya of the Hindu ascetic differed little from that of the Greek cynic. Mr. Lewis tells us that "Diogenes ate little, and what he ate was of the coarsest. He tried to live upon raw meat and unboiled vegetables, but failed. His dress consisted solely of a cloak. When he asked Antisthenes for a shirt, he was told to fold his cloak in two; he did so. A wallet and a large stick completed his accoutrements. Seeing a little boy drinking water out of his scooped hand, he threw away his cup, declaring it superfluous. He slept under the marble porticoes or in his celebrated tub. Decency of any kind he studiously outraged." We shall find many expressions in the following stanzas strangely in harmony with this description of the habits of the dog-philosophers, and may perhaps be re-
minded of Socrates' remark to Antisthenes, "I see your vanity peering though the holes in your cloak." Even those who take no interest in the ideas of Greek moralists may find something familiar in these stanzas of Bhārtṛhari. It would perhaps be going too far to accuse the author of Welschmachers, but he certainly has something in common with European poets and philosophers of the present day.

Eternal, Holy Spirit, free from bonds of space and time,
Whose essence is self-knowledge, thee I call to bless my rhyme.

Against the desire of worldly things.
Envy possesses those that know,
Great men are drunk with pride,
The vulgar no discernment show;
Who shall for hards provide?

I tremble at my merit gained in this revolving world,
Bitter shall be its aftertaste, when back to life
I'm hurled,
Those carnal pleasures won by long-continued acts of right,
Lay heavy burdens on the soul and check its upward flight.*

I've boldly crossed the stormy brine, I've
striven kings to please,
In grave-yards plied my midnight spells, nor
cured that fell disease,
Earth's bowels have I searched for wealth, and
melted stones with fire,
Thou seest, no doit rewards my pains, then
leave me now, Desire!

I've wandered over many lands, and reaped
withal no fruit,
I've laid my pride of rank aside, and pressed
my baffled suit,
At stranger boards, like shameless† crow, I've
eaten bitter, bread,
But fierce Desire, that raging fire, still clamours
to be fed.

Much have I borne rich hosts to please
Who love to taunt their guests,
I've laughed with spirit ill at ease,
And praised their rapid jests;
I've mastered wrath with strong control,
And bent the supple knee;
Then, hopeless hope, why rack the soul,
Proof against all but thee?

Morn after morn dispels the dark,
Bearing our lives away;
Absorbed in cares we fail to mark
How swift our years decay;
Some maddening draught hath dregg'd our souls,
In love with vital breath,
Which still the same sad chart unrolls,
Birth, eld, disease, and death.

What man of sense e'er craves the means of life,
To feed himself alone? His ragged wife,
With starving children clinging to her side,
And wistful looks, o'ercomes his selfish pride;
Sooner than see his babes with hunger pine,
He rushes forth prepared to fawn and whine.

The joys of life have ceased to please,
Honour and fame are fled,
The dear-loved friends of early youth
Are numbered with the dead,
Propped on a staff I limp along,
Dim mists obscure my sight,
But this frail flesh still dreads the doom
Of everlasting night!§

God satisfies the snake with air,
Grass to the cows is food and bed,
Man's nobler soul is clogged with care,
Struggling to gain his daily bread.

I've never sought release from births by honouring Śiva's feet,
Nor oped by merit huge the gate of Indra's heavenly seat,
Nor wandered with my youthful feres in Pleasure's giddily maze.
Then vain my mother's cares and woes, and
profitless my days.

* It must be remembered that according to the Vedantic system the acquisition of Heaven or Svarga itself is nothing comparable to moksha.—K. T. Telang.
† Cf. Homer, Odyssey VIII. 316:—
ό νός τε στεσσφρη ἐπὶ γαστερίς κύστερον ἄλλο.
‡ Cf. Dante, Paradiso, canto XVII:—
Tu proverbi si come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com'è dure calle
Lo scendere, e' l'altari sale.
§ Cf. the verses of Maccenas:—
Dulce facito manu,
Pebilem pede, cuxa;
Tuberadonis gibberum
Labrices quae dentes,
Vita dum superest, bene est.
Hanc misi, vel scuta
Si sedemus cruce, sustinere.
I have not wasted life, but life hath wasted me,  
I have not chosen pain, but pain hath been my lot,  
Some men make Time their fool, but here  
Time's fool you see,  
I've long been dead to joy, but passion dieth not.

Insults I've borne, but not with patient mind,  
Pleasures forborne, to which my heart inclined;  
Put up with hunger, nakedness, and cold,  
Not for the love of God, but love of gold;  
Thought much on wealth, but not on Śiva's feet,  
And broke my slumbers not to pray, but cheat;  
I've lived a hermit's life without his creed,  
Made earth a hell, but gained no heavenly meed.

Wrinkles deform my face,  
And hoary hairs my head,  
Withered my youthful grace,  
But avarice blooms instead.

The joys of sense will vanish soon, what do we gain thereby?  
Those only store up merit who in all themselves deny;  
When pleasures flee, they leave behind a never-ending smart,  
But he who hurts them from him fills with heavenly peace his heart.

As knowledge grows, content expands, and fell desire abates;  
But worldly joys, if long embraced, a baneful influence gain;  
Thus Indra, like a mortal king, hopes, trembles, loves, and hates,  
From having held through endless years an undisputed reign.

Of worldly enjoyments.
I'm forced to beg my loathsome daily mess,  
My couch the earth, myself my only guard,  
Of filthy patched unseemly clouts my dress,  
And yet these worldly longings press me hard.

Of evil men and oppressors.
My drink is of the crystal brook, of fruits my banquet's spread,  
My frame is swathed in strips of bark, the earth's my sumptuous bed,  
Thus happier far, than forced to bear the upstart insolence  
Of those the new strong wine of wealth leath robbed of every sense.

Of eva-glory.
By mighty sages' will this world first saw its natal day,  
Others have conquered it, and thrown with scorn its wealth away,  
Others rule fourteen higher worlds all happier than ours,  
Why then should lords of some few towns thus vaunt their petty powers?

Of indifference to worldly things.
Thou art a king, I grant, but we are famed for boundless lore,  
Thy wealth's renowned, our skill by bards proclaimed on every shore,  
Between us no vast gulf is set: what though thou scorn our name,  
Yet we, to all indifferent, heed not thy praise or blame.

This world still groans 'neath many hundred kings  
All emulous to snatch their neighbour's share,  
Each paltry gain some fresh enjoyment brings  
To fools whose greed should fill them with despair.

This earth is but a lump of clay girl with a briny ditch,  
Where hosts of squabbling kings contend, all striving to be rich,  
One cannot blame these grovelling slaves for clinging to their store,  
But out on those who stoop to beg at any royal door!

The misery of a courtier's life.
What can I do in princely courts,  
Unskilled in vice, and idle sports,  
Nor singer, actor, rogue, nor clown,  
Nor bent on palling others down?

Of old time learning courted saintly bliss,  
Then stooped to be the slave of base desire,  
But now that kings 'gainst intellect conspire  
Each day she plunges deeper in th' abyss.

\[\text{Cf. Burke, vol. II. p 106, l. 83 (Bohn's ed.): "Kings are naturally lovers of low company," &c.}\]
NOTES ON SOME PARTS OF THE AHMADNAGAR COLLECTORATE.

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

Kopargám lies sixty miles north of Ahmádanagár on the Malegám road, on the north bank of the Gaṅgá or Godávari river, and, though itself a small place, of no particular importance except as the head-quarters of a taluká, it possesses some historic and legendary interest, and has in its neighbourhood some valuable remains.

Kopargám itself was the favourite residence of the famous Rághunáth Ráo Bhat, commonly called Rághoobá Dádá, the brother of the Pesháw Bálájí Bálí Ráo, and father of the last of the dynasty, Bálí Ráo II. The Man млdár's kachéri is now established in a palace built by or for him, which is, however, remarkable for nothing but a very pretty carved wooden ceiling in one of three rooms reserved for the accommodation of district officers on tour. The building itself, like most Maráthá palaces, is constructed of the worst possible stone and brickwork, concealed by showy carpentry and cut-stone facings, and will probably have to be abandoned next year, when I hope the decoration referred to above will be preserved from the wreck, as one of the few samples of really good decorative art which remain to us from a period and dynasty of generally unmitigated barbarism.

Opposite this, in a grove of trees in an island of the Gaṅgá, was formerly another palace, which has been pulled down and sold, as has also a third at Híngání, three miles off, and need not be lamented. But at this last-named place still stands the tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Rághoobá himself, which is worthy of some remark. In an elbow of the Gaṅgá, and surrounded on three sides by its bed, here dangerous and rocky, stands a fortified enclosure of cut stone, 65 paces long by 55 wide. I had no way of measuring the height of the walls, but they must be at least sixty feet high. There is only one gate; but the side towards the river is quite open, and it appears to me, from the way in which the corner towers are finished, that it was never intended to build it,—at any rate to the height of the other sides. In the centre is the cenotaph or thádá, a very small and rude erection of timber and brickwork upon a coarse stone plinth, with no inscription or ornament whatever,—unless a small marble linga may be so called. Yet the surroundings—the black massive walls of the vedá, and the boiling current of the sacred river—make it no unfit place for the ashes of a man who, with all his follies and crimes, was certainly the first soldier (though not the greatest general) of his time and nation, and is still remembered as having "watered the Dekhán horses in the Atak."

Near the site of the old palace in the island stands the temple of Kácheśvara,—a set of buildings of little beauty and no antiquity, but extremely sacred, and possessing a Mårádhmya or chronicle of their own, which might yield some information to a scholar able to read it. The following legend is said to be contained in it, but it was told to me by word of mouth:—

"In former days the Gaṅghári (plain of the Gaṅgá) was inhabited, like the rest of the Dekhán, by Dáiyás, whose great guru, Śukrá Achárya, resided in this island. The gods were not able to deal with them, and consulted Bhraspati, who undertook their conversion, and despatched his son, named Kach, on the pious errand. Kach went to Śukrá Achárya* and enrolled himself as his chétá or disciple. Now Śukrá Achárya had one fair daughter, who was much taken with the good looks and good manners of the new comier. But the Dáiyás disciples were jealous of him, and suspected that he meant no good; so one day they slew him in the jungle, and came home and reported him missing. The lady, however, with her wits sharpened by love, was not long in conjecturing the truth; and she went to her father and induced him to repeat for the benefit of Kach a mantra which should restore him, if dead, to life again; and shortly after the dead man walked in and proceeded to prepare his supper. Three times the Dáiyás made away with Kach, in one way or another; but still the lady coaxed the words of power out of her fond parent, and still the objectionable intruder 'came to time.' Then they devised cunningly together, and having knocked Kach on the head yet once more, they burnt him to

* In the story of Wáman (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 243) Śukrá or Śukrá Achárya appears as the chief priest of king Bálí.
ashes, which they mixed with Śukra Acharya's evening draught, and then told him what he had swallowed. The grod's daughter, missing the object of her affection, returned to the charge with entreaties for his restoration to life. 'But,' said Śukra Acharya, 'the man is in my belly; and if he comes to life there he'll certainly burst me, and you'll lose me in recovering him.' She, however, answered that she was bound to have both, and required her father to teach her the necessary spell, by means of which, she said, she would revive him in his turn, if the resurrection of Kaśch should lead to such unpleasant consequences. The Acharya said 'it was absurd; no woman could be admitted to the knowledge of such mysteries.' However, she gave him no peace till he consented. But as he was teaching her the mantra a new complication occurred: for Kaśch—who appears to have retained his presence of mind through the processes of slaughter, combustion, and dissolution—overheard the lesson from his place of confinement in the grod's belly, and forthwith availed himself of the knowledge by repeating it himself. At once he emerged safe and sound from the interior of the Acharya, who, however, as he had predicted, did not survive the operation. His daughter promptly made use of her newly acquired knowledge to restore him to life, and then proceeded to offer her hand to Kaśch. But he, being more scrupulous than grateful, replied that, inasmuch as he owed life to her, she was his mother; and further, being the daughter of his grod, she was his spiritual sister; and under either view of their relationship the match was impossible. The lady rejoined, and words rose so high between them that Kaśch cursed her, and declared that for her un maidenly forwardness, and for presuming to learn things forbidden to woman, she should never have a Brāhmaṇ husband at all, but must take up with some one of inferior race. Śukra Acharya was converted to orthodoxy by his words (one doesn't quite see why), and he and all the Daityas became good Hindus. To this day he and Kaśch sit by side by side on the island, and are the objects of much piety, and enjoy a good fat devanthā āstha.†" I asked what became of the daughter of the Daitya, but my informant did not know, "only there is a great stone that represents her."

It was at Kopargāṅ that Bīlāji Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Sarsārādār and Manohargīr Gopīvīr, inveigled 7000 Bātors into their power in the year 1804, and threw them, it is said, into wells—which last detail I doubt, not finding, myself, enough wells about the place for a tenth part of the number; but there is a fine deep pool of the river convenient for the purpose. The place was occupied by Madras troops in 1818 and following years, and a few European tombs then erected remain near the ford.

About four miles down the river, at Kokanathān, there is a temple of Mahādevā which must be very old, and is remarkable for the beauty of its internal carved stone-work, especially of a pendant in the central dome, representing a sort of large flower, or rather bunch of flowers, suspended by its stone stalk from the keystone of which it forms a part. The external decorations, though worn by weather and defaced with the plaster dear to churchwardens in all climates, are worth remarking: the principal pattern is one of wreathed snakes, which develop into some places into a foliage pattern; the transition is easily seen by looking at a sufficient number of examples. The combination of vegetable and animal forms in decoration is common enough in Indian art. There are many examples of it in the Ajanta ceilings, and the makara, or monstrous head ending in foliage, is a favourite at Ambarnāth and elsewhere, and to this day popular in both houses and temples, in stone and wood; but I never saw this snake-plant pattern before.

The temple is of the form common in ancient Saiva buildings in the Chāluṣya and derived styles,—a shrine and maṇḍap, each upon a plan originally square, but with so many projections added to each side that the figure eventually becomes a lōzeng with porches at three corners of the maṇḍap, and the door of communication with the shrine at the fourth. In this temple the eastern side door is replaced by a sort of transept of quite different work from that of the rest of the building, being covered with square panels of stone carved in geometrical and other fanciful

† Grant of land for the service of a temple.
† Maspelt’s Mandargir in Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 129. See also Grant Duff’s Hist. of the Marāṭhās, vol. III. p. 249.

and Mr. Leck's Account of Ahmadnagar, Nānık, and Khandesh, p. 19.
patterns, very like the stone lattice-work of the windows in many modern temples. This transept is the shrine of a village goddess, who has, the villagers say, no name (which is probably untrue), and is powerful to cure the itch,—not an uncommon disease among her votaries. Their gestures in describing her virtues were equally appropriate and amusing.

There are several other temples in this village, apparently of great age, but of no beauty; one of Mahādeva formerly stood upon a mound west of the village, which may possibly be a barrow, but I had no time to open it. There are still lying there a large linga and a Nandi, or bull, which the villagers neglect, "because," they say, "the divinity is gone out of them." This village has a much cherished custom, which is that upon the Akṣhatriya, or third day of the waxing half of the month Vaiśākha, which fell in 1875 on the 8th of April, the little boys go out and engage the youngsters of the village of Sāṅvatār, across the Gāṅga, with slings and stones. If this be not observed, rain will not fall, they say, in the ensuing season; or if it does, it will fall under such a nakshatra as to engender multitudes of field rats, who eat up the crop, and this is called 'rats' rain' (undirāṇchā pūra). If, however, the stone fight be waged with due spirit, it is followed by plentiful vinājaryāṇchā pūra, i.e. rain falling at an astronomical conjuncture favourable to the development of catus, and a plentiful crop is safely harvested. Some busybody wrote and assailed this ancient and laudable practice in the native papers, and caused a reference from a paternal government, and much anxiety on the part of fussy policemen; but this year, at any rate, I have been able to secure the due observance of the Akṣhatriya from officious or official disturbance.

About six miles up the Gāṅga from Kopaṛgām, at Kumbhārī, there is another ancient and curious temple of Mahādeva. The spire is gone, and the exterior, unlike that of the Kokaṃthān temple, is plain and massive; except at the porches the only external ornaments are niches for statues, which last have disappeared so long ago that the villagers deny that they ever existed. The stone, however, at the backs of the niches shows where they were plain enough. The spire also is utterly gone, but the interior is as rich as that of the Kokaṃthān temple, and evidently of the same school. One rather curious ornament characteristic of both is a concave quarter-sphere crossed by two intersecting ribs. The wreathed snake-plant also appears on the west porch. Other ornaments are the sun and a very long and narrow lozenge or lance-head. This last has been copied upon the gateway of the funereal vihāra at Hīṅgaṇī, where there is a little sculpture unusually good for so modern a work,—in the Dekhan at least.

In this temple, as at Kokaṃthān, a transept takes the place of the last porch. Here, however, it is uniform with the rest of the building, and evidently part of the original design. It is occupied by Lakṣmī. Devī. A vihāra, or pipe, in the east wall of the shrine, is said to be for the purpose of admitting the earliest rays of dawn to light up the linga. It looks more like a drain, but is at a higher level than the top of the linga, and was perhaps made for the purpose of bathing it with water, or, as has sometimes been done, with milk or other fluids.

There are a few remains of two other temples of the same class at Maḷegām and Maḥegām, a couple of miles higher up the river, but in none of them is there a single inscription, nor could I pick up any legend which might throw some light on the history of these buildings. The villagers have 'Hemād Pant' at their tongas' end, of course. One gets rather tired of the name of him in Western India. However, at Kokaṃthān the kukkawī (village accountant) actually knew who the historical Hemād Pant was; and it is just possible that where so much of the truth had lingered, there may be some in the belief that he had some connection with the school of architecture which evidently once flourished in the plains of the Gāṅga.

At Ranjaṅgām Deshmukhāche, about ten miles south-west of Kopaṛgām, on the road to Saṅganner, is an ancient bīro, or reservoir, which I conceive to be one alluded to by Drs. Gibson and Wilson in the Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. III. pt. ii. p. 87, under the head of structural Buddhist remains coeval with the caves. There is nothing Buddhist about this, however, and no reason to suppose it coeval with any Buddhist cave.

The plan and structure are the same as those of modern works of the same sort, abundant in the district; and the only ornament consists
in a series of little niches about two feet high, which doubtless once held images. As I have above referred to the supposition of Drs. Wilson and Gibson that this and some other structural buildings may be Buddhist and coeval with caves, I may observe once for all that in several years’ wanderings in the Western Dekhan and Konkan I have found only three relics which I would even conjecture to be of that character. The first is the Dickinson Stone, now in the possession of Government at Junnar, in the Puna district. It has evidently formed part of the frieze of a large building, and lies on one side five squatting figures in low relief—representing, apparently, ascetics in the attitude of contemplation. What is curious about it is that the artist appears to have had some idea of caricature. The second is a stone in the ruins of a small temple just at the head of the Nana Ghat, about fifty yards from the Dharmaśālā cave, which bears a suggestive resemblance to a dahgoba. The third is an old temple of Saṅgamer Mahādeva, near Pārner, in the district of Ahmadnagar, in the external decoration of which occurs something like a dahgoba. The temples of Aṅkoḷa and Hari Chandrāgaja, which I have presently to describe, are both mentioned by Dr. Gibson in the paper referred to as belonging to this class of remains, and Dr. Wilson (who never saw them, I fancy) appears to endorse his opinion. What I have said above will save me from the necessity of frequent quotation.

Saṅgamer is a pretty and thriving town of 7,000 souls, upon the Prāvara river, (called by Grant Duft the Pairs), an affluent of the Gaṅga. It is not remarkable for anything except the beauty of the wood-carving on some of the houses. There is a small but pretty domed tomb over a Muhammadan saint, who has some hazy connection with the emperor Alamgir. I procured indifferent copies of some inscriptions on it.† Near the Assistant Collector’s bungalow are some of the finest tamarind trees in the Dekhan, and an old Muhammadan cemetery, one of the headstones in which is a pillar apparently taken from the door of some Hindu temple of the class of those already described. No other remains of this temple exist, but there are plenty of modern ones; and a Muhammadan shrine in a queer place,—the hamman-khana, or hot-bath room, of the old town fort. At some period,—probably under the Marāthīs, whose constant immersion in metaphorical hot water is consistent with a great contempt for the use of that fluid in the concrete,—a faqir turned this bathroom from a temple of cleanliness to one of godliness,—qualities which, however closely connected in our proverbial philosophy, are highly antipathetic in Saṅgamer. His memory is still kept up there by a green flag, and an ever-burning light, which is attended to by the kacheri peons as ex-officio ministrants, and allowed for out of the petty supply fund of the Māmledār’s office.‡

A few years ago Saṅgamer was honoured by the presence of a curious person,—a sainted Māmledār. Indian readers, accustomed to look upon our native officials as very useful and industrious, but seldom particularly pious, will probably be surprised to hear that such a post was occupied by a man who might easily, had he chosen, have become the leader of a numerous sect, and occupied a place in religious history like that of Kābir Pānt or Svāmi Nārāyaṇa. This gentleman (he is still alive, though retired from the service) early distinguished himself by a great respect for human and animal suffering. Like the bishop of Blois—

“A pitiful man was he:—
He wept and he pined for the woes of mankind,
And of beasts in their degree;
He would rescue a rat from the claws of the cat,
And set the poor captive free;
Though his cassock was swarming with various vermin,
He’d not take the life of a flea.”

pt. ii. p. 64.
* I shall have occasion to describe it more particularly in a later part of these notes.
† Published in Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 349.
‡ For the benefit of readers in Europe I should explain that a Māmledār (properly Mām-lat-dār) is the native official in charge of a taqāk or sub-division of a district. He has considerable power as head of the local revenue administration, and is generally a magistrate of the second class,—i.e. can inflict fine, whipping, and imprisonment up to the limit of six months.
I well remember the tragic indignation of a police officer who had bestowed much pains upon the education of a sucking pig, when he heard that the ‘deva,’ as he was commonly called, had met the animal on the road, travelling to the common bourse of pigs upon a Mahârâ’s head, and had actually bribed the cooly to release the intended victim. It required all the intercession of the much-amused District Magistrate, who thought the ‘deva’s’ influence worth retaining in the service of Government, to prevent the victimized owner of the pig from bringing the holy man to martyrdom in a criminal court. All Mâhârâ ShÊrî believes firmly that a deficiency in my friend’s treasury, caused by his drawing it for charitable purposes, was miraculously made up just before the arrival of an unsympathizing Collector to examine the balances; and when I lay upon the Puñâ passes, in 1874, the answer of almost every traveller who passed up was examined as to his business and destination was that he was going to fall at the feet of the ‘deva’ at Saṅgamner. Many of these pilgrims came from great distances, and by the most toilsome paths.

The old gentleman’s visits to Puñâ or any other large town were always the signal for the assemblage of a crowd of votaries, and for a general petition in all the offices for a day’s leave to go and worship him; and once the railway accident was attributed to the crowd pressing to the carriage in which he was making a journey. He was, to do him justice, very modest and unassuming himself, and served out his time for pension without ever incurring serious censure. One remarkable point about the matter was the utter indifference with which the Hill Kolês treated his divinity. They are nominally Hindus, and do occasionally visit the well-known shrines, but of the hundreds of pilgrims that I have seen passing through their hills to visit the ‘deva’ not one was a Kolê. The bear and tiger are still their favourite living divinities.

A few miles south of Saṅgamner the Puñâ road ascends to a lofty plateau by a difficult pass, called Hammant Nayak’s Barì. Near the top, upon the ridge of a natural trap-dyke, is a stone pillar raised to commemorate the death of the eponymous Hammant Nayak himself, whose story, as told to me on the spot, was as follows:

“Hammant Nayak was chief of all the Bhils in these parts, and made war upon the Moghuls. They came fighting and fighting from Puñâ (about seventy miles), and the Bhills lay in the nullá, and Hammant Nayak bent his bow to shoot. Then a sawad shot at him with a matchlock from this place, and hit him right in the breast-bone and slew him, but as he fell he loosed his shaft and killed that sawad. And after the battle the Bhills brought him up here and buried him, and set up this stone. And all the Bhills love to be buried here. And once a year they come and have cock and get exorcising drunk. And, further, if any man have a broken arm or leg, he makes them the likeness of it of bel wood (Gando Banga) and offers it with a cock to Hammant Nayak, and recovers of his injury.” The tomb is covered with little wooden legs and arms, and close by are two or three other tombs of the same sort, square platforms surmounted by little obelisks, and others more modest. The distance from the tomb to the ambush in the nullá is about 150 yards—a good range for either bow or matchlock, if the story be true. A more educated authority told me that the action was fought in the time of Bâlji Bâji Rao Peshwa, and against his troops, not the Moghuls. The practice of offering up these wooden limbs is not peculiar to this place. I saw them on a tomb near Tâkli Dhokeshwara, in the Pârner Taluka, a few days afterwards.

From Pârner to Aṅkolé is fourteen miles. On the road, at Thugan, are a few remains of another ‘Hemad Panti’ temple. Indeed they seem to have been common all along the Gaṅgâ and its affluents; much less so, however, in the country whose waters flow into the Bhimâ. Here, however, the Muhammadan occupation appears to have been more complete and systematic, and perhaps they destroyed what existed on their arrival. At Aṅkolé itself there is a very fine one. It is said to have been discovered about a hundred years ago by the plough of a Kumbi striking the bhal, or finial of the spire, which in this instance means the uppermost part of the remaining building, for spire and bhal have long been gone,—swept away probably by the same flood which buried the remainder of the building in the deep alluvium beside the Prâvara, which
still conceals probably a third of the exterior. The upper part of the central dome appears also to have suffered, and to have been rebuilt at a time when the restorers were unable to emulate the skill of the original decorators, but probably previous to the re-discovery mentioned above, as they used no mortar, though modern piety has "pointed" their work with chamam, and covered the ruins of the spire with a coat of plaster, surmounted by three absurd little gilt pinnacles, which make the whole oddly resemble a huge wedding-cake. § The plan is in some respects peculiar; we find the normal mandap and shrine, set like two broken squares touching at angles, but it has a porch and door behind the linga-shrine,—a thing I never saw anywhere else,—and the two side porches of the manḍap appear never to have been used as entrances, nor even as shrines. They are supported on short pillars, and must have been partly open to the light, but are surrounded by a continuous parapet, which seems to have been surmounted by a dwarf wooden or stone railing about fifteen inches high, judging from the mortice holes in the stone-work, and the peculiar bases of the pillars which rest upon the parapet, and are quarter-shares of a truncated pyramid inverted, with only the outer sides ornamented. Unfortunately, the front porch has been restored, by some pious blockhead, in the Saracen style of a handsome modern temple in the village, so that it is not available for purposes of comparison. More than that, the Vandal threw away the ruins of the old porch, on one of which was a long Sanskrit inscription, observed, but not copied, by Dr. Gibson twenty-five years ago. After long search I found that the fragment on which it was had been turned face up under a nimb-tree, and used as a seat by the idlers of the village, who had with their barbarous tender pates obliterated the inscription (never very deep or clear cut) beyond all hope of transcription or etamping, though it is possible that a competent Sanskrit scholar, with time and the stone itself before him, might decipher a few words. I believe Bhāū Dāji got a rubbing when it was in no quite so bad a state, and perhaps this has been read; if not, what might have furnished a key to the history of the now dumb ruins of this class in A h mā s d- nā gā r has probably been irrecoverably lost, for the stone is much too heavy to move, and scholars are as plenty in A ā k o lā as lawyers are said to be in heaven. Those of the town professed to be much puzzled over an inscription on the threshold of the shrine, which a little scrubbing revealed as modern Marāthi, and bad at that,—recording the name of a kulkāry who engraved it there in the hope of acquiring post mortem spiritual benefit from the feet of the worshippers, who must step or kneel upon it to adore the linga.

The carving of the temple resembles to a certain extent that of the K o k m hā n and Kumbhārī temples, but is enlivened much more than either with small standing figures of various Hindu divinities. The heīna, or sacred goose, appears both on the rear porch and on the central pillars. Almost all the figures appear to have been wilfully defaced. The best parts are the four great architraves forming the first course of the central dome of the manḍap. Two of these are adorned with battle-pieces; the third with a representation of Vishnu lying upon the folds of the great serpent. Right and left of him the "naked Nāga folk"—quaint figures, half-human half-snake—squat upon their curled tails, and outside of them common mortals. Opposite this is a spirited representation of the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons to obtain the Amrīta. The great Nāga's long body is curled in a round turn upon the top of the mountain Mandhār,—shaped something like the finial of a temple spire. Three or four comparatively large figures represent the gods, who have just let go, one only retaining hold of the snake's head, against their turn comes to haul again; while a lot of little Asuras are running off with the tail with a stamp-and-ge-motion that reminds one irresistibly of sailors at a hawser—

"With a yeo-heave oh! and a rumblelow,
And a heave! my mariners all! oh!"

The great snake, through it all, with his head just sufficiently raised to look about him, maintains an air of the most solemn indifference. The architraves of the other domes are ornamented with a pattern of blade-like leaves, occupied by the linga its ante-chamber; its pillars resemble those of the central dome, not those of the surviving lateral porches or transepts.

§ A relief on a small ancient grave-stone south of the temple seems to represent a Dravidian roof,—perhaps copied from this or some neighbouring building.
|| Possibly this was originally the shrine, and that now
set as it were in a double row, so that the points of the rear rank appear in the intervals between the shoulders of those in front. The rest of the nine interior domes, and of the lateral porches or transepts, is modern work; but the porch behind the shrine, though much injured, preserves its original ceiling, resembling those of the temples above described. Dr. Gibson mentions "Bacchus-looking figures" as forming the capitals of the pillars; but these are merely the four-handed figures which are found as brackets at Ambarnath* and other places in the Koṅkana, though this is the first place where I have seen them above ghāt. A comparison with these pot-bellied monsters would, I fear, have been odious to the graceful Dionysos; but doubtless the doctor was thinking of Silenus. He also mentions some "mounds of earth round the town" as possibly containing other remains, but upon examination they turned out to be the spoil-heaps of modern quarries.

Twenty miles from Aṅkole by the nearest road lies the mountain of Harichandragadh, the culminating point of the ridge which divides the drainage areas of the Bhima and the Ganga or Godavari; nor is it unworthy to crown the most important watershed of the Dekhan: The crest, occupied by a small fort, attains an elevation of 4700 feet above sea-level; and the scarps which overlook the Konkan on its north-western face are estimated by Colonel Sykes at three thousand feet of sheer descent. I should say less; but they are certainly the finest cliffs in the Northern Sahyadri (probably one of the most precipitous ranges in the world), and the views are magnificent. The west wind striking with great force against these cliffs produces such an up-draught that branches of trees, or the like, thrown over, descend only a few feet, then, hesitating in mid-air, suddenly reassess, and fly far inland over the head of the astonished experimentalist. It is an article of belief with good Hindus that a man jumping over with proper faith in the local divinity would return in like manner safe and sound; but no one has tried the experiment in these days of infidelity. The top of the mountain is what, for want of a better name, I must call a plateau, though it presents inequalities sufficient in some countries to make a very respectable mountain and a valley or two. It is about four miles in diameter any way you take it, and about the centre there is a group of Brahmanical caves, as follows:

No. 1. A dharmashala, with bench all round.
No. 2. "The house,"—a large cave, or rather group,—has a verandah, supported on stout square pillars ornamented only with a capital composed of "thin slab-like members" increasing in size upwards. This opens at one end into a long cell, with a small well or cistern beside it, and at the other into one somewhat similar but smaller. Behind the verandah is a large hall with three cells. Unfortunately it was occupied at the time of my visit by an English lady, which prevented my examining it very closely; but with her kindness enables me to accompany these notes with a sketch of the façade. The hall is lighted only by one large door and two small embrasures or windows.

Nos. 3 and 4. A large double cave, occupied when I was there as a kitchen; divided by a partition, on which, in high relief, is a figure of Gaṇapati, about life-size (assuming Gaṇapati to be of human stature).
No. 5 is a large double cell.
No. 6 a dharmashala, with bench, inner room, and well.
No. 7 is similar; though not exactly on the same plan as No. 6, with which it communicates by a window in the thin partition left between them.

No. 8 is a double cell, with a bench, upon the front of which are carved a few figures and ornaments, including a sort of diamond-shaped flower found also on the temples described above.
No. 9 is the same, with a well.

These form one range in a low scarp looking north-east, and the numbers are from the east westwards. The last two or three are much ruined, a vein of soft red stone cropping out here.

A little below this row of caves is a large reservoir, along the southern side of which is a row of little niches or shrines, some still occupied by images. This is surrounded by small temples and thālāk or cenotaphs, some of pillars of the central dome and rear porch. The others have 'fiddle-headed' brackets with the cobra's hood.

* Vide Nos. VII., XI., XII., and XXIII. of Ambarnath plates in Ind. Ant. vol. III. They only appear on the
which show a return to first principles in their resemblance to kistvaens, being constructed of three or four upright slabs with one laid over the top. This pattern is not uncommon either in this or the Puja district. They are generally about two feet high, sometimes very rough, sometimes built of slabs carefully hewn, and decorated by cutting the top slab into something like the roof of a temple. They are, of course, comparatively modern, but the exact date is never attainable; and they are not, I think, often constructed at the present day. Below the reservoir again is a small temple in a pit, half cave half building, consisting merely of a cell with a shrine at each side, one of which contains the socket of a departed linga. Below it again is a deep hollow or pit, seemingly formed by cutting away the rock at the head of a ravine, so as to leave a small level space, in the centre of which rises a structural temple with spire. It has a very ancient appearance, probably contributed to by the tremendous rainfall of these western highlands, but is also remarkable for its plan. There is no mandap; the shrine is under the tall spire, which is of the ‘Northern’ form; and the linga within is worshipped from any one of four doors with porches. Another shrine, containing the image of some goddess, is half built, half hewn out, in the south-eastern corner of the hollow; the western side is occupied by caves used as dharmasalas, two or three in number, as you like to count them, for they are much mixed up together. About fifty yards down the ravine is the best cave in the place,—a great cistern about forty feet square, the centre of which is occupied by a huge linga surrounded by four pillars (or the remains of them) something resembling in pattern those of the chief cave at Elephanta, but much more slender,—about one foot in diameter. There is a good relief on the left side of the cave,—three or four figures worshipping a linga, and a small chamber above the level of the water. The worshippers swim and wade round the great linga in the centre, splashing it with water.

The whole group except No. 2 and the Linga cave are remarkable for their want of symmetry or uniformity of design, and also for the large size of the cells, as compared with those of Buddhist caves. I am not sure whether No. 2 was intended for residence or worship, but suspect the latter. The Linga cave and principal structural temple are the only ones now used for religious purposes. There can be no doubt that the whole group is Brahmanical. There is nothing throughout them which can be taken for a Buddhist symbol; while Hindu ornaments and images abound. The dharmasala caves beside the temple, I fancy, were constructed along with or after it,—they are so completely subservient to it; indeed, it was probably built of the stone excavated from them and from the pit in which it stands. The decoration is in a style much resembling that of the temples already described, except that small figures of animals are sculptured outside the spire and walls, which is not the case with any of them. The pit is enclosed on the approachable side by a massive stone wall, outside of which, and on the pillars of the dharmasala and linga caves, are two or three very rude and fragmentary inscriptions, apparently in rather modern Marathi characters; but I had not time to stamp or read them, nor could I get a copy taken. I fancy they are merely the work of visitors or idlers. I could hear of no other caves in the neighbourhood. The nearest,—those of the Nanaghat, about fifteen miles due south as the crow flies, and thirty by the nearest way practicable to the biped implimus,—are Buddhist, as also those of Junnar, at about the same distance south-east.†

In the same range, however, are two other groups of Hindu caves. The first, those of Dhokesvara, are on the east side of one of two rugged hills that rise from a stony plateau about two miles from the village of Takli, a well-known camping-ground on the road from Saingammar to Parner, twelve miles from the latter town, and sixty from Harichandragadh.

There are two caves, approached by a flight of steps leading to a built-up masonry terrace; whether coeval with the caves or not I cannot say, but think not. The largest is a big temple, twenty yards deep by fifteen wide, the front open, and supported by two massive square pillars and two pilasters. A little inside of these, another row supports a massive quasi joist or architrave running right across the

† Two small caves are mentioned in the reports for the Bombay Gazetteer as existing in the mountain of Mahakali, near Ekdare, in this Tahsil.
temple; and within those again is the shrine, hollowed out of a great rectangular block left standing from floor to roof of the cave. Behind this again is a dark passage or pradakshina. The chief object of worship is a small linga in the central shrine, but there is another to the right of it (as you enter) faced by a large Nandi, or bull, carved in situ. On the same side, but nearer the entrance, in a sort of chapel or niche, is a four-armed figure grasping several weapons; one a live cobra; another, looking like the head of a mallet, perhaps represents the damaru or drum; the others are indistinguishable by reason of age, oil, and red lead plentifully bestowed by the worshippers, who honour this gentleman under the name of Kàl Bhairava, though I fancy he started in life under another title. Of several cobras about him, some seem to have been cut at a comparatively recent period. Opposite him are a row of eight ladies called the Asha Mātra. Yoginis I suppose; one has the head of a pig or horse—probably a kinnara. Besides these there are giant dwarps, animals of all sorts on a smaller scale, and a multitude of other figures, some cut in situ, others on detached or even imported stones—in fact the cave is a regular gallery of Hindu sculpture “from the earliest times to the present day,” and the collection is still increasing. The other cave is a triple cell a little higher up the rock; the inner division separated from the outer by a low partition wall without a doorway, so that one must stride or scramble over this to get in.

It is approached by a risky stair in the rock, south of the big cave. There is no inscription except a modern Marathi one on a small thaddi outside the chief cave. I heard of a cave at Vircole, seven miles from Pärner, and the identity of the name with that by which the Marathás know Elura tempted me to hope great things; but it is a mere hole in a rock by a modern though very sacred Hindu temple. There are, however, real caves at Wādgām, four miles from the large village of Kānhūr and twelve from Pärner, but I had not time to examine them.

Most of the places referred to in the foregoing notes are in the Kāpurām, Saṅgamner, and Anköl tālkās, drained by affluent of the Godāvari. The caves of Dhokeśvara and Wādgām only are in the Pärner tālkā, which lies partly in the wide open valley of the Ghūr river, and partly in the hills which form its northern boundary, and belong to the great dividing ridge of the Dekhan. The tālkā is tolerably rich in remains, but none are of the ornate character of those already noticed.

At the junction of two small streams near the town of Pärner itself is a temple of Mahādeva Tryambakesvara (called also, from the site, Saṅgamēśvara), of considerable age and interest. The ground-plan is the normal double broken diamond or square, but not quite so elaborate as at Ambarath; for while there we have four superior re-entering angles between porch and porch on each side, and the salient angles also have each a double notch, here there are only three superior re-entering angles, and one small one next the porch. The roof is supported by four pillars standing in the centre of the floor, supporting, with the help of the walls and surviving pilasters, nine small rough domes. As far as can be made out, this was the original arrangement, but the whole building has been destroyed (tradition says by the first Muhammadan invaders), and rebuilt from a height of about nine feet from the ground, as can be seen by the use of mortar on the upper part (the lower being of dry stone-work remarkable for the size of the blocks), and by the inverted position of the decorations. The three porches are all in ruins—the front one least so. Its door strongly resembles the inner door of temple No. II. Belgaum (figured in plate V. of the Archeological Report of Western India for 1874), but has not the pierced panels at the sides. The pillars, however, rather resemble those of temple No. I. Belgaum (ibid. plate II.). Perhaps the most curious feature of the temple is a decoration repeated on almost every stone of the exterior, with slight variations—that, namely, which I have alluded to above (p. 7) as suggesting a derivation from Buddhist forms. The face of each of the large stones forming the walls is chiselled out to a depth of about one-fourth of an inch, a band one inch wide being left at its original place to serve as a border or frame. Within this is left in the same manner the figure in question. In some instances only the surface between it and}

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1. On a subsequent visit I found them to be natural caves, rather spoilt by bad modern masonry, and of no architectural interest, though the natural beauty of the little glen in which they are makes it well worth going to see.
the bordering band is chiselled out, and then it resembles the exterior of a dalgoba in low flat relief, with 'ears' at the spring of the dome on each side. On other stones the surface is again cut away inside, leaving a very fair representation of the chaitya, or some similar arch. In every case the top of the device is carried up to, and joins, the border, so that one cannot tell how the object represented was finished above. The original roof of the temple is entirely gone; no image remains but the linga in its pit-like shrine, and a broken ball in a pit lined with modern rubble masonry, over whom the villagers have piled, in the form of a rude dome open at the top, some fragments either of his former pavilion or of the ruined porches. One of these, now called a linga, seems to represent a bunch of grapes turned point upwards, and may have been a finial of the roof. Another is a piece of a cornice, and corresponds with one or two others lying about, and with some built upside down into the wall by the Junnar Gate of the town, half a mile off.

A large bāra, or reservoir, at the other side of the town also shows the chaitya-like decoration; and a shrine at one side of it has pillars like those of the temple. It now belongs to a mean-looking mosque. Probably it was formerly part of the surroundings of another temple, for the number of columns and cornices, lying about the town, or built into various structures (some themselves of respectable age), is greater than could have been furnished by the porches of Tryambakāvāra.

A wretched little modern temple in the centre of the town has several,—some corresponding to those of the surviving temple, others much plainer, more slender, tapering, and showing in section the broken square.

In front of this temple, under a pipal-tree, several fragments of sculpture are heaped together. One is a gargoyle in the shape of a monster's head, and must have belonged to a large building, as it is three feet long by two deep from poll to chin. Beside it is a great stone rāṇjana, or vase, of a form familiar to modern Dekhani potters,—that of an egg truncated at both ends. It is 4 feet 6 inches high, and the same in maximum diameter, and formed of two pieces, the upper fitted over the lower. This vessel is said to have been found in a Brāhman's stockyard, and brought to its present place by a former Māmulādī. It is very rough, and its simple decorations do not correspond with any of the other remains, and it might have been made at any period by the stone-cutters who hew out oil-presses. But it probably had sacred uses, for no domestic purpose could be assigned to it; and I found the lower half of a similar vessel among the ruins of a small temple (apparently of the same style as Tryambakāvāra) four miles off on the Kānhdūr road. The few remains of another temple of the same class lie under a tamarind-tree halfway on the road to Supe, in the opposite direction; and at Paish, twenty miles to the northward, some stones built into, and lying in front of, a small rude temple between the town-gate and the river, show the same scanty ornaments (especially the peculiar dome or arch) as the temple and reservoir at Pārner.

The only evidence supplied by these ruins themselves as to the external form of the roofs is that given by the few pieces of cornice remaining about Pārner; but some else is afforded by the gabbles, or niches, in a large reservoir at Nīghoj, twelve miles west by south of Pārner. These appear to represent the exterior of a temple of Drāvīḍian style, with cornices which resemble those at Pārner. It is permissible to suppose that the architect imitated in them some larger building, a conjecture which is strengthened by the form of the reservoir. Its surface-plan is the ground-plan of a maṇḍap,—the regular broken square; three large staircases replace the porches; and the pier of the mot (leather irrigation-bucket) occupies the position of the shrine. In short it is a maṇḍap turned upside down. The construction is highly archaic. Each course of the large blocks of hewn stone is set a little back from the next below, and firmly imbedded in a hollow cut for it. There is no mortar anywhere, and the use of a few iron clamps in the steps is probably a piece of modern repairs.[] There are no decorations except the niches mentioned above, from

[Something like the upper half of such a vessel appears in the foreground of plate IX. of the Archaeological Report on West, India for 1874.

[] A better example of this sort of work is to be found in a reservoir at Belhe, in the Junnar taluk of the Pund district, but in the same valley as Nīghoj, and only twelve miles distant from it. This mirror is larger than that of Nīghoj, and differs in surface-plan, being rectangular; but the structure of the masonry in roofing courses, each firmly imbedded in its inferior, is the same, and can be better seen here, as the sloping side necessitates an exterior as well as interior exposure of the walls on]
which the images have disappeared, and been replaced by round stones painted red. But on one stone of the mot-pier are scratched two quatrefoils, as if marked out to be cut deeper; on another two more, and something like a short broad sword or dagger. The villagers say that this represents the shears of a tailor, who in days gone by built the well in fulfilment of a vow to Malai Devi, to whom it is still sacred.

There are no other remains in Nig hoj, but several of the villages around contain fragments of ancient sculpture, the most noticeable being, perhaps, a great seven-headed Naga on a grave-stone at Mouje Chincholi, with its tail tied in a true-love knot, and some pillars and a small cornice in the Pärner style, built into and lying about two small temples at Shirapur, five miles up the Kukri river. The place has, however, a natural lion in the falls of the Kukri, called Kach Mawali, where the river, falling about thirty feet over a sheet of trap, has in course of time cut for itself a narrow and deep channel through the rock, of a kind well known to the geologists of the trap area, but marked beyond any that ever I saw by the elaborate potholes and honeycombs worn by the stream. This place is sacred, of course; and so are the fish which lurk in the deep pools, and are said to attain the size of a man! There are one or two small modern temples, which are objects of pilgrimage in the month Chaitra.

Pärner, which seems to have been always a place of importance, is not altogether without Muhammadan remains. There are built into the basements of the Junnar Gate, inscriptions "of Sangram Khan Gori, Faujdar of Pärner, and of his sons, Abdul Karim Khan, who was Faujdar in 1009,—of what era he does not say; and Yamn Khan, 1008 or 1088, it is not clear which, but I prefer the latter reading, in spite of the enormous longevity which it would assign to him. He was the last of his house, I suppose, who ruled in Pärner, for an inscription on the Nagar Gate bastion is in the name of Karim Khan, Faujdar for the emperor Alamgir, and bears date 1091. All these inscriptions are in Marathi characters, but over the last, in the same bastion, is one in Persian or Arabic, of which I could only get a very indiffident stamp; and a small ruined mosque under a tree opposite has two, one in sīh, and one transferred to the tomb of a fakir just before it, within living memory. I could make nothing at all of them. A small mosque at Rânjangâm Masjidich, in the east of the taluk, is much thought of by "the faithful" as having been built by the emperor Alamgir. It has a date over the door, which I had not time to copy, and only remember now that it did not contradict the tradition. A small tomb on the hill of Dañabâ near Pärner, is said to be that of Chân Bâbî, the fighting princess of Nagar, who seems to have "bestowed on every sird a limb," for this is the fourth place of sepulture I have heard assigned to her. This story, at any rate, may be put aside as improbable and unconfirmed by any respectable evidence. Hindu women offer glass bangles to a jasmine bush which covers the tomb. Considering how little the Muhammadans of Nagar built on their own account, it is astonishing how much they influenced the architecture of their Hindu neighbours, whose later religious edifices are almost all servile copies of Muhammadan designs, and sometimes only to be distinguished from mosques and tombs by the hideous occupants of the interior. The only good modern temples in the part of Ahmadnagar to which these notes refer are that of Sri Rânga at Ankole, which furnished a model to the misguided restorer mentioned above (p. 9), and two at the village of Pašhi-Mânda (the same village which contains a few ancient remains). One of these, the temple of Viñhobâ, is really a very handsome building, with a fine domed manḍap supported entirely on pillars, though these are rather stiff in outline, and the internal dome is disfigured with ugly painted figures. The vinâña is graceful, and shows some fine stone-cutting. The small modern temple in the town of Pärner, already once mentioned, has one curious piece of the Hindu art of our day,—a clay representation of Chandikâ Devi killing the buffalo-devil, executed with roofs show also, below the urn-like final (kalasa), the ornament called amal sīla,—here so much flattened as to resemble a cog-wheel more than anything else.

* Only the name is intelligible, though the rest of the inscription is legible enough. I submitted the stamp to both Persian and Sanskrit scholars without getting any interpretation.
STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE.
considerable spirit by a living artist, a pupil of the village of Renawadd, who “learnt to do these things in Bombay,”—I hope not at the School of Art. It is gorgeously coloured and gilt, and so much thought of that the cupboard-like shrine is kept under padlock. At Supe, on the Panâ-Nagar road, some black and white marble gods, included by a former jâghiirdar in the plunder of some Central Indian raid, are equally venerated and admired, with about as much reason.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S.
(Continued from vol. IV. p. 334.)

No. IX.
This is another Kâda mba inscription, from plate No. 72 of Major Dixon’s collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet 4’ 6” high by 2’ broad at Bâlagâmvar. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; on its right, a second standing figure, probably of a worshipper, above which is the moon; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Chelukya king Jayasimhadêva,* whose local representative in charge of the Bana vâse Twelve-thousand, the Sántâjir or Sântâlage Thousand, and the Hayre Five-hundred, was the Great Chieftain Kundâmâ, the son of Irivabedîagadêva. It records repairs and grants made to the temple of the god Nandikâvâradêva of the original local shrine, and grants made to the god Chaturmukhadêva, which was connected with the preceding, in the Saka year 941 (A.D. 1019-20), being the Siddhârthi saivatâvra.

Transcription.

* Saka 940 ? to 962 ?; Sir W. Elliot.
† The lines of this inscription being too long for the page, the commencement of each line has been marked by a numeral in brackets.—Bo.
The inscription ends here abruptly. The first word of the next line, if continued, must be श्लोक or श्लोक. The tablet itself does not terminate here; [42], the remaining portion of it, equal to five or six lines of writing, is quite blank, and no traces are discernible, in the photograph, of the inscription having ever been finished.

† The consonant is distinctly legible, but it is hard to say whether the vowel is 'e' or 'o'.
§ 'Ghele' is either a clerical error for, or another form of, 'gale', a staff; see No. 1, line 16, vol. IV, page 180.
¶ Either गोल, the Canarese genitive, should be read, or we must correct the text and read गोल, as a compound.
Translation.

May the three Spiritst, who are worshiped by the people of the three worlds†, give us success in our desires,—the lord of Śrī, who carries the discus, whose seat is Garuda§, and whose eye is like the lotus; the lord of the mountain-born, who carries the trident, whose seat is the bull, and who has one eye more than the usual number||, and the lord of the goddess¶ of speech, who carries the noose**, who rides upon a Kaḥaṇ̃śa †† bird, and who has eight eyes! ‡‡

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Taīlapadēva §§, who was born in the glorious family of the Chālukyas,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Satyārāya; the ornament of the Chālukyas; he who had the fragrance of jasmine; he who was terrible if any one opposed him; he who was a very lion towards the elephants which were the (hostile) kings; he who was a hero among heroes; the leader of heroes; he who was a fierce blast of death to Chōja; he who was a pure crest-jewel among kings who despised the wrath of Chōja; he who squeezed with violence the heads of hostile kings; he who castigated hostile kings; a very sun in respect of his kingliness; a very sun in respect of his radiance; a very Nāriyaṇa || in respect of his valour; a very submarine fire to the oceans which were the (hostile) kings; a very Thousand-armed ††† to Chāuvāna; he who was victorious among kings; he who was a demigod in respect of his renown; he who was a very Rāma with the bow,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

The kings of the Chālukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones††† with the greatest happiness at the excellent city of Ayōdhūypura; and Satyārāya—, who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman Victory,—ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal emperor, and the family of Brahman† was called the excellent Satyārāyakula.

In that same Satyārāyakula, the valorous Nārāmaśaila §, the lord of the lovely woman the Earth, armed with a sword which was his splendid, governed the whole world, distressing his enemies, but possessed of prowess that afforded a refuge (to those who applied to him for protection). Having slain in numbers the Raṭṭa kings, and having acquired the earth which had fallen into the hands of the Raṭṭa, together with their crown, he himself, a very handmili the Raṭṭa, became the diadem of the Chālukya sway.

That famous king Jayaśīṅgha||,—a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja; glorious as the sun; a very lion to the elephant which was Chōja, the greatest of kings,—was esteemed the supreme king of kings. Like the sun which climbs the mountain of dawn, when it has spread its rays abroad after chasing away the thick darkness, so that same Jayaśīṅgha vallabha, having diffused over all the regions the prosperity of the Kali¶ age, and having enjoyed the good fortune that he achieved, ascended the throne in such way that an excellent purity shone over the whole world. Having searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava, the expansion of his glory, conquering the regions, again and again immersed Chēra and Chōja in the ocean, and then, spreading so that the seven oceans were left behind it, it rose up, causing fear to those (gods) who are the guardians of the points of the compass; who are they who can withstand Jayaśīṅghadēva?

He who subsisted, (as if he were a bee,) on

† Vishnu, the preserver, Śiva, the destroyer, and Brahma, the creator, whose leading characteristics are given in order in this verse.
†† Heaven, and earth, and the infernal regions.
‡ The man-bird, the chief of the feathered race, the servant and vehicle of Vishnu.
|| The third eye being in his forehead.
**** Properly the noose is the weapon of the god Varuna, and Brahman carries the kamanḍalū, or earthen or wooden water-pot used by ascetics and religious students.
††† In consequence of his having four faces.
 §§ Śaka 905 to 919,—Sir W. Elliot.
|| Vishnu.
¶¶ Either Śiva, or the Purodeṣa hero Kṛtabālyakumara.
†† The eldest son and successor of Taīlapadēva; Śaka 919 to 939,—Sir W. Elliot.
|| The Chālukyas derive their origin from the god Brahma.
††† This may be another name of Vikramādiḍha I or Vībhun Vīkrama, the eldest son of Satyārāya; Śaka 890 to 940,—Sir W. Elliot.
|| Jayaśīṅghadēva, or Jagadēkāmaḷa, the third and youngest son of Satyārāya; Śaka 940 to 962,—Sir W. Elliot.
‡‡ The present and last of the four ages of the world.
the lotuses which were his feet, viz. the fortunate Mahâmanjulâsvara king Kûndama, the son of the fortunate Irivâdêgadêvya,—the Great Chieftain who attained the five Mahâbhâdhas; the supreme lord of the city of Banavâsipura, which was the best of cities; he who acquired the excellent favour of (the goddess) Châmûndî; he who was a very lion towards the troops of elephants which were his foes; he who had the applause of good people; he who was a very Trinêtra† to those who attain eminence; he who was as beautiful as an elephant in rut; he who was as mighty as a deadly serpent or an elephant; he who was as terrible as an elephant mad with passion; he who was a cage of thunderbolts to (protest) those who came to him for refuge; he who was an elephant-god for the elephants which were his enemies; he who was as the sun to (disperse) the darkness of the array of his foes; he who was as true to his promises; he who was a very Râma in battle; he who was a very Mûra† in haughtiness; the bravest man in the world; he who was a demigod among brave men; he who had the name of Kaṭakâdâgoâ; his whose resolution was not to be shaken; he who subdued the pride of brave warriors and enemies; he who was a handmill to his foes; he who was the diadem of chieftains; he who had the name of Sattiga-chaita,—while impartially governing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations, at the capital of Baliipura, the Banavâse Twelve-thousand, the Sântali|| Thousand, and the Hâyve Five-hundred, up to the borders of the western ocean,—on the occasion of the festival of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Siddhârti sauvastara, which was the year of the Saka era 941,—repaired the temple of the god Nandikâsvaramâdana §§ of the original shrine, (and gave), to be continued for the future, for the oblation of that god and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through

age, a plot of ground consisting of five mataras of rice-land, by (the measure of) the staff called Ratsaviyaghalâ*, in the rice-land called Saradêyakôbabaya, and one matar of corn-land to the south of the rivulet which is to the south of that same rice-land; and the boundary of this field is,—On the south, the rivulet itself is the boundary. To the north of the rivulet, which is to the north of that same rice-land, there is one matar of corn-land, the boundaries of which are:—On the north the weir to the north of the tank called Kariyakere; the east boundary is the pond which is below the field called Balliyahola. And the land of that same god is two mataras out of the two ballis† which are included in the rice-land called Balliyabyal. The flower-garden, to the north of (the temple of) that same god, consists of thirty kammas.‡ And two streets were laid out to the south of (the temple of) that same god, and two streets to the south, on the east of those same streets. And (there was given) a betelnut-garden of one matar below the tank called Arakere; and a flower-garden of fifty kammas to the south of the tank called Alagere, which was dug out below the northern weir of the same tank.

And to the east of that place (they gave), to be continued for the future, to the god Châturmukhadêva §§, which was connected with that same god, a plot of ground consisting of one matar and fifty kammas to the east of and near to the tank called Arakere; and a flower-garden of forty mataras lying round (the temple of) that same god; and two streets to the south of that same god. The boundaries of this are:—On the west and north, the large tanks themselves are the boundary; and on the south and the east of the god, the king's highway is the boundary. The boundary of two streets that were laid out to the west of (the temple of) that same god is:—On the west and north the boundary is the tank called Balligola, which was made to the east of the north-west quarter. To the west from there (they gave) of whom Bavana, the founder of the Lângiyat religion, is supposed to have been an incarnation.

* A form of Durgâ or Pârvati.
† The three-eyed Siva, as the destroyer of Tripura.
‡ The golden mountain in the centre of Jambûdîrpa or the inhabited world.
§ See No. 1 of the Banavali inscriptions at page 206.
|| Or Sântalâge; see note || at vol. IV. page 210, col. 2.
§§ Siva,—the lord of the bull Nandikâ or Nandî;

See note § to line 23 of the text.
†† Balli,—the meaning of this word as a land-measure is not known.
‡‡ Kamma,—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.
¶¶ The four-faced,—Brahma.
a flower-garden of forty kammus to the north of (the place called) Bādumbe.

(These things) they gave, saying that they were for the repeated worship of that god, for the perpetual oblation, and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age there.

Hail! Having washed the feet of the holy Mūliga-Sivaśakti-pañḍita-deva, who was endowed with the characteristics (of the performance) of the greater and minor religious observances, sitting in the postures of devotees, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, immovable abstraction of the mind, silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound meditation. No. X.

This is another Vijayanagara inscription of the time of Achyutaraya, from Plate No. 22 of Mr. Hope’s collection. The original, a fragment, is a stone-tablet at the temple of Banasamkari, which is about three miles to the south-east of Bādami in the Badami Tāluk of the Kalādgi District. The inscription is in the Canarese character and language. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a liṅga; on its right, the sun, and on its left, the moon.

The inscription records that in the year of the Śālivāhanaśaka 1455 (a. 1533–4), being the Nandana saṅvattara, at the command of Chinnappanāyaka, who was the general of Achyutaraya, Chikka-Chinnappanāyaka repaired the fort of Bādavī and the temple of the goddess Śri-Banada-Mahamāyi and other shrines which were in the same fort.

The forts of Bādavī, or in its modern form Bādami, are of some renown in these parts. The town lies at the mouth of a ravine, and is guarded in front by what was formerly a tolerably strong fort of its own, and at the back by a tank of considerable size. On the hill overlooking the north side of the town there is the Bāvan-baṅdē-kōṭi, or ‘Fort of the fifty-two large rocks’, and on the hill overlooking the south side of the town there is the Raṇamaṇḍala-kōṭi, or ‘Fort of the field of battle’. I failed to ascertain the origin of these names. In the āmeśa of the blind Bṛhmaṇa Narasiṅgraō and his Arab in 1841, the fort of the town was taken with tolerable ease by the military force sent out from Belgaum; but the other two, and especially the Bāvan-baṅdē-kōṭi, gave considerable trouble. All three were then more or less dismantled and rendered useless.

No shrine at Bādami itself seems to be now known by the name of Banada-Mahamāyi; the goddess is, of course, the same as Bana-Samkari, of the temple at which is the tablet containing the present inscription.

Transcription.

[1] aṅga-dvāra[
[3] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[4] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[5] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[6] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[7] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[8] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[9] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
[10] bāvu-pravatī-kañcanapati-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī
cānta-śrī

// See note to line 42 of the text.
/ Not Bādami, with the first ‘a’ short, as laid down in the Government list for the orthography of vernacular names.
* See note to the translation.
May it be auspicious! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a chowri which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! In order to dispel the darkness of obstacles, I meditate on him who is tranquil and pure, who is possessed of inconceivable glory, who is in body a man but in face an elephant, and who is a very corpulent glory!

Hail! On Monday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyesṭha of the Nandana sakhvātara, which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śālivāhanaśākṣaka 1455, while the brave and puissant great king Achyutarāya, whose lotuses, which are his feet, are adorned by the clusters of blossoms, which are the jewels in the diadems of all chieftains; the most eminent among kings; the glorious supreme king of kings; the supreme lord of kings—was governing the earth with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—

The fort of Bādāvi and the shrines of the goddess Śrī-Banada-Mahamāyi and other gods having fallen into ruin even under the great king;—Chinnapanāyaka, the general of the great king Achyutarāya, having given orders to repair and reestablish the fort of Bādāvi and the shrines within it of Śrī-Banada-Mahamāyi and other gods, sent (for that purpose) his son Chikka-Chinnapanāyaka:—

And that same Chikka-Chinnappanāyaka at the command of his master restored the fort of Bādāvi, and, with the object that the great king Achyutarāya and his master Chinnapanāyaka might obtain an increase of life and health and riches, repaired and reestablished the shrines of all the gods commencing with Śrī-Banada-Mahamāyi, who is the holy Mahamatye; who is the mistress of the fourteen worlds; who is courageous in utterly destroying the race of the demons; and who is the mistress of the city of Śrī-Vanapura; those same shrines to the great king Achyutarāya holy.

The general of the great king Achyutarāya

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The remainder of the inscription is lost, the tablet being broken here.

Gaṇapati. With the exception of reading 'vim apar' for 'tum apar', this verse occurs word for word in Malinikā's introductions to his commentaries on the Rāhu-

sūkta and the Kanadramabhāva.

According to the table in Brown's Carnatic Chronology, the Nandana sakhvātara is Saka 1454, and Saka 1455 is the Vijaya sakhvātara.

Māhāmatye, (i.e. Mahamatye, or more properly Māhāmatye) of the forest. 'Māhāmatye', the Great Illusion, is Durga, Śukrā, or Pārvati, as the personification of the illusory nature of worldly objects. Banada-Mahamāyi is evidently the same goddess as Banasaṅkari, Śukkari of the forest.

'Mahārdjilāndinda',—but the meaning to be given to this word is somewhat doubtful.

*Kundara'—perhaps 'deputy', though a free translation, would be more in accordance with the meaning.

†† i.e., 'Chinnappanāyaka the younger'.

The meaning to be given to the word 'ānasa', before 'mukham', is not apparent.

The city of the forest; all this part of the country formed in ancient times part of the great forest called Dandakārṇa.

See note † to line 20 of the text.
IX.—Folk-lore—Omens, Spells and Charms, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions.

Occasion is here taken to collect such instances as would fall under the above heading as came to my notice in the Madras provinces and on the western coast. Most of these are commonly known, and prevail widely over India. The list might doubtless be greatly increased were inquirers to record the odds and ends of popular notions that chance to come before them.

Omens (şakuna) form quite a wide and important subject, and are the twenty-fourth on the list of the sixty-four Hindu sciences. The following are some of the evil omens, on encountering any of which, Hindus about to start on a journey or begin any undertaking will often desist:—Seeing, on issuing from the house, a crow on the left hand (sinistra cornix) or a Brāhmaṇa kite on the right. Seeing or meeting a monkey, a sick man, an oil-man, a leper, a snake, a hare (as formerly in Scotland), a Brāhmaṇa widow, a Brāhmaṇa alone, a mendicant, a man with dishevelled hair, a quarrel, buttermilk, any empty vessel, a smoky fire, a bundle of sticks. It may be noted how many of these objects are just the things likely to be encountered on coming out early in the morning.

Amongst good omens are a virgin, a cow, the sound of a drum, the sound of a horn, milk, curds, fruit, flowers, a clear-burning fire, two Brāhmaṇas, a horse, an elephant, a bullock, two fishes, two vessels full of water, spirituous liquors, cooked food, meat, a dancing-girl, hearing kind words, a parrot.

The little familiar house-lizard (bālla) that runs up walls often utters a chirping cry; this proceeding from the east wall of a house is very lucky, but from any of the other three walls extremely bad, and sufficient to break off any enterprise. Readers of Aristophanes will remember how the meditations of Socrates, as he lay with mouth open, pondering on the paths and changes of the moon, were disturbed by a bālla from the roof. Sneezing is a serious affair all over the East, as well as in Europe, ancient and modern. In Southern India sneezing once is a good sign, twice a bad sign; more than twice is not regarded. Gaping, as amongst the old Jews, is held to be a moment when Brāhmaṇas and evil spirits effect an entrance into the body: hence most Brāhmaṇas on gaping snap their fingers as a preventive.

In dangerous sickness the hair is sometimes cut off and offered to a deity, as in old Greece. Childless women often go to anthills, where snakes dwell, and place offerings of milk with prayers and invocations, hoping thereby to remove their barrenness, which they believe to be due to an injury done to a snake in a former life. Besides barrenness the following evils are ascribed to offences done in a former life, by which malignant spirits gain power over mortals:—The death of children whilst the parents are alive, brotherly hatred, conjugal discord, undutifulness of children, being reduced to beggary, moodiness of temper, impiety and neglect of ceremonies, bad luck in trade or farming, constant ill-health, loss of employment.

Amongst charms and spells the following are considered good against Brāhmaṇas or evil demons, whose worship is so widely spread:—The tooth or claw of a tiger worn on the neck or near the loins, wearing an iron ring set with pearls (iron and steel have everywhere and at all times since the days of Ulysses (Odysseus, XI,) been powerful against ghosts and bad spirits), a lime placed in the turban, a figure of Hānu-mān graven on any ornament. When any mischief has been set on foot, repeating the name Govinda! Govinda! is held materially to assist its progress: once before me a man was convicted of arson against whom suspicion was first aroused by being overheard repeating Govinda! Govinda! whilst watching from a distance a fire that he had kindled. I know not the origin of this belief.

The old classical† and medieval superstition that the death of an enemy may be effected by making a waxen image of him and causing it to melt gradually before a fire with certain ceremonies, still flourishes in India,—indeed is

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* Much curious matter may be found in Professor Kern's translation of the Brāha-Sanihā in the Journal of the

Royal Asiatic Society N. S. vols. V. to VII.

† Theocritus, Pharmaceuturia; Virgil, Bucol. VIII.
hardly extinct in Europe. This is the manner prescribed:—"Make an image with wax in the form of your enemy, take it in your right hand at night and hold your chain of beads in your left hand, then burn the image with due rites, and it shall slay your enemy in a fortnight."

Another strong spell for evil is to take a human bone from a burial-ground and recite over it a thousand times the powerful Malayāla mantra, namely, "Om! Hirām! Hirām! Swine-faced goddess, seize him, seize him as a victim! drink; drink his blood! eat, eat his flesh! O image of imminent death, Bhagavati of Malayāla, glasum! glasum! Om!" The bone thrown into an enemy's house will cause his rain. Again, if a paste be formed of human bones, the above spell recited over it a hundred times, and the paste then mixed with food or drink, it will cause death in a week. This recalls the famous Uṣṇiṣvarūpam or Wonderous Ointment, of which Sir Kenelm Digby relates several surprising instances; the moss of a dead man's skull and man's fat were the principal ingredients: but it was used to heal, not to kill. Necromancy, as practised by mediæval magicians and sorcerers, respecting which Agrippa's Oaol Phyllosophy and Solomon's Key to Magic may be consulted, is familiar to the Hindus, and the rites used by them much the same. Here is a specimen:—Let a sorcerer obtain the corpse of a maiden, and on a Sunday night place it at the foot of a Bhūta-haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times, "Om! Hirām! Hirām! O goddess of Malayāla, who possessest us in a moment! come! come!" The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up, and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrak, will answer all questions put. This is called the Virgin Spell, and came from Malayāla. Be it noted that Malayāla is the land par excellence of sorcery and magic; the most powerful Bhūtas and demons reside there. As in mediæval belief, they can be bought, carried about, and transferred from one sorcerer to another. The following story, truly mediæval in its wildness, is copied from a Madras newspaper of the present year:—"Some Bhūtas have human mistresses and concubines, and even outrage the modesty of their occasional fair worshippers. At Bodināikkūr, near Palani, in the Madura district, a certain Chetti bought of a magician a Malabar demon, for ninety rupees, it is said; but ere a day had passed since the transfer, the undutiful spirit fell in love with its master's wife, and succeeded in its nefarious purpose. A pious Hindu assures me that the woman still lives, leading a very unhappy life with the demon, the husband being long dead and gone."

The notion of demoniac intercourse with mortal women is of extreme and general antiquity, ranging from Genesis (vi. 2) and the reputed praudielian Book of Enoch to Merlin and Mother Shipton: see Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 283 for an account of the stones sold at the Dharma-thāla Temple in South Kanara, the residence of seven most dreaded and malignant Bhūtas; these stones carry the powers of the Bhūtas with them, and can be used by their purchasers against enemies with dire effect. One of the native notions respecting pāṇḍū kula or kistvans—is that men of old times constructed them for the purpose of hiding treasure; hence it is that antiquaries find so many have been already ransacked. It is also believed that spells were placed over them as a guard, the strongest being to bury a man alive in the cairn, and bid his ghost protect the deposit against any but the proprietor; the ghost would conceal the treasure from all strangers, or only be compelled to disclose it by a human sacrifice being offered. Compare this with Bertram Risingham's account of the practice of the old Buccaneers:—

Seek some charnel when at full
The moon gilds skeleton and skull,
There dig and tomb your precious heap,
And bid the dead the treasure keep,—
Sure guardians they; if fitting spell
Their service to the task compel.
Lacks there such charnel? Kill a slave
Or prisoner on the treasure-grave,
And bid his discontented ghost
Stalk nightly on his lonely post.

Roebey, Canto II. 18.

Some speculative physicists make a point of sleeping north and south, that the magnetic currents may course freely through their systems; but Hindu mothers do not allow their children to sleep with heads northwards, the reason assigned being that after Siva had cut off Ganesa's head, it was determined to replace it with the head of the first animal found sleeping with its head to the north, which happened to be an elephant. Again, Hindu mothers prevent their children from smelling a lime or lemon;
because Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, having been forewarned that he should die of a snake-bite, retreated to a barren island, hoping no serpent would cross the water; but one, having assumed the form of a very fragrant lemon, swam over, and, on Parikshit’s smelling it, bit his nose, of which he died.

Hindus have some curious notions of natural repulsions or anti-sympathies (vibhūtam) existing between certain animals: such are said to exist between a peacock and a chameleon, a mouse and a scorpion, besides others which I do not remember. There is also a belief that when a bear seizes a man it tickles him to death without biting or violence; it is commonly believed, too, of bears that they gain an additional pair of kidneys each year of their life; and on opening a bear I have certainly seen appearances that seemed to bear out the notion. The hyena is also believed to beat to death, or strangle, with its tail, people whom it seizes. A tiger’s whiskers chopped up small are held to be a most potent poison: hence when one is killed the whiskers are often immediately singed off, to prevent possible mischief.

The origin of the word ‘Fairy’ is doubtful. Some have plausibly derived it from the Persian Pari; and Kightley, still more probably, from the Italian Fata, through the old French Fée, Féé, Féérie,—English Fay, Fairy, Fairy. Dr. Caldwell in his Comparative Grammar has suggested the Tamil Pĕy—devil or goblin,—the objects of the devil-worship so characteristic of Timevelli. The primary meaning would be some supernatural being, with infinite gradations between the beautiful creations of Persian and European fancy and the ugly malignant demons worshipped by South Indian Shāhārs. Mr. Ferguson (Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 79) thinks that “all dwarfs and magicians—all the Fairy Mythology of East and West—belong to the Turanian races, which underlie the Aryan races, and crop up at times through them, but are really antagonistic to the genius of the latter.” Considering how intimately the Fairy mythology is blended

with the popular beliefs and romance systems of most of the European nations which are held to be of Aryan descent, the position that such mythology is alien to Aryan genius seems debatable. If it were specially characteristic of a Turanian race, we ought to find it well developed amongst the Draviqian peoples, who are typically Turanian; but—which discords the Tamil origin of ‘fairy’—I have never been able to find that those peoples know of any diminutive beings corresponding to the Elves and Fairies of English and Irish legends, the little underground people, the Duergar or Dwarfs of Scandinavia, or the Trolls, Elle people, and Elves of Germany. In the Madras districts, though green circles are not uncommon on grass after rain, no little beings dance round them by moonlight or creep into flower-cups; no Trolls or Dwarfs haunt rocks and caves and have wondrous places within the hills: trees are frequented by hideous Bhātás,—not, as in Denmark, by delicate Elves. Sometimes I have thought I had fallen upon a trance. The Pădua kăla or kistvaens are in many places believed to have been built by a dwarf race a cabin high, who could nevertheless lift the huge stones with facility. I have heard, too, of a large mound near Chingalpat, not far from Madras, surrounded by kistvaens, and inhabited by a bearded race of Păngāy three feet high, ruled by a king who lives in the top of the mound: this seems very like a Norwegian folk-story of the hill-dwarfs. Siva, apparently a non-Aryan god, has a train of dwarfs, amongst them the three-legged Bhṛingi who dances nimblly; and Viṣṇu once appeared as a dwarf, Vāmana. Dwarfs are sculptured profusely on Śaiva, Vaishnava, and Jaina temples. The great Muni of the south, Agraśṭa, seems also to have been a dwarf, and dwelt on a mountain. Some think him to have been the prototype of Tom Thumb, Jack the Giant-killer, and Hop-o’-my-Thumb. Still I could not find any organized popular belief in races and communities of beings resembling the European. Such, however, may exist,—the primitive forest

also in Durga, an aboriginal deity, and in one aspect mistress of mountain caves and underground places. Akin to the Duergar also may be the Yākṣa, like them the warders of hidden hoards, and the servants of Kuvera, the god of riches and treasures in the earth,—himself, moreover, of deformed and dwarf-like appearance, and the maker of self-moving chariots, as the Duergar were of wonderful things and weapons.
tribes of Gonds, Kālās, &c. would be no unlikely field; and it would be particularly interesting to ascertain whether cognate legends are current amongst the nations beyond India, Kabul, Afghanistan, &c.]

It is necessary to distinguish between the little beings of the popular creeds—the cunning Dūergār and night-tripping Elves or popular Fairies, and the Fays and Fairies of romance, the full-sized fairy knights and ladies of Middle-Age romance and the "Faërie Queen," such as were in Milton's mind when he wrote

"Of Faëry damsels met in woods wide
By knights of Logres or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelles, or Pellinore."

are utterly different in appearance and attributes to the pygmy

"Faëry elves
Whose midnight revels by a forest side
Or fontain a beloved peasant sees."

This confusion is chiefly owing to Shakspere, since whose time the name and attributes of the real Fays and Fairies of romance have been transferred to the still more poetical and exquisite little beings of village popular imagination. But the fairy ladies of the romances of chivalry—of 'Haon de Bordeaux,' 'Perceforest,' and 'Parthenope'—approach much nearer the lovely Peris of Persian story and the amiable Jinni ladies of the Arabian Tales; and, allowing for difference of scene and associations, the Apsaras of Sanskrit mythology seem to be of the same lineage, and so do the Vanachāris or forest-nymphs, and Khanadāchāras of the Mahābhārata.

Still more nearly allied must be the beings described in the following extract from an account of Indian village superstition printed in a Madras newspaper of the present year by a native contributor:

"The spirits of the air are so numerous and of such different classes, that I cannot expect, in the compass of a single article, to treat of them with anything like fulness. Foremost in their nāral ranks, and somewhat detached from all the rest, stand these good-natured celestial vestals which frequent cool shades and limpid streams, which while away the live-long night in innocent frolic and joyous dance, doing no ill to man or beast. To help the sick, to succour women in travail, to guide the benighted traveller who has lost his way, to shower blessings and flowers alike on happily married couples,—in fact, to do anything that is good or graceful,—is the delightsome vocation of the village kayamā or virgins, as they are felicitously styled in ordinary country parlance. With the blooming grace of perpetual maidenhood, they are patrons of the village lassie afflicted with the 'tender passion,' and watch with a motherly interest the progress of steadfast honourable loves; while, on the other hand, there is nothing which they hate so intensely with their righteous hatred as the violation of matrimonial vows or the infringement of maidenly honour. Rude statues of potters' work representing these fair champions of virtue and youthful rewarders of conjugal fidelity may be seen invariably under some pleasant shade by the side of a rippling rivulet, or the placid surface of the village tank. When the sun is at its greatest height, and man and beast seek some friendly shelter to indulge in their mid-day siesta, languid and enervated by the burning heat, these fair celestials, screened from profane mortal sight, quietly perform their ablutions in the tank or brook close by, divesting themselves of their flowing ethereal robes. Their appearance to mortals in bodily form always portends something extremely good or evil; but as they are naturally inclined to acts of kindness and mercy, such interviews prove, in the majority of cases, harbingers of prosperity and conjugal felicity. Instances are not wanting of these sylvan beauties, through forgetfulness to bind the wood with their magic spell, allowing themselves to be surprised by the strolling cowherd ere they have risen from their midday bath. Every year, as the husbandman sows his grain after the precursory showers of the rainy season, he vows to set apart so much a kālam (twelve markas) as a thank-offering if the out-turn should prove as abundant as he prayed for. True to a farthing, the sale-proceeds of the virgins' share is religiously laid by, to be made use of a month or two after the harvest, when the ryot, now at leisure, thinks of redeeming his vow at the shrine of the celestial fair one. At the appointed time, generally at night, the whole village wends in solemn procession to the sacred grove, with banners flying and drums beating, and with all the paraphernalia of Eastern worship. Rice is boiled, sheep are slain, amateur theatricals improvised, and the light hearts of the multitude rendered still lighter by potions of arrak, the country-prepared and country-bottled brandy, the 'black house' as it is fondly termed by these rustic votaries of Bacchus."

Nothing else so poetical exists in Hindu folk-lore. I was never so fortunate as to hear anything of the belief and beings so pleasingly

|| See Dr. Leitser's paper on Dard Legends and Beliefs, Ind. Ant. vol. I. pp. 84-92.
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

KARHĀDA BRAHMANS.

Mr. Nairne, at page 135 of his book The Konkan, states that the Bājāpur-Talakā is the native
district of the Karhāda Brahmins. It may be so with
regard to the Ratnāgiri Zīlāh, but the real
district from which these Brahmins, scattered over
different parts of India, originally came is dif-
ferent. The Sahyadri Kanya of the Skanda Purāna
supplies very clear information on this point. It
states that the country named Kāraśhēra (काराशेरा)
was the original place of residence of this section
of Brahmins. This country, the Purāna says,
extended forty kos between the Vedāvati (most
probably the Vārāṇi river) on the south, and the
Koyanā on the north. It appears that the
country was known under the name of its chief
town, which is the present Karhāda, at the jun-
tion of the Koyanā with the Kṛishnā in the
Satārā district. This account makes it clear
that the name Karhāda applied to a division of
Brahmins is derived from the name of their ori-
ignal country, in the same manner as the names
Deśastha and Konkanastha are derived from the
countries of Deśa or Mahārāṣṭra and Koṅkan.

ŚIKKINISHA ŚISTAI TALEKAR.

Queries.

1. Is Thākur a pure Sanskrit, i.e. Vedic word?
2. It has been said that this is a Kolarian, and
not a Sanskrit term. Is this assertion capable of
proof?
3. At present it is used in two principal
senses:—1st, an idol; 2nd, a lord or landholder.
Which of these two is probably the primary
meaning of the word?

ĕ “He has seen a nymph” was the ancient explanation
of sudden insanity.
ĕ “They are fairies; he that speaks to them shall die,
I’ll wink and cough: no man their work must eye,”
exclaims Falstaff.

Any information whatever respecting these ques-
tions will be most thankfully received, and the
more so as we want to adopt one and the proper
title for the Supreme Being in our several Missions.
At present three words are used by the Sāntāl
missionaries when speaking of God:

F. T. COLE.
Taljharī, near Bāṣīmahālī, November 23rd, 1875.

GAUDĪYA DEŚA OF THE ANCEINT.

It is generally supposed nowadays that Gau-
diya Deśa was the same as Bengal, because
Gauda was the ancient capital of this province.
But the ancient name of Bengal was Buṅga,
and not Gauda, as the following sickness from the
Skanda Purāṇa will clearly show—

G S S S:

It is therefore evident from the Paunani accounts
that the place which went by the name of
Gauḍa is not Bengal, but a country north of the
Vindhya hills, and the people thereof were called
Pauṣṭa Gauḍa.

RĀM DĀS SÉN.

Barhampur, 26th November 1875.

MALABAR CHRISTIANS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—Mr. Collins has again (vol. IV. p. 306) re-
turned to the discussion of some matters which he
connects with the so-called Syrians of the Malabar
Coast. The real point at issue is the credibility or
not of the legend which makes the Apostle St.
Thomas visit India, which is understood to mean

The Mahībhārata relates that the Rāja Yayāsi, whilst
hunting, surprised Sarnāthā, the daughter of the Daițiya
Rāja or demon-king, and her nymphs, while bathing; but
no good came of it.
the Malabar Coast. Mr. Collins first accepted it as credible and trustworthy; he now says: "My object is not primarily to contend that St. Thomas came to India—but that I have something more to say about that too—but that the early Christian sects" [I suppose "in India"] is to be supplied "were orthodox, and not Gnostic or Manicheans," &c. Mr. Collins's "something more" is an assertion that it is quite possible that an Apostle with the gift of tongues could have gone to India, and he quotes several passages (already well known) to show that there were Christians in India in the fourth century and afterwards. I am not prepared to discuss what the Apostles might have done; I only ask for evidence as to what they did. Still less can I enter upon a question of the orthodoxy of sects that may have existed in India, but of the existence of whom Mr. Collins does not appear to me to give any proof: for I can hardly accept such their discovery in the eighth century in consequence of a dream, whatever opinion I might wish to have of Mr. Collins's translation from a Malabar-Syrian fable. He does not appear to see that the existence in Malabar of Christians (whom Cosmas recognized as such) in the sixth century proves nothing as regards the first, second, or third century. Again he says: "Dr. Burnell revives an objection which has been used only too recklessly by Mr. Barton amongst others. . . . that India was in the early centuries A.D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China. . . . According to this argument, Megasthenes, for instance, though he called his book Indica, may have visited Fuh-chou. The same argument may be used as successfully against Al Nâmid's account," &c.

Now if there is any recklessness it is surely on Mr. Collins's part, who has managed to compare the meaning of a Greek name of the fourth century B.C. with the same name as used 500 or 600 years later by Romans, Greeks, and Syrians, as if geographical discovery had made no progress during this period. If Mr. Collins will look at the beginning of Lassen's Indische Alterthümskunde he will find the origin of the name Indi a, and if he will look out the word in a Latin Dictionary with references he will see how with the progress of discovery the meaning changed, and how far he is in the wrong. If this will not do, I can only refer him to any history of geographical discovery (e.g. the Abbé Vivien de St. Martin's); and, as regards the use of the term 'India' at different periods, to pp. 313, 416, and 417 ff. of vol. IL of the second edition of Col. Yule's Magnificent Marco Polo. Nor is there any ambiguity about the Arab term Hind—it means South India.

Mr. Collins says: "The epithet Manichaean . . . was a term that had got to be used indiscriminately for any Christians who were not at the feet of the great Bishop of Rome." All I can say is that I should like to see it proved that Muhammadan Arabs of the ninth century did so, or indeed that there is any foundation for the assertion that this was the case in Europe.

Mr. Collins still adheres to the assertion that Pahlavi is an Aramaic language* and was used at Edessa. About one word in three in Pahlavi is Chaldean, and there is no evidence that it was the language of Edessa.

Passing over minor matters, I shall only refer to Mr. Collins's note on page 314. He says: "If the name Mānigrāmām be spelt more correctly with the dental than the cerebral (Dr. Burnell spells it with the latter), then in the purest and most primitives Tamil it would describe a village ceded as a free gift by royalty," &c. Now Mr. Collins should first have ascertained that the Syrian grants have the word Mānigrāmām (i.e. Mānigrāmām) as plainly written as possible, and more than once, and that there can be no doubt about the word. Secondly he should know that there is no such word as Mānigrāmām in Tamil of any period; there is a Sanskrit-Tamil word māniyam (abridged from the Sanskrit phrase, common in the later South Indian grants—Suvamān, which means free of all taxes), but māni is not to be found.

As regards Mr. Whitehouse's Mānigrāmākar, I cannot find the slightest proof given by him (or even a hint of his authority) for the extraordinary statements he makes. Anyhow, they have nothing to do with the present matter.

A. BURNELL.

Tanjore, 19th October 1875.

[We must close this discussion for the present.—En.]

FUNERAL CEREMONY AT BOMBAY.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—When I commenced travelling in India, I was prepared to expect much perplexing variety in the religious and social usages of the different castes, but the actual reality far outdoes my anticipations. One great use of the Indian Antiquary is that it enables scholars and antiquarians living in different parts of India to exchange ideas with each other, and to profit by each other's knowledge and experiences.

I have printed, he may see that the greater part is Persian.

† How can Mr. Collins suppose that grända is a Tamil word?
I lately paid a visit to the Hindu burning-ground on the shore of Back Bay at Bombay, and witnessed a curious funeral ceremony there. The body of a man about forty years of age had been burnt the day before. On the morning of my visit about twenty-four men, his relations, gathered round the ashes to perform what appeared to be a kind of śraddha. They offered no objection to my standing close to them, nor even to my asking them questions. The ceremony commenced by one of their number examining the ashes, and carefully separating any portions of the bones that had not been calcined by the flames on the previous day. These he collected in his hands and carried outside the burning-ground, with the intention, I was told, of throwing them into the sea near at hand. This being done, the whole party gathered round the ashes of the pyre in a semicircle, and one of the twenty-four men sprinkled them with water. Then some cowdung was carefully spread in the centre of the ashes so as to form a flat circular cake of rather more than a foot in diameter, around which a stream of cow's urine was poured from a metal vessel. Next, one of the men brought a plantain-leaf and laid it on the circle of cowdung so as to form a kind of dish or plate. Around the edge of the leaf were placed five round balls, probably of rice-flour, rather smaller than cricket-balls, mixed with some brown substance. I presume these balls are what in the regular śraddha ceremonies are called pīṣḍas. Sprigs of the tasi-plant and fresh leaves of the betel, with a few flowers, were inserted in each ball, and a coloured cotton cord loosely suspended between them. Next, one of the relations covered the five pīṣḍas with the red powder called gulī. Then five flat wheaten cakes were placed on the plantain-leaf inside the circle of the five pīṣḍas, and boiled rice was piled up on the cakes, surmounted by a small piece of ghee mixed with brown sugar. The ceremony being so far completed, the deceased man's nephew, or sister's son, took an earthenware vase, filled it with water and held it on his right shoulder. Starting from the north side, he commenced circumambulating the five pīṣḍas and the five wheaten cakes, with his left shoulder towards them, while one of the relatives with a sharp stone made a hole in the vase, whence the water spouted out in a stream as he walked round. On completing the first round and coming back to the north, a second incision was made with the same stone, whence a second stream poured out simultaneously with the first. At the end of the fifth round, when five streams of water had been made to spout out from five holes round the five pīṣḍas, the earthenware vase was dashed to the ground on the north side, and the remaining water split over the ashes. Next, one of the relatives took a small metal vessel containing milk, and, with a betel-leaf for a ladle, sprinkled some drops over the rice piled on the wheaten cakes. After which, taking some water from a small hold—or rather making another relative pour it into his hand—he first sprinkled it in a circle round the pīṣḍas and then over the cakes. Finally, bending down and raising his hands to his head, he performed a sort of pīṣḍa to the pīṣḍas. This was repeated by all twenty-four men in turn. After the completion of the ceremony, the balls and cakes were left to be eaten by crows.

Will you permit me to ask whether similar funeral rites have been witnessed by any of your correspondents? The men were said to have come from some neighbouring Marāṭhī district. To what caste do these usages belong? and why should there be five pīṣḍas and five flat cakes?

Monier Williams,
Bodan Professor of Sanskrit.

Belvedere, Calcutta, Dec. 26, 1875.

Note on the above.

The instance described was probably performed by Ghaṅga: it is not quite in accordance with either the Brāhmaṇ or Marāṭhī customs. The water-jar is carried round the pyre by the nearest relative or heir, and the holes made by the repeater of the maṇtrās with a stone—the deha—picked up where the body is rested, halfway between the deceased's house and the burning-ground. The pīṣḍas are at first four—for the deceased, and the pīṣḍa of father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; they are then made into a single mass, as the deceased has joined the pīṣḍa. This is then divided into three—for the deceased as the father of the performer, and his grandfather and great-grandfather; but additional pīṣḍas are sometimes added for guru, uncles, etc.—Ku.

Sanskrit MSS.

Extract from Dr. C. Bühlcr's preliminary Report on the results of the search for Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir.

Bāddh Nīlāmbar, Chief Justice to H. H. the Mahārāja, had had prepared before my arrival a list of about seven hundred Sanskrit works known to exist in Kaśmir, which was forwarded to me by Major Henderson. I at once went over it with the compiler, and selected some seventy works for copying. At the same time the principal Pāṇḍits of Śrīnagar came to visit me, by order of the Mahārāja, and brought me the lists of their books.

As at first it seemed doubtful whether I should be able to acquire an old MS. of the Rājaśtanangī, and
as I knew that it would not be of much use to get a fresh Devanāgarī transcript made, I borrowed an excellent annotated old copy of the work, which had been transcribed by one Gaṇakāk Paṇḍit from the cādes archetypus belonging to Gaṇapālāh Paṇḍit, and began to collate it with the printed edition. This work of collation occupied me for four to five hours a day until September 29th, when the 8,000 ślokas were finished. Several particularly important passages were also collated with Kaśyap Rām's copy. I found that the published editions contain a very large number of mistakes, most of which seriously affect the meaning of the text, the form of the names, &c. To give one example only, the name of the oldest Kaśmirian dynasty is not, as usually read, Goṇarda, but Gunasda.

In order to clear up the numerous geographical and other questions connected with the Rāja-stāna-gīti, I had frequent meetings with some of the Paṇḍits best acquainted with the antiquities of Kaśmir, and I made several excursions to ancient sites in the western half of the Valley. These inquiries resulted in the identification of a considerable number of the sacred and historical places mentioned in the Rāja-stāna-gīti, e.g. of the Pradāyunapātha with the Hariparvata or Śrīkāparvata in Śrīnagar, of the Mahāpadma with the Woller lake, of Jayāvanta with the village of Zevar, of the Hardhavanta with the village of Hāvana, of Jayapāla's Dvāra-vati with the village of Bahirkūt near Sumbal,* of Chakrādhara with the Chakhdhar hill or mound, &c.

They also led to the discovery of the real nature of the Kaśmirian era which has been used by Kālhaṇa in the last three books of his chronicle, and is still in use among the Brāhmans of Kaśmir. Its true name, derived from the supposed secular procession of Uṣa major, is the era of the Saptarṣih. It began on Chaitra Sudī 1st of the 26th year of the Kaliyuga, or March-April 3076 B.C. In using it the Kaśmirians usually leave out the hund reds, though there are instances in which they have been added. The year 24, stated by Kalhaṇa to be equal to Śaka 1070, is really the year 4224 of the Saptarṣi era. With this key it will become possible to fix the chronology of the later Kaśmirian kings with perfect accuracy. I may add that General Cunningham's dates very closely agree with those obtained by reducing Kalhaṇa's Saptarṣih years to years of the Christian era.

Very soon after the beginning of my search, a great many ancient MSS. were offered to me for sale, out of which I selected upwards of 160, more than forty of which are written on birch bark. As I also increased the number of MSS. to be copied to more than one hundred, the total of books which I finally took with me from Kaśmir is considerably over 270.

All the old MSS., with two or three exceptions only, are written in Śrādā 7 characters. This alphabet, and not the Devanāgarī, is commonly used in Kaśmir, and must be of great antiquity, as it occurs also on the coins of the 9th century. Like all Indian alphabets, it has been derived from the old Pāli alphabet of the Aśoka inscriptions. It preserves, however, more ancient forms than any other modern alphabet which I have seen. MSS. written in Śrādā cha-acters are mostly very correct. But nearly all the Kaśmirian MSS. are more or less mutilated. Very frequently the end and the beginning are missing, or at least single lines, words, or letters. The cause of this state of things is chiefly that the birch bark, which before Akbar's time was the only material used for writing on, is exceedingly fragile. As soon as birch-bark MSS. reach any considerable age or are used frequently, they begin to split and to tear in all directions, and the surface of the pages begins to slough. Of course letters, words, and even whole lines are lost or become illegible. The destruction of the first and last pages is owing to the custom of having the MSS. bound in Rongu country leather, without inserting blank leaves for protection.

Modern MSS. are mostly complete, but in many cases, when few copies only of a book existed, it is very probable that the lacunae have been filled up at random. One Paṇḍit confessed to me that he had restored more than twenty-four pages of the Vīshnudharmottara. Another Paṇḍit asked me to send me the copies he had prepared himself, which he gave to me to test whether these were complete or not. I do not believe, however, that this course has been adopted for those works which are to be found in a great number of copies. There it is likely, and I have heard it asserted as a fact, that complete copies are obtained by comparing a number of mutilated MSS.

As to the contents of the acquired books, Poetry, Poetics, Grammar, and Śāstra Philosophy are best represented, as these subjects have been since time immemorial the specialties of the Kaśmirians. But there are also curious and rare works from all branches of Hindu learning.

In Poetry the historical works take the first place. I am happy to state that I have been able to secure a complete set of the four known Rāja-stāna-gīti.

Not Aδδαδα may be translated 'characters sacred to Sañavati.' Similarly Kaśmir is sometimes called Sāvānāṭa deśa, 'the country of Sāvānāṭa.'

* Tora-tāna's coins show characters nearly identical with those of the Gupta inscriptions.
taraṣṭha, written in the Śrādā character, and about fifty to sixty years old. As already stated, the present editions are not trustworthy,—least so in the 7th and 8th books,—because they have been based on Devāṅgari MSS. I am confident that with the help of my collation and of the new Śrādā MS. it will be possible to produce a readable and reliable text. There are also two works of the late Sāhibrām Pañḍita, both entitled Rajaṭarangini-kāla-viṇaṣṭha which explain difficult passages in Kalhaṇa's chronicle, and a third bearing the same title, which treats Jonarāja's Tarangini in detail. A collection of Mahākātavas describing many famous Kaśmirī tirthākas will further assist in elucidating the Rajaṭarangini. Among the sources from which Kalhaṇa compiled his work, I have obtained the Nilamathapudrīna in five copies, four written in Śrādā characters, and one in Devāṅgari. Just before I left Kaśmir three copies of Kaśmen德拉's Bājālāvatā, a work which Kalhaṇa criticizes very sharply, were discovered. Two of these have been promised, and are probably already on their way to Lāhūr. I think there is still a hope that some more of the old chronicles will turn up. One Pañḍita certainly assured me that he had news of the existence of Śankuka's Bhava-mādhyāyana. Besides, a great many old birch-bark volumes are in the hands of Brāhmaṇas, who, themselves unacquainted with Śaṅkrit, had learned ancestors. The learned Pañḍitas find it hard to make such men give up their books, but in course of time they will no doubt succeed in extracting all that is valuable, since they have become fully alive to the importance of searching the 'gartas.'

Of other historical books I have acquired three copies of Bāna's Harahacharita and an imperfect copy of its commentary, the Saṅketa. The latter is, however, not of much use, as its compiler, Śaṅkara, knew little of Saṅkrit and less of history. There is, finally, a curious work on the history of the great Chauhāna prince Prīthvirāja, entitled Prīthvirājaviṣāya, with a commentary by Jonarāja, the author of the second Rajaṭarangini. The MS. is a very old and very dilapidated birch-bark volume, and is in such a condition that I fear it will not be possible to decipher the whole of its contents. It contains portions of the twelve Sargas. The name of its author is not given in the colophons of the Sargas, but it would seem that the work belongs, like the Harahacharita, the Gauravandha (of Vākpuri), and the Vikramāditya, to a protegé of the hero. It will be interesting to compare its contents with Chand Bārdā's great Hindi Bīḍā. Besides these historical works there are eight larger new Kavyas:

1. The Haravijaya of Ratnākara,

2. The Daśāvatārachāritya of Kaśmen德拉,

3. The Rāmāyaṇamaṇḍapī of Kaśmen德拉,

4. The Saṃyogopīkā of Kaśmen德拉,

5. The Śrīkantāchāritya of Manakha,

6. The Rāmacaritajyotis (incomplete),

7. The Stūtikṣuvaśānti,

8. The Harahacharitajivānta, and some smaller productions. The oldest of these poems is the first, which dates from the beginning of the 9th century; next come the works of Kaśmen德拉, who wrote in the first half of the 11th; and last Manakha's, who flourished in the beginning of the 12th century.

Bāba Niśāmbar has already forwarded copies of the Haravijaya to Pañḍita Iśvarachandra Vidyāśāgara in Calcutta, and an edition of the book may be expected. In order to make the collection as useful as possible, I have secured for nearly all these poems both Devāṅgari and Śrādā copies, and, in the case of Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, commentaries.

Among the known but rare poetical works are copies of Kaśmen德拉's Bhaṭāraṇavijaya and of the Yuddhahāravijaya, whose author the Kaśmirian MSS. state to be Vāsu-deva. There is also a commentary on the latter work. An old copy of Bāna's Prīthvirājaviṣāya definitively settles the question as to the authorship of the little poem, and explains the origin of the literary anecdotes current regarding it. Several ancient birch-bark MSS. of Somadeva's Kathaharitāvīra—whence the Kaśmirians usually call Prīthvirāj—with will, I trust, enable us to correct the errors of the Devāṅgari MSS. on which the published edition is based.

A large Saḍaḥālūvātī, or collection of elegant extracts, by Śrīvaṣṭara, the author of the third Rajaṭarangini (second half of the 15th century), is important for the literary history of Kaśmir.

In Poetics or Alankāra there are, besides the well-known Kavyapratīka—of which, however, the Kaśmirian MSS. differ from those used in Hindi—its commentary the Anuśāsana—

1. The Alankārasūrasena, see Osś. Cut. p. 210,
2. The Alankāravimarsa, see ibid.,
3. The Dhanugīñḍhapāṇi of Ratnākara,
4. The Dhanugīñḍhapāṇi of Abhinavagupta with the Uddyota,
5. The Alankārakāśikā,
6. The Alankārakāśikāvṛti,
7. The Chaṭṭāvāsa of Jayadeva, with a commentary,
8. The Kaviyadānākra, attributed to Rudrāta,
9. The Akṣayavijñānacintāmaṇi of Mukula, and a few minor works.

If No. 8 really belonged to Rudrāṭa—a statement which I very much doubt—it would be the oldest work in the collection. For Rudrāṭa or Rudrabhaṭa, like Udbhata, was one of the Pañḍita
of Jayaśīla; next in age come Ratnākara and Mukula, which latter was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Kailaśa and lived under Avantivarman (5th cent. Rāj. v. 66).

For Grammar I have obtained the Purāṇaśāstra, attributed to Vyādi and to Chandra, and a small fragment of Chandra’s grammar treating of the letters. The first work has also a commentary. Vyādiand Chandra are two of the old grammarians, and the recovery of small portions even of their writings would be of great importance for the history of grammar. But I am not as yet prepared to decide on the genuineness of my acquisitions.

Three incomplete Sāradā paper MSS. of Patanjali’s Mahābhāṣya have been bought, and just at the time of my departure a slightly mutilated birch-bark MS. of the same work turned up, which the ignorant owner and his friends had worshipped as a MS. of the Kālidāsaśīta. This MS. also will eventually be added to the collection. Dr. Kielhorn considers it of great importance to have genuine Kāśmirian copies of the Mahābhāṣya, in order to decide the question if the work has been really recast by the Kāśmirian Pāṇḍita, as has been alleged on the strength of statements made in the Ratnāiṣavatī. It is to be hoped that these MSS. will help to settle the question.

A small portion of a MS. of Kaliyāja’s Pradīpa, written in Sāradā characters, has also been obtained.

Among other new or rare works connected with Pāṇini’s system, I may mention Bhartrihari’s Viñāyapadīya; an excellent birch-bark MS. of the Kālidāsaśīta; copies of portions of Sāhavira Jhinandrabuddhi’s Nīyāna; Jhinandrabuddhi was an inhabitant of Bārānā or Vārāhāmula; of Kāshira’s Dhāktararagīti; of the same author’s Aravajjāvījīti; of Harshādeva’s and an anonymous Līngasajjāvījīti; of Māṇikyādeva’s Ugraśīalls, called the Dhākapādot; and of the Rājakavatitā. A complete birch-bark MS. of the Nīyāna has been promised.

The grammar now chiefly studied in Kāśmir is, however, not Pāṇini’s, but the Kasapa or Kātantra. Kāśmir furnishes, therefore, a number of commentaries on the Kātantra, which have been compiled by Kāśmirian Pāṇḍitas, and are rarely if ever met with out of the Valley. The works falling under this head, which I have secured, are:

1. Laghunātī, by Chhuchhukabhaṭṭa,
2. Kātantrakavatitā,
3. Bālabolginī,
4. Bālabolgindvīgīti,
5. Sāhajavījīgīti.

The number of MSS. containing works on Śaiva philosophy and the rites of the Śaivas amounts to more than forty. Among them are the famous Spandāsāstras, with a variety of commentaries, and the huge works of Abhinavagupta and Kāśmi-

rāja, such as the Tantridēka with its śilā and the Pratyabhijñāvartini.

The oldest Śaiva authors are Vasunātta, who is said to have received the Spandāsāstras from Śiva, and Avasanaśīta, who, according to Rāj. L. 112, lived under Jaiśā, the son of Acaka. Next comes Kailaśa (3rd cent.), Abhinavagupta (10th century), and Kāśmirāja (10th and 11th centuries).

There are also a few important additions to Vedic literature, though the chief prize, the old birch-bark MS. of the Paippaladāksahā of the Atharvaveda, did not fall to my share, as H. H. the Maharāja had bought and forwarded it to Sir W. Muir before my arrival.

The most important Vedic MS. of my collection is a complete birch-bark MS. of the Rgveda Sānāśīta, written in Sāradā characters. It professedly contains the Śrāvakā śāhā, but its accentuation differs from that of all known MSS. While the latter mark the amudda and sāvita by horizontal and vertical lines, this MS. marks the sāvita alone by a vertical line placed above the accentuated syllable. The volume contains also other pieces referring to the Rgveda.

Next comes a modern copy of the greater portion of the first grhyasūtra of the Kathaka, which belongs to the Charakāksahā of the Black Yajurveda. The Kathaka has hitherto been known through a single MS. belonging to the Berlin library. The newly acquired fragment shows also traces of accentuation.

To the same redaction of the Veda belong also two Angas or supplementary works which have now been first recovered. The more important of the two is the Kathaka Grhyasūtra, or ‘handbook of domestic ceremonies according to the Kathaka school,’ which is attributed to the Rishi Lagnakshi. It is accompanied by a commentary of Devapāla, and is universally used by the Kāśmirian Pāṇḍitas. From this fact it would seem that, though the Kāśmirian Brahmans usually call themselves Chaturvedis, ‘students of the four Vedas,’ and declare that they belong to no particular Vedic school, they were originally followers of the Kathakaśāhā. My collection contains several Sāradā copies of the Devapāla, as the whole book is usually called, one of which (incomplete) is written on birch bark.

The other Anga is the Chadgānyāvyā śāhā,—also, as far as I know, a novelty.

The Paippaladāksahā of the Atharvaveda has been secured in a modern transcript made according to the old birch-bark MS. mentioned above. A second birch-bark MS. was not to be heard of.

Several Prayogas or handbooks used by the Kāśmirian Bhaṭṭas have also been acquired.
Among acquisitions referring to other Śāstras deserve to be mentioned a commentary on the Bhogavasūṭyā by Abhinavagupta; the Nyāyakandali; the Nyāyadhikāla; two birch-bark MSS. of Aparākha's commentary on Tāṇḍavaśāyī; Brahmagupta's Karmāṇa with Varuṇabhāṣṭā's and Prthvīdhakavāṃi's commentaries; and Kōkon by Manju and Kāhemendra deserve to be mentioned.

I have finally to call attention to some works in the Kāśmirī language which will have a special interest for students of the Indian Prakrits. The oldest among these is the song of Lālābhāṣṭā, Lālābhāṣṭāya. It contains stanzas on the Śaiva creed, and is attributed to a poetess named Lālāya. The poem is accompanied by a full Sanskrit commentary.

Another work, the Bṛḍīnabcāravādha, is of considerable extent. It was composed in the time of Zainul Abīdin (1417—1467 a. d.) of the statements of the Pāṇindas, caused many Sanskrit and Persian works to be translated into Kāśmirī.

I have also secured a modern poem treating of the loves of Nāgārjuna and Hīrayama. Nāgārjuna, the great snake-king, who is enumerated among the rulers of Kāśmir, and the Barbarossa of Kāśmir, Lālābhāṣṭāya, are, to the present day the favourite heroes of the bard.

These acquisitions are so much more interesting as Kāśmirī was supposed to be destitute of ancient literature. But it appears now that it was a written language quite as early as any of the Indian Prakrits.


This is apparently the first of a series of Indian classics for French readers. The object of the series is sufficiently indicated by the motto Humani nihil alem, which the translator has inscribed on his title-page. As the Academy observes, the number of students of Sanskrit literature, considered among the most interesting pages in the intellectual history of the world, is increasing every day, and M. Paul Regnault has doubtless hopes to do for this class among his countrymen what the late Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson so successfully accomplished for English readers.

He seems to us to have acted wisely in selecting Bhairavīni's Stances on Love, Morality, and Religion as the first volume of his series. The writings of that Indian Solomon contain many shrewd reflections which are quite as applicable to Europeans as to Asiatic humanity; and, if a foreigner may be permitted to make the remark, they retain in the prose version of M. Regnault much of the neatness and epigrammatic point which characterises them in their Sanskrit dress.

M. Regnault is no bigoted Indianist. His remarks on the value of Sanskrit studies seem to us to be so eminently just, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting them—

"The importance, from the point of view of linguistic science, of philosophy, and even of history in its inorganic state, of the great Indian literary monuments, especially of those of the Vedic period, is no longer doubted by scholars; but though when regarded in this light they rival the most precious records which classical antiquity has bequeathed to us, we cannot affirm the same with regard to their literary value.

BOOK NOTICES.
There can be no doubt that in this respect they cannot be compared with the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. Not only is it true that the special character of Indian civilization is opposed to the development of eloquence and history, whether of the picturesque or philosophic type; not only is it the case that no Demosthenes, Thucydid, Cicero, Livy, or Tactitus has arisen on the banks of the Ganges; but even in those provinces of literature which have been cultivated equally in the East and West the advantage has always remained on the side of the Western nations, and Valmiki is as clearly inferior to Homer as Kālidāsa to Virgil. In spite of all this I cannot help boldly declaring my opinion (as a detailed discussion of the point would take up too much time) that the classical Sanskrit literature deserves the careful study of Europeans more than any other that the East has produced. Sanskrit literature is rich, varied, and original; it is the expression of the intellectual life of a people of the same origin as the natives of Europe; it embraces in its development a long course of centuries, and it reveals to us a form of human civilization which otherwise would be unknown to us. I may add that besides these various characteristics, which cannot but make the Sanskrit classics interesting to what it is the fashion to call the general public, they have sufficient elegances—I might even say beauties—to please the taste of dilettanti, sufficient striking peculiarities and unsolved problems to stimulate the appetite of the curious, and sufficient resemblances or contrasts to Western literature to occupy critics. I purposely put out of sight savants, philosophers, and professed literary students, to whom all the products of the human intellect are in themselves interesting, and instructive."

This sober estimate of the literary value of Sanskrit compositions seems to us more calculated to put Sanskrit studies upon their true footing than all the hysterical rhapsodies of professors of Indianists. At the same time there can be no doubt that M. Regnau would by no means sympathize with the "studied neglect" which is now fashionable for Englishmen to exhibit with regard to the sacred language of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

Equal good sense characterizes M. Regnau's remarks with regard to the date of Bṛhatṛihārī. There can be no doubt that many of the stanzas must be subsequent to the great development of modern Vedanism in the times of Śāṅkara Āchārya. Of course they may be interpolations.

We learn from M. Regnau an interesting fact with regard to our poet:—

"A Protestant pastor, by name Abraham Roger, who came to India in 1640, brought back the materials of a work which he published in 1651, under the title of A History of the Religion of the Brahmanas, and in which were contained two hundred proverbs of the sage Bṛhatṛihārī, translated into Dutch from the version of the Brahman Padmanābā. These were the stanzas on Nīti, which Roger translated "The Reasonable Conduct of Men," and those on Vairāgya, which he rendered by "The Road which leads to Heaven." The Brahman Padmanābā was prevented by a feeling of delicacy from explaining the Sṛṅgavrāma Satakam to Roger. The pastor's work was subsequently translated into French under the title of Théâtre de l'Édolatrie, ou le port ouverte pour pour viser à la connaissance du Paganisme caché, &c. Amsterdam, 1670."

M. Regnau disclaims any intention of sacrificing exactness to elegance. As far as we have examined his translation it seems to us particularly faithful, and we have no doubt that it will be of great use to the student. He does not appear to have seen the edition lately published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series by Kāsināth Trimbak Telang. He tells us in the preface that he has followed the text of Böhlingk's Indische Sprache, the arrangement of which is altogether different. Some of the stanzas which appear in the Bombay edition under the head of 'Nīti' are placed under the head of 'L'Amour,' and vice versa.

In some instances M. Regnau seems to us to have abandoned literal accuracy. Bhujadal is a troublesome expression to translate into any Western language, but it seems to us that les tiges de lianes (Le Renoncement, st. 93) is an unnecessary concession to European prejudices. Stanza 61 of Le Renoncement, corresponding to 29 of Mr. K. T. Telang's edition, seems to us to be wrongly translated. The true explanation is given by the Bombay editor in an extract from Rāmaṇiś.

Finally we think that M. Regnau would have done well to imitate the Bombay editor and "the Brahman Padmanābā" in omitting the Sṛṅgavrāma Satakam altogether, or to have published only a selection from it. Indeed there are stanzas in all M. Regnau's Centuries which are a little offensive to la pruderie anglaise.

M. Regnau has acknowledged the principle for which we contend, by leaving out some objectionable expressions; but we think the pruning-knife might have been applied a little more liberally.

The next translation to be issued is apparently that of the Miśkadhakaṭikā, the most interesting of all the Sanskrit dramas to a student of social history, and we shall look forward with impatience to its publication.
A CHRONICLE OF TORAGAL.

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

I have had by me for a considerable time the paper from which the following translation is made; having kept it in the expectation of sooner or later meeting with the inscription from which the concluding portion is taken. In this, however, I have not yet succeeded, and it seems useless to keep back the paper any longer with that object.

The original document, from which my copy was made, belongs to the family-records of the astrologers of Belgaum, and of Munodi in the Panasgad Talukā of the Belgaum District. I believe that a branch of the same family holds the same office at Toragal.

The original record, being in the modern Canarese dialect, has no special interest of its own. It is, therefore, unnecessary to publish the text; the translation alone will suffice.

I have not at hand the necessary books with which to verify the historical references. The chronicle, accordingly, must be taken for what it may be found on examination to be worth. Probably it is not to be accepted as entirely true and accurate. But papers of this kind are not often to be met with, and, when found, they are at least of interest in showing how far history can be correctly dealt with by the natives of this country.

Translation of the Chronicle.

Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇeśa! May there be prosperity! The succession of the great astrologers of the Bhāravājagōtra; the details of the astrologers of Huli.

After that in former times Mudgalā, Nārasimha and Venukaṭōśa, who were the heads of the family of astrologers of the village of Kaṇakālurūṅige on the banks of the Gōdāvari, had come to these parts, on the occasion of a great famine they came to this district; and, having obtained an audience of the universal emperor Vira-buṅka and of king Jayaśēkhara, and having undergone an examination as to their knowledge, they obtained the office of astrologers† within the boundaries of Toragal and the office of village-priests || of Belgaum. The original representatives† of the family were:—Mudgalabhāṭṭa; Śrīharaśārmā; his son, Bhāṣkarabhāṭṭa; his son, Gōvindabhāṭṭa of Huli*; Śrīdharaśārmā; Ganaṭājīyōśa; Vīththalajīyōśa; Vṛiddhāṣṭanakarabhāṭṭa, the younger brother of Vīththalajīyōśa; these two were sons of one husband by different wives, and, as to their shares, the office of the boundaries of Toragal belonged to Vīththalajīyōśa, and the office of village-priest† to Vṛiddhāṣṭanakarabhāṭṭa; Vīththalajīyōśa's sons, Saṅkarabhāṭṭa and Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa; Venukāṭājīyōśa of Toragal; Purushottamabhāṭṭa; Dēvaṇājīyōśa; Banabihāṭṭa; Timmaṇabhāṭṭa; Saṅkarabhāṭṭa; his son, Mudibhāṭṭa; and his son, Narasimhakarabhāṭṭa.

Hail! In the Kshaya samvatara, which was the year of the Śālivālaśaaka 1008, king Jayaśēkhara, who belonged to a noble Kṣatriya family, gave to Śrīharaśārmā and Sahanaśārmā, with libations of water, the office of astrologers in the boundaries of Toragal.

After that king died, the names of the kings who succeeded him are:—The king Vira-buṅka, the universal emperor; Madhavatīra Vidyākara was his minister; the years of king Narasiṅga are 593; the years of king Harihara are 560; the years of king Prabhūḍāvā are 310; the years of king Narasiṅga are 470; the years of king Viranarasīnag are 440; the years of king Rāmadāvā are 390; the years of king Kṛishṇa are 340; the years of king Aĉhuta are 275; the years of king Sīlāśiṇa are 222.

* Mudgal, the chief town of the district of the same name in the territories of the Nasīm of Haidarābād, is about ten miles to the east of the eastern border of the Hungund Talukā of the Kallīḍī District.
† Kulaḷēvaru.
‡ Jgāṭāka-ularyīti.
†† Toragal is the chief town of the Native State of the same name, about fifty miles east by north of Belgaum. The old form of the name was Toragale, and under the Yādava kings of Dēvaṅgiri Toragale was the chief town of the district (known as the Toragale Sīlāśiṇa).
Grāmaparīkṣa-ularyīti.
Mālapurushaḥ.

† According to copper-plate inscriptions, Vira-buṅka, the brave king Bukka, of Vījayanagara, succeeded his elder brother Harihara I, whose predecessor was their father Saṅgama of the Yādavakula. I have not anywhere else as yet met with the name of Jayaśēkhara. If his date is correctly given here and below as Śaka 1006, many kings intervened between him and Vira-buṅka, whose date is about Śaka 1290.
$ Calculated, evidently, backwards from the time when this document was written. It would seem to have been drawn up in the end of the last century.
|| Probably we should read 510 instead of 310.
There can be no doubt that in this respect they cannot be compared with the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. Not only is it true that the special character of Indian civilization is opposed to the development of eloquence and history, whether of the picturesque or philosophic type; not only is it the case that no Demosthenes, Thucydides, Ciceró, Livy, or Tacitus has arisen on the banks of the Ganges; but even in those provinces of literature which have been cultivated equally in the East and West the advantage has always remained on the side of the Western nations, and Vālmiki is as clearly inferior to Homer as Kālidāsa to Virgil. In spite of all this I cannot help boldly declaring my opinion (as a detailed discussion of the point would take up too much time) that the classical Sanskrit literature deserves the careful study of Europeans more than any other that the East has produced. Sanskrit literature is rich, varied, and original; it is the expression of the intellectual life of a people of the same origin as the natives of Europe; it embraces in its development a long course of centuries, and it reveals to us a form of human civilization which otherwise would be unknown to us. I may add that besides these various characteristics, which cannot but make the Sanskrit classics interesting to what it is the fashion to call the general public, they have sufficient elegances—I might even say beauties—to please the taste of dilettanti, sufficient striking peculiarities and unsolved problems to stimulate the appetite of the curious, and sufficient resemblances or contrasts to Western literature to occupy critics. I purposely put out of sight savants, philosophers, and professed literary students, to whom all the products of the human intellect are in themselves interesting, and instructive."

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We learn from M. Regnau an interesting fact with regard to our poet:

"A Protestant pastor, by name Abraham Rogier, who came to India in 1646, brought back the materials of a work which he published in 1651, under the title of A History of the Religion of the Brahmanas, and in which were contained two hundred proverbs of the sage Bhaṛtrihari, translated into Dutch from the version of the Brāhmāna Padmanābha. These were the stanzas on Nītī, which Rogier translated "The Reasonable Conduct of Men," and those on Vairāgya, which he rendered by "The Road which leads to Heaven." The Brāhmāna Padmanābha was prevented by a feeling of delicacy from explaining the Śringāra-Sūkta of Rāmāyanasūkta to Rogier. The poet's work was subsequently translated into French under the title of Théâtre de l'Idolatrie, ou la porte ouverte pour la connaissance du Paganisme caché; &c., Amsterdam, 1670."

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A CHRONICLE OF TORAGAL.

BY J. P. FLEET, Esq. C.S.

I HAVE had by me for a considerable time the paper from which the following translation is made; having kept it in the expectation of sooner or later meeting with the inscription from which the concluding portion is taken. In this, however, I have not yet succeeded, and it seems useless to keep back the paper any longer with that object.

The original document, from which my copy was made, belongs to the family-records of the astrologers of Belgum, and of Muniñi in the Paragad Tālkā of the Belgum District. I believe that a branch of the same family holds the same office at Toragal.

The original record, being in the modern Canarese dialect, has no special interest of its own. It is, therefore, unnecessary to publish the text; the translation alone will suffice.

I have not at hand the necessary books whereby to verify the historical references. The chronicle, accordingly, must be taken for what it may be found on examination to be worth. Probably it is not to be accepted as entirely true and accurate. But papers of this kind are not often to be met with, and, when found, they are at least of interest in showing how far history can be correctly dealt with by the natives of this country.

Translation of the Chronicle.

Reverence to Śrī-Ganēśa! May there be prosperity! The success of the great astrologers of the Bhradvaṭā; the details of the astrologers of Huli.

After that in former times Mudgala*, Nārasīṁha and Veṅkaṭēśa, who were the heads of the family† of astrologers of the village of Kaṇakāḷurūḍiye on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, had come to this district, on the occasion of a great famine they came to this district; and, having obtained an audience of the universal emperor Viraḷukka and of king Jayāśēkara, and having undergone an examination as to their knowledge, they obtained the office of astrologers‡ within the boundaries of Toragal§ and the office of village-priests|| of Belagānuve. The original representatives** of the family were—Mudgalabhaṭṭa; Śrīhāraṣārma; his son, Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa; his son, Gōvindabhaṭṭa of Huli*; Śrīhāraṣārma; Gaṇapati-jīyōṣa; Vīṭṭhaliyōṣa; Vṛiddhāśāṅkara-bhaṭṭa, the younger brother of Vīṭṭhaliyōṣa: these two were sons of one husband to different wives, and, as to their shares, the office of the boundaries of Toragal belonged to Vīṭṭhaliyōṣa, and the office of village-priest†† to Vṛiddhāśāṅkara-bhaṭṭa; Vīṭṭhaliyōṣa’s sons, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and Nāryāyabhaṭṭa; Veṅkaṭāṭīḍriyōṣa of Toragal; Purushottamabhaṭṭa; Devaṇa-jīyōṣa; Banadia-bhaṭṭa; Timmapabhaṭṭa; Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa; his son, Mudhabhaṭṭa; and his son, Nāraśimhabhaṭṭa.

Hail! In the Kashaya saṅwatāvara, which was the year of the Śālivāhana-saka 1008, king Jayāśēkara, who belonged to a noble Khatriya family, gave to Śrīhāraṣārma and Sahasāraḥārma, with libations of water, the office of astrologers in the boundaries of Toragal.

After that king died, the names of the kings who succeeded him are—The king Viraḷukka, the universal emperor; Madhavāmatya-Vidyarānya was his minister;—the years of king Nāraśīṅga are 593††; the years of king Harihara are 560; the years of king Prabhuḍadēva are 310||; the years of king Nāraśīṅga are 470; the years of king Viraṇasīṅga are 440; the years of king Rāmadēva are 390—-the years of king Kṛishna are 340; the years of king Aṭhuyta are 275; the years of king Saḍāśīva are 222;

* About twelve miles south by west of Toragal.
† Gṛṇḍapāḍhyāya-vṛtti.
‡ According to copper-plate inscriptions, Viraḷukka-karaṇā, or the brave king Būka, of Vijayaṅgara, succeeded his older brother Harihara I, whose predecessor was their father Saṅgaṇa of the Yādavakula. I have not anywhere else as yet met with the name of Jayāśēkara. If his date is correctly given here and below as Saka 1008, many kings intervened between him and Viraḷukka-karaṇā, whose date is about Saka 1200.
§ Calculated, evidently, backwards from the time when this document was written. It would seem to have been drawn up in the end of the last century.
|| Probably we should read 310 instead of 310.
the years of king Rāma are 167. In the year Raktākshi, in the month Māgha, on Friday the fifth day of the bright fortnight, at noon, Rāmāraja was slain in battle.

After that, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Krāhāna saṅvatara, which was the year of the Śālīvahanaśaka 1487, the king of the city of Pāṇḍnagara laid siege to Toragal.

On Tuesday the third day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha of the Dhātu saṅvatara, which was the year of the Śālīvahanaśaka 1478, under the constellation Rōhini, at sunrise, Allī-Adal-Sāḥ, having given a promise of safety to the younger brother of the kept-mistress of Nāgārāja, (and having so enticed him) from the sally-port of Hūli, treacherously took him captive.

Then follow the names of the kings of Vījāpurā. The duration of the reign of Allī-Adal-Sāḥ was 26 years, 7 months, and 26 days; he ruled for three years after he took Toragal. After that, the duration of the reign of Ībhārām-Adal-Sāḥ was 47 years, 4 months, and 17 days, (beginning on) Friday the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Vikrama saṅvatara. The duration of the reign of Sāltān Māhānād-Sāḥ was 27 years, 2 months, and 12 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada of the Prabhāya saṅvatara. The duration of the reign of Ādāl-Sāḥ was — years, 1 month, and 1 day, (beginning on) Tuesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārtikē of the Durmukha saṅvatara. The duration of the reign of Sāltān Śīkhandrā-Sāḥ was 13 years, -- months, and 21 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārgṣāṛhā of the Puradhāvi saṅvatara. Ādāl-Sāḥ perished on Monday the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśija of the Kāhaya saṅvatara. The Tamrārājya* commenced then.

The names of those who held the post of Hāvaldār of Toragal after the Turukas†

† In copying, some mistake must have been made between the numerals 3 and 7, which are very similar in Canarese. By the table in Brown's Carnatic Chronology, the Dhātu saṅvatara was Sāka 1488, and Sāka 1478 was the Naka saṅvatara. [According to Firishah, however, Allī A'bdūl Sāḥ reigned from A.D. 1657 to 1672 (S. 1478 to 1500); Ibrahim A'bdūl Sāḥ II. from A.D. 1672 to 1694; and Muhammad Sāḥ, A.D. 1696 to 1698.—E.]

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The names of those who held the post of Hāvaldār of Toragal after the Turukas†

* "The rule of the copper-coloured people,—the Musalmān.'
† Turukas, or Turushkas, a Turk, or Musalmān.
‡ 3rd March, 1707 A.D.
§ Probably the word 'died' is to be supplied here; in the original there is a loca.
|| The chief town of the Native State of the same name about five miles to the east of Toragal.
* Sātra.
* Gōtra.
COLOSSAL JAINA STATUE AT YÉNÛR.
king of kings; who was the king of great kings; who was the receptacle of glory; who was a very sun among kings; who was worshipped by kings; who was a very lion of a king; who was resolute in the warfare of kings; who was the supreme lord of the throne which, located on the summit of the mountain of Pārāśaraparvata, extends over the Kārṇātaka and other countries up to the southern bank of the river Narāmāda, — gave a charter as follows to one thousand and two Brāhmaṇs:

Our mother and father obtained final emancipation in the neighbourhood of the sacred shrine of Agastyaśvara of Nāgārīthā of Pūvalī and became residents of Kalīṣa. On their account, and for the sake of religious merit, we have given, as an agrahāra grant, the village of Pūvalī, including (a radius of) five kos. The details of this grant are as follows:—

We have specified separately the names of those who hold the eight offices. We have given the two posts of astrologers and of village priest to Śrīdharamārāma and Sahasrārāma, who are the astrologers and priests of the boundaries of Toragal. We have given the duty of superintending religious matters to Anantanātha of the lineage of Viśvamitra. We have given the post of village-headman to Sōmaluṣaya and Vallabhārya and Tirmalāya of the lineage of Bhāravāya. We have given the post of accountant of the agrahāra to Saṅkara of the lineage of Kāsyapa. We have given the post of director of sacrifices to Chāmaraśāya of the lineage of Maunabhārava. We have given the astrologership of the boundaries of Toragal and the village priestship of Haralāpura, of the Chandrika Tarph, of the Śindōgi Tarph, of the Kedakalāda Tarph, of the Gōvanakop Saṃvat, of the Ĥāli Tarph, of the Sugandhipattana†, of Kamalī, of the Asudi Tarph, and of the boundaries of the Bejaṅāvī Tarph, to Śrīdharaśārāma and Sahasrārāma. The details of the ownership of land given to them are:—(The share of) each post consists of four mārūs less by a fourth; in this way 3756 mārūs have been given to one thousand and two Brāhmaṇs.

And the rent-free service-lands of the village-headmen and the accountant§§ and the others of the eight officers are 252 mārūs. Thus we have given, with libations of water, 4088 mārūs of land. The boundaries of this land are:—On the east, his share; on the west side, a stone with emblems on it near the road; on the south-east, a stone called Kuṇājīgallu in front of the village of Aḷaṅavāḷi; on the south, (the village of) Gummagol; on the north, (the god) Basavaṇṇa of Kalkōvi; on the south-west, (the big rock called) Navalaphadi on the east side of Bhēṭasura; between the south-west and the west, the spring called Nāgajhurī; after that, the gate called Kaṇāvīgilu of Sugandhipattana; on the west the altar of (the god) Hanumanta of Kadeṣāḷi on the bank of the Malāpāhārī; on the north-west, the god Hanumantāna on the road to the Nāvalatīrtha near the bank of the river; in the centre of the north, the hill called Ruṇamākaroṣaḷiparvata; between the north and the north-east the god Brūhamādeva of Kaṇavī; on the north-east, the temple of (the goddess) Kikānaṇḍamma. Thus, placing (as boundary marks) at the eight points of the compass the peaks of the hill of Mūṇēsidda, and having made this land, marked out by a circle of five kos, to be enjoyed by sons and grandsons in succession as long as the sun and moon may last, and having effected for our mother and father final emancipation by means of identification with the divine essence, we shall acquire universal sovereignty. We have written this stone-inscription close to the god Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in the Śaiva temple of Agastyaśvara. Those of our royal lineage who may injure it, shall incur the crime of having slain a mother or a father at Kāśi. If Brāhmaṇs injure it, they shall incur the crime of having slain a cow at Kāśi. And if Śrādras and others injure it, they shall incur the crime of slaying a spiritual preceptor. May prosperity attend this deed of gift! With a religious object we have concealed treasure in the treasure of Nāgarakīṇḍa. (This is) the embellishment of the writing!

† i.e. the modern Haḷbaḷi. There are several places of this name in the Belgaum and Dharwad Districts; apparently Mughatkhān-Habbal, on the Malāpāhārī or Malāpāhārī near Belgaum, is intended here.
†† Ashākāḷāpāya.
§ Bhāravāya.
§§ Gummagolāya.
\*\* Śānuṭṭaṇa-trīṭī. ** Pūjāmāṇa-trīṭī. 
†† A corruption of Sugandhavarti, the old form of Savandhatti or Sāvandattī, the chief town of the Paragadī Thāḷūḍi of the Belgaum District.
II The correct calculation is 3756 mārūs; but modern Canarese 'māru' is equivalent to a fathom.
§§ Gummagolāya māruṇa.
ARCHæOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE. LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 25.)

No. X.—The two Kanara Colossi.

At page 383, vol. II. of the Indian Antiquary there is an account by Dr. Burnell, accompanied by a drawing, of the great Jaina statue at Kârka-la in South Kanara, and at page 129 an account and drawing of the still greater statue at Sârâna Be-lgo-la, in Mâisur. As Dr. Burnell observes, these monolithic colossi are of truly Egyptian dimensions, and though, owing to the inferior stone from which they are cut, unequal in point of execution, are far from wanting a certain lofty and expressive though rigid dignity. The Kârka-la statue stands upon a rounded rocky hill some three or four hundred feet high, in general appearance like a slop-basin reversed; and seen from a distance on this elevation it has a very remarkable aspect, towering waist-high above the crenellated wall that surrounds it, like a giant over the rampart of an enchanted castle. The spot is shown where it was excavated and cut into shape,—on the western declivity of the hill,—and now appears as a long irregular trench overgrown with herbages and bushes. A considerable depression or hollow runs transversely between this spot and the summit of the hill; this is said to have been filled with earth, and the colossus, when finished, raised on to a train of twenty iron cars, furnished with steel wheels, on each of which ten thousand propitiatory cocoa-nuts were broken, and covered with an infinity of cotton. It was then drawn by legions of worshippers up an inclined plane to the platform on the hill-top where it now stands, the transit taking many days. However legendary, this is at least intelligible; but how, when arrived at the top,—where the area is small, and entirely occupied by the platform and enclosure, with the sides falling steeply all round,—the enormous bulk, 80 tons in weight and 41½ feet high, was raised safely upright on its stand, is diffi-

cult to conjecture. There it stands, uninjured, though darkened with the monsoons of centuries,—its calm fixed gaze directed eastward toward the magnificent mountain-wall of the Ghâts, that, mantled with forests and covered with green domes and peaks, stretches north and south some dozens miles distant.

The Buddhist and Jaina faiths have always tended towards the production of gigantic images, but the two above referred to, as well as a third in South Kanara of which more will be said presently, are the largest monolithic free-standing statues I have heard of in India, or indeed in Asia. The enormous statue at Bamián, in Kabul, is 180 feet high, excavated in high relief on a mountain-side, and in the fort at Gwalior there is a Jaina statue 57 feet high, hewn out of the solid rock, to which it is still attached at the back; there are still larger in Burmah, built up of brick and mortar. In Japan there is an image of Buddha 95 feet high, made of brass plates and hollow within. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-Hian* saw at To-lü, the present Dar-dù or Dhir, an image of sandalwood 94 feet high, to make which the sculptor was by spiritual power thrice transported up to the Tushita heaven to observe the size and appearance of Maitreya Bodhisattva. At Bangkok in the Wat P'o monastery, there is a gilt metal image of Buddha 185 feet long; it reclines on the right side, with the head resting on the right hand.† General Cunningham describes a colossal figure of Buddha from 20 to 24 feet high at Mathura, † and remarks: "Stone statues of this great size are so extremely difficult to move that they can be very rarely made;" what, then, must have been the difficulty of moving the far more colossal Kanara statues, one to a hill-top, the other, as will be described, for some miles over rough ground! §

* Beal's Travels of Fah-Hian, p. 19.
† There is a bas-relief of the death of Buddha in cave Ne.-XXVI. at Ajantâ, in the left aisle, in which the figure of Buddha measures about 20½ feet long.—Ed.
§ The completion and setting up on the Gothenburg, in the Tentoberger Forest, of a gigantic statue of Hermann, the deliverer of Germany and destroyer of the Roman legions, 9 a.d. has just (August 1872) been observed as an event of national importance. Like the Indian statues, it is placed on a hill, and raised on a substructure to clear the tree-tops; but, though fifty feet from foot to top of head, it is made up of pieces of beaten copper weighing together only ten and a quarter tons. Yet it has taken thirty-seven years to construct. The petty Indian rajahs probably took far less time in completing their much more ponderous statues of solid stone. Amongst other recorded great monolithic statues in India is a red granite image, evidently Buddhistic, at a place called Sânto Mâhâb, in Kathâ; it is half buried in the ground; the upper half visible is nine feet in length, the head from chin to top four and a half feet. The image of Somânâth at Jagnâth is said by Maurice to have been wrought from a single stone, seventy-five feet in height; and his marble image in Gujarât, said to have been broken
DOOR FRAME OF BLACK MARBLE, YENUR.

Indian Antiquary.
JAINA PILLAR AT YENUR.
YE NUR, about twenty-four miles east of Karkala, is one of the few remaining Jain villages,—now very small, but must once have been a flourishing and splendid centre, judging from the remains of palaces and buildings, and the third colossal statue which still stands there. This statue is not, like the other two, placed on a hill, but on an elevated terrace on the south bank of the Garpar river, which meets and unites with the more southern river, the Nethvari, at its mouth: so that the two rivers half enclose and separate the town of Mangalur by a broad watery girdle from the sea-beach. Ye Nur is some forty miles inland, and the river there a swift clear stream about twenty yards broad running over a rocky bed. Approaching from the west, over an undulating well-wooded country, the first glimpse of the statue is very striking. One sees rising in the distance a gentle tree-clad slope on which a huge dark giant seems to stand, towering full height above the tree-tops, that just conceal the terrace. So seen, starting out in profile against the clear sky, it has a most strange, unearthly appearance. The terrace rises about fifty feet above the river's bed, and the image is enclosed by a square wall seven or eight feet high, with massive covered entrance, forming a good-sized quadrangle, in the midst of which it stands on a stone plinth of two stages placed on a platform four or five feet in height. It is lower than the Karkala statue (41) feet), apparently by three or four feet, but has never, that I know of, been measured: indeed, as at Srawa Belgoa (but not at Karkala), the people at Ye Nur object to the statue being touched or approached too closely, or even to mounting the stone platform it stands on. It resembles its brother colossal in all essential particulars, but has the special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep grave smile. I could get no explanation of this, and regret not having been able to ascertain what particular Tirthankara it may be intended to represent. The people only knew it by the vulgar name of Gumta Raja or Gomateswara.|| Two fine black-stone stele[s] bearing

by Muhammad of Ghazni, is reported to have been five ells (thirty feet) high. In the Abhayagiri convent in Ceylon, P. H. H. saw a jasper image of Buddha twenty-two feet high.

|| The same appellation is applied to both the Karkala and Srawa Belgoa statues (see Indian Antiquary, vol. II. 129); it does not occur in the list and account of the

ing long inscriptions stand in one corner of the quadrangle,—probably containing all particulars, but I was unable to read or copy them. The salient characteristics of all these colossi are the broad square shoulders, very massive at the setting on of the arms,—perhaps from the exigencies of the material; the thickness and remarkable length of the arms themselves, the tips of the fingers, like Rob Roy's, nearly reaching the knees; the hands and wrists very full, large, and well-shaped. Considering the great massiveness of the upper part of the bust, the waist appears unnaturally slender; the legs are well proportioned. In the Ye Nur image I noted at the time that the forehead was medium, neither high nor retracing; the nose slightly hooked, with broad nostrils; the lips full, especially the upper, and the cheeks remarkably broad, widening towards the bottom; the chin moderate. The neck is short and thick, with three creases across it; the same across the belly. All the colossi are distinguished by crispy, close-curled hair and pendulous ears: and their entire form and aspect appeared to me very unlike anything Hindu. Like its brother at Karkala, the Ye Nur giant looks eastward towards the prodigious slopes of the Kudire Mukhamountain, the highest part of the Western Ghats, which rises abruptly more than six thousand feet about twelve miles in front.* In general effect this great statue is not so impressive as its brethren,—the smile, perhaps, weakens the expression. Like the others, it has the lotus enwreathing the legs and arms; or, as Dr. Burnell suggests, it may be jangal creepers, typical of wrath meditation. A triple-headed cobra rises up under each hand, and there are others lower down. The foot is eight feet three inches long, and the whole statue (when I saw it) much covered with lichen. Once in sixty years the Jains assemble, clean, and wash it with milk, etc.: many years must run at present before the next ceremonial cleansing. The plain archaic pillars behind will be noted.

The natives say that this statue was cut and wrought at a spot three or four miles distant from where it now stands and on the other side Tirthankaras, pp. 154 to 160. [But it is perhaps intended for Gotama Indra bhuti, p. 140. —Ed.]

* These long-armed figures appear in the Badami caves in Kaikal; see Burgess's Archaological Survey of Western India, 1874, plates xxvii. and xiv.

* The accompanying drawing is from a photograph by Captain Ross Thompson, kindly lent by Mr. Ferguson.
arch elaborately wrought from the same material. This long dark row of doll-like figures has a curiously quaint appearance. The building containing them is poor and mean with a thatched roof, but is entered by a doorway quite a wonder of exquisite and beautiful workmanship set in a common rough stone wall. The doorway is square-headed, its sides and top framed with long narrow slabs of black serpentine, of almost steely hardness and lustre, carved with a luxuriance and delicacy of ornament absolutely marvellous. A band of most elegant wavy foliage is succeeded by another bearing a line of rosettes bordered and separated by tasteful beading; and several other bands rich with foliage, moulding, and rosette-work fill up the deeply recessed entrance. The inner door-step bears in the middle a lion's head, and a large rosette at each end, the spaces between being finely worked; and the massive door itself is admirably carved in compartments, several bearing rosettes not unlike the Tudor rose, but sharper-edged. In the wall over the doorway is a line of six seated figures with hands laid on their laps. Opposite, in a small plain covered shrine, sits a cross-legged image of Adiśvara, the primal god, grave, calm, and earnest-looking.

In front of the temple stands one of those wonderful Jaina pillars which, so far as I can hear, are of a type peculiar to South Kanara, where about twenty exist. On a pedestal formed of four stages rises a monolithic shaft about thirty feet high, exclusive of capital, quadrangular at base and for nearly a third of its height, each face bearing a different design of such

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† Herr von Banzel, the sculptor of the vast image just raised to the national hero Bheemana in Bombay, beat out the two hundred pieces of copper of which it is constructed with his own hands, and without a model to guide himself by.

‡ A śānaman referring to this temple mentions that the image is that of Sāntiśvara, the sixteenth Tirthankaras, and that part of its revenues was given over to the service of the great statue, which it styles Gomatesvara, by its setter-up, whose name and date it records. The śānaman is thus translated:

"Śānaman of the great and holy Jina, the most high, renowned for eloquence; conqueror and master of the three worlds: śānaman to all. The work carried out on Sunday the second of Mina of Sōbhakrit, 1536 of the Śāhīshāna era, 1204, this would make the Yēnūr columns later by 172 years than the one at Kārkaḷa, 1462 A.D.—(if there be no mistake). Blessed Viṣṇu Tiṃasa Rāja, the sovereign Ajīr (?), the beloved disciple of the god, established the revered Gomatesvara on Yēnūr hill, and gave over the charitable endowments of the sanctuaries of the holy Sāntiśvara, on its (Gomatesvara) right hand, to Pandiappa Areas, the Bimani (minister) of the queen Padilas Devi. Whereupon the Bimani built the batti, and dedicated to the royal Gomatesvara in perpetuity the following two lands (details given) producing eighty-two hundred of rice in aggregate rent; besides forty-nine hīnas (gold pieces) to be collected from Sunu Narayana, forty-nine hīnas from Appēji, and one hundred and eighty for continually anointing the Gūnutthā with milk under the superintendence of the Bimani, to be collected from . . . . Whoever destroys this bequest shall be guilty of the sin of destroying a multitude of holy cows on the banks of the Čānāka."
intricate interlacement as only Jains could
conceive and execute. Above this the shaft rises in
four sections,—the first octagonal, the next six-
teen-sided, the fourth plain, with arabesque en-
richments on every alternate, third, or sixth side,
and an ornamental band between each section.
Over the fourth section the shaft passes into
a bell-shaped necking, reeded and enriched with
elaborate mouldings, the upper one spreading out
circularly with downward curving edge,
toothed with pendants, and supporting a square
abacus on which a stone canopy, ending in a
flame-like finial, rests on four colonnettes. The
canopy covers a square block bearing in relief
on each side a long-armed, curly-headed Thir-
thaikara. From a moulding below the capital,
four (गोदात) griffin-like monsters stretch up-
ward, meeting each corner of the abacus with
their heads. The whole capital and canopy are
a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated
stone-work; and nothing can surpass the stately
grace of these beautiful pillars, whose propor-
tions and adaptation to surrounding scenery are
always perfect, and whose richness of decoration
never offends.

Fine shafts are sometimes found before Brah-
manical temples: a remarkably handsome mo-
nolith, fluted throughout its length, stands
before the temple at Pekin, near Koimbattor,
but in rich and beautiful adornment of capital,
and delicate laborious decoration of shaft, the
Kanara columns seem to be unapproached;
General Cunningham figures a pillar at Ka-
haoon, in Gorakhpur, something in the same
style, with the bass square, followed by octago-
nal, sixteen-sided, and plain sections: it is
without platform or pedestal, and the capital
comparatively plain. It also resembles the
western coast pillars in bearing on one face
of the base "a naked standing figure with very
long arms reaching to its knees." Whether
this feature, as well as the close, crisp, curly
hair, was a personal peculiarity of Budhha
himself, may be matter of surmise, but both
features seem to have been handed down from
very early days, and to have been accepted by
the Jains in pourtraying their Tirthankaras.
Mr. Beal, in his Travels of Fan-Hsien, gives at
the end a figure of Buddha erect and mantled,—
said to be the best traditional likeness, having
a history attached to it dating from the first
century A.D. It was brought from a Lama
emple near Pekin; and though the arms, which are
partly mantled, do not seem unusually long, it
exhibits the constant most un-Aryan characteristic
of the close curly hair.* There appears some
reason for thinking that these personal peculiarities,
so rare in India, may have marked the bodily
appearance of that greatest and most wonderful
of mere mortals that ever wore flesh, Budhha
Gautama,—greatest—if greatness be measured
by long-continued and far-extended influence
over the minds of successive generations and
millions.

XI.—A Jain Temple and Sasanam.

The north-eastern declivity of the hill, on
which the Kāraka Colossus stands, descends steeply for a third of its height, and then
spreads out into a broad irregular platform or
spur, sinking very gradually to the level of the
plain. On the upper part of this platform, under
the gaze of the Colossus, stands a remarkable
and beautiful temple of a style very novel to those
accustomed to the Dravidian temples of the
south. It is four-square, half of each front
filled with a projecting portico with pillars and
pediments profusely sculptured; many of the
blocks of stone in the walls are also ornamented
with grotesque or fanciful designs, such as two
snakes inextricably intertwined, geometrical
figures, flowers, grining faces, &c. The temple
is roofed with immense sloping slabs or flagstones
overlapping like tiles and projecting in deep
eaves, and in the centre there appears to have
handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching
down to the knees; his breast is marked with the Śrīcakra
figure." This is the symbol assigned to Sītalas, the tenth
Tirthankara, and is delineated at page 136, vol. II. of the
Indian Antiquity. We know that when Budhha deter-
mined to forsake the world and turn Arhat, he cut off his
hair with his sword as superfluous; thenceforward his hair
never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand.
It is for the Jains to explain how the attributes of their defiled
euses are mingled with those of Budhha, whom they
profess to renounce and despise. Nor do Budhha's say why, after the hair had been cut short, it should have curled
like a jugal-man's or a Hābale's; nor why, as the Ceylon
chronicles hand down, Budhha's eyes should have been
blue,—a trait so foreign to Hindus.

* In the Brhat Sasthādaṭhā, the 58th chapter, devoted to the
description and manufacture of idols, lays down the appearance
of Budhha and the Jains and this—

44. Budhha should be represented seated upon a lotus,
and looking as if he were the father of mankind; with
hands and feet marked by lotuses, with a placid countenance
and very short hair.

45. The god of the Jains is figured naked; young,
been some sort of dome or tower—now in ruins. On the large heavy folding doors in one of the porticos being rolled back, a striking—almost startling—sight is revealed: for as the daylight penetrates the interior, three tall images, each about six feet high, of barnished copper, are seen standing side by side in a square gloomy recess, where they almost seem to start into life as the sunshine suddenly lights them up. Each resembles each, and they are the counterpart of the great statue on the hill above. An exactly similar triad stands within the entrance of each portico. Mr. Ferguson,† in describing a square temple of A n a n d a, in Burma, with projecting porticos on each face, observes that it is remarkably dissimilar to anything on the continent of India, and, with its seven-storied tower, more of a Babylonian than an Indian type. What rose on the centre of the Kārkaṭa temple, whether dome or tower, is not clear; there are the ruins of some construction, but the square form and projecting portico are there, and it is on the coast of India nearest ancient Babylon.

The temple is beautifully situated, overlooking a wide panoramic landscape, well wooded, and diversified during the rains with all the luxuriant vegetation and vivid tints of the western coast; and an extensive hollow under the hill to the south is filled with a very picturesque miniature lake of deep blue water with a sharply winding shore, many little headlands, and a tree-covered islet in the middle, much haunted by white egrets. At one corner of the lake there are steps and a paved landing-place, whence, it is said, the old Jainas kings launched to disport themselves with boating. In those days Kārkaṭa must have been a centre of great stir and magnificence: half a mile northward of the hill may be seen the vestiges of a grand bazaar street running in a straight line for a mile, and popularly declared to have contained 770 shops. It is now a hollow way, worn deep by the tread of vanished generations, and bordered on each side by mounds of earth and masses of disjointed masonry. It is still known as Hiriyā-Aṅgaṇī—Old Bazaar, and its long vista is closed at the top by the grandest and tallest of the splendid decorated pillars spoken of in note No. X., standing in the midst of a semicircle of three much-ruined temples. Between the Old Bazaar and the hill I observed a small pillar of unusual appearance, a little to one side, on a waste open maidan, and, going up to it, found an obelisk-like stone pillar six or seven feet high, with something like a furnace at the foot. I could not for some time comprehend the explanations offered of its intention, but at last discovered it was the impaling pillar—the Tyburn or place of execution—where criminals were impaled, and a socket on its top marked where doubtless a long spike had been fixed for the purpose, on which many a miserable wretch must have expired in horrible agonies under the burning sun.

Returning to the fourfold temple, a fine black stone stele stands beside the steps of its northern portico, bearing an inscription which I had copied; it is as follows †—

Shauna of the Jain Temple at Kārkota.

Transcription.

and corrected by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S., whose accurate knowledge of such inscriptions is so well known to our readers.—Etc.


† This text and translation have been carefully revised.
The charter of the Jain temple with four fronts.

Reverence to the saint by whom all his passions have been brought under control! Victorious be the scripture of the lord of the three worlds, the scripture of Jina, which has, as an efficacious distinguishing appellation, the glorious and most excellent and profound doctrine of the assertion of possibilities! Through the favour of Śrī-Jinendra, may the king Bhairavendra continue, as long as the moon and sun may endure, possessed of long life and good fortune and victory and prosperity! May there be no obstacles! May it be auspicious!

Śrī-Pārśvanathā|| [confers abundance of salutary advice; and Nāmijina, strength and fame; and Suvarajinapa, long life; and Dūrbali, good fortune; and the Jain saints Arah and Malli and Suvarā, prosperity; and may (the goddess)

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and is represented by the Colossus on the hill above--vide Ind. Ant. vol. II. pp. 154 and 533.

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Another form of this name would be Bāṇabali, the son of Vīshāhha (conf. Ind. Ant. vol. II. pp. 154, 533), and a Jain saint of this name, belonging to the sect called Kandāngama, is mentioned in lines 23, 24, and 35, No. III (dated Saka 908) of my Satya Inscriptions, published in Jour. Bombay. Br. & Rs. As. Soc. vol. X, and was at that date alive.—J. F. V.

§ The curiosity of this verse consists in its being composed of combinations of the five syllables śrī of śrī rāgā. I cannot at present propose any further emendations, or suggest a translation.—J. F. V.

|| This personage, as well as the six enumerated immediately after, belongs to the Jain hierarchy of Tirthākharas, with the exception of Bāṇabali or Dūrbali, who, not one himself, was the son of Vīshāhha, the first Tirthākharas.
Padmavati* of Pombuchcha,† grant all the desires of the king Śri-Bhairava for a very long time, as long as the moon and sun may endure!

At the advice of that greatest of sages, Lānakārī, the lord of the lineage of Pannaśōga,‡ who was born in the glorious and famous sect called Dēṣikyakār, the lord Śri-Bhairava,—possessed of the greatness of the glorious emperor who is the king of the serpent-gods; the moon of the nectar-ocean which is the glorious Sūmakula; born in the lineage of Śri-Jina-datta; the son of Śri-Gummatambā, who was the noble sister of the glorious king Bhairava,—caused to be constructed (an image or temple of) Jina-pā, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities,§ and thus enjoyed complete success.

May (the image or temple of) Jina-pā, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities, be beautiful for a long time,—(that image or temple which was established by Śri-Bhairavendra when the year of the glorious era called Śaliśaka, having the excellent name of Vyaya and to be expressed in words) by the elephants, the sky, the arrows, and the moon, had expired, in the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitya, on Wednesday under the sign of the Bull, and under the excellent astronomical conjunction of Mrigāśīra.

Hail! On Wednesday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitya of the Vyaya'anātāvara, which was the year of the Śri-Silivāhanaśaka 1508 ¶, under the astronomical conjunction of Mrigāśīra and under the sign of the Bull, in order that he might obtain prosperity and happiness and good fortune, the glorious sovereign, king I m m a ā i B h a i r a v a,—who was the universal emperor of the Kaliyuga, like to Bhārataśvara; who was the greatest hero of the twelve (heroes or kings) of Guttī; who was the supreme lord of the city of Pombuchchāpura, which is the best of cities; who

protected those who took refuge with him; who was the enemy of such as withstood him; who was the supporter of honourable kings; who was the priest to establish the systems of philosophy; who was the ornament of the Sūhāmāśa; who was expert in purifying the excellent fancies of (the goddess) Padmavati of Pombuchcha; who was adorned with all the virtues of propriety of conduct; whose head was purified by perfumed water; who was the greatest of sixty-four chiefstains; who was the beloved son of (the queen) Hōnāmāmbikā; who was considered to be the son-in-law of the sovereign, king Bhairava; who was the full-moon of the ocean which was the lineage of the glorious king Jina-datta; who was as glorious and as brave as Narasimha; who was the king of the city of Vaiṣānagara; who was the beloved son and the glorifier of the family of (the queen) Śri-Gummatambā; who was the greatest of all those who punish hostile kings,—at the city of Pāṇḍyanagari of Kāpēkṣā, in the presence of (the Jain god) Śri-Gummatā-Jinaśvāra on the hill called Chikkakēṭṭa,† which resembles the mountain of Kailāsa caused to be built a Chaityālaya,—of such a kind as to answer to the description “What is the family-abode of the lovely woman Śri?; what is the mine of the happiness of the lovely woman Excellent Fame?; what is the house in which the lovely woman the Earth enjoys the pleasures of love?; and what, again, is the place in which the bride Excellent Victory disperts herself?; it is the arena of Śri-Bhāratī, consisting of both the six letters and excellent morality: Hail! then, (to find this place,) a man should betake himself to the temple of Śri-Jina, which is the house in which the lovely woman Śri makes her choice of a husband”; the happy habitation of all the Jinas; auspicious in every respect; having four fronts; resembling the form of the three excellent things; the ornament of the three.

* Padmavati is the divine being who executed the orders of the twenty-third Arhat of the present Aneśonrippī (a long period of time, or age, with the Jainas). As used by other sects it is an epithet usually of Lakshmi.
† This seems to be the name of a place which cannot be identified at present.
‡ Possibly the name of the sect may be Pombheja, “the mountain of gold,” Mahāmara.
¶ The name of the form of this name is Fanaśage or Hanasūdage, and the sect is mentioned in line 46 of No. V of my Rajyā Inscriptions referred to above. J. F. F.
§ The rākṣatvas or three excellent things among the jains are—1, sampātikātāvitā, correct conduct; 2, samyagjñāna, complete knowledge; and 3, samyagdharana, accurate perception.

¶ These words denote the numerals 8, 0, 5, 1, the order of which has been reversed to give the date. According to the text in this passage the year 1508 had expired, and consequently the date was Śaka 1526, a.d. 1537; by the Table in Brown's Carnatic Chronology Śaka 1508 was the Vyaya anātāvara, and Śaka 1509 was the Sarrvatātyasvarā.
† According to the text here, the Śaka year 1508 was still current.
† i.e. “Bhairava the second.”
† i.e. “the little hill.”
† A Jain temple.
§ I am unable to explain this.
worlds,—which was like the house in which the goddess Final Emancipation visibly chooses her husbands, for the (members of) four religious bodies who were possessed of all good qualities and who,—because they were .......... ||, and behaved like brothers to the wives of other men, and punished kings who failed to keep their promises, and were the establishments of (temples with) golden pinnacles,—had become the principal men in the kingdom of religion, and who, at the instigation of piety which was the consequence of their own piety, had become his superintendents of the most excellent temples of Jina. And then, in order that he might obtain endless happiness, he set up images of the Tirthakaras' Ara and the saint Malli and Suvrata at the four points of the compass of that temple, and images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras in the western side of it, and images of Jina in the corners of the outer enclosure of it, together with (images of) Brahma and Padmavati on the left and right hand. Having established these with the proper ceremonies, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, while governing the kingdom to his own contentment, at the holy time of establishing those same images in that same Chaityalaya of Jina, which was the ornament of the three worlds, in order that he might acquire religious merit, gave to the god,—with libations of water, and to last as long as the moon and sun might endure, for the purpose of the Abhishakapujā and the other rites which were to be celebrated at those same four points of the compass by the fourteen local fixed sevants of the god, and for the purpooses of the Aṅga(-bhōga) and the Rāngabhōga and all the other glorious ceremonies,—the village of Tēlyārā,—within the boundaries of four streams, which are on the east, the stream called Mukkāsappina-hole; on the south, the stream called Yēṇṣeṣa-hole; on the west, the stream called Pūṣkārījāyada-hole; and on the north the stream called Balimeya-hole,—including the Ashṭabhūgasa, which are buried treasure, deposits, Akshī, Agāmi, water, stones, that which has become property, and that which may become property,—and 700 muḍis of rice within that village, and 238 gāḍyānus out of the fixed revenues of (the villages of) Rāṃjāla and Nallura.

And the details of this religious grant are—(Here follows the specification of the sums of money and the grain-allowances given for the support of the priests and servants of the temple and for the performance of various ceremonies. It does not appear necessary to translate this in detail; and, in fact, the transcription is in many points too doubtful to permit of this being done. The inscription then continues:—)

Because the five letters which constitute the word 'Śrī-Vitārāṇa,' and which are a sacred charm of Jina which resembles that which conveys an understanding of the five most holy things which convey a knowledge of many excellent existences which are like a water-melon bitten by the serpent which is the period of five existences, are the twenty-five means of accurate perception of Jain religious mendicants†, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, in token of his having allotted (the above grants), with his own hand composed, in the Ṣrīvājra metre, a curious verse, by a most auspicious and curious arrangement which was written in twenty-four syllables but had the form of (those same) five syllables. (Here follows the verse, commencing Śrīśrīvājrya, &c., the explanation of which is not at present apparent.) * * *

One of the grand massive pillars in the propylæum of that cathedral of existing Jainism in Kanara—the great temple at Mūḍubidri, ten miles from Kārkāla—has one side of its quadrangular base covered with a riddle-sentence in twenty-five compartments, separated by ornamental capping cut in some fine white stone. A figure on horseback is cut in relief on the base of the pillar, which is surrounded by a plain stone three-barred "Buddhāya rail." A pillar and an image of Brahma, but of inferior execution, stands also before the entrance of the Colossus at Yēṇur.

* Eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property.

† Māṣṭakadāra would seem to be the same as Māṭhakāra, a religious mendicant, especially one of the Jain sect. The sense of the whole of this passage, or rather the correctness of the transcription, seems to me very doubtful. Where the transcription has gōṇāṃvedihā, I have substituted gōṇāṃvedikā as the only correction that suggests itself to me.
mental hands, and the whole enclosed with an elaborate border. The inscription, it is said, may be read as verses in any direction, and appears to be a song of praise consisting of ingeniously varied epithets, somewhat resembling the Orphic Hymns: a copy is given in conclusion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Smarabara</th>
<th>Karvalopa</th>
<th>Bhuvana</th>
<th>Haabhrama</th>
<th>Ninavirana</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Barhara</td>
<td>Bhuvana</td>
<td>Natbhrana</td>
<td>Ninavirana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sarmadama</td>
<td>Suvinita</td>
<td>Dhritdgama</td>
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<td>Dharmavartma</td>
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<td>Puthihara</td>
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<td>Varavidy</td>
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<td>Samuraja</td>
<td>Mahanvita</td>
<td>Ninabuddhami</td>
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<td>Marachatra</td>
<td>Samudaya</td>
<td>Mahardhika</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Saralhuta</td>
<td>Ramaciya</td>
<td>Sahayaka</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Manciraja</td>
<td>Parkshaka</td>
<td>Ninamuthana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bhurinila</td>
<td>Phairaja</td>
<td>Surakshaka</td>
<td>Ninajivana</td>
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<td>Marasadra</td>
<td>Raajajitra</td>
<td>Vinishkrit</td>
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<td>Nirapeksha</td>
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<td>Sukisisara</td>
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<td>Charamanga</td>
<td>Ghanadrata</td>
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<td>Janapati</td>
<td>Muktrirnya</td>
<td>Paramarga</td>
<td>Mahipati</td>
<td>Ninasaumayana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions

**By J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S.**

(Continued from page 20)

Through the kindness of Sir W. Elliot there has been lent to me a copy of his collection of Old Canarese stone-inscriptions, belonging to the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. Burgess has made over to me a set of 57 excellent facsimiles of Sanskrit and Old Canarese copper-plates. I hope to make valuable additions to the present series from these two sources.

No. XI.

This is another Kaalachuri inscription, to be read in connexion with No. III of this series, from Plate No. 38 of Major Dixon's collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 4' 7" high by 1' 11" broad, at Ballagamvo. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a liyang; on its right, a standing priest, with the sun above him and a cow and calf beyond him; and on its left, a representation of Bavis, with the moon above it.

The inscription commences with the mention of Tribhuvanamallā-Bijjanadīva, and his eldest son, Sōma or Sōvidēva, and second son, Saūkamadēva or Saūkammadēva. The titles applied to them are those of paramount sovereigns.

It then mentions Lakmidēva, Chandugidēva, Rōchaṇayya, Sōvanayya, and Kāvanayya, the chief ministers of Saūkamadēva, and the royal spiritual preceptor, Vāmasaktidēva, the priest of the temple of the god Dakshinakōdrēvaradēva at Balligrāme, which was the chief town of the Banavisate Twelve-thousand.

It then proceeds to record how, at the suit of the king...
of the above-mentioned ministers, Sāukamadōva, in the fifth year of his reign, or Śaka 1102-3 (A.D. 1181), the Vikrī sauvastūra, granted the village of Kīru-Balligrāmō, for the purposes of that same temple.

It further records grants made to the same temple, on the same occasion, by the Great Chiefmin Tailahadōva or king Tailapa, and the Great Chiefmin king Ekhā, the son of king Ekkala, who, also, must apparently be looked upon as the subordinates of Sāukamadōva.

Finally it records a grant of land, in the Śaka year 1103 (A.D. 1186-7), the Parabhava sauvastūra, to three persons named Bisadōja, Bāvāja, and Siugōja. By whom this grant was made is not apparent; at that time Sāukamadōva had, according to Sir W. Elliot's list, ceased to reign.

In line 50, in characters of a larger and inferior standard, another portion of the inscription, intended to record a grant of the village Siruvōgal, was commenced, but seems to have been left unfinished.

Transcription.

[1] १ तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[2] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[3] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[4] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[5] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[6] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[7] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[8] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[9] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[10] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[11] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[12] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[13] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[14] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[15] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[16] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[17] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[18] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[19] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[20] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[21] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[22] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
[23] तांत्रिकि सत्ता ||
STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KALACHURI DYNASTY AT BALAGAMVE.
Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.
Translation.

Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Sambhu, who is made beautiful by a chauri which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Reverence to Sambhu, who is composed of eternal and infinite knowledge and power, and who undertakes the support of religion which is fruitful through the exercise of mental determination! Reverence to the royal spiritual preceptor!

Hail! The glorious Tribhuvanamalla-Bijjanaḍēva, who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength of his arm, and who possessed the appropriate titles commencing with "The asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of Kāñjaraṇa, which is the best of cities; he who has the banner of the golden boar; he who has (to proclaim him abroad) the sounds of the musical instrument called Damara; he who is as the sun to the white lotus which is the Kāchhūrya family; he who is impetuous in war; he who is a very golden mountain in respect of his haughtiness; he who is the best of good warriors; he who is a very elephant-god to brave men; Gajasimanta; he who is a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who come to him for refuge; he who is a very lord of Lankā in respect of his prowess; he who behaves like a brother to the wives of other men; he who attains the accomplishment of his objects (even) on a Saturday; he who is the conqueror of hill-forts; he who is like Rāma in the fierce contest; he who is a lion to the elephants which are his foes; he who is a hero free from any apprehension,"—day after day enjoyed his mistress, which was the earth. That same earth, which formerly was made by the foolish Prithu, to be for a very long time in the condition of a cow, now for a long time disperses itself in the function of the royal consort of Bijjanaḍēva; O lord! O best of kings! O mighty lord! being possessed of the right to be praised, it shines upon the ocean, which has the shore above its water, just as the jewel Kaustubha shines on the chest of Vishnu.

To describe the prowess of the beloved son of the supreme king of kings who has thus been mentioned:—While the darkness which was the hostile kings was fleeing away, and the blue lollies (which were his friends) were blooming luxuriantly, and the white lollies which were the faces of the lovely women of his enemies were fading,—a king,—who was to be called Saomā, because he was the lord of splendour as the moon is the lord of the constellations, and because he was made brilliant by his accomplishments just as the moon is made radiant by its digits, and because he was the lord of the moonlight which was his fame that became ever greater and greater,—was born from the ocean which was king Bijjanaḍēva.

The younger brother of Saovidēva, the greatest of kings, who, having thus been born, governed the whole earth under one umbrella, reigned:—Immediately after him,—Saṅkāmaḍēva, who was like to the son of the river in regard to his truth and his purity and his religious vows, and who was a second Parakṣita, governed the earth, causing joy to the world. Having been selected as his emissaries, the elephants of Gauna, the horses of Turushka, the pearls of the excellent

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* The rest of this line, about nine letters, is illegible in the photograph. It is not clear in the photograph whether this is the last line of the original or not.
† Saka 1078 to 1087.—Sir W. Elliot.
‡ Meru, the central point of Jambadipa, with the loftiness of which the pride of Bijjanaḍēva is compared.
§ The explanation of this title is not apparent; but perhaps it is analogous to 'Gajapatī,' a title of another dynasty of kings.
|| The planet Sanī, Saturn, and consequently his day, Saturday, is looked upon as very auspicious for success in undertakings.
¶ An ancient king, in whose time all the mountains, using Himālaya as a cail to induce the flow of milk and Meṣa as the milkman, milked forth from the earth, as from a cow, all manner of precious things and medicinal herbs.
** Saka 1087 to 1093.—Sir W. Elliot.
†† Saka 1093 to 1104.—Sir W. Elliot. The name is usually spelt Saṅkāma; the 'n' is doubled here for the sake of the metre.
|| Karttikeya, the god of war, the son of the Amara-ggṛ, or heavenly Ganges. He was generated from the seed of Siva, which was received by the Ganges when the Fire was unable to retain it.
§§ A king of old times, the son of Maṇḍūkṣa.
\\ 'Turushka,' a Turk or Musullam.
lord of Sīhala, the fine raiment of Chōla, the mask of Magadha, the sandalwood of the lord of Mālaya, and the young damask of Lāja, used to proclaim the commands of the lord king Saṅkamadēva in public assemblies.*

All the chief ministers,—the leading men of the kingdom of that same supreme king of great kings, the universal emperor, who had thus in many ways made the earth free from trouble,—viz., the chief Daṇḍanāyaka, Lākūnīdēva, and Chaṇḍuṅgīdēva, who superintended the seventy-two functions †, and the Daṇḍanāyaka Rechaṇayya, who was the best friend of the world, and the Daṇḍanāyaka Sōvānyya, who was entrusted with general superintendence, and the Daṇḍanāyaka Kāvanayya, who was the leader of the whole army,—came in company, by way of recreation, on a tour to the south, and beheld the temple with three pinnacles, and the pavement covered with creepers, and the numerous votive golden balls embellished with jewels on the top of the temple, of the god the holy Dakshinākārāvaṇadēva of Bājigrāme, which was the chief town of the Banavase Twelve-thousand, and the imparting of instruction and the giving of food, and all the other sacred rites,—and said “Verily the Kēdāra of the south is here; we must celebrate some religious rite,”—and regarded with great astonishment the power of the efficacy of the devotion and the other qualities of those who had seen the holy royal spiritual preceptor, who was the priest of the shrine of that god. The learned Pāṇini occupies himself in grammar, and Śrī-Bhāshānācharya in works relating to politics, and the saintly Bharata in dramatic representations, &c., and Māgha in poetry, and Nakulīśvara in dogma, and Skanda in the affairs of Sīva; but this same royal spiritual preceptor, the ascetic Śrī-Vāmaśakti, is ever resplendent with good qualities that are inherent parts of his nature. ||

King Saṅkama, who excelled in goodness, having met with him, the beloved son of Gautama, who was thus possessed of many good qualities;—

Hail!—When the sun was entering the sign of the Bull, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the month Vaiśākha of the Vikāra saṅvatsara, which was the fifth of the years of the glorious Saṅkamadēva, the glorious universal emperor Saṅkamadēva, having washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor Vāmaśakti, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave, with libations of water, to be respected by all as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, the town of Kiru-Balligāve**, a town which was near to the Jīduguḷge Kampapa, for the aṅgūbhūta and raṅgabhūta of the god the holy Kēdārāvaṇadēva, and to repair whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age, and for the purpose of feeding devotees and Brāhmaṇa. Whosoever preserves this act of religion, is as one who performs a hundred sacrifices; he, who destroys this act of religion, shall go to hell, like one who destroys a hundred sacrifices and the Brāhmaṇa connected with them!  

Hail! The fortunate Great Chief Tāilāha, and the fortunate Great Chief Gana came, and, having had regard to religion, brought (themselves into) a pious frame of mind, saying “This is the locality of a family of spiritual preceptors dependent on our race; we must perform here some act of religion.” To describe their prowess:—King Tāilapa, the son of the mighty king Ekkaḷa, being ever very happy through his pride and his affection and the tenderness of his heart, bestowed the world of the gods if his enemy wished for war, but gave the wealth which was his property to any one who came and regarded him with affection, and to any one who said “See now! verily he causes no unhappiness to the timid.” From excessive fear because the fresh lustre of the semimortar of king Gana has flashed forth over the world, men look no longer upon the beauty

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* i.e., the Saka year 1102-3. According to the table in Brown’s Carnatic Chronology, the Vikāra saṅvatsara was Saka 1101, and Saka 1102 was the Sāvāra saṅvatsara.  
†† i.e., ‘the smaller Balligāve’.  
§§ i.e., ‘slew his enemies’.  
§§§ i.e., ‘the smaller Balligāva’.  
|| In contradistinction to the acquired qualities of the persons named in the text.
of the side-glances of the queens of the hostile kings who flee away in the battle.

Being thus the abiding-places of manifold praise and renown, the fortunate Great Chief-tain Tālāhadeva and the fortunate Great Chief-tain king Erāha, having, on the auspicious lunar day that has been written above, washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor Vāmaśaktideva, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, some rent-free land, together with some miscellaneous dues, at Kīru-Balligāve, which was a town near to the Jiḍḍulige district, for the great oblation and for the perpetual lamp of the god the holy Kēdārēvarādeva. Those, who without fail preserve this act of piety, obtain the reward of fashioning out of gold and jewels the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows at Vārāṇasi and Kurukshetra and other sacred places of pilgrimage and bestowing them upon a thousand Brāhmaṇs well versed in the Vedas; whosoever destroys this act of piety shall go to hell, like one who with his own hand slays those same Brāhmaṇs and those same tawny-coloured cows at those same sacred places of pilgrimage.

And by way of witness as to this assertion, there is the scripture:—He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Hail! On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśakha of the Parābhava māsvatara, which was the year of the glorious Śaka 1108, having carefully built the pavilion of the god the holy Kēdārēdeva, with the approval of their holy royal spiritual preceptor they gave, as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun might last, one hundred and fifty kanmas of the cultivated land called Hālitgadakey, to the south of the tank called Bāvaregare, in the lands of Kīru-Balligāve, to Bisāḍōja and Bivōja and Siṅgōja.

And they gave, to be continued as a grant to be respected by all and including the Trībōja, the town of Siruvogal, which was a town near to that same Jiḍḍulige seventy.

No. XII.

This is a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription from Sir W. Elliot’s facsimile collection made over to me by Mr. Burgess; I have no information as yet as to where the original was found or in whose possession it is. The plates, four in number, are marked with numerals, and, contrary to the usual custom, the writing commences on the outside of the first plate and covers also the outside of the fourth plate. The seal connecting the plates bears the representation of what seems to me to be a dog, but is, in native opinion, a lion. The characters are the old Sanskrit, which I know, and have always spoken of, as the Cave-alphabet.

The inscription is one of the Pallava dynasty, and mentions in genealogical order the names of four kings,—Skandavarmā; his son, Viravarman; his son, Skanda varman; and his son, Vishnugopavarmā. As Vishnugopavarmā is spoken of as the Yuvamahārāja, it is probable that Siṃhavarmā, who is referred to as the reigning monarch in the last two lines, was his elder brother.

The age of these kings must be early; but, beyond stating that the copper-plate was bestowed by Vishnugopavarmā in the eleventh year of the reign of Siṃhavarmā, the inscription contains no information as to its date. As far as we may judge from the forms of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth century A.D.

But little is known as yet regarding the Pallava family, beyond that it was one of the dynasties that ruled in the Dekkan anterior to the Chāḷukyas. At the time of the present inscription Palakkada would seem to have been the capital of the Pallava kings; but it was from them that the Chāḷukyas acquired Kaṅchi. Some information regarding them has been given and quoted by Mr. Rice at p. 156 of vol. II of this journal. To this I have now to add the following. In the old Kaḍamba copper-plate inscriptions of unknown date, published by me in Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. IX (No. XXVII), Mṛigēśa is spoken of as being “a fire of destruction to the Pallavas,” and Ravi varma as “having conquered the whole earth by slaying Śrī-Viṣṇuvarmā* and other kings.” And in

* Possibly the Viṣṇugopavarmā of the present inscription, part of his name being omitted for the sake of the metre.
a large Cave-alphabet inscription at Aihole, dated Śaka 507 (A.D. 585-6), which I hope to publish very shortly in this series, we are told that the Chalukya king Pulikēśi II, who was like "the sun to melt the frost which was the army of the Pallavas," caused the lord of the Pallavas, who had aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess within the ramparts of the city of Kāñchī. As regards the family in later times, a stone-tablet inscription at Galaganātha in the Kōḍ Talukā of the Dharwād District, dated the fifth year of the Chālukya Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Śaka 1002-3 (A.D. 1081), seems to deserve to be carefully copied and studied, as containing references to the Pallavas as the subordinates of the Chālukyas. And finally, in a stone-tablet inscription at Mūṇji in the Parasɡaḍ Talukā of the Belgaum District, dated Śaka 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), photographed by Mr. Burgess in his archaeological tour of 1873-4, they are included among the kings said to have been conquered by the Devaśīra Pravirya king Śinghānadeva.

Transcription. First plate; first side.

[1] चित्ति बहुविलयता [2] श्रीवीर यया लक्ष्यवान्तु परम्प्रक्ष्य यया स्त्रयं
[3] महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: यो-
[4] मत्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: गच्छन्ति यस्मात् श्रीवीरवर्मण: मत्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: गच्छन्ति यस्मात्

First plate; second side.

[5] मदुक्षित महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[6] श्रीवीरवर्मण: गच्छन्ति यस्मात् श्रीवीरवर्मण: मधुक्षित महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यताः
[7] दक्षरावास्य लोकालोकानां पुनः महारास्य लोकालोकानां स्वायत्तम: महारास्य

Second plate; first side.

[9] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[10] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[11] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[12] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...

Second plate; second side.

[13] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[14] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[15] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[16] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...

Third plate; first side.

[17] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[18] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[19] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...
[20] श्रीवीरवर्मण: महारावास्य श्रीवीरवर्मण: पुनः भगवतिः द्रव्यता व...

‡ But perhaps only by self-laudatory custom.
§ The letters are clear in the original; the emendation must be either self-laudatory or, more probably, self-praising.
Translation.

Victory has been achieved by the holy one! From the glorious and victorious locality of Pālakka dā, at the command of Śrī Viṣṇu go pāvārma, the pious Yuvamahārajā of the Pāllavas, who are the receptacles of the royal glory of other kings that have been overcome by their valor, and who have prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according to the proper rites,—of him who is the great-grandson of the Great King Śrī Skandavarma, who was an excellent worshipper of the supreme spirit, who acquired by the strength of his arm a great abundance of the penances† peculiar to those who belong to the caste of warriors, who conformed to all such injunctions as are prescribed, who was firm in steadiness of conduct, and who was broad-minded; of him who is the grandson of the Great King Śrī Vi Rava rma, the bravest man upon the surface of the earth, who was endowed with honoured power and success, and who subjugated by his prowess the assemblage of kings §§; of him who is the son of the Great King Śrī Skanda varma, who nourished the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors and old men, who was of great affability, who acquired much piety by many gifts of cows and gold and land and other things, who was skilful in protecting his subjects, who was the fifth Lōkapāla of the Lōkapālas, who was true-hearted, and who was high-minded; of him who is possessed of all prosperity produced by his devotion towards the holy one and by his goodness; who is always initiated into the charitable vows of the occupation of pleasing and protecting his subjects; who is possessed of the radiance of the fame of his victories acquired by impetuous assaults in many battles; who is always zealous in supporting religion.

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† This letter, ə, is omitted altogether in the original.
†† 'Bhārata' is an epithet of Viṣṇu, Siva, or Jina. Judging from the proper names of the kings, the god Viṣṇu, would seem to be intended here.
** The position of this phrase is not known to me.
††† 'Parivṛtta Mahārāja' denotes an heir-apparent associated in the government with the reigning Mahārāja or great king. Analogously to these two terms, we have in other instances 'Bhīka' and 'Parivṛtta.'
Ⅱ $c.$, bravery, skill in the use of weapons, good government, charity to Brahmanas, &c.

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§§ Or, if preferred, the countries or courts of (other) kings.

The four Lōkapālas, or presiding deities of the cardinal points of the compass, are— Indra of the East; Yama of the South; Varun of the West; and Kūrva, of the North. Usually the Lōkapālas are spoken of as eight in number, viz., the above four together with the regents of the intermediate points of the compass, who are, Agni, of the South-East; Varu, of the East; Anirūti, or Sūrya, of the South-West; Viṣṇu, of the North-West; and Śāma, or Śoma, of the North-East.
which had been brought to death's door by the sins of the Kali age; who is desirous of surpassing all the collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints; who is desirous of surpassing religion itself; who meditates on the feet of the holy man; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable great king Bappa; who is an excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhāradvāja,—those who dwell in the village of Uruvappali, in the country of Māndhātā, are to be addressed:

In this village there are two hundred entire *nivartanas*. The limits of those *nivartanas* are:—On the west, the boundaries of the village of Kaṇḍukūrā are the limit; on the south, the river Sūnapāga is the limit; on the east, (the same) is the limit; to the north by south of the east, there is a rock on the side of the great road; proceeding thence to the north, there is a tamarind-tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Karupwāra and to the village of Kaṇḍukūrā; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivated field of the Brahmans in the village of Karupwāra; on the north, the limit is a large tamarind-tree surrounded by a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the edge of the boundaries of the village of Kaṇḍamuruvudū. Having made those same two hundred *nivartanas* of area which is in the centre of these four boundary-limits a possession of the gods at Kaṇḍukūrā for the family of Vishnu Charodvāda which was founded by the general Viṣṇuvarma, it has been given by us, invested with immunity from taxation by the eighteen castes, and to be increased by us as long as our life may last and according to our strength.

Bearing this in mind, let all the functionaries and all in authority in that district, and the favourites of the king, and travellers, treat that same area with immunity from all taxation, and cause it to be treated in the same way by others. But any wicked man who transgresses against this our charter is deserving of corporal punishment. Moreover, are there not verses (as to this)? There has not been and there shall not be any gift better than a grant of land; verily there has not been and there shall not be any sin greater than the sin of confiscating such a grant! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! This copper-plate is given by me in the eleventh of the victorious years of the Great King Viṣṇuvarma, in the month Paushya, in the dark fortnight, and on the tenth lunar day.

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**OMKĀRA MĀNDHĀTĀ.**

**SUDT. STATE EDUCATION, INDOM**

22° 14' N.; Long. 76° 0' 17" E. The Narmadā here is confined between rocks, and not more than one hundred yards broad, but very deep...

The island of Māndhātā is a hill of moderate height, and was formerly fortified, but there are now only the remains of a few gateways and old pagodas all covered with jungle. The town stands on the slope of the hill. The neighbouring country consists of a succession of low hills, deep ravines, and watercourses, the whole covered with high thick forests, which for some eight miles from the river are only

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Dictionary can I find the prefix *apta* in composition with the root *kat*? Perhaps *apta* is equivalent to the Canarese *gubā*, a heap of stones above a grave, used very commonly in the Canarese country as a landmark; see Note 17 to No. III of my Rājā inscriptions, Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. X, No. 18, p. 211.

"Kritis"—but my translation here may be objected to.

*Śrīvatsaṃdrāla*, the reading is clear, but the formation is rather a peculiar one.
passable on foot. The pagoda here is dedicated to Oṃkāra, the phallic emblem of Mahādeva.

.... This is one of the twelve celebrated places where, according to the followers of Śiva, the god is most peculiarly present. Here he is known under the form of the mystic syllable om.

The origin of Oṃkāra is thus given in the Siva Purāṇa, chapter 47:—

Sūta said:—Hear the origin of Oṃkāra.

Once upon a time the god Nārada came from Gokarna Mahābalesvara to the Vindhyā mountain. Here Vindhyā received him with all due honours; but Nārada had heard of Vindhyā's pride in his belief that he had everything with him and that he wanted nothing. For this Nārada breathed heavily. When Vindhyā heard this, he said, 'What defect have you seen in me that you now breathe so?' Nārada replied, 'You have everything in you, but Mēra is taller and has a place among the gods; such is not the case with you.' So saying Nārada returned to the place from whence he came. Vindhyā thus got disgusted with himself and worldly things, and went to the spot where Oṃkāra now is, with the design of worshipping Śiva. Here he constructed an earthen image of the god, and, being all motionless and lost in meditation, worshipped it for six months, not stirring from his seat. The god was pleased and said, 'Ask thou thy desire.' So saying, he revealed to him his bright appearance as described in the Vedas, which is difficult even for devotees to see. Vindhyā replied, 'If thou art pleased, O god of gods, ordain an increase in my bulk as I desire.' The god complied with his request, and gave him his desire,—although he thought that an ill-boding gift injurious to others was not proper,—being persuaded that a desire asked must be granted. At this time the gods and the pure sages worshipped Śiva and requested him to stay there, and the god did so for the comfort of the people.'

Such is the Paurānic account of the origin of Oṃkāra. Whatever may be thought of this mythical origin of the shrine, this much is certain, that it is one of the oldest in India. Even a casual visitor is sure to be inspired with a feeling of admiration for its situation. The lucid waters of the Narmadā are seen flowing between two high embankments, the surface of the waters below being reached by ghāts. As the shrine itself is situated on an island, it has to be approached by crossing the stream in a boat. On alighting at the other bank, a flight of steps leads up to the level of the temple. The temple itself has no grandeur about it; it is a small building of massive stone. The front hall is divided as it were into three, by two rows of carved stone pillars supporting the stone roof. The inside of the temple is wider, and projects more in one direction. It is divided by a partition into two apartments. The one half is empty, merely leading into the other half, on the right-hand side, where is the linga with its appendages. On entering this shrine we descend some three steps to the level of the linga. Those who have seen the shrines of Hindu temples are aware that no ventilation is provided for, and no orifice allowed. But no Hindu temple is worse in this respect than this of Oṃ-
kāra: as the linga has been placed, so to speak, in a cell within a cell, ventilation is carefully prevented. This temple has a gilt finial.

On leaving the temple, the stranger is conducted a few steps higher up, almost to the top of the hill, to a place known as the palace of the Māndhātā Rāja, which is an ordinary building, the residence of the high-priest of the temple, who is said to be worth a lakṣ of rupees a year. There are small temples of less importance in the vicinity. But there is nothing which so much strikes the eye from a distance as the hilly eminence whose base is washed by the Narmadā, and whose area is studded with temples and buildings rising in terraces one over another.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM KAPĀLEŚVARA, IN ORISSA.

FORWARDED BY JOHN BEAME, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

The transcription and translation of these plates have been made by my friend Bibhur Raṅggalān Banerjia, a well-known Sanskrit scholar. The plates are three in number, size 9½ inches by 54, and are connected by a thick copper ring with a boss on which was apparently the seal of the king, which, however, is now effaced. The two outer sides are blank, and there are thus four sides, engraved in the ordinary Kūṭila character. It was found last rains by a cultivator who was ploughing at Kāpāleśvara, a village on the north bank of the Mahanadi river opposite the city of Kāṣṭaka, and only about four miles distant from that station. The village stands near the site of the ancient city of Chāndwār, the former capital of Orissa, which has been abandoned for Kāṣṭaka for the last three hundred years. The ruins of this city cover a very large area, and consist of walls of laterite stone, which are largely quarried for metallising roads. It is surprising that so few relics of any value have been found, but as the quarrying goes deeper down more will probably come to light.

I am not responsible for the interpretation or translation, though I have carefully compared the transcription with the original, and I am not quite satisfied as to interpretation of the date, which would make this copper-plate nearly 1900 years old (Sañvat 34 = B.C. 25)*. It seems to refer to the year of the king's reign. Nor do I understand how the Gūptas came to be paramount lords of Kaliṅga, or how Kaliṅga came to claim lordship over Orissa. However, as my own line of research has been linguistic rather than antiquarian, I am content to leave the discussion of those questions to the experts in such matters, and merely to supply the facts. It remains only to add that no villages called either Dāraṇḍa or Khaḷāṇḍa now exist in Kāṣṭaka, but that the "district of Yodha" is traceable, as there is still a pārgaṇḍ of that name (now pronounced Jodha) a few miles north of Kāṣṭaka. The use of the modern word "Sudī" for the light half of the month is somewhat suspicious also.

Plate I.

* No one can suppose from the style of the alphabet used in these plates that they are older than the tenth century A.D. Possibly Sanvat 1034 = A.D. 934 may be meant.—En.
† This is evidently a repetition.

† In the original † occurs, which is incorrect.
§ In the original it is त♀; this correction is made in accordance with other plates found in the district.
Plate II.—1st Side.

Plate II.—2nd Side.

\* This appears to be the name of a village inhabited by a class of Brahmanes of the Bharadvaja order, having the family name of Takta, for, in a plate found in the Kataka Collectorate Records, the reading तुक्तासुरद्राजाधिकारियाणि occurs.

** The reading is obscure here. Perhaps a correct reading may be expected from scholars who are well versed in the Saṅhitās. The word kshiti is doubtful.

†† Instead of र here, there is र, which is a grammatical mistake.
May it be propitious! Mahárajádhirája Śrī Mahábhāva Guptá Devá, the beneficent. He who is a devout adorer of Mahésvara, the great Bhaṭṭáraka, the Supreme lord, the preeminent among the Lunar race, the ruler of Tríkālīná, the meditator on the feet of the great Bhaṭṭáraka and the lord Mahárajádhirája Śrī Śíva Guptá Devá, makes it known to all the inhabitants around His Majesty, from the glorious and victorious Kaṭáka, after worshipping the Bráhmaṇs invited (and) congregated, who are duly invested with the sacred thread, and living at the time in the district of Yóda: Be it known to you all, (namely) the appointed ministers, the Dánda Práśikas (literally the men armed with clubs and bearded arrows), the dramatic performers, the bards, the spies, the law-makers, the chief of the guard of the seraglio, the beloved men and women of his Majesty, (that) the villages of Dáraná and Khaññála, in the district of Yóda and province of Kośala, with its treasure-troves, sealed or enclosed deposits of valuables, with absolution of a hundred sorts of transgressions (committed in it), and all let and hindrances removed with its sovereign authority, given over all, with its hidden utensils and vessels, with its hollows, wastes, waters, and land bounded on four sides, in which entry is prevented to dramatic performers and bards, (is given) to Bhaṭṭá Śrī Mahottama Súdhárana, the son of Bhaṭṭá Śrī Sobhana, who came from Tamkári and settled in, the (village of) Urvára in the (province of) Kośalá, who is of the Bharadvája gotra (clan) and Váhraspatya Ángirasa pravára (family), and a reader of the Vájasenás Sákhá (of the Vedas), (this gift is made) by pouring water and by inscribing it in this copper plate for augmentation of the merit and fame of my father and mother and self, that he will enjoy it so long as the sun, moon, and stars shine;

\* In the original, ‘Kavi’ is written with a Hrasva-ika, and the dental is used; both are evidently mistakes committed by the engraver. The rules of Sandhi, Vṛti, and Orthography point out that the Hrasva-ika ought to be Dirgha-ika, and the s must be palatal instead of dental.

\| In the original, ‘Kavi’ is written with a Hrasva-ika, and the dental is used; both are evidently mistakes committed by the engraver. The rules of Sandhi, Vṛti, and Orthography point out that the Hrasva-ika ought to be Dirgha-ika, and the s must be palatal instead of dental.

\$ There is omission of ṣ in the original.

\* The ṣ is omitted in the original by a mistake.
and do you live here in happiness, having a firm belief that I have foregone all enjoyments of this village, with the power of dividing it, its rents and gold. &c. Future kings will consider this gift of mine, with the sake of my merit, as a gift of their own, and so protect it. For it is stated in the Sūtras that Sāgara and other kings have given many a piece of land, but subsequent kings have enjoyed the merits of such gifts. Do not apprehend that there is no good in preserving the gift of another, for the benefit is greater from protecting the gifts of other men than from gifts made by ourselves. The giver of land resides happily for sixty thousand years in heaven. Both he that robs land and he that spoils vegetables in a dish will go to hell. (Whereas) gold was the first product of fire, (next) were the earth and vegetation, (then came) the sun, whose offspring were horses and kine, hence he who gives either gold, cows, or land becomes a giver of threefold in this world, and his parents and forefathers eminently and exclaim, "A giver of land is born in our family, for our salvation." He that bestows and he that accepts land are both of them workers of merit, and are sure to go to heaven. If the spoiler of land (given by another) digs a thousand deep tanks and performs a hundred vajrapīya sacrifices, and gives ten millions of cows in expiation, yet there will be no absolution. He that takes away land or causes it to be taken, intoxicated with power or passion, out of folly, is sure to be born as a bird or a beast, after having been bound in the fetters of Varuna. The person who robs a gold coin, a cow, or land to the extent of half an inch will remain in hell till the dissolution of this world. He that seizes land given by himself or another will rot in order as a worm with his forefathers. A giver of land is made happy by Āśīya, Varuna, Vishnu, Brahma, Chantra, Agni, and Mahādeva. This is a common bridge of merit; hence, ye future kings of earth! preserve this bridge for ages evermore, and this has been repeatedly prayed for by Rāmaḥadra. For man's property and life are transitory like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf. Pondering on this and comprehending all these illustrations, it behoves not man to destroy the good works of other men. The feet (of the king) are tinged with the beams shooting forth from the ruby circlets on the crowns of all (prostrate) rulers, he who is ever famous, and by the prowess of his excessively strong army cut the heads of elephants belonging to his enemies, whence issued innumerable pearls, which adorn his illimitable power and the world. This crown-jewel of kings having cast the burden of the state and finances upon his chief minister, named Sādhārana, the dispeller of robbery, and of unlimited energy, appears like an immortal and enjoys happiness from the delight caused by constantly tasting the nectar (of poetry) from many a tale composed by eminent poets. In whose kingdom the said minister Sādhārana has his understanding purified by studying the endless sciences of political economy and law, and his speech sweetened by quotations from the Vedas, the Vedaśīya, Śākha, Kalpa, and Nīhās—hence he has attained the highest degree of dignity. He (the king) is distinguished in the three worlds as unrivalled by his austere deportment on account of his uniform practice of religion. (Given) in the thirty-first year (Sāmavat) of the glorious reign and under the extended (shadow) of the lotus-feet of the great Bhaṭṭa Gupta Deva, who is a devout adorer of Mahēvara, the great Bhattāraka, Māhārājā-dhiraja, the Supreme lord, the pre-eminent among the Lunar race, (and) the ruler of Śrīkaliṅga, in the month Marga, the 13th of the bright half of the month, or, expressed in figures, Sāmavat 34, 13th bright fortnight, (when) this threefold copper plate was written. (The witnesses thereof) are the Minister of War and Peace, Malha Datta, and the Secretary, Kyastha Mahuka, who have inscribed these letters. This has been written for the comprehension of Māhottama, engraved by Pundarīkakshā Datta, formed or composed by Mādhaṇa.

REMARK ON THE ABOVE, BY BĀBUS RAÎGALĀL BÂNERJIA, DEPUTY COLLECTOR, KĀṬAKA.

The plates were found by a rayat in July 1874, in ploughing his land adjoining his house, in Chāndwār, Pargana Tapakhand, 4½ miles north-east of the Kāṭaka post-office. Chāndwār, or the four-gated city, though now reduced to a mean bâzar and village, was once the proud rājñātēni or capital city of Orissa. According to records kept by astrologers of Orissa, this city was built by Janaṃ e jaya, Emperor of India, after the performance of
the Nāgā sacrifice, or extermination of the Nāga or serpent race. Apart from the mythical story of its foundation, it is believed that Kātkā Chaudwār was the first city of Orissa in point of age. Jaipur, Sirangadž, Kātkā-Bīlānāsi (the modern Kātkā) and Bhurānēśvara, were all built in much more recent times. Besides the city of Chaudwār, there was a very strong fortress hard by, called Kāpāleshvāra, or 'lord of fortune.' Some years ago, Government made over a portion of this fort at the instance of the now defunct East India Irrigation Company, who used the greater portion of the cut-stone of its ramparts to build the Birpā āṇikāṭ and other works. Vandalism could go no further: but much may yet be found to repay the labour of exhumation.

Though the seat of the kingdom was removed elsewhere, Chaudwar still retained some of its grandeur in subsequent ages, for we find a large tank was dug within the fort in the reign of Cārīya Nāgā, the founder of the Gangāvaśā family, who reigned between 1132 and 1162 A.D. The tank is still called by his name. An entry has been recently found in the Mādala Panji to the effect that money was sent from Puri for army expenses; this was after the revetment of modern Kātkā was built, in 1006 A.D.

But how came a copper-plate grant of the great Gupta to be in the old metropolis of Orissa? The country where the grant is made is called Kōsadā; one of the names of ancient Oudh is Košāla, which is also called Uttara or Northern Kośāla; the Dakshinā or Southern Kośāla is identified by some authorities with the country round Kānpur; but neither of these Kośālas can be the Kośāla of the grant, as the former is always written with a long ā at the end, whereas the final letter in the grant is a short one. Again, one of the titles of the royal donor is Tīrkalīnā ḍhipati, or 'lord of the three Kalīnas,' and this king gives it out on the plate that the grant was made from the great and glorious city of Kātkā. The most ancient name of the country bordering on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from the Suvarnarekha river to Madras, appears to be Kalīnga: the upper region was called Utkālīnga, and the other two were the middle and the southern Kalīnga; the word Utka is perhaps a shortened form of Utkālīnga, and occurs in comparatively modern Purāṇas and Kāyāja. The word Kośāla is still known in parts of Orissa; tracts of country in Puri and in Aṅgul are still known by this name. A species of pot-herb, peculiar to Orissa is called Kośāla Sāk; and perhaps any country between two rivers—such as the Doib of the Ganges and Saraja, which was generally called Kośāla—or any country in the shape of a kośa, the sheath of a fruit, may have borne this name. Now the country where this plate and others have been found falls exactly within the description of such a country: for first we have the country between the Baitarni and Kharnasa, then that between the latter and the Brāhmaṇi, third that between the Brāhmaṇi and Birupi, fourth between the Birpā and the Mahānadi, fifth between the Mahānadi and the Kātjuri, and so on. It is well known also that the great Guptas had their seat of empire first in the Doib, and perhaps a branch of the family establishing themselves in Tīrkalīnga named parts of it after their own parent country.

Then the question resolves itself into another shape. If the Gupta was indeed held sway in Orissa, how is it that there is no mention of their names in the royal vaṇīvāvās kept by the astrologers of Orissa, or in the well-known palm-leaf records called Mādala Panji? By a reference to another plate, in the Kātkā Collectorate records, we find that a king named Yāyāti ruled in Orissa when Śiva Guptā, the son of Bhava Gupta, was the king of Tīrkalīnga; hence it follows that the Orissa Rajas were fondatories of the Guptas, and all lands granted by the former were made in the name of the paramount power.

We have indeed a Yāyāti, or Yāyāti Kesari (i.e. Yāyāti the Lion), in the vaṇīvāvās; according to Stirling, he reigned from 473 to 520 A.D. Again, Śiva Guptā, according to the Chaudwār plate, was the father of Bhava Guptā: so that it appears from the two plates that both the father and son of Bhava Guptā had the same name.

It is noteworthy that these Guptas of Tīrkalīnga had among their titles the honorific one of Bhāṣṭāraka, like the Guptas of Saurashtra or Valabhi.

Is then the year 34, given in the plates, that of the Valabhi era, or is it of the local era of the Guptas of Tīrkalīnga? Again, we have two dates of different eras,—the one is called the

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§ It is distinctly stated that it was in the 31st year of the reign.—Ed.
Sahvatsara, and the other Sahvat. As the character is common Kutila, the plate cannot be very ancient. But this much is proved—that the plate is found in the old capital city of Orissa; that the grant recorded by it was made from Kṣāka, the old Kṣāka Chaudwar, and by Bhava Gupta, the lord paramount of Trikāliṅga, whose son Śiva Gupta we suppose to have been a contemporary of Yayati Kesarī, who reigned between the years 474 and 526 A.D., and that the Kesaris of Orissa were feudatories of the kings of Trikāliṅga.

MISCELLANEA.

WILD JUNGLE FOLK.

Mr. Bond had the good fortune to procure an interview with a couple of the wild folk who live in the hill-jungles of the Western Ghāts, to the south-west of the Palaneri Hills, and took the opportunity to observe and note on the spot some of their peculiarities. We had often heard of the existence of some strange dwarfish people who occasionally frequented the jungles near our station of Pemalei, a few miles west of Strivilliputtar, at the north-west corner of the Tinnevelly district, but none of us, when visiting the Pemalei hills for the purpose of selecting, building, or observing at this station, had seen any trace of them, except that whilst observing the final angles we noticed some fires burning at night far off in the distant valleys commonly stated to be entirely devoid of villages and civilized inhabitants. When returning afterwards to Pemalei, in order finally to close and deliver over charge of the station to the local officials, Mr. Bond having heard that the wild men of the woods occasionally came to Strivilliputtar with honey, wax, and sandalwood to exchange for cloth, rice, tobacco, and betelnut, induced three of the Kavalkars, or hill-watchers, through whom principally this barter is carried on, to attempt to catch a specimen of this strange folk. What follows is Mr. Bond's account:

"Knowing a locality they frequented, whence they could easily steal the remains of food and pots left by the herdsmen, the three Kavalkars went there to look for them, and on the second day sighted a couple, who at once made off through the jungle for the rocks, with great fleetness and agility, using hands and feet in getting over the latter.

"After a difficult and exciting chase and a very careful search they were again caught sight of, crouching between two rocks, the passage to which was so narrow that it cost their captors a severe scratching to reach them and drag them out one at a time by the legs. They were brought to me in a state of great fear—a man and a woman—as I was descending the hill, and began to cry on being led to my camp at a large village a few miles out in the plains. After some coaxing, however, with promises of rice and tobacco, they consented to accompany me willingly. On reaching my tent in the evening I gave the man some clothes, and offered him a little money in small silver and copper coins. Each of them selected the latter, refusing the silver pieces of ten times the value, saying that they could get rice with the copper, and apparently had no idea of the value of the former. I gave the woman some pieces of cloth and a few small things, for which they both showed their thanks by repeated prostrations on the ground before me.

"The rest of the day was spent in taking notes on this strange pair, and in getting from them all the information I could through the hill-watchers, who were able to converse with them to a slight extent. They seemed as great a curiosity to the villagers themselves as to myself; and a crowd assembled to watch them, expressing their surprise at the ease and freedom with which they sat in my tent without showing any fear or any desire to run away. The following observations were noted on the spot:

"The man is 4 feet 6 inches in height, 26½ inches round the chest, and 18½ inches horizontally round the head over the eyebrows. He has a round head, coarse black, woolly hair, and a dark brown skin. The forehead is low and slightly retreating; the lower part of the face projects like the muzzle of a monkey, and the mouth, which is small and oval with thick lips, protrudes about an inch beyond his nose; he has short bandy legs, a comparatively long body, and arms that extend almost to his knees: the back juts above the buttocks is concave, making the stern appear to be much protruded. The hands and fingers are dumpy and always contracted, so that they cannot be made to stretch out quite straight and flat; the palms and fingers are covered with thick skin (more particularly so the tips of the fingers), and the nails are small and imperfect; the feet are broad and thick-skinned all over; the hairs of his moustache are of a greyish white,
scanty, and coarse like bristles, and he has no beard.

“The woman is 4 feet 6½ inches in height, 27 inches round the chest above the breasts, and 19 horizontally round the head above the brows; the colour of the skin is sallow, or of a nearly yellow tint; the hair is black, long, and straight, and the features well formed. There is no difference between her appearance and that of the common women of that part of the country. She is pleasant to look at, well developed, and modest.

“There are said to be five or six families living about the Pê-nalei hills, men and women being about the same height, all the men having the same cast of features and being built as the specimen above described.

“The dress of the man consists of a langot, or small piece of cloth tied round the loins. The women when they cannot procure cloth wear only a skirt of leaves.

“They both believe themselves to be a hundred years old, but judging from their appearance I suppose the man to be twenty-five, and the woman about eighteen years of age. They say that they have been married four years, but have had no children.

“Their marriage custom is very simple,—a man and woman who pair off, mutually agree to live together during their lifetime, the conditions being that the man is to provide food, and the woman to cook it; and the marriage is considered to be binding after these conditions have been carried out for the first time, i.e. after they have eaten their first food together.

“They eat flesh, but feed chiefly upon roots and honey. The roots, of which the man next morning went to the jungle and fetched me, two kinds, are species of wild yam. I tasted both when cooked and found them far from unpalatable.

“They have no fixed dwelling-places, but sleep on any convenient spot, generally between two rocks or in caves near which they happen to be benighted. They make a fire and cook what they have collected during the day, and keep the fire burning all night for warmth and to keep away wild animals. They worship certain local divinities of the forest,—Râkas or Râkâri, and Pê (after whom the hill is named, Pê-nalei).

“When one of them dies, the rest leave the body exposed, and avoid the spot for some months. Whenever the herdsmen, wood-cutters, or hill-watchers come across a corpse and tell the grân munâsaf, or head village official, he sends men to bury it, and reports the circumstance to the Tahsildâr. The grân munâsaf of this place (Mamsâpuram and Siventapatti) told me that six had been buried under his orders.

“As I detained this couple in my camp till late in the evening, they begged to remain all night, as they were afraid to enter the jungles so late, for fear of wild beasts, unless they had a torch with them. I then offered them food if they would cook it near my tent, and gave them what they asked for,—rice; but when a fowl and curry-stuff were suggested they took them also. The man would have killed the fowl by cutting off its head between two stones, but I told my people to give him a knife and show him how to cut its throat, which they did, but he evidently disliked to use the knife, and begged my servant to do it for him, and turned away his head, as if he did not wish to see it done.

“Whilst the woman cooked the rice, the man cut up the fowl, by placing the knife between his toes and drawing the meat along the edge of it. They seemed ignorant of the use of salt and curry-stuff, as they did not use the condiments till told to do so. Moreover, they wanted to eat the food when only half cooked.

“The man having washed his hands remained squatting on the ground till his wife served him, which she continued to do, without eating anything herself, till he signed to her that he had had enough; she then brought him water to wash his mouth and hands, and afterwards ate her own food.

“The fingers alone were used in eating: some rice mixed with the curry was collected into a lump and thrown into the mouth, and I noticed that they did not mix any of the meat with the curry. What remained of their food was put carefully away and carried off next day into the jungle.

“Next morning I sent the man to fetch specimens of the roots they ordinarily feed on, whilst the woman remained at my camp. On his return, soon after midday, I dismissed them, apparently not ill pleased with their involuntary visit.”—

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**WINE AMONG SUFIS.**

A favourite metaphor with the Sufi poets of Islam is wine; the knowledge of God is compared to wine, but no sooner is the wine drunk than drunkenness ensues. The sense is absorbed in the enjoyment, and the union is complete between the seeker and the sought. Manâlî Râmî has in a few lines given the gist of these speculations, and, curiously enough, succeeded in combining both metaphors, while at the same time he enunciates the esoteric doctrine of Sufism, that Existence is Light, and that Light is the manifestation of God.

"Tis we who steal the sense of winp,
Not wine that robbeth us of wit,
Life is of us, not we of it,
But who shall such a thing divine?"
BOOK NOTICE.


"A portion of this book," the translator tells us, "has already appeared in a German missionary publication. A considerable portion is here translated from the original manuscript, and the whole has been subjected to the revision of the author." The result is a book that deserves a wide circulation, and will be read by many with great interest. We cannot say much for the priming, and the proofs have not been read with over-much care, but the book is written in a very clear, simple, and often fascinating style, and never warries the reader by too minute details, or by dwelling long on one subject: indeed some of the chapters would well bear enlargement; what is given whets the appetite for more.

The book is in two parts. In the first we have the Land and its products; the People, their history and literature. Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life; the Ethnology, Religion, the Temples and Temple-worship,—all treated of briefly, but in an interesting and instructive way. In the second, we have short accounts of the various Missions,—of the Ancient Church, the Romish, Lutheran, English Episcopal, and Nonconformist Churches,—that of the Lutheran Mission, to which the author belongs, naturally occupying the largest space, as does the account of Rhenius and his work in the shorter chapter on the English Church Mission.

We shall make a few extracts: Here is the author's estimate of the Tamil race:—"The most important of the Dravidian races is that of the Tamuliens. They occupy not only the Tamil country . . . but also the north of Ceylon and the south of Travancore on the western side of the Ghats. There is a Christian congregation of Tamulians at Bombay and at Calcutta; and Tamulians are to be found in Burmah, Pegu, Singapour, and in the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and even in the West Indies . . . In short, wherever there is a lazier and more superstitious people to be shoved aside, there will Tamulians be found, for they are the most enterprising and movable people in India. . . . Their numbers, according to the last census, amount to sixteen millions." This characteristic has been remarked before in other branches of the Dravidian race, and if once the scattered fragments of that race were brought into full participation of the advantages of our education and civilization, they will probably, to a large extent, supplant the more orthodox Brahmanical races in offices requiring enterprise and energy.

There is a short notice of Tiruvalluvar,† the author of the Kural, from which we give the following anecdote of his most dutiful wife:—"This same good wife as she lay dying begged her stern husband to explain what to her was a matter of great mystery, and had puzzled her since the day of her marriage: 'My lord, when for the first time I cooked your rice and placed it before you, you ordered me always to put a jug of water and a needle by your side; why did you order me to do this?' Whereupon her loving consort replied: 'If, my dear one, a grain of rice should fall to the ground, the needle is to pick it up with, and the water to wash it.' Then the wife knew that her husband had never dropped a grain of the rice she had cooked for him, and died happy.

"Deeply moved, Tiruvalluvar sang:—'O loving one, sweeter to me than daily rice! Wife, who failed not in a single word! Woman, who gently stroking my feet lay down after me to sleep and arose before me! And dost thou leave me? How shall I ever again be able to close my eyes at night?"

There are some interesting translations from the early Tamil poets also, but we can only find space instances are to be found of any foreign language, such as Telugu, &c., spreading in Tamil land. Telugu shares Canarese on one side, and in its turn is displaced by Tamil. A hundred years hence the whole of the Madras Presidency will be a Tamil-speaking country."

† Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 496. 
for one,—a translation by Dr. Grant from the war-like poetry of Parapatral:—

**The King goes to battle.**

"Like a sea surges up the terrible host,
As by wind by its fury now goaded,
And the Monarch storms past through the opening ranks,
In a chariot with gold overloaded;
And there flies round the host, in its front and its rear,
In circles still growing more narrow,
A flock of black demons, whose wide-gaping maws
Will feed on the fallen one's narrow.

**The Queen's Sorrow.**

"Who once filled the throne lies stretched on the field,
And foes of his valour are singing;
But 'Husband, O husband!' exclaims the wife
Of the smile so tender and winning;
And wailing and mourning she puts next her heart
His wreath all faded and gone,
And clings to the breast which, pierced by a dart,
Is covered with heavenly glory.

**A Hero's Death.**

"As the lion who roams thro' the forest glade wild,
His eye with majesty flashing,
Yields his life without murmur when struck by a rock
That comes through the valley down dashing;
So the hero, with sword all dripping with blood,
Looks round on the hosts that surround him,
Then flashes his eye, he raises his hand,
And falls with his foes all burning.

**Sacrifice of the Royal Wives.**

"And now the great kings of the mighty sword
On the field stark and cold are all lying,
And see! the proud king with the giant-like arm,
Where the slain lie the thickest, is dying:
The world too is weeping, and now the sad wives
Themselves in the flames are all throwing,
But, horror! the death-god is not yet content,
But gloats o'er the death-piles still growing.

At the conclusion of the chapter on Religion and Worship, the author adds,—"I should, however, be doing these idol-worshippers an injustice if I did not expressly say that among them there are many pious and earnest minds. These do not remain floundering in the guagmine of idolatry, but regard it as a mere outward husk, and reject it indeed in words, but still as far as their actual daily life is concerned they cannot disconnect themselves from it, for the whole life of the people is entwined with it. Many of this kind rely in spirit on the truth and good which the Vedas has brought to light. They seek to grasp God as the most perfect Being, as the most perfect Intelligence, and as the most perfect Bliss (Sat, Chit, Ananda), and endeavour to find union with him by the path of self-contemplation... I cannot describe them better than Tayumanav, one of themselves, has described them in a poem full of tenderness and longing for God, and which reminds one of the 42nd Psalm. The following is taken from Dr. Graul's translation, in his Indische Singbliinderen:—

**A modern Tamil Hymn.**

"Thou standest at the summit of all the glorious earth,
Thou rul'st and pervadest the world from ere its birth,
O Supremest Being!
And can the piious man find out no way to thee,
Who melting into love with tears approaches Thee,
O Supremest Being?
Already on the way is he who takes as guide,
An earnest, loving heart, and self-discernment tried,
O Supremest Being!
Who'd gaze at heaven, first climbs the mountain-height,
Self-contemplation's wings towards Thee aim their flight,
O Supremest Being!
Thou throne'd above the ether's pinnacle, O Lord,
'Tis thou who art the spirit, and thou who art the word,
O Supremest Being!
Untouched thyself, the mind of him thou gently movest
Who pondering, bewildered, the word and spirit losteth,
O Supremest Being!
Things heavenly thou shewest unto the wondering sight,
Reflected in a mirror, thou mountain of delight,
O Supremest Being!
He dies, O Lord Supreme, who loves thee to perfection,
And slumbering ever rests in blissful contemplation,
O Supremest Being!
The object thou of love, of every heartfelt pleasure,
Of souls that prize alike the potsherd and the treasure,
O Supremest Being!
A madness there possessed me to kill the 'Self and Mine,'
In need I wandered helpless, seeking help divine,
O Supremest Being!
My pride became then softened and touched by thee above,
To water ran my bones, and I dissolved in love,
O Supremest Being!
O thou, of all the weary and heavy laden, Rest!
Henceforth thy name by me for ever shall be blest,
O Supremest Being!

Grant, thirsty, I may plunge in thy fresh stream of bliss,
Or else o'erwhelmed I sink within the deep abyss,
O Supremest Being!

Knowing all my thoughts, for ever and again
Thou comest to refresh me, thou grace-bestowing rain,
O Supremest Being!

Thou nectar never cloying, thou stream of heavenly bliss,
O thou the good that dwells in perfect loneliness,
O Supremest Being!

All things pervadest thou, O sweetest honey-dew!
My inward self possessing thou sweetest through and through,
O Supremest Being!

My coral thou, my pearl, my mine of purest gold,
My beam of brightness, spirit light, my priceless wealth untold,
O Supremest Being!

My eye, my thought, my tree, my heavenly stream,
Thou art my ether-ray, my joy and wonder-dream,
O Supremest Being!

Lost in myself, my spirit lies here helpless,
Like dried-up wood—and thou wilt leave me sapless,
O Supremest Being!

O sea of bliss, may I not plunge in Thee,
Nor quench the thirst which now destroyeth me,
O Supremest Being?

When will my sorrow cease, my fountain spring,
And flow again with joy, my Prince and King,
O Supremest Being!

Why turn thy face away? All that I know,
To get a closer view of Thee, away I throw,
O Supremest Being!

My tears of grief my soul seem to destroy;
When wilt thou change them, Lord, to tears of joy,
O Supremest Being?

To thee in silent worship I ever cling and twine,
And, like an orphan child, I long and pine,
O Supremest Being!

Though free and joyful I myself may boast,
I still must ever wander in a dreary waste,
O Supremest Being!

Like to a stalk of straw in whirlwinds blown and tossed,
So is thy wretched slave within this desert lost,
O Supremest Being!

But earthly powers and kings are nought of worth to me
If they not humbly raise their hand in prayer to thee,
O Supremest Being!

The cow bestows upon its helpless offspring love;
Show me, O gracious mother, thy pitying love above;
O Supremest Being!

However guilty I, whatever wrong I do,
I ask thee, mother-like, thy pitying love to show,
O Supremest Being!

Lastly, from the second part, we extract the following:—“The bishop of the Thomas Christians, Mar Gabriel, gave to the Dutch, at the commencement of the 18th century, a long account of their circumstances, from which I will only extract the following:—Fifty-five years after the birth of the Messiah, the apostle Thomas came to Mysapur (near Madras), on the Coromandel coast, and preached the Gospel. From thence he came to Malabar, preached the Gospel, collected congregations in several places, and fixed their pastors. He then returned to the Coromandel coast, where he was stabbed by a heathen with a spear, and thus ended his life. After some time all the pastors whom St. Thomas had appointed died off, and a false doctrine arose which was followed by many. Only 160 families remained true. But in 1545 (A.D.) there arrived from Bagdad Christians and Priests who settled down in Malabar. King Perumal, to whom the new arrivals addressed themselves, received them kindly and gave them land in order to build shops and churches. He also bestowed upon them many marks of honour, and the right to trade throughout the whole country as long as the sun and moon should shine, as may be read to this day on tablets of copper.† Thus the Christians lived happy and prosperous, and the Christian Patriarch of the East sent them many shepherds and teachers from Bagdad, Nileveh, and Jerusalem. After the Portugese had come to Malabar, the Patriarch sent four more bishops, Mar Mardina, Mar Jacob, Mar Thomas, and Jenie Alay, who ruled the Christians and built many churches. After their death there came to Malabar, about the year 1550, another, Mar Abraham. But the Portugese, resolved that no more teachers should be allowed to come, and guarded all the roads by which the Syrian priests could come. When now the Christians had no instructors, the Portugese spent much trouble in endeavouring to draw them over, &c.

We are surprised to find expressions in this translation like “the Rev. Schwartz;” as also to find on both covers a figure of that unsightly abortion of a hideously diseased imagination,—Gânea with the invocation Šrī Gânea namah. In what state of intellectual nightmare the mind must have been that first used so ugly a vignette on an English book, we can hardly conceive; by what accident it has now got on the cover of a missionary’s work we may guess, but do not excuse.

† Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 229, and vol. III. p. 344, where the date is given as A.D. 774.—Ed.
METRICAL VERSION OF BHARTRIHIARI'S VAIRAGYA SATHAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from page 3.)

Of the proud man.

THOSE men may boast of being born, whose
skulls gleam white on Siva's head,
The final meed of holy saints, and chiefs whose
souls in battle fled;
But oft I muse how men can swell with pride
at causing those to bow,
Who, if they save their precious lives, care
little for the when and how.

You are a lord of acres,
But we are lords of song;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong;
The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave.

Envy blights virtue, old good looks, death
threatens all things born,
The hermit's humble life alone gives undisturbed
repose.

For life fast slipping from my hold
I've borne the last and worst disgrace,—
I've sat 'mongst wealthy fools, and told
My merits with unblushing face.

We speak with awe of glorious kings, of haughty
lords, and knights,
Of courtiers ranged in glittering rows, of tri-
umphs and of fights,
Of tuneful bards that hyme their praise: who
honours as he ought
That "eloquent and mighty Death" that sweeps
them into nought?

Of Self-renunciation.
The day of pleasure's past and gone,
Long through this world we've wandered on,
And weary reached the brink:
By Ganga's stream shrills forth our cry,
"O Siva, Siva, Lord most high,
Help, Siva, or we sink!"

When honour fades, and wealth departs, and
boons are craved in vain,
And friends are dead, and servants fled, and
joy exchanged for pain,
This course alone becomes the wise—to seek
those mountain caves
Whence softly flow through woods below the
sanctifying waves.

Why suffer endless woes in vain
The favour of the great to gain?
Let false ambition's longings cease,
Learn to possess thy soul in peace,
And thou hast won the wishing-cap
That pours earth's treasures in thy lap.

Of Time the Destroyer.

Our parents long have passed away,
All old familiar faces fled,
Destruction nears us day by day,
Like trees in sandy river-bed.

Where many dwellers once were seen, one only
now survives,
Again that house is filled with store of joyous
human lives,
Then all are swept away again; thus wielding
Night and Day
As dice, destruction's wedded powers* with
helpless mortals play.

Shall we retire to Ganga's brink,
Or call the sweets of honeyed lays,
Or court a wife whom all men praise?
Life's short—we know not what to think.

O for those days when I shall dwell alone
Among the snowy hills by Ganga's stream,
In stony torpor stiffened on a stone,
Jolly conversing with the One Supreme,
Rapt in devotion, dead to all beside,
And deer shall fray their horns against my
senseless hide.

* i.e. Siva and Pírati.
When shall we, sick of life's entangling bands,
Sit on the holy river's moonlit sands,
Through windless nights, with rapture-streaming eyes,
And thrice on Śiva call with plaintive cries?

Still Śiva's arm is strong to save,
Still may we plunge in Gangā's wave,
Still one blue heaven bends over all,
Still Time sees mortals rise and fall,
Still poverty's our best defence,
Enough—renounce the joys of sense.

Hope is a stream, its waves desires, by stormy passions tossed,
With cruel longings lurking deep, by light-winged visions crossed,
Resolves like firmly planted trees its floods up-rooting bear,
Its madness swirls in eddying rings beneath its banks of care;
But those, who in devotion's bark attain its further shore,
Rejoice, for this unstable world enslaves their souls no more.

I've searched for years through earth and air and sky,
Nor yet one perfect saint hath met my eye,
Nor have I heard of one who could restrain Desire's fierce elephant with reason's chain.

The days seem long to those who drudge for pay,
And short to those who fritter life away;
When shall I sit and think how vain their moans,
A hermit pillowled on a bed of stones?

When all our wealth is wasted, we'll seek some calm retreat,
And spend the night in thinking on Śiva's holy feet,
When streams the autumn moonlight into our melting hearts,
How false that world will glimmer where once we played our parts!

Bark garments satisfy my needs,
But you are pleased with silken weeds,
Who counts you better off than me?
But woe to him whose wants are great!
Contentment equals men's estate,
And makes the rich and poor agree.

Unfettered wandering, and meals from degradation free,
The friendship of the wise and good; and sober piety,
A heart that beats not for the world—none, that my thoughts can trace,
Not e'en by strictest discipline hath gained this heavenly grace.

The hand's a lordly dish,
The mouth with alms is fed,
The sky's a glorious robe,
The earth's a sumptuous bed,
Those live in high content
Who're free from passion's chain,
And works with all their brood
Of ignorance and pain.

Kings' fancies swiftly pass like coursers in the race,
In vain to them we look for favour, wealth, and place,
Eld robs our frame of strength, Death slays us at a blow,
None but the hermit's life can happiness bestow.

Our joys are short-lived as the flash
That cleaves the drowsy veil,
Our life is fleeting as the mists
That drive before the gale;
Youth's pleasures fade—then fix your minds
On that untroubled peace
Which patient meditation brings
To those whose longings cease.

To roam some woodland hermitage where Brāhma's chants resound,
And smoke of sacrificial fires blackens the trees around,
Begging one's bread from cell to cell, plants in the breast no thorns,
Like flattering men of equal birth whose sympathy one secures.

While gaping idlers turn the head and say,
"What stamp of man can yonder pilgrim be,
"Saint, sophist, outcast, Brāhma, slave or free?"
Nor pleased nor wroth the hermit wends his way.
Happy are those who've ceased to walk by sight,
Slain passion's snake, and make good deeds their stay,
Who spend in woodland nooks the tranquil night,
Illumined by the moon's autumnal ray.

Be still, my fluttering heart, and leave this crowded show
Of worldly toys 'midst which thou eddies to and fro,
Abandon fleeting forms, and seek that settled state
Of grounded peace enthroned above the storms of fate.

Followed on banks of moss, with roots and berries fed,
Enwound with strips of bark, our wants shall all be sped—
Off to the woodland shades, and gladly leave behind
These men of stammering speech, with wealth-bewildered mind.

Abandon empty hopes, and place thy trust, my breast,
In Ganga, and in him who bears the moony crest;
Who'er confides in snakes, waves, women, bubbles, flames;
Lightnings or mountain streams, his want of sense proclaims.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. P. FLEET, B.S.

(Continued from page 53.)

No. XIII.

This is an inscription in the Cave-alphabet character and the Sanskrit language from a stone-tablet let into the outside of the east wall of a temple called Mēguti* on the top of the hill at Aihole on the Malaprabha, about five miles to the south-west of Amingad in the Hungund Tālukā of the Kalāgdi District. The tablet is 59½ broad by 26½ high; the average size of the letters is half an inch. A photograph of this inscription, but on a small scale and very illegible, is given in Plate No. 3 of Mr. Hope's collection. I have edited the text from a personal inspection of the original, and have also taken a paper estampe of it.

This inscription is one of the Chālukya dynasty, and is the oldest but one of known date, and the most important, of all the stone-

† *Śrav.
† *Mēguti* is the rustic pronunciation of 'Mēguti,' sc. Mālā-puti, the temple which is up on high.
† The exception is the stone-inscription in Cave No. III at Bādami, of Maṅgalāśka, dated Saka 501 ('five hundred years having elapsed since the installation of the Saka king'), the twelfth year of his reign,—published in facsimile, with transcription, &c., by Prof. Eggeling, at Vol. III, p. 305 of the Indian Antiquary, and at p. 23 of Mr. Burgess' Archaeological Report for 1873-4. My own version, differing in some minor points from that of Prof. Eggeling, is to be published in the Appendix to Mr. Burgess' Second Report. At Aṁbāhāvī in the Dhārward Tālukā there is, indeed, a stone-tablet inscription, which refers itself to the time of Sātīśāraya (or Pulikēsi II), the son of Kṛttivāmra, tablet inscriptions of these parts. It mentions the following kings:—

| (Jayasimha I, or) |
| Jayasimhavallabha. |
| Raṅgarāja. |
| Pulikēsi I. |
| Kṛttivāmra (I). |
| Maṅgalāśka, (or Maṅgalāśvāra). |
| Pulikēsi II, or |
| Sātīśāraya. |
| O |

And the object of it is to record the erection of a stone temple of Jīnendra by a certain Rāvikṛttī, during the reign of Pulikēси who was the son of Pulikēsi (I), and has the date of Saka 488 (a.n. 1056-7); a transcription of it is given at pp. 672 et seq. of Sir W. Elliot's MS. vol. I, now with me. But this part of the inscription is not original. For, the inscription commences by referring itself to the time of Vishnusūrisya the Great, a.d. 976 to 1027; then follows a portion in Old Canarese; and then comes the passage containing the mention of Pulikēsi II and the above date, in Sanskrit, and copied manifestly from a copper-plate inscription. That this portion of the inscription is not original and genuine is also shown conclusively by the fact that it states that the Saka year 488 was the Sarvaśatā, at that time the use of the cycle of sixty asrurāsas had not been introduced. And Saka 488 was not the time of the second Pulikēsi.
II, in the Śaka year 567 (A.D. 585-6), which the inscription makes equivalent to the year of the Kaliyuga 3551, and to the year of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata 3731. Dr. Bhuja Daji has already noticed this inscription, from the photograph, in the Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc., No. xxvii., Vol. But he varies in his interpretation of the date; at page 315 he takes it as Śaka 566, the 3855th year of the Kaliyuga and the 3730th year of the war of the Mahābhārata, and at page 361, as Śaka 506, the 3506th year of the Kaliyuga, and the 3855th year of the war of the Mahābhārata. The passage containing the dates is distinctly legible in both the original and the photograph, and I see no way of interpreting it but as I have done.

This inscription abounds in historical allusions. As affecting the history of those parts, the most important are the mention of the Kādambarā and the Kāṭāchēhoris, and the references to Vanavāsa, to the Māuryas in the Koṅkaṇa, who were ejected by Chandadanda as the agent of Pulikēśī II, and to Āppāyika-Go-vinda, who was probably of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. In line 12 we have perhaps the earliest mention of this part of the country under its name of Mahārāṣṭra. Vātāpi-purī, or Vātāpi-pingarī, which was made the capital of the dynasty by Pulikēśī II, has not yet been localized. There can, however, be no doubt that it is the modern Bādāmi, the well-known remains at which are quite enough to show that it was in former times a place of much importance. Taking the old form of the name, 'Bādāvi', which we meet with as far back as Śaka 622 (A.D. 700-1), the interchange of letters, 'va' with 'ba'; 'ta' with 'da'; and 'pi' with 'ni', is natural enough, whether we take 'Bādāvi' as a Prākrit corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vātāpi', or whether we take 'Vātāpi' as a name already known in Sanskrit literature and therefore used as the nearest approach towards Sanskritizing a Dravidian name. But further confirmation of my proposition is forthcoming. There are two local Mādhyāmyas; one connected with the shrine of Bavaṇaṅkāri, and the other connected with Mahākūṭa, also called Dākṣiṇaṅkāsī because of the innumerable lingas around it, a shrine about three miles away in the hills to the east of Bādāmi; I have examined them both. The Bavaṇaṅkārī-Mādhyāmya contains nothing of importance, beyond mentioning the name of Bāddāvi. But the Mahādāta-Mādhyāmya transfers to Mahākūṭa the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala by Agasṭya, which myth is allotted in the Purāṇas to some unspecified place in the Vindhya mountains. The worthlessness of Mādhyāmyas as historical records is proverbial; but, in a matter of this kind, they involuntarily furnish valuable testimony. At whatever time the Mahādāta-Mādhyāmya, necessarily a somewhat modern production, may have been written, the writer of it was manifestly well aware that in some way or other the name of Vātāpi was connected with the locality, and that, in writing such a record as he was desirous of producing, it was incumbent on him to explain the fact. He has given the only explanation that suggested itself to him, or that it suited his purpose to give; and, as usual, the explanation is incomplete and at first sight worthless. But the true inference to be drawn is clear; viz., that the name of Vātāpi, however derived, is really and historically connected with the neighbourhood of Mahākūṭa, and, in fact, that Vātāpi and Bādāvi are one and the same name and place.

Dr. Bhuja Daji has already drawn attention to the literary importance of this inscription, as showing, by mentioning the poets Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, that by this time their names were already well known and their fame established.

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* According to the original, 'five hundred and six years of the Śaka kings having elapsed'.

† According to the original, 'three thousand five hundred and eight years having elapsed'.

‡ According to the original, 'three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed'.

†† According to the original, 'three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed'.

* Vide a subsequent inscription in this series, from a stone-tablet in the Kallathā at Bādāmi. 'Bādāri' occurs therein in a passage which is prefixed by the words 'After that, these verses were given in the Prākrit language'. This point refers to 'Bādāri', and thence 'Bādāmi', as a corruption of a Sanskrit 'Vātāpi', than to 'Vātāpi' as a Sanskritized version of a Dravidian name. But it should be remarked that Prof. Monier Williams suggests only a doubtful etymology for 'Vātāpi', and none at all for 'Ilvala'.

* Mādhyāmya—a work giving an account of the supposed history and merits of a holy place or object.

† Vide No. X of this Series, p. 19 of the present volume.
Victorious is the holy one, Jînendrâ; the whole world is as it were an island in the centre of the sea which is the knowledge of him, who was born from . . . . . .

And after that, victorious for a long time is the mighty ocean which is the Chalukya family, a thorough acquaintance with (the greatness of) which is not to be attained; being the ornament of the diadem of the earth, it is the origin of jewels of men.

And victorious for a very long time is Sathyastra, who conforms to the truth even though it is not ordained by precept, bestowing charity and honour upon the brave and the learned at the same time and at the same place.

Many members of that race, desirous of conquest, whose title of 'favourite of the world' enjoyed for a long time the condition of being a title the meaning of which was obvious and suitable, having passed away:—

There was the descendant of the Chalukyas, the famous king Jayasindhavallabha, who, with his bravery, won for himself the goddess of fortune, as if it were through the fickleness that is known to exist in her, in warfare in which the bewildered horses and foot-soldiers and elephants were felled by the blows of many hundreds of weapons, and in which there flashed thousands of the rays of the swords of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks.

His son was he who bore the name of Râgaraga, of god-like dignity, the sole lord of the world; verily, through the excellence of his body, mankind recognized, even while he was asleep, that he was of more than human essence.

The 'triratvas' or three pursuits of life are 'dharma', religion or virtue, 'bhuma', pleasure, and 'artha', wealth or that which is useful. Another 'triratva' is the three conditions of a king or kingdom, viz., progress, remaining stationary, and decline.

Indra.

Dhimotthamadhi, who carved the inscription, informs us that this was the capital of his family, probably acquiring it by conquest from some other dynasty.
Râvatidvipa, straightway his mighty army, which abounded in splendid banners, and which had beset the ramparts,—being reflected in the water of the ocean,—was as if it were the army of Varuṇa, that had come at his command. When his elder brother's son, named Pulikēśi, of dignity like that of Nahusha, was desired by the goddess of fortune, and had his actions and his determination and his intelligence perverted by the knowledge that his uncle was enviously disposed towards him,—he, Maṅgalīśa, whose advantage of power was completely destroyed by the use of the faculties of counsel and energy that were accumulated by him, lost his mighty kingdom and his life in the attempt to secure the sovereignty for his own son.

The whole world, which then, in this interruption of the succession, was enveloped by the darkness of enemies, was lit up by the masses of the lustre of its unendurable splendour; otherwise, when was it that the dawn (again) bespread the sky, which was as black as a swarm of bees, by reason of the thunderclouds which had the glancing lightening for their banners, and the edges of which were bruised (by striking against each other) in the rushing wind? And when, having obtained an opportunity, Gōvinda, who bore the title of Aṇḍayika, came to conquer the earth with his troops of elephants, then at the hands of the armies of him, who was straightway assisted even by the western (ocean), the warrior, who was the ocean of the north, acquired in war a knowledge of the emotion of fear, the reward which he there obtained. When he was laying siege to Vana-

vāsi, girl about by the river Haṃsānādi which disport itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varaṇāsī, and surpassing with its prosperity the city of the gods,—the fortress which was on the dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it covered by the great ocean which was his army, became in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea. Even those, who, having drunk the water of the Gaṅgā and having abandoned the seven sīva, had already acquired prosperity, were always eager in drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him, being attracted by his dignity. In the countries of the Koṅkārya, the watery store of the pools which were the Maṅgaras were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Chāṇḍadāṇḍa, who acted at his command. When he, who resembled the destroyer of cities, was besieging that city, which was the goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean, with hundreds of ships that had the resemblance of elephants mad with passion, the sky, which was as blue as a newly opened lotus and which was covered with masses of clouds, became like the ocean, and the ocean was like the sky. Being subdued by his prowess, the Lāḍas and the Māla vas and the Gūjaras became, as it were, worthy people, behaving like chieftains brought under subjection by punishment. Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Haṃsānādi,—whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power,—was caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear. While he was governing the earth with his great armies, the Rōva, which is near to the venerable (mountain of) Vindhyā and which is beauteous with its varied sandy stretches, shone the more by virtue of its own glory, though it was deserted by its elephants from envy of the mountains in the matter of their size. Being almost equal to Śakra by the three constituents of kingly power that were properly acquired by him, and by his own virtues which were his high lineage and others, he acquired the sovereignty of the three countries called Mahā-

rāṣṭra, which contain ninety-nine thousand villages. The Kaliṅgas and the Kōla

inscription given in Sir W. Elliot's Essay on Hindu Inscriptions. Maṅgalīśa is described as "sitting upon the princes of the earth, and ravishing the power of the Kāsharī like a thunder-bolt".

An unknown locality. But Raṅgate is a patronymic of Kakudh, the ruler of Aṇauṭa, a country in the peninsula of Gujurat, the capital of which was Deorā or Koṇaṭhā. [Rēvati is also a name of Mount Girnar, in Kāthiāvād, and perhaps Rāvativipa is the peninsula.—Ed.]

It is," was preferred by the people to Maṅgalīśa and his son.

Pulikēśi.

The Gōvinda here referred to was in all probability a Rātkūṭa monarch. The Rātkūṭas were famous for the possession of elephants; thus in the Yēvūr inscription reference is made to a force of five hundred elephants belonging to Kīrtiśarja destroyed by Jayṣaimūvallabhā.

Pulikēśi.

The meaning would seem to be that Gōvinda was the lord of the northern ocean, and that Pulikēśi in opposing and defeating him was helped by allies dwelling on the west coast.

The Varaṇāsī, modern Varānāsi, flows close under the walls of the present town of Varanasi; and Haṃsānādi is probably the old name of a tributary stream of some size that flows into it about seven miles higher up.

Śiva, or Indra.

Compared to the ships on the ocean.

Indra.
...who by possessing the good qualities of householders, had become eminent in the three pursuits of life, and who had effected the humbling of the pride of other kings,—manifested signs of fear at (the appearance of) his army. Being reduced by him, the fortress of Pishnapura became not difficult of access; the actions of this hero were the most difficult of all things that are difficult of attainment. The water which was stirred up by him, having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants and being coloured with the blood of the men who were slain in his many battles, was like the sky, which has the hues of evening much intensified by the sun among the clouds. With his armies, which were darkened by the spotless chauris that were waved over them and hundreds of banners and umbrellas, and which annoyed his enemies who were inflamed with valour and energy, and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers, &c., he caused the leader of the Pallavas, who aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of the city of Kanchipur, which was concealed under the dust of his army. When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the Cholaś, the (river) Kaverī, which abounds in the rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (the onward flow of) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants from whom rutwas flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the Cholaś and the Keraś and the Puguś, but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar-frost which was the army of the Pallavas.

While he, Satyārāya, possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel, having conquered the neighbouring countries, and having dismissed with honour the (subjugated) kings, and having propitiated the gods and the Brahmins, and having entered the city of Vatapi Nagar, was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a moat which is the dark-blue water of the dancing ocean, as if it were one city,—three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed since the war of the Brahmans, and (thrice thousand) five hundred and fifty years having elapsed in the Kali age, and five hundred and six years of the Saka kings having elapsed,—this steeple-temple of Jinendra, the abode of glory, was constructed by the order of the learned Rāvikṛtti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyārāya whose commands were restricted only by the three oceans.||| The accomplished Rāvikṛtti himself is the composer of this eulogy and the person who caused to be built this abode of Jina, the father of the three worlds. Victorious be Rāvikṛtti, who has attained the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi by his poetry, and by whom, possessed of discrimination in respect to that which is useful in life, the firm abode of Jina has had a dwelling-place allotted to it.

The hamlet of Māśrivalī, and the town of Bhēṣṭikavāda, and the village of Parvanur, and the village of Gaṅgavārī, and (the village of) Pālīgera, and the village of Gaṅgavagrāma,—such is possession of this (god). To the south of the slope of the mountain, as far as Bhiṁvärī extends, there is the boundary of the city of Mahapatnāpura, on the north and on the south. (This is) the termination.

No. XIV.

This is from Plate No. 32 of Mr. Hope's collection. The original is a stone-tablet at Hampī or Vijayanagara on the Tungabhadrá in the Ballāri District. The characters are Canarese, differing from the modern forms only very slightly, and chiefly in the absence of marks to denote the long 'e' and 'o'. Down to line 26 the language is Sanskrit; from line 27 to the end it is Canarese. There are no emblems at the top of the tablet.

The inscription is one of the Vijayanagara dynasty, of the time of Kṛishṇarāya, and records the grant of the village Śīngēnâyakanaśali to the god Virūpaktadeva, in the year of the Śalīvahanaśaka 1431 (A.D. 1509-10), the Sukla sañvatsara.

Transcription.

\[1\] satyārāyaḥ sūst Chamārabhadā nārāyaṇaḥVISION. [2] śalīvahanaśakaḥ 1431

III i.e., "who was the king of the whole of the country bounded by the eastern, the western, and the southern oceans".

\[2\] According to the original, "the year of the Śalīvahanaśaka one thousand four hundred and thirty having expired".
Translation.

Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, at Kāñchi and Srīśaila and Śoṇāchala and Kanakasabhā and Veṇkaṭadri and all other shrines and sacred places of pilgrimage, he performed according to due rite these many charities, commencing with gold weighed out against men, which, together with all propitio-

tory offerings, are prescribed by tradition. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like (the coils of) the serpent Śoṇa; he was earnest in protecting the earth; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he satisfied those who begged of him; he was fierce in war. Being called the supreme king of kings, and being invested with the titles that commence with ‘The supreme lord of kings; the punisher of the Māruśyas; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultan among Hindu kings; he who destroys the tigers that are wicked people; he who is a very Gauśabheruṇḍa to the assemblage of (elephants which are) the kings’— he is served by the kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga and Kālīnga and other countries, who say “Look upon us, O great king; be victorious and live long!” He, king Kṛiṣṇapāraya, seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanāyagara, and possessed of generosity, that was worthy to be praised by the learned, and ever surpassing in the art of government Nṛga and other kings, having increased abundantly the possessions of both poor and rich men, shone radiantly with fame from the mountain of the east to the slopes of the mountain of the setting sun, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge of Rāma,*

By the great king Kṛiṣṇadēva,—who, over the whole of this world, had filled the bas-

ket, which is the mundane egg, with the campher of his fame, which was produced by his pride and generosity and firmness and bravery and other qualities, which were worthy to be applauded by poets; who was impetuous in war; who put to scorn the achievements of Nala and Nahusha and Nābha and Dhundhumā and Māndhāti and Bhumā and Bhagiratha and Daśaratha and Rāma and other kings; who effected the protection of Brāhmaṇa; who subdued Sūtala; who caused the death of the elephants of the king Gajapati; who had learned many accomplishments; who surpassed the Lotus-born in power of speech; who was a second Bhōja; who was deeply versed in the drama and poetry and rhetoric; who was acquainted with religion; who every year celebrated the sacrifice of the lord of the great festival of the golden season of spring; who conferred contentment upon Brāhmaṇa and merchants; who was opulent; who was the highest of all kings; who was fortunate; who was the son of Nāgāngika and king Narasa; who gaddened all hearts; who was victorious in the van of battle; and who, by conquest of the regions, had ascended the throne at the city of Vijayanagar, and, having put down warfare by (the strength of) his arm, was governing the whole earth,—the village that has the celebrated name of Siṅgēṇāyakānaha [i], and which was pleasing with its four boundaries, was granted, for the purposes of the oblation that is to be made with pitcherfuls of the fruit of the Madhura and other ingredients, to (the god) who has the name of Śrī-Varūpākṣa, who is diligent in supporting the world, who has golden pinnacles bestowed by people who bow down before him, whose abode is on the altars of Hēmakūta**, and who is armed with the pike†; and by that

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* I have two long copper-plate inscriptions of the Vijayanagar dynasty,—one of Hariharā II, dated Śaka 1361 (a.d. 1570-80), and one of Kṛiṣṇapāraya, dated Śaka 1454 (a.d. 1652-3)—and of the same kind, of Kṛiṣṇapāraya, dated Śaka 1454 (a.d. 1652-3), is to be found in No. 6 of the photographs of copper-plate inscriptions at the end of Major Dixon’s collection, and another, also of Kṛiṣṇapāraya, dated Śaka 1450 (a.d. 1647-8), is given at pp. 30 et seq. of Vol. III of the Asiatique Researches. The language of those is so similar, that they seem to have been taken from some handbook for the ready composition of inscriptions. The first six stanzas of the present inscription are drawn from the same source; hence the abruptness with which it opens, and the use is the original of the relative pronouns without an antecedent.

† The thousand-headed serpent, the emblem of eternity, which forms the couch and canopy on and under which Viṣṇu sleeps during the intervals of creation.

† See Vol. IV, p. 333, note 3. In line 8 of No. 1 of this series we have the phrase ‘Māryupādhāra’, which I then translated, doubtfully, by ‘he who has three royal halls of adoration’. I am now inclined rather to take the expression as equivalent to ‘Māryupāthapāndāraya’, ‘the establisher of the Māra kings’.

† The modern ‘Adam’s Bridge’.

† Brahma, who was born in the lotus that grew from the navel of Viṣṇu.

† A sovereign of Malwa, who flourished, it is considered, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and was a great patron of learning.

† Kāmadhēna.

† I.e., ‘the hammer of Siṅgēṇāyaka’.

† Siṣa, ‘who has an irregular number of eyes’, the third eye being in his forehead.

** ‘The golden-peaked’,—one of the ranges of mountains dividing the known continent into nine plains, and supposed to be situated north of the Himālayas.

†† The usual weapon and emblem of Śiva.
same king,—who conferred benefits by means of his wealth; who imitated the conduct of the son of the sun; and who, (though) manifestly of human birth, was verily like him whose bow is formed of flowers,—the assembly-hall of that same god was constructed. This is the same charter of Kṛṣṇapābiya, whose charities (acting like rain) produce the tree which is a most potent charter, who is of approved conduct, and for whom the earth is the famous bearer of Nipaka-trees.

Hail! The year of the glorious and victorious and prosperous Śālavāhanasākha 1430 having expired, on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha of the Śukla śvāntaraka, which was then current, the great king, the brave and puissant Śrī-Vīra-kṛṣṇapābiya, the glorious supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord of kings, at the holy time of the festival of his installation on the throne, bestowed the hamlet of Singānaya-kunahalī for the purposes of the oblation called Amrīpati of the god Śrī-Vīnapākiha, and caused to be built a great hall of assembly with a Gopura in front of it before the god, and caused to be repaired the older Gopura which stood in front of that one, and bestowed upon the god Śrī-Vīnapākiha a golden lotus, inlaid with jewels of nine kinds, and an ornament called Nāgāhāraṇa. And he gave, for the offering of the oblation of the god, one golden dish and two (golden) drums to be used in the ceremony of the Arati, and twenty-four silver lamps to be used for the Arati.

Those who transgress against this act of religion, fall into the sin of the slaughter of a cow, or the murder of a Brāhmaṇ, or the other great crimes!

THE DHĀRĀŚINIVĀ ROCK TEMPLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

The town of Dhārāśinivā,** 140 miles E. by S. of Puṇā and 12 miles north of Talajpur, stands on the brow of the ghāțe that separate the Solāpār Zillā from Haidarābād, and which form the watershed between the basins of the Sena on the west, and the Tērā, a large feeder of the Mānijrā, on the east. It is fully 2,000 feet above the sea-level, and is the chief town of the tālukkā of the same name. To the northeast of this town, in a ravine facing the west, is a group of caves known as Dabar Lena or Torlā Lena, of some interest, though very little known, and probably never before described.

There are six or seven of them,—four on the north side of the ravine, and three opposite to them facing the north-east. Beginning at the last to the west, on the north side of the gorge we shall take them in order.

The first cave is evidently only subsidiary to the next one, and does not seem ever to have been finished. It consists of a verandah 25 feet long by 7 wide, with two pillars in front each about 2' 10" square. Three doors pierce the back wall, and lead into what seem to have been intended for three apartments which have never been finished: the end ones are about 6' 8" wide each, and the extreme length of the one is 16' 5" and of the other 19' 7". The central room appears to have been meant for a shrine, but the dividing walls have been broken down.

On a level eight or ten feet higher we come to the great Lena of the group. Unfortunately, being cut in a reddish, loose, trap rock which has split down from above, the whole front, with the exception of a small fragment, has fallen down and now chokes up the entrance.

Roughly speaking, the excavated area of this cave and its surrounding cells measures 105 feet in width by 115 in depth. It had in front a verandah nearly 80 feet in length by 10 feet wide, but all the pillars in front of it have fallen under the mass of rock from above, and only the pilaster at the east end remains; it had probably originally eight square pillars with massive bracket capitals. On the lower members of the bracket capital of the pilaster that still remains there is a good deal of leaf and roll ornamentation; the neck has twenty-four shallow flutes 6½ inches in length and 1½

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1 Karna, who was celebrated for his generosity.
2 Whether the anniversary day is intended, or whether this was the actual day of the coronation of king Kṛṣṇapābiya, is not clear.
3 'Gopura'—the ornamented gateway of a temple.
4 An ornament fashioned like a cobra capella.

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* "Arati'—the ceremony of waving lamps before an idol. This is usually a hereditary privilege, and frequent and violent disputes occur from time to time as to who is entitled to perform the ceremony.

** Latitude 15° 11' N., longitude 76° 6' E.
wide, with a small half-flower at each end, and a row of beadings above and below. Under this is the usual belt of rich floral sculpture,—of a line of leaves, a second of arabesques, and a third of festooned garlands,—the three rows being divided from one another by lines of small beads. This style is found also at Bādāmī, Ajanti, Aurangabad, and other places. The central pillars in this verandah were doubtless also richly carved.

From the verandah five doors entered the great hall: of these all have disappeared in the ruin except one at each end, and the jambs of a third: the central and largest door was probably the only one with any sculpture upon it. The hall, now about three feet deep in mud and cowdung, is not quite square, but measures through the centre about 82 feet across by 79' 3' deep, and is about 10' 2' high in the middle, but 12' feet in the black aisle, the roof being supported by thirty-two columns, arranged in two concentric squares. The inner square of twelve columns,—all octagonal, with square bases—measures very nearly 23' feet each way inside. The outer twenty columns enclose a square measuring 55' 2' wide in front, and 59' 2' at the back, by 53' 4' deep, the pillars being all square with bracket capitals and carved necks, except four in front of the shrine which are round and with circular capitals. The spacing on the sides of this square, too, is unequal,—four pillars on each face, ranging with those in the inner square, are about 6 feet apart, while those at the corners are 13 feet each from the next in the line. The front aisle is not flat-roofed like the rest of the cave, but slopes upon each side to a ridge 5' 9' above the level of the roof.

On each side of the great hall are eight cells each about 8' 4' square, and at the back are six more and the shrine. In the cell in the north-west corner is a small hole in the floor, which is constantly filled with water. The second to the left of the shrine contains a small image which is worshipped as Hari Nārāyas, and that next the shrine contains a black standing image of a nude Jina 6' 1' high, in a recess, with a triple plaster chhatra above his head. The recess and figure have all been carefully done up, some ten years or so ago, with plaster and paint (or pitch); and, without injuring it, it was impossible to say whether it belonged originally to the cave or not.

The shrine measures 19' 3' wide by fully 15' deep, and is occupied by a large black image seated on a sūdasa with a passage five feet wide all round it. This image has also been carefully repaired with plaster and paint. It is exactly of the sort found in the larger Vihāra caves at Ajanti and Aurangabad, and in one of those at Nāsik. The seat or throne is about 4 feet high and 6' 10' wide, supported at the corners by lions, and with antelopes or deer facing a wheel in the centre turned edges to the seat: this wheel, however, has been entirely broken away in this instance, but as it occurs in the next two caves there can be no doubt that it once occupied the same position here. Over the front of the seat hangs what is intended for the border of a rich cloth. The image sits with the legs turned up in front of the body, and the hands laid over them with the open palm turned upward: there is a large cushion behind his back, from behind which again issues the conventional griffin or makara's head. At each end of the asana and overlooking these figures stands a chauri-bearer with richly jewelled head dress and necklaces, and above each a fat cherub. All this, and the whole arrangements of the temple, answer exactly to the description of a Baudhā Vihāra. The image and attendant figures have been plastered and painted by Jains: it measures about 6 feet from knee to knee, 4' 2' across the shoulders, 3' 6' from the palm of the hand to the chin; the face is about 2' 5' across from ear to ear, the eyes, and 1' 5' in length to the hair, which is in curled folds with a topknot, and the ears are 7' in length. But the body is—now at least—represented without the robe which can almost always be traced on Baudhā figures,—though this might have been obliterated by the black composition with which it has been covered, as it has probably altered the character and expression of the features,—but behind the head, instead of the nimbus, is a seven-hooded cobra with little crowns on each hood, all carefully painted to represent the natural colour of skin and spots. If this and the nudity of the figure are original,—then how came the Digambaras to imitate so closely the details of Baudhā images?

At a cistern, to which there was once access by a door in the west end of the verandah, now built up, and with a brick and lime basin in
front of the blocked-up door, are three loose sculptured stones, apparently of great age. The largest is a standing figure of a nude Jina with a serpent twisting up behind him, its seven hoods projecting behind his head.† The second, a short square pillar of very compact-grained stone, has a standing nudo Jina on each face with a rude representation of triple chhatris over their heads, and a couple of flowers or stars on the breast-bone. The third, a small slab of the same stone as the last, bears a seated Jina with canopy, a worshipping figure at each knee, and four in front of the seat, engaged apparently in music and worship, but rather time-worn. These and some other figures all seem to support the idea that this has for long, if not originally, been a Jaina temple.

The chamber in which these figures now stand is about 17 feet by 12, with two pillars in front, and two openings in the floor into a large cistern of water.

The fragment of the façade of the cave that is left, shows it to have been elaborately carved to a height of 7' 4"′, with the chattri window-ornament in the upper course, little imitations of temples with Jinas sitting inside, and other figures between, in the next; under them a line of lattice-work—such as occurs on the bases of some of the Nâšik caves,—then some smaller figures at intervals, and the usual quadrantal projecting member as the lower course.

Twenty-seven feet in advance of the cave, and on a considerably lower level than the floor, there has been a massive doorway 10 or 11 feet wide with carved pediment—cut apparently out of the rock in situ; but it is now buried up to the lintel in the earth, and could not be excavated without giving trouble to the Brahmans attending on the modern temple of Mahâdeva that has been built just in front of it, and who seem to profit both by Sâiva and Sârivak visitors to the place. On the centre of the pediment can be traced the almost obliterated lineaments of a seated Jina with a nimbus behind the head; on each side has been a large Nâga-headed figure with hands clasped in adoration, and the lower extremities carried out in wavy floral lines to the ends of the lintel;‡ there are also some subordinate figures almost quite obliterated.

† A similar figure is carved on the wall of the Jaina Cave at Bhâkal.—See Archæol. Report for West. India, 1874, Pl. xxxvi, fig. 3.

‡ From the west side of the water-cistern a passage enters the rock and, ascending, passes along above the front aisle of the cave; and another seems to have entered high up in the west gable end of the front aisle, and to have turned round and passed along above the front wall. What the object of these passages was I cannot conjecture, but by weakening the rock, they probably were the principal cause of its splitting along the line of the first, and falling down.

The second large cave is a little to the east of this, and, like it, faces the south. It is smaller, however, and, though in fair preservation, has been so long occupied, and is so cut up by stone and mud walls that it is not easily examined. It is about 59 feet square and 11 feet 3 inches high, the roof being supported by twenty columns, leaving an open hall of 35 feet square in the middle surrounded by an aisle. Two of the columns on each side are round, and somewhat of the pattern of those at Elephanta, but without the bracket, and flutings of the capital, and with a thinner and less projecting torus. The capitals are 3' 7"′ high, and round the neck of the shaft is a band of floral sculpture and festoons a foot in depth. The shafts taper from about 2' 10"′ to 2' 7"′ in diameter, and stand on a low plinth. The square pillars have also square capitals very similar to those just described. On each side the cave and in the back are four cells, each about 8½ feet square. The shrine in the back is about 18 feet square, and contains a sitting Jina of very nearly the same dimensions as that in the first cave. An attempt has been made to cover and restore it with some black composition, but apparently this has been stopped after an abortive attempt on the face. And here again we have the attendant figures and the snake-hoods, exactly the same as in the other cave but without the plaster, and with the wheel in front of the sīhāsaṇa almost entire.

In the cell to the left, or west, of the shrine is a figure of a sitting Jina on a high throne, with figures behind, similar to those already described, only the place of the cobra-heads is supplied by a plain nimbus; the wheel in front of the throne rests on a lotus-flower, the deer appear to have been omitted, while the lions are much damaged.

‡ Compare the nāgarāj figure on the old Jain temple at Patâsdâl in Archæol. Rep. 1874, Pl. xiv. fig. 2.
In the cell at the east end of the back wall a similar figure has been begun but never finished.

The verandah in front is 8' 8" wide, and supported by six plain octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, and the cave is entered from it by a central and four smaller doors. At the east end of the verandah a rough excavation has been made, leaving a large rough square block in the centre, perhaps intended for an image. Outside is a chamber 18½ by 8½ feet. The façade of the verandah has been ornamented by a line of chaitiya windows enclosing circular flowers, with fleur de lis finials, and a flying figure at the side of each. The member on which these are projects, and is supported by elephants' heads with floral scrolls between.

Cave IV.—the third large one (close to this on the east side) is a hall 28 feet deep by from 26 to 27 wide, of which the roof has been supported by four round columns, now all gone except the capitals, which have supported a sort of square canopy. There is one cell on each side near the front of the cave—one of them unfinished; two in the back, but the partition between that on the east and the shrine has been broken through; and the door of a cell has been commenced on the right side. The shrine is about 9 feet 6 inches deep, and the Jina is very much disfigured by the crumbling away of the rock and the soot of ages. The floor is filled up, I know not how deep, with earth and cowdung, and the walls are encrusted with soot. The central door is surrounded by three plain facias, a roll moulding, and a border of leaves, while above it is a semicircular recess such as is also to be seen over the door of one of the chaitiya caves at Junnar.

Crossing the head of the narine, where there is a small torrent during the rains, and in the course of which there is a water-cistern cut in the rock, we come to the fourth cave,§ the front broken away, and the first compartment measuring 13' 10" by 9', with the roof slanting up at an angle of about 30°. A door in the back leads into an inner room 9 feet square, very roughly hewn out; on the right side of it is a cell about 7 feet square, while on the left a similar one has been begun but left unfinished.

Cave VI., at some distance to the south-west from the last, is a large unfinished excavation nearly filled up to the roof with earth. The verandah is 44½ feet long by 8' 8" wide, and has had four octagonal pillars with bracket capitals in front. Inside, the cave is about 48½ feet wide and 38 deep; but the pillars are only roughly blocked out. In the shrine, however, is a Jina with snake-hoods behind the head.

Cave VII. is well to the south of this, at the turn of the hill, and is only a verandah, fully 60 feet long, but quite choked up with earth. On the frieze over the front pillars, however, are several compartments containing scenes that seem to identify it as a Vaishnava rather than a Jaina excavation. In one compartment are a group of cows with milkmaids, one charming, and Krishna with his brother. In another is a person of consequence seated on a low platform, with a story-teller in front relating some narrative, while a little behind is a rather corpulent danseuse making her habiliments fly up behind her head like the tail of a peacock; an attendant leans on a staff a little further back; and behind the principal figure are three women and a child. In another an elephant appears as the rear figure, whilst two figures on a raised seat occupy the other extremity, but the seven or eight intermediate figures are too much decayed to be recognizable. Makaras with floral terminations occupy the intermediate divisions.

Near the base of a hill to the south of this, crowned by a temple of Hâttâ Devî—a form of Bhavânî—I found the trace of a cave on the east side; but after two days' excavation it turned out to be a water-cistern. I had been assured that thirty or forty years ago there was a large cave in this hill with cells, and was in hopes I had found it here. Some of the natives thought it was on the south side, but could not point it out when I took them all over that part of the hill.

To the east of this hill and south-west of Dhârâshîva are the Châmar Lena, excavated in a low ledge of rock. Of the largest cave, or group—for it is difficult to say which, the front having all fallen down—only irregular fragments remain. At the west end, and facing east, is a cell with moulding round the door, at each side of which there has been a figure with a high cap, and on the façade has been a line of figures, of which the right-hand one—Gâpēśa—only can be made out. A little east from this is another cell that has once been at the back of a larger—

§ That is, reckoning the first-mentioned small one as an appendage of the largest one, which may be called Cave I.
it has three plain facias round the door, and a thin partition, now broken through, divides it from a larger apartment apparently intended for a four-pillar cave, but the two on the west side are scarcely separated from the walls. Crawling along between the débris of the fallen front and the remaining walls we find two more cells, in one of which is a broken linga, and separated from it by a thick wall is another fragment of a four-pillared chamber. All the pillars are square with bracket capitals roughly blocked out. At the east end, facing west, is another cell but without any figure sculptures. The whole frontage is about thirty-five yards.

To the east of this and also facing north is another cave, varying in width from 26' to 31' 7", and in depth from 26' to 28' 6'"—for none of its walls are straight nor at right angles. The front is supported by two octagonal pillars and corresponding pilasters, and the roof inside by eight pillars in two rows across, the four at the ends of the rows being unfinished square masses, the intermediate pair in the front row of sixteen sides, and in the back row octagons. The bracket capitals are only about 7' deep, and but roughly finished. The door of the shrine has a moulded architrave with pilasters on each side, very similar to the doors to the shrines at Badami, or to the fourth cave at Elephanta. The shrine measures 7' 10'" by 7' 8'". It contains an altar 4' 3'" by 2' 8'" with a hole a foot square in the middle, and with the spout to the west. This is sufficient to decide that the cave is Brähmapical, and, judging from analogies with other instances, I have little doubt but this was a Vaishnava shrine. And it may be remarked here that all over this part of India we find Śaiva, Vaishnava, and Jainas caves closely grouped together, as at Ellora, Māmānlabād, Karūsā, Aihole, and Bādami.

At Nāganaṇth, a few hundred yards to the north-west of this, a fragment of an old cave or caves has been so built over by a Bhairāgī that it is impossible to make out what it has originally been. Outside stand a snake-stone and a bearded figure seated cross-legged with the palms of the hands placed together in front of his breast,—both very old.

A little up the river from this, and just above, a pool at the foot of a small waterfall, is the Lāchandar Lena, consisting of two rude cells, and on the opposite bank, a cave nearly filled up, consisting of three chambers one behind the other, the first two about 20 feet from end to end and from 7' 3'" to 8' 4'" deep, and the innermost measuring 9' 1'" by 8' 1'". It is impossible to say what these small plain caves have been—probably the dwellings of Jogi of olden times, without much regard to sects.

The question of age is still a difficult one with regard to rock-excavations. As yet almost the only fixed date we have found on a Brähmapical cave is that of Maṅgališa on the great cave at Bādami. On the Dharāsīṇa caves I could not find any inscription except a trace of a few letters on a pilaster of the well at the Nārāyaṇ Bhu or Torlā Lena first described; but of these the only syllable legible was the initial Sa with the long downstroke found at Bādami, Paṭadkā, and Aihole of the sixth and seventh centuries. On architectural grounds I would tentatively assign the Jaina caves in Dābarwali or Torlā Lena to a date not later than the middle of the seventh century, and the Chāmā Lena caves to the early half of the sixth, if not earlier.

Karul, 1st January 1876.

NOTICE OF A SCULPTURED CAVE AT UNDĀPALLI, IN THE GANTŪR DISTRICT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In looking through an old portfolio of drawings I came upon some sketches of a sculptured cave-temple in the Northern Sarkārs, which, as such works are rare in Southern India, may prove interesting to readers of the Antiquary.

Undāpalli, or Undāpalle as it appears in the Gt. Trigonometrical Survey 4-inch

scale sheet No. 94, is situated at the foot of a low range of rocky hills running nearly north and south opposite Bezwarā (B e jā vādā) and the únikṣāf across the Krishnā, from which it is distant about one and a half miles. The cave, which is easy of access, is excavated in the face of the rock about half-way up the hill, and appears to have been intended to consist of two stories. On the

† Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 308.
wall of the lower chamber is a representation of Nārāyaṇa with Brahmā seated on a lotus issuing from his navel. There is nothing remarkable either in the design or execution of the group, which is one not unfrequently met with in figures of Hindu mythology. The sculpture has suffered somewhat from age, the connection of the lotus on which Brahmā is seated with the recumbent figure being hardly perceptible. No inscription was found from which an opinion could be formed of the period to which the work might be assigned.

On the destruction of the Warangal State by the Muhammadans, in the middle of the 14th century, a local family of note—the Rāja of Konāvīdu—seized on the lower valley of the Krishna, and exercised independent authority over it for some seven generations, until it fell under the sway of Vidyānagar, about the end of the 15th century. Remains of buildings and other works on the hill-fort of Kōṅḍāpallī exhibit considerable architectural merit, and a mantapam at Bejawada, of which I possess a sketch, claims attention for its elegance of design. But I am disposed to refer the cave to an earlier period. In style and general character it bears a striking resemblance to the sculptures at Maṇḍālaipura, commonly called the Seven Pagodas, on the sea-shore to the south of Madras. One of the caves there* contains a representation of the same subject as that at Uṇḍāpallī, and treated much in the same manner. In another place† I have stated reasons for assigning a date anterior to the sixth century to the works at Maṇḍālaipura. But where no direct evidence can be brought to bear on the subject I am unwilling to hazard dogmatic assertion. This notice will serve to direct attention to the place, and further investigation may be rewarded by the discovery of more certain data.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

Śrāddha Ceremonies at Banaras and Gayā.

An account of some śrāddhas I saw performed at Banaras and Gayā may possibly be acceptable to those who were interested in my description of a funeral ceremony at Bombay, in the present volume of the Indian Antiquary (p. 26). At Banaras śrāddhas are constantly performed near the Maņi-karnikā-kunda—a well, or rather small pool, of fetid water, not more than three feet deep, and perhaps not more than twenty feet long by ten broad, lying at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, and declared in the Kāṭī. Khandā of the Skanda Purāṇa to have been originally created by Vishnu from the perspiration which exuded from his body. Its highly sacred character in the eyes of the orthodox Hindūs may therefore be easily understood. It is said to have been named Maņi-karnikā because Mahādeva on beholding Vishnu's well was so enraptured that his body thrilled with emotion, causing an earring to fall from his ear into the water. It is also called Muṭṭikshetra, 'holy place of emancipation,' and Purṇaṣubhakara, 'cause of complete felicity.' This wonderful well is on the ghāṭ, called from it, Maņi-karnikā, and is resorted to by thousands of pilgrims, who may be seen all day long descending the flight of steps by which the shallow pool is surrounded on all four sides. Eagerly and with earnest faces they crowd into the water, immersing their whole bodies repeatedly, while Brahmans superintend their ablutions, repeat and make them repeat mantras, and receive handsome fees in return. In a niche upon the steps on the north side are the figures of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva, to which the pilgrims, after bathing, do honour by bowing down and touching the stones underneath with their foreheads. The bathers, though manifestly much dirtier from contact with the foul water, go away under the full conviction that they are inwardly purified, and that all their sins, however heinous, have been washed away for time and for eternity.

There is another well of almost equal sanctity, named the Jñānavāpi, or 'pool of knowledge,' situated under a handsome celomade in the interior of the city between the mosque built by Aurangzeb on the site of the original Viśvesvarānāth temple and the present Golden Temple. It is a real well of some depth; and not a pool, but the water is so abominably offensive, from the offerings of flowers and rice continually thrown into it, and left to putrefy, that I found it impossible to do more than take a hasty glance into the interior of the well, or even to remain in the neighbourhood long enough to note all the particulars of its surroundings. All the day long a Brahmān stands near this well and ladles out putrid water from a receptacle

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* No. 19 in the plan of Maṇḍālaipura given in vol. XIII. of the Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc.
† Madras Jour. XIII. p. 92. It should be added that the notes made at Uṇḍāpallī in 1851 were lost with my other papers, and these observations written from memory may not be accurate in all particulars.
before him into the hands of pilgrims, who either
\*\*\*lave their faces with the fetid liquid, or drink it
\*\*\*with the greatest reverence. The supposed sanctity
\*\*\*of this well is owing to the circumstance that the
\*\*\*idol of Śiva was thrown into it when the original
temple of Vāneārānāth was destroyed by the
\*\*\*Musalvans. Hence the water of the pool is
\*\*\*thought to be the habitation of Mañadeva himself,
or at least to be permeated by his presence.

Close to the pool of Māñikarnikā, on the
day I visited the ghat, a man was performing a
\*\*\*ṛddhā for his mother, under the guidance of a
\*\*\*nearly naked and decidedly stout Brāhmaṇa.
\*\*\*The ceremony was the daśmatṛddhā, performed on the
tenth day after death, and was evidently ekoddhīha.
\*\*\*The officiating Brāhmaṇa began by forming a
\*\*\*slightly elevated piece of ground with some sand
\*\*\*lying near at hand. This is supposed to
\*\*\*constitute a small veḍī or altar. It was of an oblong
\*\*\*form, but only about eight or ten inches long
\*\*\*by four or five broad. Across this raised sand
\*\*\*he laid three stalks of kūra grass. Then taking a
\*\*\*number of little earthenware platters or sanceras,
\*\*\*he arranged them round the veḍī, putting tilī or
\*\*\*sesamum seed in one, rice in another, honey in a
\*\*\*third, areca or betel-nut in a fourth, chandana or
\*\*\*sandal in a fifth. Next, he took a barle of barley (yava)
\*\*\*and kneaded it into one large piśda, rather smaller
\*\*\*than a cricket-ball, which he carefully deposited in
\*\*\*the centre of the sand veḍī, scattering over it
\*\*\*jasmine flowers, kashkas grass, and wool, and
\*\*\*placing on one side of it a betel-leaf with arecanut
\*\*\*and a single copper coin. Then having poured
\*\*\*water from a loja into his hand, he sprinkled it
\*\*\*over all the offerings, arranged in the manner I
\*\*\*have just described. Other similar operations
\*\*\*followed:—Thus, for instance, an earthenware platter,
\*\*\*containing a lighted wick, was placed near the
\*\*\*offerings; ten other platters were filled with water,
\*\*\*which was all poured over the piśda; another
\*\*\*small platter with a lighted wick was added to the
\*\*\*first, then some milk was placed in another
\*\*\*platter and poured over the piśda, and then once
\*\*\*more the piśda was sprinkled with water. Finally
\*\*\*the Brāhmaṇa joined his hands together and did
\*\*\*piṣṭd to the piśda. The whole rite did not last
\*\*\*more than ten or fifteen minutes, and while it was
\*\*\*proceeding, the man for whose mother it was per-
\*\*\*formed continued to repeat mantras and prayers
\*\*\*under the direction of the officiating Brāhmaṇa, quite
\*\*\*regardless of much loud talking and vociferation
\*\*\*going on around him.

The ṛddhā ceremony was concluded by what
*46 is commonly called the Brāhmaṇa-bhojana, or
\*\*\*feeding of a Brāhmaṇa,—that is to say, another
\*\*\*Brāhmaṇa was brought and made to sit down near
\*\*\*the oblations, while the man for whose mother
\*\*\*the ṛddhā was celebrated fed him with flat
\*\*\*cakes, ḍhī, sweetmeats, vegetables, and curds
\*\*\*placed in a plate of pādava leaves. I observed that
\*\*\*these oblations were devoured with the greatest
\*\*\*avidity by the man for whom they were prepared,
\*\*\*as if he had been nursing his appetite with the
\*\*\*intention of doing full justice to the feast.

Monier Williams

PHALANDI, JODHPUR, JESALMER, AND
POKRAH.

The town of Phalandi is an interesting place
to come across in such a desert country. The
stone tracery of the houses in its principal streets
is very beautiful, and it possesses a large and well-

built fort, the walls of which are over forty feet high.
This fort has a small garrison, and its armament
consists of a few antiquated field-pieces, which
seemed quite unserviceable from rust and general
neglect: in the centre of it there is a deep and

capacious reservoir for water. The fort is com-
manded, but at a distance of 8560 yards, by the
Ekka Hill, on which one of my stations is situated.

The city of Jodhpur lies at the foot of the
hillon which the fort is situated, and at its southern
side; the greatest length from north to south is
about 24 miles, and the greatest breadth \( \frac{3}{4} \) of
a mile. It is closed in on the north side by the
fort, and on the east, south, and west by a high
wall capable of mounting guns, having six gate-
ways. It is a good specimen of a native city, and
is kept fairly clean; there are many wells and
three tanks; one of the latter, an artificial one
(only completed last year), is very fine and large,
its bed and sides being of pāda masonry.

The fort is built on a hill, the highest in the
neighbourhood, rising 420 feet above the surround-
ing country. There are two roads leading up to
the fort, which unite a few yards distant from the
gateway, and turn a sharp corner before reaching
the gate; both roads are well protected by guns.
Besides this there are two other gates to be passed
before the fort is gained,—the first a small yet
strong one in a narrow pass between two rocks,
and the second a large one approached by a steep
ascent, well commanded by guns, and, like the
outer one, made difficult by being placed round a
corner. Access to the fort from any other direction
would be impossible, as the sides are sheer precipi-
tices of from two to three hundred feet. The coun-
try below is commanded on all sides by the guns
of the fort. There is a good-sized tank in the fort.

The city of Jaisalmer is much smaller than
Jodhpur, its reported number of inhabitants being
10,000; but, from all I could see and hear, the
place was once in a far more flourishing state, and
the ruins of its former greatness are yet to be seen.
The water-supply for the city is obtained from an adjoining lake, and when this fails, which is generally the case early in June, good water has to be brought from the small village of Kisan Ghat, which is about three miles distant. There are numerous wells in the city, but the water is not good. The city used to be closed in by a rampart, now useless, as the wall is rapidly crumbling to pieces, and has fallen in many places.

The fort, once strong, is now in a dilapidated state, and would ill stand an assault; it contains no tank, but many wells. The Jain temples in the fort are very fine, the carving in stone being exquisite: in fact, this may be said of most of the houses in the city—the doors, windows, and walls having more or less carving about them. The greater number of the inhabitants, who reside within the walls of the fort, consist chiefly of a mixture of Bhutia Rajputs and Jains, and are, as a rule, great opium-eaters.

The town of Pokrân is on low ground, closed in by hills to the north, south, and west, and high ground to the east. Water is very plentiful in the neighbourhood, and very good; the town possesses three tanks, fine large ones, reported to contain water throughout the year; besides these there are many wells. There is a small fort in the town, well built and strong in appearance, but quite commanded by the adjacent hills.

Close to the town is a large salt marsh about five or six miles in diameter, into which the drainage of the surrounding hills finds its way during the rains. From the water of this marsh, as also from that of another, somewhat larger in dimensions, near the village of Lowa (eight miles south-east), a small quantity of salt is reported to be obtained.


**BHILLS IN THE DÂNGS.**

The aboriginal Bhills are now very few in number, and rarely met with except in the retinue of their chiefs: since, if warned of the approach of a stranger, they will desert their habitations at once, and if surprised in the woods will flee and hide, almost before one is aware of their presence. They are slighter and smaller than the other races, and are chiefly noticeable from their extreme blackness, wild appearance, and scantiness of clothing. They live chiefly in bough huts, which may often be met with deserted, the Bhills having strange superstitions, and at times migrating if they think their locality is unlucky or haunted. They will seldom remain a fortnight in one place. They feed on all sorts of vermin and garbage—many roots, and all fruits, coming with them under the head of food. They are a dirty and most degraded race, having no notions of equity or honour. Their one happiness is to get drunk. At Pimprê I saw the Bhil Rajâ or Nâyak of that Dâng. He is said to be the best of the lot, but even he is only sober in the early morning; he possesses an elephant, but the state he keeps up is very small. Besides the inhabitants proper, there are parties of Hindu and Mussalmân traders, called Banjârs, who are continually bringing in salt and taking out rice, négh, and the like, carried in double bags by large droves of bullocks. The whole of a family marches together, and they encamp at night within walls built up with the bags. The women are very well dressed, and have a sort of head-dress peaked at the back, over which the édrâ passes.—Lieut. T. E. Gibbs, R.E., in *Genl. Report, Gt. Trig. Survey*, 1873-74.

**TIBETAN FESTIVAL.**

It is the custom in Tibet for every monastery to have once a year a commemorative festival, during which all the Lamas attached to it go through a performance which rather oddly combines the most seriously religious worship with great theatrical display, and even a certain amount of comic acting. On these occasions the Lamas wear a series of costly costumes, usually rich Chinese silks, curiously and handsomely embroidered, which they continually change as the performance progresses. They also disguise themselves in masks to represent the heads of various animals.

**BOOK NOTICE.**

*La Langue et Littérature Hindoustanies en 1875.*


This year the Annual Review is, as usual, replete with useful and interesting information. Lahore, Delhi, and Lucknow are the principal centres of Hindustâni literature; and the Mudh’ara, or poetical section of the Anjumans, in the first-mentioned place, where a committee of men skilled in grammar and rhetoric has been appointed to examine the productions submitted to the Anjumans of the Panjâb (whose patron is the Prince of Wales), has considerably increased its activity by holding numerous meetings where poets recite ghâzâls, which are printed.

A debt of gratitude is due to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb, as well as to Major Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, both of whom have zealously encouraged the establishment of this Mudh’ara. To prepare and to keep up
this poetical résumé the Maulawi Hussain Azad, Professor at the Government College of Lahore, has, by the vigour and purity of his compositions and by the energy of his efforts, contributed more aid than any one else. Although Dehli is no longer the capital of India, it retains considerable literary importance; still that of Lakhna is at present greater, because since the end of the last century the decadence of the Mogul empire attracted to that city numerous poets and men of letters to obtain the patronage of the Nawan of Oudh. Hence the bustle of the inhabitants of Lakhna that their language is more pure than that of Dehli, and that their poets are more eminent.

Urdū poets are as numerous as ever,—there are seventy-four in the Panjāb alone. New works likewise abound, which are not, however, all poetic: one of the most important is the Nasim ulsamāndīk; a translation from the Arabic on, "The organization of States," made at the desire of the Patiala Government and printed at Lakhna. Religious literature is well represented, not only from the Mahomedan, but also from the Christian point of view, by devotional and polemic writings; and the Shaikhzādah Mirza Naqīr-uddin Haidar of Dehli will soon publish his Tārikh-i Panjāb, an historical work of some pretensions, with detailed accounts of the successive governments. The Mirat us-samānīn, or "Mirror of Sultans," has been carefully printed in Dehli. Minor works on different subjects have also been published, and the list of Urdū newspapers is as copious as in former years. Oid works are being republished, e.g. the Hindi version of the Mahābhārata, the Yajur-veda, &c.

The latest Hindustānī books published in the Bombay Presidency were all printed in the city itself, except two Hindu mythological pamphlets—the Śivaratri Māhdīvāya, "Greatness of the night of Śiva," printed at Ahmadābād, and the Kipa-i Śri Yal at Panā. M. Garcin de Tassy is justly indignant at the fantastic edition of the Dīwāna of Wali published at Bombay in 1290 (1873-74) by Kātī Ibrāhīm and Nuruddin, who, he says, were apparently not aware of his edition, printed at Paris in 1833, and, as he believes, the only one ever published before theirs. "In their preface they state that the copyists of this Dīwāna have committed many errors, but that this edition has been produced from several MSS. (from two to four, 22), and that the text has been corrected," that is to say altered, as may be easily seen. This pretended correction is in part owing to the opinion of the new editors that the Dīwāna of Wali contains obsolete expressions, which, considering its date, is not surprising, and is incorrect, which may be true with reference to the present dialect of the north, but is certainly false with respect to the archaic dialect of the Dekhan, or Dakhānī. It is precisely this archaic style which imparts to the poetry of Wali a philological interest that adds to the intrinsic value of these ghazals, resembling those of Hádz, as much on account of the mystic thoughts abounding in them as on account of the frequently extravagant but varied figures of speech accompanying them. The editors seem, moreover, to have confounded the Wali surnamed Babar rehīm, 'the father of piebald poetry' (i.e. mixed with Indian and Persian words)—i.e. Shāh Wali ullaM, Dakhānī of Aurangābād—with Wali udīn of Ahmadābād, a poet not mentioned by the original biographers whom M. de Tassy consulted in his Histoire de la Littérature hindoue et hindoustanie.

"When I produced my edition of Wali," he says, "I had at my disposal six MSS. of this Dīwāna, some of them very good, and I have given faesinītis of them. Since that time I have acquired four more, one of which is excellent, coming from the imperial library of Dehli, and bears the seal of the Moghul emperor Muhammad Shāh. These last MSS. agree with the first, and confirm the lections adopted by me. Thus my edition may be said to be authentic: for, contrary to the proceedings of the new editors, I was careful not to change anything in the text, and to assure myself of its exactness by an attentive scansion of each verse; and I have scrupulously retained the archaisms and peculiar expressions of the south; the Hindustānī of the Dekhan, moreover, a distinct dialect, the peculiar rules and expressions whereof are given in special grammars.

"The new editors have followed a method entirely opposed to mine; they wished to modernize and to septentrionalize the original text, and thus denaturalize it. Not only have they adopted modern grammatical forms, but they have supplanted a great number of Indian words by Persian ones current in the north. They have left not a single verse without some change, and but few pieces in the order generally adopted in my MSS. They have also omitted many pieces, my edition containing 453, whilst theirs has only 373, so that they have 80 less, although there are some which do not occur in my edition." M. Garcin de Tassy then proceeds to give three pages of the new and of his own edition, and shows how impudently the new editors have altered the original to suit their own notions.

Like so many others, M. Garcin de Tassy is displeased with the wholesale importation of English words into Hindustānī where there is not the least necessity for them, e.g. "It is time for you to go to office," rendered by Tumhari offis (for daftar-khudd) jinēki taim (for wait) hai. Natives ought to be like the ancient Arabs, who retained
only those Greek words which they could not render exactly; nevertheless Sayyid Ahmad Khan and some other writers in journals use many English expressions, just as if Arabic and Sanskrit could not in the sciences and arts supply many words not existing in the colloquial, and even the formation of Persian or Sanskrit compounds would be better than to borrow from English. It is rather surprising that this intrusion of English words has not met with any resistance yet, and thus neither the Allah Sahib, the Bihar, the Punjab, the Ajmir, nor other literary societies have taken measures to stop this torrent, which may ultimately so overwhelm Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) that the labour of purification will be insurmountable, but which, if now undertaken, would not be more arduous than that of the Germans, who have, since the last war, redoubled their efforts to extirpate French words from their language, and have well-nigh succeeded, at least in books.

The Review terminates, as usual, with obituary notices of the past year, and the first of them is naturally devoted to M. Garcin de Tassy's personal loss in his own wife, an amiable and virtuous lady, a true patriote, whose unceasing gentleness and attachment, proof against all trials, constituted his happiness during more than fifty-two years. After this little tribute to the memory of his spouse, the mortuary notices of a few scholars follow:—The poet Mir Bahar-i Ali Anis died at Lakhnau in Dec. 1874, at the age of about eighty years. Itudus Prichard died Jan. 1875 at Dhera Dhun, aged 49; he was the son of the celebrated ethnographer, but himself produced several works to facilitate the study of Hindustani, and co-operated in the translation of a work on The Roman Laws. His career was at first a military one,—he fought in the campaign of the Punjab,—and afterwards he became editor of the Dehli Gazette; he wrote The Administration of India from 1859 to 1862, the first ten years of administration under the Crown, 2 vols. Svo, 1860. Mirzā Salīmat 'All Dābir of Lakhnau, known as a wit and poet, died there in March 1875. Lord Hobart, the patron of Muhammadan education, and General John Briggs, editor of the Persian text of Fereishtah, and translator of it, as well as of several other works, died on the same day, April 27, 1875. F. 0. Eichoff, a distinguished Indianist, author of Parallel des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde, and of many more books, died May 10, 1875, aged 76 years; and on the 26th of the same month Dr. R. Sinclair, Director of Public Instruction in Berar, expired. His zeal in the cause of education was so great that during six years he raised the number of schools from 33 to 500, and his memory will long be cherished in Berar. Lastly, M. A. Séchillot expired in Paris on Dec. 2, aged 67. He occupied various positions at the Collège de France, as the administrator of which he died, but his work on the sciences, and especially on the astronomy of the Arabs, secured him many admirers in France as well as abroad, among whom the celebrated Alexander von Humboldt was one.

E. R.

TRANSLATION OF THE INDICA OF ARRIAN.*

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, MA., PATNA.

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Cophen, by two Indian tribes, the Astaceni and the Assacenii, who are not men of great stature like their brethren on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus the son of Cambyses the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed. The Nysaans, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysus,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysus waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysus, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nyssana, after Mount Nyssa, and the city itself Nyssa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Meros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysus are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assacenii there is a great city called Massaca, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is an-

* From Toubner's edition—Leipzig, 1867.
other city, Pæncelaitis, 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 westward direction as far as the Cophean.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Taurus, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Taurus begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisus, in another Emodus, and in a third Imaus, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Caucasus,—this being another Caucasus and distinct from the Scythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Caucasus.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the Danube, but diverge like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. And so in like manner does the Indus make an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouths and the city of Palimbithra, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

III. I shall now state the dimensions of India, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Cyrene as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes applied himself to descriptive geography. He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount Taurus, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia. But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of Taurus and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of Palimbithra he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by archaei, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But Ctesias of Cnidos says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while Onesicritus as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. Nearchus, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while Megasthenes, who calls the breadth of India its extent: from east to west, which others call its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the Ganges, and the Indus from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian Danube even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the Acesines is greater than either the Danube or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the Hyades and the Hydrites, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the Hyphasis, since
the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. Megasthenes states that of the two the Ganges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Ganges agree with him; for besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Caicas, and the Eranno boa, and the Cossanucus, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonus and the Sitali, and the Scolomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Conchates, and the Sambus, and the Magon, and the Agoranis, and the Oranis. It further receives the Comnenses, which is a very considerable stream, and the Acous, and the Andromatis, which flows from the dominions of the Madynadini, an Indian tribe. In addition to all these, it is joined by the Amyris, which flows past the city Cnadupa, and the Oxynagis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazaile, and the Errenysis from the Mathae, an Indian tribe. Regarding these streams Megasthenes asserts that none of them is inferior to the Sander, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the Ganges, why, it has a breadth where narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydrametes, flowing from the dominions of the Cambistholi, falls into the Acesines after receiving the Hyphas in its passage through the Astribas, as well as the Sargauses from the Cecians, and the Nandrus from the Ataceni. The Hydasps, again, rising in the dominions of the Oxynace, and bringing with it the Sinurus, received in the dominion of the Arsips, falls itself into the Acesines, while the Acesines joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malli, but not until it has received the waters of a great tributary, the Tutapos. Augmented by all these confluentes the Acesines succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus.

The Cophen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Peneclaitis, and bringing with it the Maltantis, and the Soastus, and the Garroia. Higher up than these, the Parenus and Sapurnus, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soanus, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abissarcanes. According to Megasthenes most of these rivers are navigable. We sought not, therefore, to distort what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Danube and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Danube, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it does not receive many confluentes, still these are neither equal in number to the confluentes of the Indus and Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and the Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Danube where the Noricans march with the Rhasians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurannon. Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight and fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip. For, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porsus, who was still greater than he. Well, then, this same Megasthenes informs us that the Indians neither

* The original cannot be otherwise rendered. The following slight emendation of the text, however (suggested by Schwanbeck), removes at once the ball, and the error in chronology whereby Porsus and Sandracottus are made contemporaries.—καὶ Πόρσου ἐν τούτῳ μεγαίον—"who was a greater king even than Porsus."
invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians: for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idantherus the Scythian, issuing from Scythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design: and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionysus many traditions are current; how he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Hercules’ tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, however, which Bucephalus led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hercules, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hercules was not able to take the rock Aornus, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite a piece of a piece with their calling Parapamisus—Caucassus, though it had no connexion at all with Caucassus. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisadai, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibæ, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibæ were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hercules and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibæ carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oenox the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hercules. But if anyone believes all this, then this must be another Hercules, for he can neither be the Theban Hercules, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian, nor even any great king* who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let me here digress to show that the accounts seem to be incredible which some other writers have given regarding the Indians beyond the Hyphasis, for the information about India up to the Hyphasis given by those who were in Alexander’s expedition is not to be altogether distrusted: Megasthenes, for instance, tells us this wonderful story about an Indian river—that the name of it is the Silas; that it flows from a fountain called after the river through the dominions of the Silans, who again are called after the river and the fountain; that the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water. But to proceed. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisus and Emodus and the range of Imaus, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Acesines, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of Ethiopia, and that the Nile swelled with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year as they, with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its mouth by the force of the Etesian winds which blow throughout the hot season; and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike Ethiopia. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Ethiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile.

† The words would bear another rendering—“or possibly he may be some great king.” ‡ Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.
with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesicritus asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Æthiopians, though, to be sure, the Indians who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Æthiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they have not the nose so flat nor the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person like the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had built neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech tala, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysus into India. That Dionysus, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemus, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysus who came to India before Triptolemus, and gave the people the seeds of plants brought under cultivation. It is also said that Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worshipped the other gods, and Dionysus himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the cordex; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents: so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most zealous of his imitators, to be the king of the country, and that when Spatembas died his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty; that the father reigned over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; that the son of the latter, whose name was Gareus, duly inherited the kingdom, and that thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; but that Hercules, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India; that this Hercules is held in especial honour by the Soureni, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Cleissora, while a navigable river called the Obares flows through their country. But the dress which this Hercules wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hercules, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter; that the name of this child was Pandare, and that the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hercules entrusted her, was called after her, Pandara, and that she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hercules that when he was going over the world and riding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even

§ Or 'the most conversant with Bacchic matters.'
to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as much and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue margarita. But Hercules, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms; for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thirice its weight in refined gold, which is a metal Indian mines produce.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hercules reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hercules, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hercules therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandæus reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hercules could have done things so marvellous, he must also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their career of life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysus to Sancrotus the Indians counted 163 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Hercules by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannobas and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannobas being perhaps the third largest
of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lacedemonians and the Indians are here so far in harmony. The Lacedemonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But farther; in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sages, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of the land anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If anyone, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sages shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To these sages the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sage is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if anyone fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under trees of such vast size that, as Nearchus tells us, the shadow which but one of them casts, has a circumference of five hundred feet, and is capable of sheltering ten thousand men. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are debarred by use and wont from molesting the husbandmen or ravaging their lands: so that while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and cattle; and these neither live in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They also are subject to tribute, which they pay in cattle. It may be added that they scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handymen and retailers. These have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and jollity. They have military duties, and these only, to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. But they fight as long as there is need to fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can main-
tain not only themselves, but others also, and
that with ease.

The sixth class consists of those called superin-
tendents. They oversee what goes on in country and town, and report every-
thing to the king where the people have a king, and
to the magistrates where the people are self-
governed, and it is against use and wont for
these to give in a false report;—but indeed no
Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the coun-
cillors of state, who advise the king, or
the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the
management of public affairs. In point of
numbers this is a small class, but it is distin-
guished by superior wisdom and justice, and
hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing go-
vornors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors,
superintendents of the treasury, generals of
the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and
commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-
marrige between the castes:—for instance,
the husbandman cannot take a wife from the
artisan caste, nor the artisan a wife from the
husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any
one from exercising two trades, or from chang-
ing from one caste to another. One cannot, for
instance, become a husbandman if he is a herd-
man, or become a herdsman if he is an artisan.

It is permit-ted that the sage, and the sage alone,
be from any caste: for the life of the sage is
not an easy one, but the most miserable of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals
in the same way as the Greeks, except the
elephant, which is hunted in a mode alto-
tgether peculiar, since these animals are not like
any other animals. The mode may be thus de-
scribed:—The hunters having selected a level
tract of arid ground, dig a trench all round,
enclosing as much space as would suffice to
encamp a large army. They make the trench
with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of
four. But the earth which they throw out in
the process of digging they heap up in mounds
on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall.
Then they make huts for themselves by excavat-
ing the wall on the outer edge of the trench,
and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit
light, and to enable them to see when their
prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They
then station within the trap some three or four
of their best-trained she-elephants, and leave
only a single passage to it by means of a bridge
which they throw across the trench, and the
framework of this they cover over with earth
and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the
bridge as much as possible from the wild
animals, which might else suspect treachery.
The hunters then go out of the way, and retire to
the cells which they had made in the earthen
wall. Now the wild elephants do not in the day-
time go near inhabited places, but in the night-
time they wander about everywhere, and feed
in herds, following as leader the one who is
biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls.

As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure,
on hearing the cry of the females and catching
scent of them they rush at full speed in the
direction of the fenced ground, and being ar-
rested by the trench they move round its edge
until they fall in with the bridge, along which
they force their way into the enclosure. The
hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of
the wild elephants, haste, some of them, to take
away the bridge, while others, running off to the
nearest villages, announce that the elephants
are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing
the news, mount their most spirited and best-
trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride
off to the trap; but though they ride up to it
they do not immediately engage in a conflict
with the wild elephants, but wait till they are
sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst;
but when they think they have been reduced
to feebleness, then they set up the bridge anew
and ride into the trap, when a fierce assault is
in the first place made by the tame elephants
upon those caught in the trap; then, as might
be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of
spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpow-
ered. On this the hunters, dismounting from
their elephants, bind with fetters the ends of
the feet of the wild ones, which are by this
time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the
tame ones to chastise them with repeated blows,
until, worn out with their sufferings, they fall
to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing
near them, slip nooses over their necks and
mount them while they are yet lying on the
ground; and, in order to prevent them shaking
off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, they
make an incision all round their neck with a
sharp knife and fasten the noose round in the
incision, so that they keep their head and neck quite steadily by means of the wound, for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. Thus they shun all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, are now led in fetters by the same ones.

XIV. But such as are feeble, or through viciousness not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which they retain they lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have been known when their riders were slain in battle to have taken them up and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to its strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer; and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk, he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals. In the same way with regard to ants also, Nearchus says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant. But about parrots Nearchus writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but for my part, since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will accordingly say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, too, Nearchus tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which Peitho the
son of Antigenes caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if anyone were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. But with many bodily pains the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. But in the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sages, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us,—cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head. The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Nearchus tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards; for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called saumia, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fasten round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider then pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong grind the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third, while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all. But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the ladies that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either

* Or perhaps "is considered a disgrace."
giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearchus and Megasthenes, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.

XVIII. Alexander, then, as soon as the fleet had been built for him upon the banks of the Hydaspes, having selected all the Phenicians and all the Cyprians or Egyptians who had followed him in the previous part of the expedition, manned the ships with them, and chose the hands that were skilled in seamanship to be sailors and rowers. There were also islanders not a few in the squadron who had been bred to a seafaring life, together with men from Ionia and the Hellespont. The following officers were appointed to the command of triremes in this fleet:

Hephaestion, the son of Amyntor; Leonnatus, the son of Antias; Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Asclepiodorus, the son of Timander; Archon, the son of Clinias; Demonicus, the son of Athenaeus; Archias, the son of Anaxidatus; Ophelus, the son of Silenus; and Timanthes, the son of Pantiades. These all belonged to Pella.

From Amphipolis came—Nearchus, the son of Androthias, who wrote a narrative of the voyage; Laomedon, the son of Larchus; and Androthianes, the son of Callistratus.

From Orestis came—Craterus, the son of Alexander; and Perdiccas, the son of Orontes.

From Eordea came—Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus; and Aristonous, the son of Piseus.

From Pydna came—Metron the son of Epicharmus; and Xerarchides, the son of Simus.

There were in addition to these—Attalus the son of Andromenes, from Tymphae; Peucetias, the son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon, the son of Craterus, from Alcmenes; Leonnatus, the son of Antipater, from Æge; Pantachus, the son of Nicolaus, from Alorus; and Mycleas, the son of Zoilus, from Bercea. These were all of them Macedonians.

The following commanders were Greeks:

Medius, the son of Oxythemon, from Larissa; Eumenes, the son of Hieronymus, from Candia; Critobulus, the son of Plato, from Cos; Thoas, the son of Menodorus, from Magnes; Meander, the son of Mandrogenes, also from Magnes; and Andron, the son of Cabelas, from Teos.

There were two commanders besides from Cyprus—Nicocleæs, the son of Pascarete of Soli; and Nithaphon, the son of Pnagoros, of Salamis.

There was also one Persian commander—Bagos, the son of Pharnouchas.

The pilot of the ship which carried Alexander himself was Onesicritus, an Astypalæan, and the general secretary of the expedition was Enagoras, the son of Eucleon, a Corinthian, while Nearchus, the son of Androtius, was appointed admiral of the whole fleet. He was by descent a Cretan, but settled in Amphipolis, which is on the river Strymon. And when all these arrangements had been made by Alexander, he sacrificed to the gods of his country, and those to whom the oracle had directed him to sacrifice, and to Poseidon and Amphitritus, and the Nereids, and Oceanus himself; and to the river Hydaspes, from which he was setting forth on his enterprise; and to the Acesines, into which the Hydaspes pours its waters; and to the Indus, which receives the waters of both; and he also gave an entertainment at which prizes for skill in music and gymnastics were conferred on, and a distribution was made, to all the divisions of the troops, of the victims sacrificed on the occasion.

XIX. But when every preparation had been made for departing, Alexander ordered Craterus, with a force consisting of horse and foot, to go to the one side of the Hydaspes; while Hephaestion, in command of a still larger force, marched in a parallel line on the other side. Hephaestion took with him the elephants also, which were two hundred in number. Alexander himself took under his immediate command the body of footguards called the hypaspists and all the archers, and those called the
companion-cavalry,—a force consisting in all of 8,000 men. Orders had been given to the troops under Cnaerus and Hephhestion prescribing where, after marching in advance of the fleet, they were to wait its arrival. And Philip, whom he had appointed Satrap of this part of the country, he despatches to the banks of the Acæines, sending with him also a numerous force; for by this time 120,000 fighting men followed his banner, including those whom he had led up from the sea into the interior, and also the recruits who from time to time were sent to his levies when he began to receive all sorts of barbaric tribes, however diversely armed. Then he weighed anchor and sailed down the Hydaspeas as far as its junction with the Acæines. Now the ships numbered altogether 3000, including the long narrow ships of war, the round-shaped roomy merchantmen, and the transports for carrying horses and provisions to feed the army. But how the fleet sailed down the rivers, and what tribes Alexander conquered in the course of the voyage, and how he was in jeopardy among the Ma’il, and how he was wounded in his dominions, how Peucetas and Leonnatus protected him with their shields when he fell,—all these incidents have been recorded by me in the separate narrative written in the Attic dialect.

My present object is, therefore, to describe the voyage made by Nearchus, with the expedition which sailed under his command, from the mouths of the Indus through the great ocean as far as the Persian Gulf, or, as others call it, the Erythrean Sea.

XX. Now of this voyage the following account has been given by Nearchus. He states that Alexander had a great desire to have all the coast of the sea which extends from India to Persia circumnavigated, but that he hesitated to take the necessary steps, as he reflected on the length of the voyage, and feared lest the fleet coming, as might happen, to some desolate coast, should not be able to furnish adequate supplies, might thus be destroyed, and a great stain attaching itself thereby to his mighty deeds might tarnish all his good fortune; but that his eagerness to be ever doing something new and marvellous prevailed over all his scruples; that he was, however, at a loss what officer to choose as not an incompetent hand to execute his designs, and at a loss, too, about the men put on board the fleet,—how, on their being despatched on such an enterprise, he could take away their fear that they were recklessly sent into open peril. Here Nearchus tells us that Alexander consulted with him whom he should select to lead the expedition, and that when Alexander had mentioned one officer after another, rejecting them all, some because they did not show readiness to face danger; some because they were of a weak, irresolute temper; some because they were yearning after home,—making this and that objection to each in turn,—he then offered his own services in these terms:—"I, then, O king! I undertake to lead the expedition, and, if God but help me, I will conduct the ships in safety, and the men, all the way to Persia, provided of course that the sea is navigable that way, and the task not beyond human capacity." To this, we are told, Alexander answered, in mere pretense, that he did not wish to expose any one for whom he had an affection to so much hardship and so much danger, but that Nearchus did not on that account withdraw his offer, but pressed its acceptance with the greater urgency; that Alexander was, of course, much pleased with the ready devotion of Nearchus, and appointed him to take the chief command of the expedition; that then, too, the troops destined for the voyage, and the oarsmen, alike were still more cheered in heart, feeling assured that Alexander would not send into palpable danger such a favourite as Nearchus unless he was to be restored to him in safety. At the same time the great splendour with which the preparations were conducted, the gallant trim of the ships, and the obvious rivalries between the captains about their oarsmen and their crews, had roused to energy even those who formerly altogether shrunk back, and also inspired them with more salutary hopes of the whole enterprise. And it much helped also, he adds, to give the men good heart, that Alexander himself, taking the ships from both the mouths of the Indus, sailed out into the open main, and slew victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented magnificent gifts to propitiate the sea; and so the men, trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had attended all the other projects of Alexander, deemed there was nothing he might not dare, nothing but would to him be feasible.
XXI. Now when the south-west monsoon calmed,—which prevails throughout all the hot season, blowing from the sea towards the land, and rendering navigation in these seas impracticable,—it was then that the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Cephasidorus was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Böodromion, according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, but as the Macedonians and the Asiatics reckoned 11th year of the reign of Alexander. But Nearchus, before putting to sea, sacrifices to Zeus the Saviour, and also, as Alexander had done, celebrates a gymnastic contest. Then clearing out of harbour, they come the first day to moorings in the Indus near a great canal; and there they remain for two days. The place was called Strura, and was distant about 100 stadia from the harbour they had left. Clearing from this on the third day, they sailed on till they came to another canal, 30 stadia further down, in which the water was salt: for the sea, it seems, ran up into it, especially in flood-tides, and its waters at ebb-tides still remained mixed with those of the river. This place was called Camaara. Sailing thence a distance of 20 stadia down the stream, they reach Ceresitis, and anchor, being still in the river. After clearing from this, they did not make much way, for a sunken reef revealed its presence at that part of the mouth of the Indus, and the waves were heard dashing with loud roar upon the beach, which was wild and rugged. They dug, however, a passage five stadia long through the reef where it was found to be soft, and through this steered the ships when the flood-tide came in from the sea. Then by a winding course of 120 stadia they gain Crocala, a sandy island, where they anchor and remain till next day. Near this place dwells an Indian tribe called the Arabii, whom I have mentioned in my larger narrative, stating that they derive their name from the river Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea parting them from the Oritae. On launching from Crocala they had on their right hand a mountain which the inhabitants called Iros, and on their left a flat island. As this island lay near the mainland shore it helps to form a narrow bay. Having quite cleared this passage they come to moorings in a harbour of great security, which Nearchus, on finding it to be both spacious and otherwise convenient, designates Alexander's Haven. There is an island at the mouth of the harbour, about two stadia off. Its name is Bibo, but the entire district is called Sangada. That the place makes a harbour is all due to the island, which shelters it by forming a barrier against the sea. Here strong gales blow from seaward for a long time continuously, and Nearchus, fearing lest some of the barbarians might combine with a view to plunder the camp, fortified his position with a stone wall. Here they had to tarry four-and-twenty days. The soldiers—so Nearchus tells us—fished for mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor-fish, all of these being of extraordinary size as compared with the specimens to be found in our sea. He adds that they were here obliged to drink salt sea-water.

XXII. As soon as the stormy weather was over they again put to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia they drop anchor off a sandy beach, not far from which lay a desert island, and here they anchored in such a position that they were sheltered by this island, the name of which was Domæ. Water was not procurable on the beach, but the men going into the interior about 20 stadia found very good water. The voyage was resumed next day towards evening, when they sailed 300 stadia and reached Saranga, where they anchor near the beach, and find water some eight stadia inland from it. Making from this they put into Saca, a desert place, and anchor there. When again under weigh they sailed through between two cliffs which were so near each other that the blades of the oars grazed the rocks on either side, and then they drop anchor in Moronti-bari, having run 300 stadia. The harbour here was rooky, circular in shape, deep and well sheltered, but the entrance to it was narrow. It was called, in the language of the country, 'Women's Haven,' because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. But when they were steering between the rocks we have mentioned they encountered heavy waves and a boisterous sea: for indeed it appeared a great feat to have steered their way through between the rocks and got safe beyond them. When they put to sea they sailed on till the next day, having on their left hand an island making a barrier against the sea and lying so close to the shore that the channel between the
shore and the island looked like a canal. The length of this passage was altogether 70 stadia. Thickets of trees grew all along the beach, while the island was well shaded with wood of every description. Towards morning they were clearing the island, having but scanty sea-room, as it was still ebb-tide. After running 120 stadia they drop anchor at the mouth of the river Arabis. At its mouth there was a spacious and very fine haven, but the water was not drinkable, for where the Arabia discharges itself its waters become mixed with brine. They went therefore about 40 stadia higher up, and came upon a tank from which they supplied themselves with water, and then returned. The island near the harbour is high and bare. All round it oysters and fish of every kind are caught. This place marks the border where the dominions of the Arabi, the last people of Indian descent settled in this direction east, and where those of the Oríte begin.

XXIII. On sailing away from the mouth of the Arabi they coasted along the shores of the Oríte, and after making a way of 200 stadia drop anchor at Pargali, near a surf-beaten shore, where, however, a place was found affording good anchorage. Here while one part of the crew was told off to remain on board, another part went on shore to fetch water. Next day they unmoored at dawn, and making 400 stadia drew to shore as evening fell, at Cabaanan, where they anchor off the beach, which was quite barren. Here there was a heavy surf, and the ships were tossed up and down by great surging billows. In the course of this last voyage the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale which blew from seaward, when two ships of war and one of the light craft were totally lost. All the hands on board, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were closely hugging the shore. They cleared from Cabaana about midnight, and sailed on till they gained Cozcala, 300 stadia distant from the last port. The ships rode at their moorings off shore, but Nearchus having ordered the crews to disembark allowed them to bivouac on the beach, for as they had suffered much distress at sea they longed for some repose. The camp was fortified for defence against the barbarians. It was in this part of the country that Leonnatus, whom Alexander had appointed to reduce and govern the Oríte, overcomes these barbarians, and the neighbouring tribes who helped them, in a great battle, wherein he slew 6,000 of them, and all their leaders. But fifteen of the horsemen who were with Leonnatus, and some of the foot-soldiers, though not very many, were slain. Among the number was Apollophanes, the Satrap of the Geelonians. But all this has been recorded in my other history, and also how Leonnatus for this service was crowned by Alexander with a golden crown in presence of the Macedonians. In this place grain was, by Alexander's orders, distributed to victual the fleet, and sufficient stores were put on board to last for ten days. Here also the ships damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the sailors that Nearchus considered to be too sick at their work he made over to Leonnatus to be led on foot into Persia; but at the same time he made good his complement of hands by taking in exchange efficient men from the troops under Leonnatus.

XXIV.—From this port they bore away with a fresh breeze, and having run 500 stadia drop anchor near a river much swollen with rain. This river was called the Tomerus, and there was an estuary at its mouth. The flats lying near the shore were peopled with men, who lived in close stilt houses. The savages when they saw strangers sailing towards them were filled with astonishment, and spreading along the beach marshalled themselves as if to repel by force any who should attempt to land. They carried thick spears about six cubits in length— which were not tipped with iron heads, but were hardened at the sharp end by being charred, which served the same purpose. The number of the enemy was about 600. Now when Nearchus saw them keeping their ground and arrayed for battle, he ordered the ships to keep riding at anchor within shot of them, so that the arrows discharged from on board might carry to land; for the spears of the barbarians, which were thick, were evidently adapted for close fight, but not at all formidable if used as missiles. Then he gives orders that such of the soldiers as were lightest and most lightly equipped, and expert in swimming, should swim to shore at a preconcerted signal. Orders were given that when any one had swum so far that he could stand in the water, he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not set forward to attack the barbarians, until a phalanx could be
formed of three men deep. That done they were to rush forward shouting the war-cry. Then those who were told off for this service at once threw themselves from the ships into the sea, and swam fast, and stood in order, and forming themselves into a phalanx rushed to the charge with loud shouts; while those on board shouted in concert and attacked the barbarians, with arrows and missiles shot from engines. Then the barbarians, terrified by the bright flashing of the arms and the rapidity of the landing, and hit by the arrows and other missiles, since they were half-naked, fled without making the least attempt at resistance. Some perished in the flight, others were taken prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those captured were thickly covered with hair all over the body as well as the head, while their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, for they were said to use their nails like iron, and to be able to rip up fish with them, and split the softer kinds of wood. Harder things they cut with sharp stones, for they had no iron. As clothing they wore the skins of wild beasts, and some even the thick skins of large fishes.

XXV. After this action they hauled the ships to shore, and repair all the damaged ones. On the sixth day they launched again, and sailing 300 stadia reach a place which lay on the farthest confines of the Oriske, called Malana. Now the Oriske who dwell in the interior dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, though they differ from them in language and customs. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Arabi was 1000 stadia, reckoning from the place from which they had started; and the length of the voyage along the coast of the Oriske was 1600 stadia. Nearchus informs us that the shadows of those who sail along the Indian coast (for after this Indians are no longer met with) fall differently, for when they happened to sail a great distance southward their shadows were observed to fall to southward also. But when the sun had gained the meridian, nothing was seen to cast any shadow at all. And of those stars which they had seen before high above the horizon, some vanished altogether out of sight, while others—that is those which had always before been visible—seemed to be near the earth, now setting, and, immediately after, rising again. And Nearchus here appears to me to be stating what is not unlikely: for at Syene also, which is in Egypt, a well is shown where at the time of the summer solstice no shadow is cast at noon; and in Meroë, too, objects are shadowless at that season of the year. It is therefore likely that similar phenomena occur also among the Indians, as they live to the south, and this would be more especially the case in the Indian Sea the further south it goes. This may be taken as the real truth of the matter.

XXVI. Next to the Oriske in the interior live the Gedrosians, through whose country Alexander had the greatest difficulty in leading his army, and where his sufferings surpassed all he had experienced in all the rest of his expedition. But all the details concerning this I have set down in my larger work. Below the Gedrosians and along the sea-coast lives a people called the Ichthyophagi. Along their coasts they were now steering. On the first day, about the second watch, they set sail, and put into Bagisara. The distance ran was 600 stadia. In the place they found a harbour with good anchorage, and a small town called Pasira, distant 60 stadia from the sea, the people living thereabout being called Pasirians. But unmooring early next morning they double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells and found but a scanty supply of water which was bad, they rode at anchor that day, because there was a high surf along the shore. They leave the place next day and sailed till they reached Colta, having run 200 stadia. Weighing thence at morning-tide they made Calibii, after sailing 600 stadia, and there cast anchor. There was a village near the beach, around which grew a few palm-trees, the dates on which were still green. There was an island about 100 stadia off the shore, called Carnine. The villagers, by way of showing their hospitality, bring presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus, who says that the mutton had a fishy taste, like the flesh of sea-birds; for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next have had before him a text of the work by Nearchus interpolated or otherwise corrupted by the Alexandrian geographers, who, following Eratothenes, believed that India lay between the tropics.
day, having sailed 200 stadia, they cast anchor near the shore, where there was a village 80 stadia off, named Cissa. The coast was, however, called Carbis. There they find little boats such as might belong to fishermen of scanty means, but the men they did not see, for they had taken to flight on seeing the ships anchoring. There was no grain in the place, and the stock of provisions for the expedition had run short. So they put some goats on board and sailed away. After doubling a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, they drew to land and cast anchor in a well-sheltered haven. They found water in the place, which was inhabited by fishermen. The harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus tells us, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydraces, who undertook to conduct them as far as Carmania. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf their course was not difficult, and lay in parts more spoken of. Departing at night from Mosarna they sail 750 stadia, and reach the coast of Balamon. They touched next at Barna, a village which lay at a distance of 400 stadia. Many palm-trees were found there, and a garden wherein grew myrtles and other flowers, from which wreaths were woven by the villagers. Here for the first time they saw trees under cultivation, and the people somewhat better than mere savages. Leaving this they reach Den-drobos, by a circuitous course of 200 stadia, and anchor out at sea. They sailed again about midnight, and running about 400 stadia made the haven of Opphas. The inhabitants were fishermen, and the boats they used were small, sorry things. They did not row in the Greek style with oars fixed to the side by means of thole-pins, but, as in a river, with paddles which they thrust into the water, now on this side and then on that, like men digging the ground. There was much water in the haven, and it was quite pure. But about the first watch they bore away from the place, and having run a course of 800 stadia put into Cyiza, where the strand was bare and rugged. They did not, therefore, land, but dined on board ship. They set forth again, and having sailed 500 stadia came to a little town built on a rising ground not far from the beach. And Nearchus having observed that the land bore signs of cultivation, he turns to Archias (the son of Anaxidatus of Pella, who was accompanying Nearchus on the voyage, being a Macedonian of high rank) and says to him that the place must be captured, for the inhabitants, he thought, would not of their own free-will supply the fleet with provisions, while it would not be possible to take what they required by open force, but a siege would be necessary, which would cause delay, and they were already short of provisions. He added that the land must undoubtedly produce corn, as they could see a luxuriant crop growing not far from the beach. When this proposal was agreed to, he ordered all the ships except one to be made ready as if for sailing, and Archias made all the arrangements for this; but he himself being left behind with a single ship went to take, as he pretended, just a look at the town.

XXVIII. But when he approached the walls the inhabitants hospitably brought out to him a present of tunny-fish broiled in pans: for though they were the last of the Ichthyophagi, yet they were the first of them they had met who did not eat fish raw; and they brought also little cakes and dates. He told them that he accepted their gifts with much pleasure, but wished to have a look at their town, and they accordingly gave him leave to enter. But when he was within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the postern by which they had entered, while he himself, with two others and an interpreter, mounting to the top of the wall, made thence a signal to Archias and his men, for it had been arranged that the one party should make a signal, and the other, on seeing it, execute the given orders. Now the Macedonians, when they saw the signal, at once ran their ships ashore and quickly jumped into the sea; while the barbarians, alarmed at these movements, ran to arms. The interpreter thereupon who was with Nearchus ordered them to give provisions to the army if they wished to save their town. But they said they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers who attended on Nearchus kept them in check by shooting down arrows upon them from above. When they came to know, however, that their town was already occupied, and could in a short time be pillaged, they then entreated Nearchus to take the corn they had, and go off without destroying the town. But Nearchus orders Archias to take
possession of the gates and the adjacent parts of the wall, while he himself despatches men to
look after the grain, and see whether the people would show it without any attempt at evasion.
And they showed a great quantity of flour made
by grinding roasted fish, and also a little wheat
and barley, for they dieted upon fish, to which they
added wheaten leaves by way of a relish. But
when they showed their stores the soldiers sup-
plied themselves therefrom. They then returned
to the ships, put out to sea, and cast anchor
near a promontory which the people of the place
considered sacred to the Sun, and the name of
which was Bagia.

XXIX. They set sail from this place about
midnight, and after a voyage of 1000 stadia
put into Talmena, where they found a har-
bour with good anchorage. They sailed thence
to Canasis, a deserted town 400 stadia off,
where they discover an artificial well, and where
palms were growing wild. These they cut down,
and used the pith as food, since provisions were
short in the fleet; and being now sore pinched
with hunger they sailed all day and all night,
and then drop anchor off a desolate coast. But
Nearchus, fearing lest the men, if they landed,
would in despair desert the fleet, ordered the
ships to be moored at a distance from shore.
From this they sailed away and reached Ca-
nate, when they anchor, after making 850 stadia.
This place has a spacious beach and some
small canals. They sailed again, and having
made 800 stadia reach Troes, where they an-
chor. They found in the place some miserable
little villages. The inhabitants deserted their
huts, and the soldiers found a little food and dates
of the palm-tree. Seven camels had been left
behind, which they killed for food. Launching
again about the dawn of day, they made
300 stadia, and come to anchor at Dagasira.
The people thereabouts were nomads. Putting
again to sea, they sailed all night and all day
without taking any rest. Having thus accom-
plished a voyage of 1100 stadia, they left behind
them the shores of the Ichthyophagi, where
they suffered greatly from the want of necessary
food. They did not anchor on the beach, on
account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out
in deep water. The length of the voyage along
the coast of the Ichthyophagi was not much
short of 10,000 stadia. These Ichthyophagi
subsist on what their name is derived from,—fish.

Yet only a few of them fish out in the deep,
for boats to do it with are scarce, and the art of
fishing is unknown. Generally speaking, they
are indebted for their fish to the ebb-tide. To
take advantage of it, they make for themselves
nets which are mostly two stadia in length.
These they weave from the bark of the palm-tree,
twisting the fibres like flax. Now when the
sea retires from the land, the parts left dry
are generally found to be without fish, while
the hollows, which of course retain some water,
swarm with them. The fish are generally
small, though some are of considerable size:
these they catch with their nets. The more
delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they
are taken out of the water, but the large and
coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when
sufficiently dried grind into a sort of flour, from
which they make bread. They bake also cakes
from this flour. The cattle, as well as the men,
eat the dry fish, for there are no meadows in the
country, nor grass at all. But in many parts
they fish also for crabs and oysters and mussels.
Natural salt is found in the land * * * from these
they make oil. Some of the tribes inhabit deso-
late tracts which are so utterly sterile that they
bear neither trees nor even wild fruits. These
poor wretches have nothing but fish to live on.
A few of them, however, sow some part of their
land, and use the produce to eat for rest along
with their fish, which forms the staple of their
diet. The better classes build houses of whale-
bone, which they collect from the carcasses of
whales cast ashore, and use instead of wood.
The doors are formed of the broadest bones they
can find. The poorer members, who form the
great majority of the population, construct their
houses with the backbones of fish.

XXX. Whales of vast size frequent the outer
ocean, and other fish larger than those kinds
which are found in the Mediterranean Sea.
Nearchus gives this relation: when they were
bearing away from Cyiza, the water of the
sea was seen one morning about dawn blown
up into the air as if forced up by a violent gust
of wind; being greatly alarmed, they asked
the pilots the nature and cause of this pheno-
menon, when it was explained that the whales
in swimming through the sea spout up the
water into the air; on hearing this the rowers,
through terror, let the oars drop from their
hands, but he himself coming up to the men
allayed their fears and reanimated their courage, and then gave orders that the prows of such ships as were sailing near him should be turned towards the point of danger, as in a sea-fight, while the rowers should at the same time raise the battle-crie, and swell the sound by pulling quick strokes as noisily as possible. The men, thus emboldened, sailed as they were directed, when the signal agreed on was given, and when they were now nearing the monstrous creatures they shouted as loud as they could bawl, and blew the trumpets, and made all the noise they could with the oars in rowing; the whales, accordingly, which were seen near the prows of the ships, being terror-struck, dived down into the abyss, and then soon after rose again to the surface, emerging behind the fleet, all the while spouting up the waters most lustily. There was great exultation among the men at their unexpected deliverance, and Nearchus was praised for his boldness and presence of mind. He adds that whales are sometimes stranded on many parts of the coast where the ebb-tide leaves them in shallow water, preventing their escape; but that some are also forcibly cast out on land by violent storms, and so perish and rot away, till their flesh gradually drops off, and leaves the bones bare, which are applied to building purposes. Their larger ribs make suitable bearing-beams for houses, while the smaller ones serve for rafters; and as for the jaw-bones, doors are made of them, as they are often found so big as to measure five-and-twenty cubits.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the coast of the Ichthyophagi they hear a report about an island which is distant from the mainland about 100 stadia and uninhabited. The people in the parts about said that it was sacred to the Sun and called Nosala, but that no one was willing to go to the island and land on it, and that whoever was unaware carried it was never more seen. But Nearchus mentions that one small boat belonging to his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the commanding officers thereupon declared that they had disappeared, because they had landed on the island in ignorance of the danger of so doing. Nearchus, however, dispatches a galley of thirty oars to sail round the island, ordering the men not to land upon the island, but to sail as close by the shore as they could, and to call out to the men, shouting aloud the name of the steersman or any one else they chanced to remember. Nearchus then tells us that, as no one answered to their call, he sailed to the island and compelled the sailors, much against their will, to land, and that he landed himself, and proved that the story about the island was an empty myth. He states also that he heard another story about the island.—It had been at one time the abode of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who approached the island, when she changed him from a man to a fish and then cast him into the sea. The Sun, however, being displeased with the Nereid, ordered her to remove from the island, and she agreed to do so, but begged to be cured of her malady, and the Sun granted her request. Thereupon she took pity on the men whom she had changed to fish, and changed them again from fish into men, and from these men the race of the Ichthyophagi descended in unbroken succession down to the time of Alexander. Now Nearchus, to my thinking deserves no credit for expending so much time and talent in proving the falsehood of these stories, which is no hard thing to do, aware as I am what a sorry task it is to select old-world stories for the purpose of refuting them.

XXXII. Beyond the Ichthyophagi, in the interior, the Gedrosians inhabit a region which is a baleful desert of sand. Here the army of Alexander, and Alexander himself, suffered many hardships, as has been already related in my other narrative. But when the expedition reached the first port in Carmania, after leaving the Ichthyophagi, they rode at anchor out at sea, when they moored for the first time in Carmania; because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Therefore they no longer sailed as before, towards the setting sun, but the prows were pointed rather to the north-west. Carmania is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country of the Ichthyophagi and the Ortes, and is more grassy and better supplied with water. They anchor next at Bados, a place in Carmania, with inhabitants, where grew many sorts of cultivated trees, though not the olive, and where also the vine thrived well and corn was
produced. Sailing thence they ran a course of 800 stadia, and anchor off a barren coast, whence they descried a headland projecting far out into the sea. The extreme point of this seemed to be about a day's sail off. Those who knew these parts said that this cape belonged to Arabia and was called Maeca, whence cinnamon and similar products are exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now riding at anchor, and from the headland which they saw right opposite projecting into the sea, the Gulf (in my opinion, which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the Erythrean Sea. Now when they saw this headland, Onesicritus, the chief pilot, advised that they should direct their course towards it, so that they might not be exposed to hardships in making their way along the Gulf; but Nearchus replied that Nearchus had but little sense if he did not know for what object Alexander had despatched the expedition: for he had not sent it because it would be impossible for him to preserve the army if the whole of it marched by land, but because he wished them to examine the shores which the ships would visit in the course of the voyage, and the harbours also, and the islets, and to sail round the coast of any bay that might be discovered, and to ascertain how many seaport towns there were, and whether any parts were fertile, or any desert. They ought not, therefore, to lose sight of this object, considering that they were now near the end of their toils, and especially that they were no longer ill provided for the voyage. He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the south, lest they should find the country there a mere desert, without water, and scorched with a blazing sun. This argument prevailed, and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the expedition, for by all accounts that headland and the regions adjacent are desert and without water.

XXXIII. So then they quitted that shore and kept sailing close to land, and after they had made about 700 stadia they came to anchor on another shore called Neoctana, and towards morning they put again to sea, and after sailing 100 stadia anchor at the mouth of the river Anamis. The surrounding country was called Harmonia. It was a charming place, and bore every product except only the olive. Here they disembarked and gladly reposed from their manifold toils, bethinking them of what they had suffered at sea, and on the coasts of the Ichthyophagi, and recalling the utter sterility of the region, and how savage the inhabitants were, and the straits to which they had themselves been reduced. And some of them, leaving the shore, advanced into the interior, straggling from the main body, in search of one of this thing and another of that, when lo! a stranger appeared in view wearing a Grecian mantle and dressed in other respects as a Greek, and who spoke, the Greek tongue. Those who met him declared that on first seeing him they actually wept, so strange did it appear to them, after so many sufferings, to see once more a man from Greece, and to hear the speech of Greece. They asked him whence he came, and who he was. He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army and Alexander himself were not far off. This man they lead with shouts of exultation to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he told everything, and reported that the army and the king were a five days' march distant from the sea. He stated also that he would introduce the governor of the district to Nearchus, and he introduces him accordingly. And Nearchus consults with him how he can go up to meet the king. Then, before setting out, he returned to the fleet, and next morning ordered the ships to be hauled up on the beach, partly that such as were damaged might be repaired, and partly as he thought of leaving here the greater part of his squadron. He therefore fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with a rampart of earth, and a deep trench extending from the banks of the river to that part of the beach where the ships had been hauled up.

XXXIV. But while Nearchus was making all these arrangements, the governor having learned that Alexander was very anxious about the fate of this expedition, made no doubt that he would receive some great boon from Alexander should he be the first to bring him the news that the fleet was safe, and that Nearchus would soon appear in person before him. Accordingly he rode off by the shortest route, and announces to Alexander that Nearchus is on his way from the ships. Then Alexander, though he doubted the report, naturally enough rejoiced to hear such tidings; but as day after day passed
by *without bringing* Nearchus, and Alexander, on comparing the time since the news was brought, no longer thought the tidings credible, while those that were sent out one after another to the rescue of Nearchus, after going a short distance and finding nothing, had returned without news, and those who had gone further and had missed Nearchus and his companions had not yet returned, then Alexander, forsooth, orders the man to be put under arrest, on the ground that he had brought baseless intelligence, and raised joyful hopes only to disappoint them. But Alexander, as his looks evidently showed, was struck to the heart with great sorrow. In the mean time, however, some of those who had been despatched in search of Nearchus, taking with them horses and wagons for the conveyance of himself and his escort, fell in on the way with him and Archias and five or six others, for he had taken so many to accompany him. And when they met the band they recognized neither Nearchus himself nor Archias, so much changed did they appear: for their hair had grown long, they were filthy, and all over encrusted with brine, shrivelled in body and sallow in complexion from want of sleep and other severe hardships. But when they asked where Alexander was, they replied, giving the name of the place. But Archias, perceiving who they were, says to Nearchus, "I fancy, Nearchus, these men are riding through the desert by the same road as ourselves, for no other reason than that they have been sent in search of us. True, they did not know us, but that does not at all surprise me, for we are such miserable-looking objects that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they are travelling this way." Nearchus thought there was reason in what he said. So they asked the men whither they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. Then he said, "Here is your man! I am Nearchus, and this is Archias. But do you be our guides, and we will give Alexander all the news about the expedition."

XXXV. So, having mounted the party on the wagons, they ride back the *way they came*, and some of them, wishing to be beforehand in carrying the tidings, run on before and tell Alexander that the man they sought for—Nearchus—and with him Archias and five others, are being brought on to him; but about the expedition generally they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that while those who were coming had been in some extraordinary way saved, all the rest of the expedition had perished, did not so much feel joy at the safety of Nearchus as he was afflicted to think of the total loss of the expedition. Before all the inquiries had yet been made, both Nearchus and Archias were seen approaching. But Alexander had great difficulty in recognizing them, and as he saw them long-haired and dressed in miserable rags his grief was the more vehement for his lost fleet. At length, grasping Nearchus by the hand and leading him apart both from his attendants and his guards, he gave way to a long fit of weeping. At last after a long time, having recovered himself, he said, "Ah, well! since you have returned to me safe, and Archias here along with you, that should be to me some consolation after the loss of all; but tell me now in what manner the ships and the troops on board perished."—"O king!" he replied, "the ships are safe, and the troops also, and we have come in person to report their safety." Alexander now wept all the more as the safety of the squadron was unlooked for, and then inquired where the ships were detained. "They are hauled up," he replied, "for repairs, on the beach of the river Aenymis." Then Alexander swears by Zeus of the Greeks and Ammon of the Libyans that in all sincerity he rejoices more at these tidings than in being the master of all Asia, since his grief for the loss of the expedition (had it happened) would have counterbalanced all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. But the governor, whom Alexander had arrested for bringing idle news, seeing Nearchus present, falls down at his knees and says, "I am the man who announced to Alexander that you had arrived safe. You see how I am situated." Nearchus thereupon entreated Alexander to let the man go, and he is let go accordingly. Then Alexander presents thank-offerings for the safety of the expedition to Zeus the saviour, and Heracles, and Apollo the avenger of evil, and Poseidon, and all the other sea-deities, and he celebrated a contest in gymnastics and music, and conducted a solemn procession. A foremost place in the procession was assigned to Nearchus, who was
pelted by the army with fillets and flowers. When, the king had brought all these demonstrations to an end, he says to Nearchus, "I wish you not, Nearchus, to incur again any risk of your life, or to be exposed to hardships, and some other officer will conduct the expedition from this to Susa." But Nearchus answered and said, "I wish, O king! in all things to obey you, and it is only my duty; but if you wish to do me any favour, pray do not so, but permit me to lead the expedition all throughout, until I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be that while the difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise has been entrusted to me, the easy part which fame is now ready to crown, is taken from me and given into the hands of another." Alexander stops him while he is still speaking, and acknowledged the debt of gratitude which he owed him. And so he sends him down to the coast, giving him but a small escort, as one whose road would be through a friendly country. But neither was his march to the sea made without toil and trouble, any more than the former march: for the barbarians, having mastered from all the parts around, possessed themselves of all the strongholds in Carmania, which they did because their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and the polemarchs, who had but recently succeeded, had not yet secured his authority. And so they had to fight twice or thrice the same day, with successive bands of barbarians who came suddenly in view. And thus, without any respite from fighting, with pain and difficulty, they reached the coast in safety. Nearchus there and then offers a sacrifice to Zeus the saviour, and celebrates a nautical contest.

XXXVII. But when the religious ceremonies had been duly performed they put out again to sea, and after coasting along a desolate and rocky island anchor on the shores of another island, a large one with inhabitants, and distant 300 stadia from the last port. The desert island was called Oragna, and the island where they anchored Oara: it produced vines and palm trees and corn. The length of the island is 800 stadia, and the chief of the island, Mazaris, sailed along with them to Susa, having volunteered to be pilot of the fleet. In this island they professed to point out the tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, and said that his name was Erythros, from whom the sea receiving its name was called the Erythrian. Weighing anchor they sailed along the shores of the same island and anchor on it again, and desery another island distant from this large one about 40 stadia. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon and inaccessible. Next morning they were putting out to sea, when the ebb-tide caught them with such violence that three of the ships were stranded on the beach, while the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the surf into deep water. But the stranded vessels were floated off at the return of the tide, and on the second day put into the port where all the other ships had anchored. This was in another island, distant from the mainland somewhere about 300 stadia, which they had reached after sailing 400 stadia. They departed thence towards morning, passing a desert island which lay on their left. It was called Pylon, and they drop anchor off Sisipheus, which was a mere hamlet, and could supply nothing but water and fish. The people subsisted on fish, for the barrenness of the soil left them no choice of diet. After taking water on board they bore away, and after running 300 stadia anchor at Tarso, which is a projecting headland. They touch next at Cyma, an island both bare and flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The distance run was 300 stadia. To this island every year sheep and goats are sent by the neighbouring tribes as sacred offerings to Hermes and Aphrodite, and these were to be seen running about in a wild state—the effect of time and the barrenness of the land.

XXXVIII. Up to this point they were in Carmania, and the realms beyond belonged to the Persians. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast was 3700 stadia. The people live after the manner of the Persians, who are their next neighbours, and their military system is quite similar. Weighing anchor they bore away from this sacred island, and now sailed along the coast of Persis, and first drew to land at a place called Ita, where there is a harbour in a small and desolate island known by the name of Cypreander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards morning they reached another island, which proved to be inhabited, and there dropped anchor. Here, as Nearchus tells us, pearls are fished for, just as in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the ex-
treme part of this island for a distance of about 40 stadia, they anchored upon it. The next place where they cast anchor was near a lofty mountain (called Ochus), in a secure haven. The inhabitants of the place were fishermen. And sailing thence, after running 450 stadia they anchor at Apostana. Many boats were riding there at anchor, and there was a village at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea. Having left this place during the night, they sail into a bay where the shores were studded with numerous villages. The distance they had run was 400 stadia. They moored at the base of a hill where palm-trees grew, and all kinds of fruit-trees which are found in Greece. Launching then they sail along the coast somewhere about 600 stadia and reach Gogana, an inhabited part, where they anchor at the mouth of a mountain-stream swollen with rain, called Aeon. Anchoring there proved a matter of some difficulty, for the passage by which the mouth of the river is entered is a narrow one, the tide at ebb leaving shallows in every direction. They left this and anchor next at the mouth of another river, after a long run of 800 stadia. The name of the river was Sitacus. Here also they found it difficult to anchor. Indeed, the whole of this voyage along the coast of Persia was amid shoals and shallows and breakers. There they take on board a large stock of provisions, which had been sent thither by order of the king to victual the fleet. They remained in this place one and twenty days in all, and having hauled up on shore such of the ships as had been damaged, they repaired them, and the others they put into proper trim.

XXXIX. Sailing thence they came to Hieratis, a place containing inhabitants. The distance they had made was 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal filled with water, which was drawn from a river and flowed into the sea, and which was called Heratemis. But at sunrise they sail away and come at length to a mountain-stream called Padagon. Here the entire district formed a peninsula. In this there were many gardens wherein grew all manner of fruit-trees. The name of the place was Mesambria. But launching from Mesambria and making about 200 stadia, they come to anchor at Taöce, on the river Granis. Inland from this place lay the royal city of the Persians, situated at a distance of 200 stadia from the mouth of the river. Nearchus relates that on the way a whale had been seen cast up on the strand. Some of the sailors rowing up to it took its measure, and reported that it was fifty cubits long, that its skin was armed with scales about the thickness of a cubit, and that great quantities of shells and sea-weeds were clinging to it. He states also that dolphins were to be seen in great numbers swimming around the whole, which were larger than the dolphins of the Mediterranean Sea. After leaving this they put into the Rogonis, a mountain-stream swollen by rain, where they anchor in an excellent haven. The distance they had sailed was 200 stadia. Having sailed thence and run 400 stadia, they bivouac on the banks of another torrent, which bore the name of Brizana. Here they found difficulty in anchoring, because there were shoals and breakers and sunken rocks which showed their ridges above the surf. They succeeded, however, in anchoring when the tide was full, though the ships were left high and dry when it ebbed again. But with next high-water they sailed out and anchored in the stream. The name of this river was the Oroatis, the greatest of all the rivers, as Nearchus tells us, which he found in the course of this voyage falling into the outer ocean.

XL. Up to this point the inhabitants were Persians; beyond it Susians. Beyond the Susians, dwells an independent tribe called the Uxii, whom I have described in my other narrative as freebooters. The length of the voyage along the shores of Persia was 4400 stadia. According to general report, Persia has three different climates, for that part of it which is formed by the peopleed district lying along the Erythraean Sea is sandy and barren on account of the heat; while the part beyond this enjoys a delightful temperature, as the mountains there stretch towards the pole and the north wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears the vine, which is widely cultivated, and all fruits except the olive, while it blooms with all manner of pleasure-gardens and parks, and is traversed by clear streams and studded with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of aquatic birds in endless variety; and it is also a good country for horses, and affords
pasturage to these and other beasts of burden, while it is also everywhere well-wooded, and abounds with wild animals. The part, however, which lies still farther to the north is said to be bleak and cold and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea having gone a very little way met Alexander going on to Persis, who was surprised at seeing them, when they explained to him how short the road was. I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians; just as the Mardians, who are a set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossans to the Medes. And all these tribes Alexander subdued, falling upon them in the winter-time, when they considered their dominions were inaccessible; and he founded cities with a view to wean them from roving habits and attract them to the plough and agricultural life, and put rulers over them to deter them from inflicting injuries on each other. The fleet sailed away from the Oretis, and so left behind the dominions of the Susians. The rest of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot describe with such minuteness as before, for he has nothing to record but the names of the havens at which they touched, and the length of the voyage from one of them to another: for the land along the coast was covered with shoal-water and the surf extended far out to sea, rendering it a dangerous matter to seek the shore for anchorage, so that the rest of the voyage lay mainly in the open sea. They sailed away, he also tells us, from the mouth of a certain river where they had landed, and bivouacked on the borders of Persis, taking there on board a supply of water to last for five days, as the pilots informed them that no water would be found on the way.

XLII. After having sailed on for 500 stadia, they drop anchor at the mouth of an estuary which abounded with fish, the name of which was Cataerbis, having an islet lying at its mouth called Margastana. They sailed from this at dawn of day, with the ships in single file through shallow water. The existence of the shoal was indicated by stakes fastened on this side and on that, in the same way as signposts are exhibited in the isthmus between the island of Leucadia and Acarnania, to warn seafarers against running their ships aground on the shoals. But the shoals of Leucadia are sandy, and on that account stranded vessels can be readily floated again. In the present case, however, there was mud both deep and tenacious on both sides of the passage, so that if vessels were once stranded they were hopelessly lost: for it was of no avail to thrust poles into the mud to move them away, nor could the men jump out and push them into navigable water, for they would themselves sink in the mud up to the very waist. Having thus with great difficulty made their way for 600 stadia, they came to anchor, each crew remaining in its own ship, and then thought of dining. But during the night and all the next day, even till eventide, they were sailing in deep water, and completed a course of 900 stadia, anchoring at the mouth of the Euphrates near a village in Babylonia, called Diriidotis, which was the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant products of Arabia. The distance from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, as Nearchus gives it, is 3300 stadia.

XLII. Here word is brought that Alexander was marching towards Susa; so they sailed back from this place to join him by sailing up the Pasitigris; and they sailed back, with Susis on their left hand, along the shores of the lake into which the river Tigris empties itself, which, flowing from Armenia and passing the city of Nineveh —so great and flourishing in the olden times—encloses a region between itself and the Euphrates, which is on that account called Mesopotamia. The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia. This was at a point where a village belonging to Susa is situated called Aginis, the same being 500 stadia distant from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susis to the mouth of the Pasitigris is 2000 stadia. They sailed thence up the Pasitigris through a well-peopled and fertile country, and having proceeded 150 stadia drop anchor, and there wait the return of messengers whom Nearchus had despatched to find out where the king was. Nearchus then sacrificed to the gods who had preserved their lives, and celebrated games, and great was the rejoicing of all who
belonged to the expedition. When word was brought back that Alexander was approaching, they sailed again up the river, and anchor in the neighbourhood of the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited, when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the safety of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was pelted with flowers and fillets. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden crowns.—Nearchus on account of the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Orytæ and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had started from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythrean Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phoenicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. But Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythrean Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some casual seafarers. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyses which escaped from Egypt and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy the son of Lagus to Seleucus Nicator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on camels going at full speed, while they carried water with them on camels travelling only by night, for by day the heat was so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond this region, which we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythrean Sea, from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover, men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt, after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had shipped lasted them, and no further. But those adventurers whom Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythrean Sea, with a view to explore the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states was seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Carmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by a sea-route or a land-route, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, having set out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian.
Some months ago Ráosáheb Gopalji G. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector, Bharuch, sent me impressions of two copper-plates, of which he had obtained the temporary loan, when visiting on his official tour the ancient town of Káví, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the river Mahí. He informed me that, besides the two specimens sent, there were several other grants in the possession of the Kapila Brahman of that town. I soon ascertained that one of the impressions had been taken from the second half of a grant issued by king Jayabháta of the Gurjara dynasty, the father of Śrimat Dadá or Dadá, whose grants have been deciphered by Professors Dowson and Bheidpárkar; while the second showed the well-known genealogy of the Chálukya kings of Añhilapáthaka or Añhilvád-Páthán. As shortly afterwards I was obliged to visit Ámod and Jambsáar in the course of my official tour, I used this opportunity for spending a day at Káví, and for looking personally after the plates and the antiquities of the place. After a considerable amount of palaver, and a certain show of resistance, which are de rigueur in dealings between inquisitive antiquarians and Orientals, the Bháttás of the Kapila Brahman allowed themselves to be persuaded by Ráosáheb Gopalji and myself to hand over five copper-plates, viz.:

1. The second half of a grant of Jayabháta of Bharuch.

2, 3, and 4. Three plates (the second of which is inscribed on both sides) with a grant of a Ráshtrakúta king, called Govinda-rája.

5. A grant of one of the Chálukya kings of Añhilvád-Páthán, probably of Abhaya-pála.

The history of these plates is stated to be as follows:—Five or six hundred years ago a small fándk, or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gangesvara Mahádeva at Káví was cleansed, and, among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Muslim rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhá, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gangáságar in Bengal, and took away two of the plates. The others remained in Káví.

A few years ago, when a late Munsíff of Jambsáar and Ráosáheb Mohanlál Rapohhhodás, Deputy Educational Inspector of Surat, visited the town, some of them were lent to the former gentleman, and were forwarded for inspection to Mr. Justice Newton.

The plates are now held in great reverence. Their possessors refuse to sell them at any price. But it would seem that formerly they were not esteemed so highly. For No. 2 has lost a large circular piece out of the centre, which, the owners say, was cut out in order to mend a copper pot that had lost its bottom. The Kapilas suppose that all the plates were issued by a king called Múnj or Unja, who, according to their tradition, was cured of leprosy by bathing in the water of the Pátála Gangá, raised by their heros eponýmos Kapila, and that they contain something in their favour. In confirmation of their statement they appeal to their Mādhāmya, which celebrates the glories of the Kapila Káshtra, the coast between the Narmadá and the Maháságar. The latter work, of which I got the loan for a few hours, confirms, however, a portion of their story only. It describes the foundation of the Kapila caste by the Rishi, who is said to have assembled two thousand learned followers of each of the four Vedás, and to have thus established a new caste. It also contains the story of the raising of the water of the Pátála Gangá, which is said to have been brought to the Rishi in a small cup by the king of the Nágas, and afterwards to have increased through the power of Kapila's tapas. It finally mentions that by its means a king was cured of leprosy; but his name appears to have been Karkataka (or something like it, the MS. being nearly illegible in the passage), and there is no mention of his having granted Śásanas to the Kapila community. The sequel will show

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* Written in June 1875.
† From Ráosáheb Mohanlál's statements I gather that No. 2 and 3 only were produced and sent to Bombay. They are the least interesting and worst preserved pieces in the collection. No. 2 bears traces of having had the letters filled in with ink to make them more legible.
that the contents of the inscriptions are still more than the Māhātmya at variance with the tradition current in our day.

I.—The Grant of Jayabhata.

The plate recording a grant of J a y a b h a t a contains, as stated above, its second half only. Originally it measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that the latter have assumed a nearly semicircular shape. The losses, unfortunately, fall chiefly on the unimportant honorific epithets of the grantor, and on the well-known verses from the Mahābhārata which pronounce blessings on those who give lands, and curses on those who resume them. It is, however, to be regretted that the date, the name of the writer, and the signature of the grantor have suffered mutilation. The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 112th lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.

The letters resemble both those of the grants of the later Valabhi kings, e.g. Dharasena IV, and of the Gurjara plates published by Professors Dowson and Bhaṇḍārkar. With the former they agree in the prevalence of round strokes instead of angular ones, and in the size of the letters. They bear a resemblance to the latter in many details, viz. in the immoderate length of the nāṭras in the superscribed e, ai, o, and au, which curl over three and even four aksharas; in the shape of the initial i, which consists of two little united semicircles with the open end turned downwards and two dots below; in the peculiar way in which the ri is attached to the horizontal stroke of the letter k, instead of to the vertical one; in the exclusive use of the form oc for the uncombined l; and in the peculiar forms of the letters used in the grantor’s signature, regarding which more will be said below. They are distinguished from the cognate plates

by the extreme slovenliness of the execution, which, especially towards the end, makes the work of deciphering very troublesome; by a peculiar form of the letter l (Γ), which occurs in the word anvito (l. 3), mātt (l. 3), pattā (l. 11), and by the modern form of n in the groups nā & nā in gavaḥ (l. 10) and in pannā (l. 12). The disregard displayed by the engraver of the rules of Sanskrit grammar is as profound in this plate as in all other Gurjara śāsanas.

In spite of its mutilated state, J a y a b h a t a’s grant is one of the most important inscriptions which have turned up of late: for, besides giving authentic information regarding the second chief of the Gurjara dynasty known to us, it connects the history of the Gurjara kingdom with that of V a l a b h i; it contains most interesting geographical information; it goes far to discredit the speculations regarding the origin of the era of Vikramaditya, which of late have obtained the sanction of some of the most eminent antiquarians, and it affords an important contribution towards the history of the Indian alphabets.

As regards the first point, there can be, I think, no reasonable doubt that the grantor, J a y a b h a t a, belonged to the Gurjara dynasty, which ruled over Bharuch during the 5th century after Christ. For the two Gurjara grants of D a d d a published by Professor Dowson, as well as the grant published by Professor Bhaṇḍārkar, and a new grant of the same king discovered lately by the Rev. J. Taylor at Umētā, in the Khēḍ Zillā, || all state that D a d d a or D a d d a I was succeeded by J a y a b h a t a, whose son was D a d d a or D a d d a II, the grantor of the four śāsanas. If, therefore, in the Bharuch districts a grant is found which shows the name J a y a b h a t a, a strong presumption arises that it belongs to the father of D a d d a II, even though its genealogical portion may be missing. To this conclusion point also several other circumstances. Firstly, J a y a b h a t a’s grant shows several of the phrases which are peculiar to those of Dadda, e.g. puryayasanobhīdiridhayc (l. 9), utsarpanāthātan (l. 11), aṣṭāvaliśarvapalādaśīrūmāth (l. 18). The fragment of the śloka yūṃha dattāni puruṣa nare .

|| The Umētā Śāsana, which nearly literally agrees with Professor Bhaṇḍārkar’s Illo plate, has considerable interest, as it is apparently the prototype of a forged Valabhi grant ascribed to D h a r a s e n ṛ, the son of Dharasema, which is preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.
(1. 22) allows us to conclude that it contained the reading \textit{narendrāvidānī dharmāryagyaśa-ksarāś}, and agreed thus with \textit{D ad d a's plates}, while it differed from the version of the Valabhi plates, \textit{yastha dārīdṛaghyanārendrāvidānī dharmāryagyaśa-ksarāś}. It also shows, like the other Bharuch grants, in the second half-verse of this skōla the incorrect reading \textit{nirbuktama-ḍayā}, instead of \textit{nirāmalyaśaṇa}.

Secondly, \textit{Jaya bhāṭa}, the grantor of the \textit{Kāvi} plate, shows that, like the two \textit{Dadaś}, held his dominions under a supreme ruler, and not as an independent king. In Professor Dowson's plates \textit{Dada II} does not call himself Mahārāja, but simply states that he had received the five great \textit{śabdas} or titles. On Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's and the Umetā plates, which are considerably later than the former two, \textit{Dada II} assumes the title Mahārāja, but retains the epithet \textit{adhiyagatapanchamahāśabda}. Many years ago Bāl Gangādār Śāstrī already observed that this epithet is used only by dependent chiefs, not by lords paramount. As far as my knowledge of inscriptions goes, he is right. It would also seem from the manner in which the term \textit{mahāśabda} is used in the \textit{Edhatarangini}, e.g. IV. 143-44, IV. 684, that it meant not simply 'great title,' but 'title of a great court official,' and could therefore not be applied with propriety to an independent sovereign. In the case of \textit{Dada I}, the first ruler of the family, it is even more evident that he was nothing but a \textit{Thākūr}. For in Professor Dowson's plates he is simply called Śāmanta, 'the feudal chief,' and in the other plates he receives no epithet at all beyond the customary Śrī or Śrāmat, 'the illustrious.' On the Kāvi plate \textit{Jaya bhāṭa} gives to himself the epithets \textit{cama-dhigatapanchamahāśabda} and \textit{mahādānavantādhikapati}, 'the lord of the great feudal chiefs,' which proves that his position was not different from that of \textit{Dada I} and \textit{Dada II}.

Thirdly, it seems that Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's grant, as well as the Umetā plates, con-
tain an allusion to the war with the Lord of Valabhi which is mentioned in our grant. For in the description of Jaya bhāṭa's virtues the first grant calls him (according to Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's corrected reading) \textit{jayoindhikirta ubhayataparavādhaśaṇakalekdvīraḥkṣanikakā-}

\textit{dnapraśvaparvottadivasībhramayunasa-}

\textit{mahāḥ; which compound Professor Bhāṇḍārkar renders by 'who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty, realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters.' This translation is in the main correct, though a various reading given by the Umetā grant makes the connexion of the parts of the compound clearer.}

Now it is said of a ruler of Bharuch that he made expeditions on \textit{both shores of the sea}, the obvious interpretation is that he fought on the eastern and western shores of the Gulf of Cambay. But that is just what the \textit{Kāvi} plate alleges \textit{Jaya bhāṭa} to have done, when it is stated that 'he quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi.'

If it is thus evident that the \textit{Jaya bhāṭa} of Dada's grants and of the \textit{Kāvi} plate are one and the same person, it follows that the date given in the latter cannot be referred to the same era as those of the former. Dada's plates are dated \textit{Sahatsara 385, 385} (Dowson), \textit{Saka-ripakālā Sahatsara 400} (Umetā), \textit{Saka-ripakālā Sahatsara 417} (Bhāṇḍārkar).

Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has shown that the \textit{Sakripakālā} of his plate is the Śaka or Śālivāhana era, which begins 758-9 a.d., and that Professor Dowson's dates have to be referred to the same era. Now as \textit{Jaya bhāṭa}, the father of Dada, dates his grant in Sahatsara 486, it is evident that he used some era which begins earlier than the Śālivāhana Śaka. It appears, therefore, natural to assume that the Vikrama era is meant, and this conjecture is, as Professor Bāpudeva Śāstrī of Banaras informs me, confirmed by the astronomical data contained in the grant, viz. the statement that Āshādha Śudi 10

\textit{jayoindhikirta ubhayataparavādhaśaṇakalekdvīraḥkṣanikakā-}

\textit{dnapraśvaparvottadivasībhramayunasa-mahāḥ; the exact translation of the compound would be 'who made an ocean of, t.e. possessed in the highest degree, the auspicious qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters, that roam in the jungles on both shores (of the ocean) and are engaged in shielding copious streams of icoh.' The king's resemblance to the elephants consists in his 'roaming on both shores of the ocean,' and in his \textit{dāna}, which word, as Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has pointed out, contains the usual pun.
of 486 fell on Sunday, and that on that day the
sun entered the sign of Karkata.† Professor
Bāpūdeva states that the grant must have been
issued on July 10, 429 A.D. This result agrees
perfectly with what we know of the time of
Dādā II. For as the earliest grant of the
latter is dated Śaka 330, or 458-9 A.D., the inten-
val between this and the date 429 in his father’s
grant is by no means too long.

The discovery of a grant older than the year
445 A.D. and dated in the Vikrama era is fatal
to the theory, now held by some Orientalists,
that the Vikrama era is (sit venia verbo) a
forgery, and has been invented after the battle
of Korur,§ by a Vikramadītya who wished to add
the glories of a more ancient hero to his
own. I, for my part, must confess that I have
never doubted that the Vikrama era, which
begins 57 B.C., was really established by a king
of that name who lived before the beginning of
the Christian era, though I do not think that
any reliance can be placed on the legends told
by the Hindus regarding him, or on the modern
attempts at reconstructing the history of his
times. As regards the use of his era, Dr. Bhāū
Dāji’s statement, that it does not occur before
the tenth century, is certainly erroneous. One
of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates|| of the eighth centu-
ry is dated both in it and in the Śālivāhana
Śaka, and the Pāṭhaṇ inscriptions of Saṅvat
802,‡ recording the accession of Vanaṇāja, can
be referred to no other era.*

The geographical data of Jayabhāṣṭā’s inscrip-
tions are as interesting as the chronological
ones. As in the case of Professor Bhāpūdeva’s
grant, it is possible to identify almost all the
villages mentioned. The village of Kēmaṇja
is the present Kīmūj or Kimaj.† Straight to the
west from Kimaj at a distance of five or six hun-
dred yards there is the temple of Aṣamēvar,
the Āśramaṇdeva of our grant. The present
temple is a small brick building erected a few
years ago; but it contains an ancient Linga, and
near it to the east are an old well and a
depression in the ground which looks like the
remnant of a small tank. To the west of the
village lies Sigam, or Sīgam, the Sīhuṛgaṇa
of the grant; towards the south-west there is
the village of Jāmādi,† called also Sāmaṇḍi,
which corresponds to Jambhā; and to the north
we have the ruins of Golel (on the Tri-
gonometrical map erroneously called Gabol),
the Goliavali of our plate. Chhirakaha is
not to be traced. Solapura Sagarī occupies
the position assigned to it.§ The old roads
mentioned in the grant, or rather their represen-
tatives (for every monsoon effaces them com-
pletely), still exist, and it is not difficult
to find the limits of the field assigned to the
temple in the Śasana. Golel, which has been
described as old, is in favour of Degām, as well as Kavi, Rūṇā, and
and four other villages show remnants of ancient
brick works of a very peculiar construction.
These structures, whose distinguishing marks
are double front-walls adorned with fighting lions
and elephants, and with peacocks in chunam
relieves, further attest the great age of the
villages. The people ascribe them to the king
Maṇj or Munja, who has been mentioned
above. The whole district abounds in ancient
temples, lingas, and mārtis, and would, I think,
repay a visit of our Archaeological Surveyor.||

Jayabhāṣṭa’s grant shows, also, that the whole
of the coast country up to the Mahī belonged
to the dominions of the Gūrjaras, and that the
northern part of the Bharuch Zillā,
probably comprising the tālukās of Bharuch, Vā-

dlāmimeness: possibly, however, it may be a copy of
an older one; but if a copy, may the mode of dating not
possibly be an interpolation? — Ed.
† The first form occurs on the maps, the second I heard
used by the villagers themselves. On an old Pali inscription
situated in the north of the village on the road to Golel, it is
called Kemaṇa.
† Jana-di consists of Jambhā (with assimilation of mabh)
Jāma, and with lengthening to compensate for the loss
of the second m = Jāma and the diminutive suffix it = Samsa-
krit it or ita.
§ See the accompanying map.
|| Besides Kāvī and its neighbourhood, the Jaina ruins of
Gandhar, as well as Chānuḍa and Bān, the
ancient seats of the Vādava Thākura, and Sajđa near
Hānsot, are well worth a visit if the visitor is prepared
to spend some money on excavations.
grā, Ámod, and Jambūsar, were included in the Bharukachchha Vishaya, just as the southern Ankulēvara or Akrūresvara Vishaya comprised the talukā of Anklesvar together with the Peṭṭa Mahāl Hāmsott (Hamsapattaka?).

The last point which requires attention is the sign-manual of king Jayabhata. Any casual examiner will observe that it contains four letters which are nearly pure Devanāgari, viz. the double ma in मां, the syllable स्त्र, and the letter या. It is also very remarkable that the horizontal strokes over the remaining letters of the sign-manual are unusually long. If Jayabhata's grant alone showed these peculiarities, they might be used as an argument against its genuineness, or they would, at all events, be difficult to explain. Fortunately this is, however, not the case. Professor Dowson's grant of 383 shows in the sign-manual three times a form of श्र which is exactly the same as that now used in Mārād, and the नो in Śrīvātārāgānaḥ resembles exactly the Devanāgari form now in use (नो). Again, in Professor Dowson's plate of 383 the श्र न and यa of śrīvātārāgānaḥ come also nearer to the Devanāgari than to the forms of the so-called cave-characters. Further, in the Umetā grant the sign-manual is as below:—

and exhibits a large number of perfectly and imperfectly formed Devanāgari letters, as well as the horizontal and vertical strokes which are characteristic of that alphabet.

The same peculiarity may also be observed in the Kāvi grant of the Rāṣṭakūṭa king Govindaśāya, dated 827–28 A.D. and translated below, where the sign-manual is engraved with a stylus, while the body of the grant has been punched in as usual. There also the letters of the signature are highly ornamented half-formed Devanāgari, and about twice the size of the letters of the grant.

These facts, I think, suffice to prove two things:—firstly, that the engravers of the plates tried to imitate the signatures of the kings which they had before them in the written documents which they copied; and, secondly, that already, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., an alphabet resembling the present Devanāgari, and based like it on the principle of fitting the old cave-characters between horizontal and vertical lines was used for the purposes of everyday life.

There are other points, such as the existence of a few inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries written in Devanāgari characters, which make it very probable that the alphabet now in general use throughout the greater part of India is much older than is commonly supposed. But the subject is too important to be treated incidentally, and I must reserve its fuller consideration for another opportunity. For the present I only wish to draw the attention of Sanskritists to this point.

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1. [Sanskrit text]
2. [Sanskrit text]
3. [Sanskrit text]
4. [Sanskrit text]
5. [Sanskrit text]
6. [Sanskrit text]

There are two Devanāgari inscriptions dated in Sāvat (Vikrama) 802 under the images of Umūr-Maheśvara and Gopāpatī at Anhilvād-Pāthān, and Major Watson has found a third, dated Sāvat 900, on a Pāliā at Waghel.

* In line 1 read गातिः 1. 3—कुक्तकालकाल; दोषकाल: 1. 5—लोक 1. 6—सामिन्त, युंह, तोष्ण।—स्थि uncertain.
Translation.

(His son is) the Lord of the great feudal chiefs, the illustrious Jāyambhatāṭa... who (is covered) with showers of pearls fallen from the split temples of the elephants (of his enemies)... whose uplifted right arm trembles in battle... who like a lotus-pool many tens of thousands of opened... who resembles the (full) moon since he is master of the multitude of all the fine arts (kālā), just as the full moon includes all the digits (kālā), but is not affected by any blemish,—who resembles the ocean since he protects the crowd of hostile kings (vipakshabhaṅghṛīt), just as the ocean received the multitude of wingless mountains (vipakshabhaṅghṛīt),—who resembles Krishṇa,
since he destroys his enemies with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle array (śudarṣanachakra), just as Krishṇa slew his foes with his war-disc Sudārṣana (śudarṣanachakra), but has not a black heart (kichhānavabāhāvā),—who resembles Śiva, since he is covered with a great quantity of ornaments (bhūtinichaya), just as Śiva is covered with a great quantity of ashes (bhūtinichaya)... —who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (alpakāra), just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (alpakāra) still causes the people to salute... || who by the edge of

† In 1. 7 read—स्वयंप्राप्तिः करोधः सुकृतः करितः देविः चतुर्वृत्तिः। 1. 8—नमोः। 1. 9—प्रितसः। 1. 10—पद्यसंगीतः। 1. 11—पानिकसाक्ष्यः। 1. 12—वर्णस्रव्यः। 1. 13—केमुखः। 1. 14—साहित्यः। 1. 15—प्रसः। 1. 16—प्रसः। 1. 17—वास्तवः। 1. 18—प्रसः। 1. 19—तथाः। 1. 20—विनयायनसः। 1. 21—मुनिः। 1. 22—विनयायनसः।

† The lower part of the mark for b 400 is broken off. I owe its restoration to Mr. Bhagvānīlā Mādhavī, who has lately found it on a Viṣṇu plate.

§ i.e., when they have made their submission.

|| This refers to the Hindu custom of saluting the new moon on its first appearance.
his sword quieted in battle the impetuousity of the lord of Vālaḥā, who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving (them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowd of the wives of the gods, whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest-jewels of a hundred princes, (and) who has obtained the five great titles.†

(He being) in good health addresses these commands to all kings, feudal chiefs, governors of provinces, governors of zillâs, chiefs of tâlukas and villages, (his) officials and (all) others:

Be it known unto you that, in order to increase the fame and the spiritual merit of my parents and of my own self in this world and in the next, I have given, (confirming the gift) by a libation of water, on the tenth day of the bright half of Ashadhá, when the sun entered the sign of the Scorpion on an auspicious day, to the worshipful Ášramadeva, established in the village of Kemaaju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps, of a perpetual musical service, of the cleaning of the temple, and of the repairs of its broken, rent, and fallen (portions), of new works, of painting (it), and the like, a piece of land measuring fifty navartanas and situated on the south-western boundary, in the village of Kemaaju, included in the province of Harukachchhâ, as a gift to the gods—this field being marked by the following four boundaries:—to the east by the road leading to Chhirakâhâ, to the south by the extremity of the territory of Jambhâ, to the west by the road from Jambhâ to Golivarî, to the north by the road to Silhgrâma and the well near the Vâd tree—according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground of and the clefts therein, together with its ... together with its green and dry produce, together with its income in grain and gold, together with its ten faults, together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom,

† Regarding the correct interpretation of the word sakhâdva see above.

† In the Gújara inscriptions the vishayapati are always placed before vishayapati,—contrary to the practice of other grants. The vishayapati in Gújara must be a larger territory than the vishayapati.

† Several eminent Sástris whom I have lately consulted regarding the term sadasapatâdha have independently arrived at the conclusion that the ten faults refer to the ten actions about land possible under the Sástric system. I had made the same conjecture.

†† I now translate the word chhâta by 'irregular soldiers.'
THE NITIMANJARI OF DYÁ DVIVEDA.
BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

At a time when both in Europe and in India much attention is paid to the study of the Vedas, a short account of the Nitimanjari, composed by Dyá Dviveda, may not be altogether void of interest, the more so because MSS. of it appear to be rare,* and because the title describes the contents of the work very vaguely and imperfectly. The Nitimanjari is a collection of moral maxims in verse which differs from similar collections in this, that the maxims propounded in it are in every case illustrated by some story told or alluded to in the Rigveda. Indra’s battles with the demons, the many legends told about the Asvins and Ribhus, the prayers addressed to the rising sun, interest the author only in so far as they appear to him to inculcate some moral truth,—that the wicked are sure to meet with punishment, that kindness towards all beings is the true sign of nobility, that father and mother should be honoured, &c. &c. For illustrations of such maxims he has searched through the whole of the Rigveda, and in making the Vedic legends serve his purpose he has shown no small amount of ingenuity.†

The Nitimanjari contains about 200 verses; it is divided into eight chapters, each of which contains those verses of which the illustrations are taken from the corresponding Ashtakas of the Rigveda. The whole is accompanied by a commentary, which not only explains the original verses, but also cites the Vedic passages referred to in the latter and comments on them at great length. Both the text and commentary are composed by Dyá Dviveda, the son of Lakshmīdhara, grandson of Atri, and great-grandson of Mukunda Dviveda. Nothing certain is known to me regarding his age, but as in the interpretation of the Vedic verses cited by him he closely follows and often copies the commentary of Sāyanāchārya, it is clear that he cannot be older than the latter. The large number of Vedic and other writings quoted by him to give his work at first sight some appearance of originality, which it loses as soon as one discovers that in this, as in everything else, the author has simply followed Śāyana. The only work of which he does cite long passages that are not to be found in Sāyana’s commentary is the Brihaddevatā, a fact from which a future editor of the latter may be able to derive some advantage.

On the whole, the Nitimanjari, together with its Bhāṣya, appears to me to be of little value, and not to deserve a complete edition. To give the reader some idea of the way in which the author has accomplished his task, I publish, below, the verses contained in the first chapter. They are generally so simple and easy to understand that an English translation would be superfluous; but in order to show at once what Vedic passages are alluded to, I have quoted under each verse the verse or verses of the Rigveda on which the author professes to have based each maxim.

* The only copy which has ever reached Europe is, if I am not mistaken, in the possession of Prof. M. Müller. One copy I bought some years ago and a few others are mentioned in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. that have lately been published in India.

† It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Homeric poems have been treated similarly by the Greeks. Ansampos is said to have been the first who maintained that Homer was the author of his poems and that they were composed in three parts. See Bernard’s History of Greek Literature, vol. I, p. 66.

† In the commentary on the first chapter the author quotes the following:—Anakamant, Āśāyana-sūtra, an Upanishad, Riglakshana or Vaidikalakshana of Śaṅkara (Rigveda-parásākhyas), Rigvedasūtra of Śaṅkara, Kanzhitakāra, and grīhyasūtra, Tāvāyana, Paścāvatā, Śrīmān, and Śrīrahava. (Rv. I, 1, 5.)
सोमसुमनः इत्यरुः आहर्य
कुर्यानिनो अंि सेवापि धन्यो भवान्ति सोमसुमति।
द्रेा-मंगलालिकः साविकार्यमुपलूभाज्यः सुन्मतः।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 18, 1.)

यात्रा सुपाहनिनिन्धः भवानीवाहर
पन्नोरापि विखर्यले सुपाहि करोति यथा।
मेधानिन्धिव यदाहिताष्ट्रस्य मेधानि भवस्ति।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 51, 1.)

निम्नमुहादितां स्तुवः
स इदाराधिकं दानं यो वर्यामिकृतः पुमानः।
द्रा अदाधिया पुरुः सुन्मव समवाहे।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 51, 13.)

नृणा दृवं धन्यो महानिन्धिनां
नृणो दृवं धन्यो इत्युत्तितः प्रभासेऽ
मुस्माह विक्रियाम् सचो नाहिने हृद्यटाने।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 53, 1.)

किमेष्टि मनवि भवानीवाहर
देवा राजस्ति किम् यथा स्वातिकम् न मन।
रास्तेऽद्रा अमलाणोण्युः।तद्युत्तवेः।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 54, 6.)

ह्रीरो रच्चस्य इत्याह
ह्रेभ्धे स्थाहब्धाच्छ अंि ह्रेछस्य करत्व यः।
पुरेन्। सूत्रेण्या सरल श्रेयं ह्रेब्धम्म॥१॥
(Rv. I, 61, 15.)

तत्वितपिष संसारोपम मुक्त्विः इत्याह
तत्वितपिष संसारे मुक्ती मृत्ति लोकमतः।
तत्वितया तमस्याचार्याधिक मात्र गाने।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 62, 3.)

महामृतो अध्यात्मिकाः
महामृतादिताः अंि करतः सर्वस्वर ग्रहः।
दशीको अध्यात्मिकाः।दश्युः तद्युपास्यभृत्य।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 84, 13.)

सतानुप्रकार यः समसुविक्षिणः
सतानुप्रकारहृ दानं यः समसुपरस्य भवेव।
मस्ततः समसुप्रक्षिप्ताः गोमतीस्य दुः दृः।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 85, 10.)

साधूर्वपुरुषमुक्ति व्राहस्याधिक
अतस्याधिक तुषान्ति प्राकाश्य वाच।।
द्रीवर्कृंदी मुख्यमय। हुः गत्तमहे दद।ऽ॥१॥
(Rv. I, 97, 1.)

† MS. शीमतपार्थिव। * MS. बजुड़ो। † MS. पुष्कर।
यादृच्छिकता: पिता तात्या: पुत्र इथाय
यादृच्छिकता भोग अनुभव तात्याय
अभिवाचन दातु: देवादेव सिद्धाय
(Vv. I, 116, 6.)

विद्युंत तुलुया वेदुध्याय भवनीयाय
वेदुध्याय बालि विद्युंत गुणयाय
अभिवाचन: कीर्ति कीवारामनवन्दिता:
(Vv. I, 116, 7.)

ह्रेष्ठतुर्भ मनो न कार्यायाय
ह्रेष्ठतुर्भ मनो: कार्य पुर्वता नाममहिनीयाया।
इत्यद्रो अभिवाचन: पुनुषु उपाध्यायमानयाय।
(Vv. I, 116, 8.)

यदि भाषा हिंदी श वादुर्याय
अय: सुक्ष्मने भाषा शब्दावली प्रायः।
अभिवाचन: तवारित मुख्यायत: कूष्ये निपातित।
(Vv. I, 116, 9.)

श्रुतिमूर्युके कृतो देवात्मायायाय
श्रुतिमूर्युके आचार: कृतीय अभूभावमिच्छाय।
नारे श्रुति-मलयायने करणं: करणाय सयोः।
(Vv. I, 116, 10.)

सन्त उपकारमित्ता इथाय
सन्त: पुभुलायाने नौकार स्वच्छता हि।
करणान्: प्राय: देवात्म्यायेमारणयाय।
(Vv. I, 116, 11 and 24.)

विषय देवायाय
शीर्षे देवो न करणं सहि विषयं दातु मुदूर्याय:।
देहङ्ग: मधुकुमारायं: तयाय वकता इथाय।
(Vv. I, 116, 12.)

रूपादित्यस्तक सकारायं भवनीयाय
रूपादित्यस्तक सकारायं मारणाय भवनीयाय।
विषये विविधायं: युवत्याः: व्यक्तामायायः।
(Vv. I, 116, 13 and 23.)

साधनो निजिप्रवाया: दयं भूसङ्गस्वायः
निजिप्रवाया सचेतु: दयं कुलमिन सचावः।
अभिवाचन: भारतीयाय वर्तिका भूमिका।
(Vv. I, 116, 14.)

† MS. यो श्रेष्ठ: ** MS. वुसानक: †† MS. देवारकासायः
†† MS. अय: ** MS. पार्वताय: †† MS. चुमा.
THE KA-THEORY AND Mr. BEAMES'S COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

SIR,—Will you be so good as to allow me space in your valuable journal to make a few remarks regarding one or two points raised by Mr. Beames in the second volume of his excellent Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, which I have read with much interest and profit. The second volume fully sustains the high reputation of the able author as a comparative philologist which he gained for himself by the first volume of his grammar. The arrangement and treatment of the subject are admirable. None but those who themselves pursue scientific inquiries in the isolation of an Indian station and under the pressure of official work can fully appreciate the difficulties of such a work under such circumstances.

On pp. 4-30 Mr. Beames discusses what he very happily calls the Ka-theory; namely, my theory of explaining the fact that of the Gaurian nouns which have a base in \( a \), some end in \( d \) (resp. \( o \) or \( au \)), others in \( a \) (resp. \( a \)), with the help of the (Prakrit) suffix \( ka \); holding that those bases which added \( ka \) form nouns in \( d \), while those which did not add that suffix form nouns in \( a \). Mr. Beames himself, I am glad to see, in the main agrees with this theory. But he thinks at the same time that that fact is capable of a different explanation, viz. by the theory that seytone bases form nouns in \( a \), while barytone bases form nouns in \( d \). This accent-theory is certainly the only other that deserves consideration, and cannot be disposed of merely by a sneer. To explain the fact by 'caprice' and 'lawless license' is clearly inadmissible.

I will briefly state the principal reasons why it appears to me the accent-theory fails satisfactorily to account for the facts of the ease. Firstly, it is extremely doubtful whether the old Aryan accent was at all any longer felt at such a late period as the 10th or 11th century A.D., about which time, I presume, we must place the commencement of the development of the modern dialects. The only accent whose influence at the present time is felt, and may be observed to affect the form of words, is the rhythmic accent; and I believe there is no reason to suppose that it was different at that earlier period when the modern dialects originated. But, however that may be, I do not think the evidence of the languages itself supports the accent-theory. If there are many seytone bases which form nouns in \( a \), and many oxytones that form nouns in \( d \), there are as many from which just the opposite conclusion might be drawn. Mr. Beames has collected a large number of examples bearing on this point, and he has marshalled them, with that great ability of arrangement which forms one of the charms of his book, in such a way as to lend the greatest possible support to the accent-theory. But, even under these favourable circumstances, it seems to me the theory, even on the ground. Let us

* MS. om. 5th.  † MS. कमालेश: कुलपितम.  ‡ MS. स्थवरी  § MS. कमालेश.
see. In the following remarks B means barytone, O oxytone, pro—examples making for the theory, con—those against it. On pp. 7, 8, there are quoted 23 B pro; on pp. 8, 9, are 17 O pro; on p. 10 are 11 O con; pp. 11, 12, are 7 O con; pp. 12, 13, are 5 B con, 8 O pro, 1 O con; on p. 14 are 8 O con; p. 15, 2 B con; pp. 15, 16, 4 O con; pp. 16, 17, 11 B pro, and again 9 B pro; on p. 18 only one example of the infinitive is quoted, because they are too numerous to cite all; they are all and every one con; but I will content myself with counting only as many as instances pro are quoted on pp. 16, 17, that is, 20 B con, on p. 21 are 6 O con, 2 B pro, and 1 B pro; p. 22 are 6 O con, 2 O pro, 1 B pro; pp. 23, 24, are 3 B pro, 1 O pro, 6 O con, and again 3 O pro; on p. 25 there are 6 examples: of these one is a tateEMA, another does not occur in Hindi, and of the remaining two 1 is B pro and 1 B con; on p. 26 are 2 B con, 2 B pro, 4 O con, 1 O pro. Now adding up these examples, it will be seen that they are altogether 168, among which there are 83 (i.e. 51 B and 34 O) which make for the accent-theory, and 83 (i.e. 30 B and 53 O) which make against it. Mr. Beames himself says that his rule does not apply to TATEEMA: hence, strictly, about 166 examples ought to be excluded (e.g. vish, p. 8; dipy, p. 9, unless this is a misprint for dipy; samay, kray, avery, p. 10; katin, p. 13; jahan, kanin, supan, darpan, p. 16; jahan, brohka, rashan, endu, p. 17, &c.). But as they are about equally (93 pro, 75 con) divided for and against, this slight inaccuracy may be passed over as not affecting the general result. The latter is that as many instances (83) may be cited against the accent-theory as there are in support of it (83). There is no reason to suppose that any more extended collection of examples would alter this result materially; for all practical purposes Mr. Beames's collection of examples is quite sufficient, and it is a perfectly fair one. But I may be allowed to point out that so far I have confined myself to a consideration of Hindi alone: if I had taken into the range of the present examination the other GauRian languages too (Marathi especially), the result would have gone (as Mr. Beames himself seems to feel, see p. 9) still more decidedly against the accent-theory. But even taking the result as we have found it above,—unless it can be accounted for in some way—it is, to my mind, fatal to that theory; for it is founded on an induction which is not only partial, because it only includes about 50 per cent. of phenomena, but one-sided, because it has the other 50 per cent. directly against itself. Mr. Beames indeed makes an attempt to account for this adverse result; but I think on recon-

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* The examples quoted on pp. 16, 17, and the infinitives, have alike, according to Mr. Beames's theory, bases in deration he will see that his explanation involves a petitio principii. For example, on p. 10 a list of eleven words is given which, being oxytones, ought to terminate in d; but in reality they end in a, as if they were barytones. Mr. Beames accounts for this failure of the accent-theory by the conjecture "that though the learned accentuated the last syllable of stems of this small class, the masses did not at any time observe this distinction, but treated them as barytones." But what ground is there for this supposition? Is it not merely the fact that those words end in a instead of d? That is, the fact of their ending in a is explained by their being supposed to have been used as barytones, and the supposition of their having been thus used is based on the fact of their ending in a.

Thirdly, all words formed with the suffix aska have the heavy termination d (p. 29). The ka-theory explains their termination and that of the previously considered words by the same phonetic process; whereas, if the accent-theory be accepted, two different causes must be assumed to account for an identical result. This offends against the logical rule of economy. For example, from the stem ghOJAKa is derived in Hindi ghoJ, and from the stem aska (oxytone) the Hindi word aska; according to the accent-theory the identical Hindl termination a is accounted for by ghOJAKa ending in ka and aska being oxytone; the ka-theory, on the other hand, derives aska not directly from the stem aska, but from the— as regards meaning—identical stem aska, and thus accounts for the identical termination d by an identical cause, viz. both ghOJAKa and aska ending in ka.

Fourthly, even if it be allowed that the accent-theory accounts for the difference of some nouns ending in d, and others in a, it affords no help—so far as I can see—towards understanding the origin of the termination of the oblique form of GauRian nouns in d (i.e. Hindl d or e; Marathi ya or re, &c.). On the other hand I contend that the ka-theory explains both. I cannot ask for space to prove this here, and therefore must refer to my Essays (IV, V.) in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. But, if my contention is well founded, this is clearly another point in favour of the ka-theory.

But I am confronted with the demand, "If all nouns might and did take this ka, why do not all nouns of the a stem end in a? Why do some end in a (pp. 30-32)?" I admit the question is legitimate. It cannot be ascribed to 'caprice.' There must be a reason for it, as for everything else in the world. But I do not see that this question, whether or not it can be answered, affects at all the truth of the ka-theory. I suppose it will
be admitted that whether or not the Ka-theory be true, it at least easily and naturally explains all the phenomena of the case; i.e., that if we assume that, for some reason or other—whatever it may have been—the suffix ka (though it might have been added to any noun, yet as a matter of fact) was only added to one class of nouns and not added to another class, then the former would naturally end in a, and the latter in i; if, I say, this is so, why should the Ka-theory be questioned merely because it may be impossible to ascertain the reason why in one case ka was added, but in another omitted? But in truth the question after this reason is one of historical import rather than of linguistic. Take an illustration. In the Saptakṣaṭaka the addition of ka to stems in a, i, u, is extremely common. Many words are found with stems ending in a, i, u, and as many ending in a, i, u; the former are explained by the so-called Ka-theory (see Weber, pp. 69, 82). But it may be asked, if ka can be added to any base in a, i, u, why did the author of the Saptakṣaṭaka add it in some words and omit it in others? What can I answer? He must have had some reason for his practice; but it is not likely that we shall discover it. But we do not make that a reason for doubting the claim of the Ka-theory to explain the difference between the words in a, i, u, and those in a, i, u. Now what is true in regard to the language of the author of the Saptakṣaṭaka, is equally true, on a larger scale, with regard to the language of the peoples of North India at the time when the modern vernaculars were formed. There must have been some reason for their using some words with ka, others without it; but what reason or reasons may have guided this 'popular selection,' possibly we may not be able to ascertain. My belief is that towards the end of the Prakṛti period, in the popular speech of the masses, the suffix ka could be, and was, sometimes added, sometimes not added, to any noun (in a, i, u) whatever; and that gradually (during the time the modern vernaculars were being slowly evolved), in the struggle for existence between the words, by a sort of popular selection, the conditions of which I do not pretend to know, some nouns became established in their ka-form, others in their simple form, while others again became fixed in both forms simultaneously. It should be remembered that this result is a fully established one only in the present literary languages. In the colloquial dialects (e.g. the eastern Low Hindi or Gāwhāri) even at the present day the limits of those three classes are not strictly defined. There you may hear, still now, the same noun (especially adjectives), which has become fixed in the literary language either in one class or the other, used by the common people sometimes with one termination, sometimes with the other. There is nothing strange in this view of the case. Exactly parallel cases have happened again and again in the history of language. I will only mention one, a well-established case—that of the Infinitive. The so-called Infinitive, it is now well known (see Max Müller, chap. IV, p. 30), is really the Dative (rarely the Locative) case of a verbal noun. From the Vedas it may be seen that in ancient Aryan times the dative of any kind of verbal noun might be, and was, used as an infinitive. But when we come down to Latin, we see that here one class of verbal nouns was so used (as those in us, like -ieve, Sanskrit ṣeive, while in Greek other classes were so employed; nay, in Greek itself we find one class of verbs using verbal nouns in mas (as ἀπειρον, Sanskrit dāmāna) for their infinitive, another class of verbal nouns in van (as εἶναι = εἶναι, aseire), a third class verbal nouns in an (as ἀρνεῖν = ἀρνεῖ, Sanskrit ṣāpāne), while another class still uses several of them simultaneously (as in Homer both ἔθους = ἔθους, with mas., and ἔτος = ἔτος, with van). It might be said, if any verbal noun could be, and was, originally used as the infinitive of any verb, why have not all verbs in Greek the same kind of infinitive? No doubt there was a reason for the difference; and if we knew all the circumstances under which the Greek language was evolved, perhaps we might be able to recognize the reason. But though we do not now know the reasons which guided the popular selection of infinitives for the different classes of verbs, we do not consider that want of knowledge a reason for rejecting the dative-theory of the infinitive. Analogously, our present want of knowledge of the reasons which guided the popular selection of the ka-form for one class of nouns, and the simple form for another class, does not appear to me to justify our rejecting the Ka-theory of the terminations of nouns. It might be suggested that the accent-theory, though it cannot account for the difference of termination, might explain the principle of choice in adding or omitting ka. I will not undertake to say absolutely that it does not do so; but, at least, it seems to me very doubtful. For, the same reasons which militate against the accent-theory as explaining the difference of termination are equally strong against its claim to explain the choice of ka for one class of nouns in preference to another class.

This explanation has run to a much greater length than I had expected. But I hope I may be allowed to add a few remarks with regard to another difficulty, viz., the proper derivation of the infinitives in ad (na-ko). On p. 19 Mr. Beames
Can we prove the existence of such a double form? Here, I think, lies the other difficulty. Mr. Beames says (p. 18), "in old Hindi the infinitive of this class ends always (the italics are mine) in the short vowel." But is it so? Is it always so? If it is so, it would put us all I fear, into very great straits as to explaining the modern form at all. The work, then, which lies before us is to see whether evidences of the existence of such a double form of the infinitive as I have indicated cannot be discovered in medieval literature. I do not despair yet of our finding the necessary evidence; though, not having the needful means with me here, I cannot just now contribute to the search. But even seeing that all, or almost all, extant medieval literature consists of poetry, which would naturally prefer the use of the weak infinitival form, even if the unfortunate case should happen that no evidence of the existence of a double form is forthcoming, still I think we should be driven, by the necessities of the case, to assume the existence, in the common speech of the people, of some such intermediate form as could be phonetically the parent of the modern infinitival form. In any case, whether or not evidence of a double medieval form be found, the theory which derives the infinitive from a verbal noun in anśya stands an equal chance with that which derives it from a verbal noun in ana, even barring all other considerations which make in favour of my theory and against the alternative one.

Only one word more. It might be said that, supposing two forms did exist in medieval times, and admitting that one of these forms was either karaṇam or karaṇinām, still it is easier to derive phonetically the undoubtedly existing form karaṇa from a Sanskrit or Prakrit original karaṇam than from karaṇyangam; and if so it is simpler to consider the verbal nouns in ana to have been the originals of all medieval and modern forms of the infinitive. I admit the derivation would be easier—at least so far as regards forms like karaṇa—and there would be no reason to look for any other, if there were no other considerations which, on the whole, in my opinion, far outweigh that one consideration. Into these I cannot enter now; they are discussed in my 4th Essay (Journ. Beng. As. Soc.). They have reference chiefly to the difficulty of the final syllable-en becoming an (or en), to the existence of simultaneous infinitive-forms in an, and to the various gerundial meanings of the so-called Infinitive. But, further, there is not wanting direct evidence that the affix anśya may become curtailed into an in the modern languages. For example, I suppose it will not be denied that in such words as pānapatr (drinking-
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

vessel), pd̐nshakka (water-mill), the element pd̐n (or pan) is a corruption of the Sanskrit pd̐nya (water).

So, again, in Hindi such simultaneous forms as dharanakṣa and dharanekṣa are very common. It will not be disputed that dharas and dharane must be the same word, and have the same derivation, whatever that be. If so, dharana is but a corruption of dharane; and if there is, phonetically, no objection to dharana being a contraction of Sanskrit dharanyasa and Prakrit dharaste or dharanria, there can be no objection to dharas being a corruption of dharanyasa through the intermediate form (dharanria or dharana); and so in the case of all infinitives in an.

A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

Donington, 15th January 1876.

THE QUR'AN.

Could any of your readers supply information on the following points ?—

1. When, and by whom, were the chapters (ṣūra) of the Qur'an arranged in their present order ?

The edition now chiefly used throughout the Muhammadan world is the one that was prepared by Zayd bin Thābit, during the Khalifate of Othmān, and under his orders; and the arrangement, referred to in my inquiry, is commonly regarded as the work of Abu Bigar, the first of the Khalifs. But is this explanation a satisfactory one to the more enlightened of the Moslems ?

2. Is it possible to arrive at a sound conclusion as to what was the principle which regulated that arrangement of the ṣūras which was eventually adopted ?

Why the portion which was ' delivered' first in the order of time, viz. some of the earlier verses of Sūra-e-Ālāk should have been put almost at the end of the book (chap. xxvi), and the sūra that was last in the order of time (viz. T anatomy, or, as some hold, MAIDRA) should be found almost at the beginning (chapters ix. and vii. respectively), is not at all apparent from anything in the subject-matter.

3. These same inquiries might be put in reference to the verses or texts (dyat).

This point seems the more important when we bear in mind that in the case of most of the chapters, the dyat first ' revealed' occurs, not at the beginning of the sūra, but somewhere in the body of it, and often far on.

4. Is it possible to decide when, and by whom, the vowel-pointing was done?

5. What is the ground of the Moham's objection to the Qur'an being edited with some regard to chronological order ?

An impartial reader, who atttends to the sense rather than to the cadence, is simply pallèd and distracted by the sheer absence of order; though he would fail discover something that should, instead, appeal to his sense of reverence. It is unfortunate when a book that demands credence succeeds in merely awakening criticism. One can hardly help surmising that if the Qur'an had been arranged on some principle tending to one uniform result—viz. the producing conviction—a different effect might have issued from reading it; and one would suppose that a man inspired of God with a revelation designed for the acceptance of all mankind, would himself have desired, above all things, that the revelation should be chronicled and handed on to posterity in exactly the order in which the Divine Being communicated it.

My points, however, are purely of a literary nature; and inasmuch as the same inquiries, if put in reference to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, could be readily answered, it seems only reasonable that they should, in the case of the Qur'an also, meet with some satisfactory response.

J. D. Bate.

Allahabad.

SANSKRIT MSS.

Rūm Rājendralāla Mitra saya that Sanskrit MSS. are mostly written on country paper sized with yellow arsenic and an emulsion of tamarind seeds, and then polished by rubbing with a couch-shell. A few are on white Kāsmīr paper, and some on palm-leaf. White arsenic is rarely used for the size, but he has seen a few codices sized with it, the mucilage employed in such cases being acacia gum. The surface of ordinary country paper being rough, a thick coating of size is necessary for easy writing, and the tamarind seed emulsion affords this admirably. The paper used for ordinary writing is sized with rice gruel, but such paper attracts damp and vermin of all kinds, and that great pest of literature, "the silver-fish," thrives luxuriantly on it. The object of the arsenic is to keep off this insect, and it serves the purpose most effectually. No insect or worm of any kind will attack arsenicated paper, and so far the MSS. are perfectly secure against its ravages. The superior appearance and cheapness of European paper has of late induced many persons to use it, instead of the country arsenicated paper, in writing pūsksa; but this is a great mistake, as the latter is not nearly so durable as the former, and is liable to be rapidly destroyed by insects. We cannot better illustrate this than by referring to some of the MSS. in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. There are among them several volumes written on foolis-

* For a discussion of this and other points, see the lives of Muhammad, by Sir W. Muir, Sprenger, and others.—Cg.
cap paper, which date from 1820 to 1830, and they already look decayed, mouldering, and touched in several places by silver-fish. Others on letter paper, which is thicker, larger, and stouter, are already so far injured that the ink has quite faded and become in many places illegible; whereas the MSS. which were originally copied on arsaciated paper for the College of Fort William in the first decade of this century are now quite as fresh as they were when first written. There are many MSS. in private collections which are much older and still quite as fresh. The ordinary yellow paper sold in the bazār is dyed with turmeric, and not at all proof against the attack of insects. The oldest MS. Bābū Rājendrānā. Mitra has examined is a copy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, bearing date Šahvat 1367, or A.D. 1310. It is consequently 565 years old. It is written on paper of very good quality. The oldest palm-leaf MS. seen bears date Šahvat 1189, or A.D. 1132; but such records are extremely rare, and the general run is from 150 to 250 years."

FROM THE XVIth CANTO OF THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.

By Prof. C. H. Towney, M.A.

Nor to act, nor to abstain, do those of devilish nature know,
Not one seed of truth or virtue in their stubborn breasts can grow;
Say they "Soul-less, unsubstantive is this world, a mere pretence,
Sprung without divine causation for the pleasure of the sense."

Clinging fast to this opinion, doltish, of perverted mind,
Still they practise evil actions for the ruin of mankind;
Harbouring lust that's never sated, full of folly, pride and guile,
Blindly nursing wrong conceptions, following courses that defile,
Hugging this supreme delusion, that death ends the spirit's stirrings,
Glorying in sensual pleasures, crying "Let us live our life."

Bound with hundred cords of longing, slaves of anger and desire,
Piling up ill-gotten riches, fuel for their passions' fire;
"This my object is attained now, this to-morrow I'll attain;
So much wealth I've heaped together, so much more I'll strive to gain."

"This foe, from my path I've swept him, others also I will slay;
I am king, and I'm enjoyer, wealthy, powerful, and gay,
High-born, evermore successful; who on earth can vie with me?
"I will offer, give, and squander." — Thus insanely they decree,
Lost in vain imaginations, as in folly's net they fell,
Clinging fast to foul indulgence, down they sink to murky hell.
Stiff-necked, self-esteeming madmen, swell'n with lawless pride of race
Offer they unholy offerings which shall turn unto a curse.

Self-conceit, and lust, and anger o'er their souls dominion claim,
Me they hate and torture present in their own and others' frame;
These I hold my bitterest foesmen, lowest in this circling world;
These by my almighty fiat into devilish wombs are hurled;
Born again in devilish natures, at each birth they downward tend,
Never finding me, till hopeless they to deepest gults descend.

Three-fold is the gate of Tartar, soul-destroying gate of woe,
Anger, lust, and greedy Tartar, all these three thou should'st forego,
He who shuns these three temptations, gloomy mouths of the abyss,
He achieves his own salvation, and attains to sovereign bliss.
He who scorcs the law of scripture, and is led by blind caprice,
Never shall behold perfection, heaven, nor the soul's release:
Then be thou by scripture guided, take it for thy rule of right,
Whate'er deed's enjoined by scripture, do that deed with all thy might.

— From Calcutta Review.

UNKNOWN GODS.

We worship the great gods and worship the small ones,
We worship the young gods and worship the old ones,
We worship all gods to the best of our power,
Nor may I forget to worship the gods of old times!

Ṛg-veda, I. 2-4.†

† From Baierlein's Land of the Tamilians, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.
ÁTMA BÓDHA PRAKÁŚIKA.

BY Rev. J. F. KEARNS, MISSIONARY, S.P.G., TANJORE.

Introduction.

THE Divine Sánkara Áchárya, a gracious teacher, desirous of imparting instruction, has composed the following work for the better confirmation and security of the excellent scholar of the three classes of Vedánta works; and also for the benefit of those who are unable to study those works for themselves—i.e. the unlearned. This work, entitled Soul-knowledge, contains the sum total of the Vedánta system.

ÁTMA BÓDHA PRAKÁŚIKA.

1. This Soul-knowledge is set forth as something worthy the consideration of (1) those whose sins have been expiated by austerities, (2) of those who are tranquil, (3) of those who are free from desire, and (4) of those who long for liberation.

2. Amongst the other means, knowledge† is manifestly the only means to intuitive liberation.

3. Ignorance is the product of former works, and it seeks removal through new works; therefore works are not inimical to it: but as mud cannot be washed away with mud, so no one can by works blot out work-ignorance.

4. The sun is separated from the clouds by an immense distance, and is immeasurably larger than the clouds, yet the clouds appear to envelope it. It is, however, only, in appearance that they do so: Frittjadih (the discursive and therefore imperfect knowledge which is brought about by the power of the mental faculties) is the cause of the soul—divided among many bodies—appearing as a manifold thing, and not as a single thing, i.e. Advaita.

Commentary.

1. The commentator finds in this sikhara the four adonae, or preliminary means of salvation.

2. The commentator remarks: "The four preliminary means are related to the attainment of beatitude in the same manner as fuel is to the cooking of food; whilst knowledge resembles fire, which is absolutely necessary thereto.

3. Ignorance is the product of former works, and it seeks removal through new works; therefore works are not inimical to it: but as mud cannot be washed away with mud, so no one can by works blot out work-ignorance.

4. The sun is separated from the clouds by an immense distance, and is immeasurably larger than the clouds, yet the clouds appear to envelope it. It is, however, only, in appearance that they do so: Frittjadih (the discursive and therefore imperfect knowledge which is brought about by the power of the mental faculties) is the cause of the soul—divided among many bodies—appearing as a manifold thing, and not as a single thing, i.e. Advaita.

5. The plant here named is in Tamil called Tetramaram, and the seed of it Tetram Kattai; the botanical name is that given in the translation. In Taylor's translation as rendered into French by Pauthier, it is called Konaka (Pandanus odoratissimus).

6. The Tamil commentary on Saptá Prakárana mentions eleven other passions into which the two
long as it (the dream) lasts, it (the dream, creation) appears real; when the dreamer awakens, however, it becomes but a phantom.

7. So long as the world appears a reality—like the silver thread in the oyster-shell—we cannot know Brahma as the All-pervading One, without a second.

8. The Supreme Lord is the base of all (matter), being the entire cause of the world, its origin, continuation, and dissolution; but only as the bubble in the water.

9. In the Sāchādītāman (the self which is Reality and Spirit) appears the imaginary, and all the various species and individual developments of the All-pervader in Eternity, but only as golden bracelets and jewels.

10. He, the guide of the organs of sense, like the ether entering various Upādhis, pervading all, appears in consequence of these differences as divided; but when these (differences) have ceased to exist He will be the undivided One.

11. In consequence of the variety of Upādhis, sex, name, condition, &c. &c. are ascribed to the absolute spirit, just as the varieties of taste, colour, &c. &c. are ascribed to water.

12. By the five-fold operation of the elements, through works (in the previous life guilty ones), the body was formed, and it is a dwelling-place for the enjoyment of pleasure and the endurance of pain.

13. The Śūkṣma-Sūrā (Sūkṣma-Sūrā) is undoubtedly formed of the five airs, mind, under-landing, and the ten organs—Hearing, Feeling, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling (as organs of intelligence), with Voice, Feeling, Motion, Excrement, and Genital (as organs of action); but with the five separated elements above described it has no connection. It is the organ of all sensations, agreeable and

Commentary.

principal ones, Desire and Aversion, are divided: so that in all there are thirteen, viz.—1. Rāja, desire (i.e. according to the commentary, illicit sexual love); 2. Deva, hatred; 3. Kāma, covetousness (i.e.—according to the commentary—after increase of children, friends, houses, lands, money, &c. &c.); 4. Krodha, anger; 5. Lobha, ambition; 6. Moha, passionate attachment; 7. Mota, arrogance (i.e.—according to the commentary—on the score of wealth, power, &c. &c.); 8. Mātasa, envy; 9. Ira, malicious exultation; 10. Arujj, desire to disparage others; 11. Dānha, vain ambition; 12. Dārpa, presumptuous pride; 13. Akhanda, egoism.

7. The white colour in the oyster-shell, at first sight, appears to be silver; on close inspection, however, we become conscious of the unreality. So, at first sight, the world appears a reality; but close investigation shows that it is utterly unreal, and, like the deceptive silver cord in the oyster-shell, clings to the highest spirit.

8. Bubbles, foam, billows, &c. &c., though apparently differing from water, are really not so; they are but water. As, therefore, water is their origin, &c. &c., so the Supreme Lord is the base of all (matter).

9. Bracelets, rings, and other jewels, though bearing distinct names, are not distinct from the gold of which they are made, but are contained in it. In like manner the varied species, and individual development of the All-pervader, reposes in the Sāchādītāman.

10. The commentator remarks: "As one ether pervades all things, and, entering various modifications—as air into vessels, houses, &c. &c.—appears thereby to be divided, but when these modifications—vessels, houses, &c. &c.—disappear, it is again one undivided whole: in like manner the One Spirit, pervading all things, appears, by entering various modifications—as, for instance, by entering this or that individual—to be divided (whereas it is not); for when these modifications disappear it becomes one undivided spirit."

11. The commentator remarks: "Water is naturally white and sweet (also really colourless and tasteless), but, modified by the admixture with it of various kinds of earth, it assumes—by way of accident—red, black, and other colours; salt, bitter, and other tastes. In like manner the Supreme Spirit is naturally without sex, name, or condition; but, modified by the three kinds of matter (see the following strophe), it acquires—by way of accident—sex, name, and condition."

12. The commentator remarks: "Panchākārama is the division of each of the five elements into five parts, and the reciprocal combination of them with one and other again." Each of the five elements (ether, air, fire, water, earth) is divided into halves, one of which is set aside, and the other half

* According to the Vaishānava philosophy there are three Sūrās, or corporeal forms: (i) the Kāraṇa Sūrā (corpus causans); (ii) the Śūkṣma Sūrā, the fine material body form; and (iii) the Śūlā Sūrā, the gross body, made up of the limbs which we perceive. The latter two are the

corpora causans. The Śūlā Sūrā perishes at death; but the Śūkṣma Sūrā, the immediate organ of the soul, is said to accompany it through all its transmigrations, and is capable of sensations of enjoyment and suffering. The corpus causans is the original type or embryo of the body as existing with the soul in its original state.
disagreeable; whilst the gross material body is the only seat of them.

14. Beginningless, Unconsciousness, the Individuality.

is divided into four parts, and these latter are combined with the halves of the elements previously set aside." The combination may be represented by describable is said to be causal—Upādhi. That, however, which is diverse from the third Upādhi (i.e. lies over beyond it), is known as the Ātman.

Commentary.

§ 14. In this manner, mind and the other faculties are produced, as set forth in the following chart:

Panchakāraṇa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soul</th>
<th>Mind</th>
<th>Intellect</th>
<th>Will</th>
<th>Individuality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ātma-Bodha Prakāśika</td>
<td>Wind pervading the body and distributing chyle.</td>
<td>Wind in the navel and causing hiccoughs.</td>
<td>Wind in the heart and causing respiration.</td>
<td>Wind which divides excretory matter; seated in the top of the head and flowing downwards.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hearing Sense</th>
<th>Feeling Sense</th>
<th>Fire. Seeing Sense</th>
<th>Tasting Sense</th>
<th>Smelling Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Tangibility</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Water. Savour</td>
<td>Odour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In like manner, proceeding as above, the following formations are obtained:

1. Ātma and Earth = Individuality, i.e., the saying "I."

2. Ātma and Water = Chitta or Will.

3. Ātma and Fire = Intellect.

4. Ātma and Wind = Mind (mena).

5. Pure Ātma = Ātakāraṇa (Internal Agency).

2—Wind and Earth = Wind in the intestines (is produced).

Wind and Water = Wind in the heart.

Wind and Fire = Wind in the navel.

Wind and Ātma = Wind in the throat.

3—Fire and Earth = Smelling Sense.

Fire and Water = Tasting Sense.

Fire and Wind = Feeling Sense.

Fire and Ātma = Hearing Sense.

4—Water and Earth = Odour.

Water and Fire = Form (Light).

Water and Wind = Tangibility or Palpability.

Water and Ātma = Voice or Sound.

5—Earth and Water = Excrement Organ (Anus).

Earth and Fire = Motion Organ.

Earth and Wind = Touch or Feeling Organ.

Earth and Ātma = Voice Organ.

Pure Earth = Genital Organs.

The various formations are arranged in families or classes, as follows, viz.:—

1. Ātma and Earth = Individuality, i.e., the saying "I."

2. Ātma and Water = Chitta or Will.

3. Ātma and Fire = Intellect.

4. Ātma and Wind = Mind (mena).

5. Pure Ātma = Ātakāraṇa (Internal Agency).

II. Wind Formation.

Mind.—Wind pervading the body, Feeling Sense. Tangibility, Feel Organ.

III. Fire Formation.

Intellect.—Wind in the navel, Seeing Sense, Form, Motion Organ.

IV. Water Formation.

Will.—Wind in the heart, Tasting Sense. Savour. Excremental Organ.

V. Earth Formation.

Individuality.—Wind in the intestines, Smelling Sense. Odour. Excremental Organ.

13. The commentator remarks—"The Soul for the perception of pleasure and pain, requires the above-mentioned seventeen principles—i.e. 1.

The five airs, Mind, Intellect; the five senses and the five organs." These constitute the fine material body: some, however, substitute Ahankara for Intellect. Elsewhere they are spoken of as the five gross elements, the twice five organs, the five airs, the four faculties—Mind, Intellect, Will, and Individuality: in all, twenty-four, and they constitute the gross material body: but omitting the five coarse elements (smell, light, palpability, sound, and taste) together with Will and Intellect, the remaining seventeen constitute the fine material body.

14. The "Causing-body form" bears this name because it serves as a cause or basis for each of the other body-forms. The commentator uses the word Māyā instead of "Unconsciousness" (that is,
15. The pure soul through its connexion with the five Köṣās, &c. &c. appears as though it partook of their form or nature,—in this, however, merely resembling the pure crystal in proximity with dark-coloured cloth.

16. The Ātman, the inner, the pure one, which is enclosed in those Köṣās, may be threshed out of them by philosophical study, like the rice-corn.

17. Ātman, although always All-pervading, does not shine forth in all. In the understanding, however, it is very manifest,—like the reflection of a mirror upon a pure surface.

18. Ātman may be considered as one who has no part in the nature of the body, senses, mind, or understanding; and yet, though distinct from them, he is always quietly overlooking their activity,—(in this) resembling a king.

19. To fools the Spirit appears to be active, when the senses only are really active: just as the moon appears to move when the clouds only are passing.

20. Through ignorance the quality and activity of the body and of the senses are attributed to the pure soul which is essence and spirit, just as blueness, &c. &c. is attributed to the aether.

21. In consequence of ignorance, form, activity, &c. &c. the essential Upādhi of the mind,—are copied by the soul; like the moon, in the water, partaking of the motion of the waves, &c. &c.

22. Inclination, desire, pleasure, pain, &c. &c. are intensified when Buddha is present (i.e. present in the waking state as well as in the dreaming state); but in the profound dreamless sleep when it (i.e. Buddha) exists not, these are not intensified. Therefore this is the property of Buddha, and not of the Ātman.

23. As brightness is inherent in the Sun, coolness in Water, and warmth in Fire in a natural manner: so existence, spirituality, bliss, and eternal purity belong to the soul (in a natural manner).

Commentary.

22. The commentator remarks: "The author in this strophe confuses the logic of the Atomic School, which considers desire, anger, pleasure, and pain, to be the natural conditions (Dharmas) of the Spirit."

23. Existence belongs to the soul because it stands the test of the three states (i.e. waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep). Spirituality belongs to it because that in those three states it recognizes objects which appear. Bliss is a peculiar rapture with freedom from all pain. Some, however, explain the last peculiarity thus, "Happiness belongs to the soul," because the soul is the object of pleasure. Eternity belongs to it, because it exists undivided through the three times. Others, however, claim this attribute for it because the soul does not enter into the four negative categories.

These are as follows:
1. That category according to which there was nothing prior = Pṛdayābhaṭa.
2. That category according to which something that was ceases to be = Pradānasadayābhaṭa.
3. That category according to which nothing was or shall be = Atjāntābhaṭa.
4. That category according to which something is a separate thing (from other things) = Anjónjabhaṭa.

† The soul is said to have five Köṣās, coverings or sheaths, e.g. (i) Ātmānāyaka Köṣa, or the covering of corporeal form which is supported by food; (ii) Prāthānāyaka Köṣa, the vital, external organs, or sphere of breathing; (iii) Manonāyaka Köṣa, the mental organs; (iv) Vijnānāyaka Köṣa, the organs of perception, with intellect; (v) Ānandāyaka, sphere of supreme happiness, unconscious of all but self.

†† Upādhi is the illusive form of Brahma within the world.

§ During life the soul is considered to occupy one or other of three states, i.e. waking, dreaming, and profound sleep. While awake, the soul, associated with the body, is active, and has to deal with a real creation; in the dreaming state an illusory world is created; but in the profound sleeping state the soul is absent, having retired by the channel of the arteries to the bosom of the Supreme.
24. Through want of discerning understanding, people connect the essential and spiritual, \textit{particula}, of the \textit{Atman}, with the Activity of the understanding,—these two into one,—and then are accustomed to say “I know.”

25. No change takes place in the Spirit (in consequence of Activity). In the understanding (by and for itself) there never is wisdom. (These two must not be confounded one with the other, for Wisdom belongs to Spirit, and intellectual activity to the understanding; the former is the Sun (by whose light the mental faculties work). The \textit{Jiva} (the reflex of the universal Spirit, in the single individual) foolishly says “I am the doer,” “I am the spectator,” whilst he acknowledges all the filth (i.e. the elementary mental faculties and the organs of sense, &c. &c. which perform that activity) as belonging to himself.

26. When one takes \textit{Jiva} for \textit{Atman}, in re-

24. The commentator remarks: “It may perhaps be objected, ‘How comes it that: when the soul is perfectly inattentive one ventures to say ‘I know’?” This objection the author here meets: \textit{e.g.} When the sunbeam and the burning-glass are brought in contact, fire arises; in like manner ignorance arises when the Spirit-reflex (which resembles the sunbeam) and the understanding (which resembles the burning-glass) are twisted into one, and in consequence of this ignorance it happens that the Living-Spirit is caught in such sayings as “I know.” When, however, the Spirit is separated from the activity of the understanding, no object appears, and it is then the Self recognizing itself, without activity.

25. The Tamil commentary, which reads \textit{ala, much,} instead of \textit{mala, dirt,} and joins the former word with \textit{muhjati}, gives the literal meaning of the strophe thus:—“Change (or activity) never (belongs) to the Spirit.” Wisdom never (belongs) to the understanding, nevertheless the Living-Spirit beguiles itself with the thought that it is “the doer,” “the spectator,” &c. &c.,—taking the totality of the mental faculties for itself.||

26. The commentator remarks: “This strophe shows that if the Spirit takes upon itself heterogeneous qualities—while imputing to itself (as in the preceding strophe) activity, which belongs only to the elementary mental faculties, senses and organs—it is preparing trouble for itself.”

27. Here the author points out why the Spirit is not recognized by means of the understanding, spectro of its nature, as a man might mistake a rope for a snake, he may well become fearful. If a man, however, knows “I am not \textit{Jiva}, but the Supreme Spirit,” he becomes free from fear.

27. The Spirit, the One, illuminates the senses, at whose head stands the understanding, &c. &c., just as a lamp illumines a vessel, &c. &c.; it, however, the self-essential-spirit, is not illumined by these gross (elementary formations).

28. As the self is essential knowledge, the soul requires the aid of no other knowledge to enable it to recognize its own proper knowledge: just as a flambeau, which is in itself a shining light, requires not the aid of another flambeau to render it visible.

29. Having by the aid of the words “It is not so, it is not so,” removed all the \textit{Up\ddh\textsc{is}}, one will easily recognize, by the aid of the “great saying,” the oneness of the (individual) living Spirit with the (Universal) Supreme Spirit.

Commentary.

the faculties and senses, although they are so closely allied with it.

28. The commentator remarks: “Here the author meets the objection arising from the latter part of the previous strophe, namely, ‘If the soul cannot be known by means of the mental faculties, &c. &c., how then shall it be recognized?”

29. The commentator includes the entire \textit{Up\ddh\textsc{is}} in Universal Knowledge and partial knowledge. He explains the words “It is not so,” by “it (the real substratum of the unreal world of phenomena) is without name and form.” The “great saying” is “\textit{Tat tvam asi},” \textit{i.e.} “Hoc (\textit{i.e.} Brahma) tu es.” If amongst a quantity of stones picked up there was a precious stone (discovered), perhaps then one would examine them all closely, and discover that they were not (all) precious stones. So here with reference to the Spirit which is associated with the various \textit{Up\ddh\textsc{is}} (the three-fold body-form) the Vedas explain that “these (phenomena) are not it,” and sets them aside. In this manner one learns to know the Spirit (by means of \textit{Sr\ddv\textsc{ana}}, hearing the Vedas). Now, although in everyday life, one attributes greatness and smallness to rivers and seas, in consequence of the peculiarities of the land, yet when one divests his ideas of these peculiarities, the entire water appears as one, and the idea of size (large and small) vanishes. So is it with Universal Knowledge; and the partial knowledge of the universal world, and the individual Living-soul: the difference between them exists only in the phenomena and habits of the

|| Dr. Grant observes here that Taylor doubted whether this strophe could be translated in a sensible manner; the doctor considers the Tamil commentary satisfactory.
30. The Body, &c. &c. is known to have arisen through ignorance, visible and transient as the bubble upon the water; that, however, which in this quality is free, is recognized saying "I (am) Brahma,"—as the Pure.

31. Because I am diverse from the Body, &c. &c., I am free from birth, old age, decay, death, &c. &c., and being independent of the senses I have no connexion with the (sense) things fashioned out of the Tattvātras or elementary Atoms, as sound, &c. &c.

32. Because I am without Manas (mind), pain, desire, aversion, and fear, &c. &c. do not affect me—according to the words of Revelation, (e. g.) "without life, without manas, pure," &c. &c.

33. I am without quality (Guna), without activity, eternal, without will or conception, without stain, without change, without form; for ever saved—pure.†

34. I am like the Ether, pervading all within and without, imperishable, in all alike-abiding, the perfect, the independent, unspotted, immoveable.

35. That (Being) which appears eternal, world, and not in the Supreme Spirit which is in the Susupti state. One may discover that by the "great saying" which removes all difference between the "thou" and the "that."

30. The commentator remarks: "Strophes from 15 to 30 treat of Śūdra, the hearing of the Vedas, as the first stage on the road to Salvation. The five following strophes treat of Manas, the meditating upon what has been heard, as the second stage on the road."

31. The commentator remarks: "These are deductions from the Vedas, which the scholar, who has studied the Vedas, has now thoroughly to think upon."

32. The commentator remarks: "According to the Vedas, the Soul does not possess Mind or any other faculty.† It is an Eternal blessed One—this is to be believed."

33. The commentator uses the plural of Viṣeṣa in a narrower sense, and then in a wider sense than Āvarana—two common artifices of Vedānta. According to it, Āvarana (concealing or covering) is the cause that after one has got rid of the duality in himself, it nevertheless again emerges, and he thus becomes at the same time a being who knows himself to be Brahma, and a being who is ignorant of it: Viṣeṣa—false appearance—brings, according to it, a divided (i.e. contradictory) knowledge into the waking and dreaming condition. On the other hand, according to others, Āvarana is the concealment of the true self, so that one takes the (elementary) categories for it, and Viṣeṣa is the state of pleasure in sensual things. Āvarana is more intellectual, and Viṣeṣa more ethical. Moreover, Āvarana is the anxiety which explains, "The Spirit does not appear to me;" and Viṣeṣa is the illusion which takes the individual living-self depending upon corporeity, for the true self. Finally Āvarana is the double error; the truth does not exist, it is invisible, and Viṣeṣa is the grief because "it has died in the river."

† "Do not say, 'Attributing qualities to the being void of qualities is equivalent to saying—a sterile mother.'

The qualities, mentioned by the excellent Vedas to the end that for the sake of obtaining the emancipation of this life the knowledge of Brahma may be brought about, are by no means qualities of Brahma, but the very substance of Brahma."—Kāraṇabhasāstra, Graul's Translation.
41. The flame of knowledge, which blazes forth when the contemplation is unceasingly rubbed upon the fuel of the Soul, consumes all the stubble of ignorance.

42. When, by means of knowledge, as by a ray of morning light, the full darkness has been dispelled, the Spirit shall shine forth of itself high, like the Sun.

43. The Spirit is always attainable, notwithstanding through ignorance it becomes unattainable; when this has been destroyed, it shall shine forth, from thence, attainable, like the (forgotten) jewel upon the neck.

44. The Jiva-Atma erroneously appears in the Brahma, just as (the form of) a man in a pillar of timber; when, however, the true form of the Jiva-Atma is understood, this (error) will vanish.

45. By the knowledge which springs from an experimental grasping of the Supreme substance, the ignorance which says “I” and “mine” is quickly dispelled; just as the rising sun removes embarrassments (with reference to the region of the heavens).

46. The Wise, having attained perfect discernment, perceives the totality of things to rest in himself, and with the eye of knowledge he perceives All as the one Self.

47. All this world is the Spirit, and distinct from the Spirit nothing exists; just as one knows that earthen pots, &c. &c. are (essentially) earth, so All is the essential Spirit.

48. He who knows this, is the Life-emancipated-self. He layeth the qualities of the former Upadhi altogether aside: and through the inner essence-spirit, &c. &c. he is a participator of the condition of Brahma:—like the bee, (which from being an insect at first) has arrived at what now it is.

49. Having crossed the sea of fascination, and having slain the giants “Inclination,” “Aversion,” &c. &c., the Wise shall forth, married to Tranquillity, delighting in the Spirit.

50. Extinguishing his inclination for external changeable pleasure, and securely reposing in Spirit-pleasure, (such a one) shall always shine forth clearly therein, like the light which stands in a vessel secure.

51. Although still involved in the Upadhi (i.e. corporeity), the Muni (i.e. wisdom-perfected sage) may remain uncontaminated by its natural qualities, (just like the ether, which, although it pervades the most unclean things, is nevertheless uncontaminated). And although he knows all, yet like a (disinterested) imbecile will he stand aside, and clinging (to no sensual thing) (he) passes through (them) like the wind.

Commentary.

41. The commentator remarks: “The soul, with reference to the mental faculties bound up with it, is here compared to very inflammable wood (here contemplation). This fire consumes not only the contemplation, but also the mental faculties (or Spirit-powers); then Aparākśa-Indra or pure Intuition arises.”

43. The commentator remarks: “A simile for the Brahma, which, though forgetting itself, is not separate from it, is found in the words of the poet, viz.:—

‘Where is the Lord? say’st thou, my Soul,
Like those who go about demanding
‘Where am I?’”

45. Anūhava (empirical grasping) is the third part of Salvation-lore (Śruti, Yuktì, Anūhava); one arrives at it by the three means to salvation, i.e. Hearing, Meditation, and Methodical Contemplation.

1 Which emits fire by friction with other wood.
§ “The undeveloped energy of the clay is developed (in the potter formed from it). In common life they will call that clay, ‘pitcher.’ This is a mere phrase, and so is the ‘distinction of the pitcher.’ Whenever you forget the current names and shapes, and see (in a vessel formed from the clay) nothing but clay, then this is true reality; forgetting the different Juta-actions, you will assume the share of Spirit.”—Kaiticjñana-vastu, Gauḍa’s Trans.
62. By the dissolution of the Upādhi, the Muni (wisdom-perfected Sage) unites inseparably with the (All-)pervading One, just as water mixes inseparably with water, air with air, and fire with fire.

53. That gain, than which there is no greater gain, That pleasure, than which there is no greater pleasure, That knowledge, than which there is no greater knowledge, That is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

54. That, which One having perceived, there is nothing else to perceive, That, which One having attained, there is nothing else attainable, That, which One knowing, there exists nothing else to be known, That is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

55. That which is thorough, above, below, complete, perfect, existence spirit and bliss; the one without a second, endless, ever-existing and one—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

56. That which is in the form of rejecting whatsoever is "not this"—i.e. not Brahma—is, in the Vedānta writings, shown to be the imperishable, the perfectly happy, the One—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

57. Having access to a portion of the bliss of the Being of all-perfect Bliss, Brahmā and the other (popular deities), become, by degrees, partially happy beings.

58. With this (i.e. Brahma) the Universality (accumulated during a prior existence) is completely expiated, and incorporeal Bliss succeeds the extinction of the threefold corporealness?"

59. That which is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, without birth and imperishable, without form, unbound by place, without sex and name: that is Brahma. Let this be believed!

60. That by which the sun, &c. &c. shines, but which is not illumined by any light, that by which all these are effulgent, is Brahma. Let this be believed!

61. Of itself pervading everything within and without, and the entire world illuminating, the Brahma shines forth, like the iron-ball glowing with fire.

62. Brahma shares not the qualities of the world; besides Brahma there exists nothing; when any other than Brahma appears it is false—like the mirage in the desert.

63. That which is always seen and heard is (in the most profound essence) not different from Brahma: and by means of the true knowledge (in which all modifications, as well as the illusive, perish) these pertain (directly) to Brahma, to the Being full of Reality, Spirit, and Bliss, the One without a second.

64. The eye of Wisdom discerns the all-pervading Soul, which is Being and Spirit; the

Commentary.

Undivided Bliss is ascribed to Brahmā, Vishnu, &c. &c., and those who would attain the happiness of these Godheads perform horse-sacrifice.'

53. The commentator here makes a very characteristic observation, i.e. : "The author wishes to meet the objection, 'As it is a notorious fact that great desire for sense-things exist, how can it be said that the Spirit is in a high degree the object of (human) desire?' And he meets the objection, showing, by means of the above example, that the Spirit is, equally with butter, an object worthy the desire of all.'

|| Brahma is the Supreme Deity, the causa materialis and causa efficiens of the illusive world.
|| Braham is the chief god of the Hindu Triad, and it is he who is mentioned in this strophe.

|| Butter has a totally different signification to the non-sense-eating Hindu than to us. Therefore the first published Tamil Vedic writing bears the interesting title, "The fresh Butter of Happiness."

|| Some of the negative attributes of the Brahma are given in this strophe; for them more at length see Kaṭaṭa-ṣaṃhātī, Part II. 137.

|| "Everything is false which is not Brahma."

Vedānta Purībaṇḍha.

Nothing exists but he (i.e. Brahma).

Sutras, iii. 2, 29.
eye of ignorance, however, cannot perceive it, just as the blind cannot see the shining sun.

65. Aglow with the fire of knowledge which has been kindled by the study of the Vedas, &c. &c., the Living-Soul, free of all impurity, shines forth of itself, like the gold (refined in the fire).

66. The self, rising in the Akśhara of the heart,—the sun of Wisdom, scatters the darkness, and pervading all, bearing all, it appears. It illumines all.

67. Whoever undertakes the pilgrimage of himself, regardless of the region of the heavens, place, or time, &c. &c., passing through all:—having overcome cold, heat, and all other varieties of opposition—obtains eternal happiness, and is free from all toil—as one without works activity: i.e. as one who does not seek his happiness in the ceremonies of the popular belief, or in any activity whatever—and becomes omniscient, all-pervading, immortal.

TWO KONGU OR CHERA GRANTS, OF A.D. 454 AND 513.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

Two grants were produced in court here by a resident of Malllohali, about 25 miles north-west of Bangalore, and referred to me for a knowledge of their contents. They will be found of considerable importance in throwing light upon the history of the Konungu kings. One dates, as I shall show, from A.D. 454, and the other from 513: the former is therefore 12 years older, and the latter 47 years later, than the Merkara plates.

The first is engraved in small characters on three thin narrow plates of copper (7½ in. × 1½ in.), which are strung together on a metal ring secured with the stamp of an elephant, and are a good deal worn. The second is well and deeply cut in bold characters on five stout plates (9 in. × 3½ in.) which are in good preservation. It exhibits with great distinctness the formation of the letters of the Hāle Kannada alphabet at the opening of the 6th century. Whether due to superior skill in the engraver or to a regular process of development, the characters, which in the two earlier grants seem to be in a transition state, have here acquired a more settled form; which, again, in the Nāgāmangala plates of the 8th century attains to some degree of elegance.

The language, likewise, employed in the older of these two grants, as in the Merkara plates, seems to be transitional in style, veering between Sanskrit and Hāle Kannada, with an evident effort after the former, but powerfully, if not predominantly, under the influence of the latter.

† The signs of punctuation are deserving of notice.
‡ Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 155.
§ Regarding the different forms in which this name is found, I regret that I have yet had no opportunity of re-

ferring to the original inscription to confirm my reading of Koṅgini. But at Nirguna I saw a stone in which it is written Koṅqin, and the Rev. F. Kittel has pointed out to me that the latter is the form in the Kavyabhakosa 5, 85: cf. Intro. Naga Varman's Congress Proceedings, xxvi.
to assign to his reign.|| Thus much being premised in support of the figures as contained in these grants, we must resort to the Markāra plates, which belong to the same period, in order to fix the year of the era. They were dated in Sālavāhana Saka 388, which corresponds with the year Parābhava. To arrive at Jaya we must go back 12 years, and thus obtain the date S. S. 376 for the first grant, or A.D. 454, and by consequence S. S. 347, or A.D. 425, for the birth and commencement of the reign of Koṅgāṇi II. and the termination of that of Mādhava II., his father. The calculation for the second grant is now easy, and we get the dates S. S. 435, or A.D. 513, for the grant itself, and S. S. 400 or A.D. 478 for the end of the reign of Koṅgāṇi II. and the beginning of that of Aviniṇa or Koṅgāṇi Vīrādhā. There is only one objection which, it occurs to me, might be urged against this computation. It is the advanced age to which Aviniṇa must, according to these figures, have arrived when he made the second of our present grants. For this is 57 years later than the Markāra grant, which was also made by him, but at a time when, apparently, he was his father's minister, and must therefore have already arrived at manhood. But say he was then 20, he would now be 67, an age quite within the bounds of reason. And that he could not have been much over 20 at the former period is evident from this, that his father was only 41. Having thus, as I trust conclusively, established the dates in question, and by proving their credibility vindicated that of the remaining contents of the inscriptions, we may now proceed to examine these more closely.

To begin with the oldest. The first thing to be remarked is the curious differences in the string of descriptive phrases attached to each king, differences which might be set down as errors on the part of the composer or transcriber, but that this being the oldest of the grants the expressions may here be in their original form, afterwards altered and improved upon.

The three others agree, for instance, in ascribing to Koṅgāṇi I. the feat of dividing with one stroke of his sword a mahaś tāmbha, or great pillar of stone, but here this figures as anīla or nila tāmbha. What either of them means it is difficult to say. The tāmbha might have been a linga, like the historical one of Somanāth which was broken by Māhmūd of Ghazni, or it might have been a pillar of victory erected by some rival prince*; but the new version, meaning either wind-post or blue (sapphire) post, seems inexplicable, as it is hardly possible that the reference can be, by a wildly bold metaphor, to a conquest of the Nila-giri. The ornament of a wound, again, with which Koṅgāṇi I. is decorated in the other grants, is here bestowed upon the next king, Mādhava I.; while instead Koṅgāṇi is described as a wild-fire in consuming (ba... ti, a word I cannot make out,—it may be a proper name). Further on, we find none of the religious devotion attributed here to Vīṣṇu Gopa, which in the other three appears as his principal attribute. On the contrary, he is credited with uncommon mental energy, unimpaired to the close of life. All the grants agree in stating that Mādhava I. was very active in promoting works of merit, but here this is expressed without the figure employed in the formerly published grants, and in terms which seem to imply something like a Brāhmaṇical revival. Our second grant states this in even stronger language, and expressly adds that it was fostered by Koṅgāṇi II. and Aviniṇa. Lastly Koṅgāṇi II. is simply styled the son of Mādhava, without any allusion to his mother's being a Kadambha princess, as mentioned in the three other grants.

The second of our present inscriptions contains a much fuller account of most of the kings than is given in either of the others. But especially with reference to Koṅgāṇi II. and Aviniṇa. The former, we thus learn, as already stated, was crowned at his birth. He appears to have made many conquests and to have reigned with great glory. Brāhmaṇical accounts used to cut a stone asunder with his sword, and then to vow that this was a pattern of what he would do to the king's enemies (Mād Jour. XIV. 7)—a statement which does not appear to throw much light on the subject.

Sir Erskine Perry states that the pillars erected by Abha were called by him stāla tāmbha; virtue-pillars, because he had engraved upon them his laws and exhortations to good conduct (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. vi. p. 168.)
influence was evidently by this time paramount in the state. It is A śvīnta, however, regarding whom most information that is now obtained is a royal title of Kōṅgaṇī Viṛddha. Another interesting fact is that he was married to the daughter of the Pūṇāḍ rājā, Skanda Varmā. This is the name of two Pāḷḷava kings mentioned in Sir Walter Elliot's grants examined by Prof. Eggeling; and, in connection with the known proximity of the Pāḷḷava kingdom to that of the Kōṅgaṇa, it would be important to ascertain whether we have here a clue to the period of any of the Pāḷḷava kings. The locality of Pūṇāḍ was certainly the south of Māsīr, for it is clearly the same as the Pūṇīḍ of the Merkāra plates, in a subdivision of which, named Eṇēṇāḍ, was situated the village of Badaṅgāpē, still known by that name, and about 30 miles south-south-east of the city of Māsīr. This is farther south, I fear, than we have any evidence of the Pāḷḷavas; and had this princess who conceived such a romantic attachment for A śvīnta,—whether at a wayamvara or as her captor in war (for he is afterwards described as the ruler of Pūṇāḍ), and, throwing off the husband intended for her, asserted her own choice—been of a distinguished royal line, it would probably, under the circumstances of her introduction here, have been mentioned. But if this Skanda Varmā was not the Pāḷḷava king of that name, he may have been a feudatory who adopted his patron's name by way of compliment; as we find in the Nāgānagala plates Pṛithu Viṅgūnum Rājā named after Pṛithu Viṅgūnum; and in more modern times Sarasvīr Nāyak of Kēlādī after Sarasvīr Rāya of Vijayanagara. The kingdoms subdued by A śvīnta are the same as those mentioned in the Nāgānagala inscription, but here the names are more distinctly recognizable. It is very possible that Aḷaḷṭr or Aḷalṭr is the present village of that name in Hādināḍ (the cradle of the Māsīr royal family), about ten miles south of Māsīr city. The others I am unable to identify, though they were doubtless in the Māsīr, somewhere between the Nīlāgiri and Nandīdura, the neighbourhood of the gift. Besides Pūṇāḍ he is described as ruling a country whose name I have read Pāṇḍu, though it is not clear. It looks like Pāṇḍu.

Some of the places connected with the donations may, I think, be identified. In the first grant, land under the Meḷur tank is presented to Tippūr Kāda Śvēmī. Tippūr is in the north of the Dōḍḍa Ballāpura tāḷukā, whence the grant has been produced, and there is a Meḷur in the neighbouring tāḷukā of Devanalli. The mention of the river Pēnna in the second grant fixes the land given as in the same locality. This river is the Northern Pennār of European geographers, dr being the Tamīr for river, as in Pāḷār (Kshara-nadi). The Northern and Southern Pennār are generally known in the Māsīr country by the Purānic names of Uṇḍa Pāṅkāni and Daksīṇa Pāṅkāni. But the latter, below the Ghatā, is called the Pāṇḍr or Pōṇi-r (golden river).

Referring to the lineage of the grantee in the second inscription, it would be interesting to know who the Vālmīki was that is so highly praised. There is a tradition of a Vālmīki at Aṇaṇi (A śvīntaka Kshētra) near Kōḷar, and from the name he is declared to have been the author of the Ṛāmāyanas, and of course in consequence the protector of Śrī and teacher of her sons Kuṇaṇa and Lava, &c. The Canarese Rāmāyanas is by a Kumāra Vālmīki, but this is a much later composition than the period of this grant.

In conclusion the information obtained from the four grants that have now been published of this line of kings may be summed up as follows:

Kings of the Gāṅgāvamsa and Kāṅcīyanasagotra.

Kōṅgaṇi Varmadharma, reigning from 1887 to 239 A.D.?

have seen attempts made to distinguish between them by calling one Pāṇḍr and the other Pēnna. The latter is the Telugu form (Pēnu, river), and therefore belongs to the northern stream.

† InSer. Ant. vol. III. p. 152.

I A "Ten-thousand country," as Dr. Burnell has pointed out: S. Ind. Pal. 61.

§ It would be a great convenience were geographers to agree upon different names for the two streams, say, Pāṇḍr for the northern, and Pēnu for the southern. There is at present much confusion regarding their names, and I

‡ Mr. Kitto assigns its to the 16th century: Introd. to Nēga Varmān's Canarese Prakṣjy, lxxv.

§ The dates marked † are from the Kōṅguḍēśa Rājakaḷ.
No. I.

[I.] Svasti. Jitam bhagavatá ghana gaganabhéna Padmanábheña, Śrīmad-Jñānaviñya kākāmala vyomásah-bhāsa-
mána bhá skaranasa svabhúva balájijitóti rája yáti vibhavasyani lámabha prákára prákhyáta
krtteb va...
ti gaha na kaksha pradáha davaḿe śrímat Kōngāni Varmanma Dharman mahádhirájasya.
Putrasya puti ra-
gata ganaśaya dattaka sútra yáyáhyá prañeta aneka samarásagáhanopalabdha vrama vibháshaśaya
bhagavag rakshi-

[II.] ta bhá vibhavasya śrímatá Mādhavádhiraśaya. Putrasya aneka charuddantavápta chatur udadbhi
sailásvádita (ya)-
śasaḥ praśana kari suragam varárohaṇa daksahasya kshipára pakshasaya śrīmadd-Hari Varmanma márā-
sya. Putrasya
pitrí pi tamaśávága guṇa gana yuktisya nareśtra utta Brahaspátí tulyasya yávad āyuy
khapsita manotasaḥsya Śakra surya parákrامasya śrīma(d) Vishnu Gopa rájasya. Putraḥ varayudiva.

[III.] raviyá puṣya dhanapá vacations taraṇa divákara amrita viṣa sama prasadsa kopa aneka go hirinya
bhutmyádi pradá-
nā diksha kshipita kalasáha chiropśhita brahmádeya pradána prákhyáta yaśás aneka yuds-
dhádhvára yájakai
śakra ivá pratiśhita víkrämaha chandahaiváksaśi kośakoshita śāraha yama ivájísha víriyánta
varunā
pravara vájaya víkrámasya Mādhava rājasya. Puttah Kōngāni rājasyah datta Káda svamísáva Taittir-
riyasa brahma-

[IV.] nasya Hiranyakośi sūtreśhyá makkágureyaraldu Tippárá Káda svamígaḷge brahmádeya kramadéna
Melánaka keśi kile padhi kañduganì vṛti bhúmi dassa_ya aṣṭādaśa jāttibhih sarvam prabháraḥ
sápa niyya páta brahmádeikāraṇa punyárogyaḥ vṛddhiyá datta mān bhadrammrñhá śaras charaṇaraśvinyá prañpáta

and that of Hari Varmanma from Prof. Eegling ('Ind. Jnt. vol. ii. p. 162') With regard to the date 668 for the last
but one, given in the former, the following is the note in
Mr. Taylor's translation — 'The date S. 603 is intro-
duced apparently by a specimen of the mode of using
words for numbers—vástha-prage 500, bhasma 90, yuddha 1.

I should be very glad to see some explanation of this, a
according to all such cases I have met with, the figure
have to be taken backwards. I conjecture that věṣṭkā
should have been read varsha.

* Of Nágamangala inscription.
May it be well! Success through the adorable Padmanābha, resembling (in colour) the cloudy sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jáhnavi kula, possessed of the wealth of the glory of the kingdom conquered by the might of his own arm, of distinguished fame through striking down the anīla (or nāla) stambha, a wildfire in consuming the stubble of the forest the ba. ti, was Śrīmat Koṅgani Varmā Dharma Mahādhīrājā.

His son, inheriting the qualities of his father, author of a treatise on the law of adoption, adorned with the wound acquired by entering into many wars, of a wealth and glory protected by Bhagavat, was Śrīmat Mādhava Ádhirājā.

His son, whose fame acquired by (his) many elephants had tasted the waters of the four oceans, skilled in riding on the best elephants and the best horses, the destroyer of hosts of enemies, was Śrīmad Hari Varmā Mārājā.

His son, endowed with the group of qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, in kingly policy the equal of Bhishmaphati, his mental energy unimpaired to the end of life, of a valour equal to that of Śakra (Indra), was Śrīmad Visnū Gopa Rājā.

His son, like Kubera in the merit of smiting his enemies in great wars, a young (or rising) sun, his favour and his anger like nectar and like poison, his sins destroyed by religious rites and numerous gifts of cows, gold, lands, and other things, of widespread fame for his renewal of Brāhmaṇ endowments long since destroyed, as performing the sacrifice of many wars, the sole sacrificer (in the world), like Indra of valour invincible, like Kubera wonderful in the possession of heaps of treasure inexhaustible, like Yama in his arrows which destroyed the battlements of the neighbouring chiefs, of mighty victorious valour, was Mādusahaan Rājā.

By his son Koṅgani Rājā was given to Kāda Svāmīva, a Taistirīya Brāhmaṇ, chief of the Hirāṇya-kēśi sūtra...

to Tippūrā Kāda Svāmī was given, in the manner of a Brāhmaṇ endowment, 10 kāñḍūgas of paddy land below Melūr tank, freed from all dues of the eighteen castes, and formed into a Brāhmaṇ ēṛiti with pouring of water; for the increase of merit and health was it given.

In pursuance of which, in the year Jaya, the 29th of the wealth of the great victories increased by himself, (namely by) Śrīmaṇ Koṅgani Mahārājā, of the Kāṅvyaṅnasa gotra,—of a might invincible by any in the world, chief in affection for the Brāhmaṇs, devoted to the worship of the lotus feet of Hara (Śiva),—the moon being in the Śataya naksātā, to Kāda Svāmīva of the Mādela gotra...

Let this land be...
continued without hindrance to Kāda Svāmi, the beloved of the Madala (gotra): such is our command, which whosoever transgresses is a sinner worthy of corporal punishment.

Moreover thus is the śloka delivered:—
Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another will incur the guilt of slaughtering a hundred thousand cows. To give much oneself is easy, to maintain another's gift is difficult; but of giving or maintaining (another's gift) the maintenance of another's gift is more meritorious.—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagaras and many kings; according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward.

Whoso is a follower of the Mahārīja | 12 kāndūga; this all should respect and preserve | those famed for their adherence to virtue.

No. II.


[II.] la bhūtasya viśeshatopy anavośasahaya nityā śāstrasya vaktrī prayaoktrī kuśalaśasya suribhakta bhakta bhrītya janasya datakta sūtra vritteh pranetah śrīmat Mādhava mahādhirājasya. Putrasya pītrī paśīmāha guṇa yuktaya aneka ṇechatramanāt yuddhāvāpta chatur uśasi sallīsāvasāt yaśasah samadā dvirudā turagahantiśayotpam... tejaso dhanur abhiyoga sampādīta sampad viṣeshasya śrīmad - Hārī VARMA mahādhirājasya. Putrasya guru go brahmaṣa pūjakasya Nārāyaṇa charanaутtīhāyātā.

[III.] sya śrīmad Viṣṇu Gopa mahādhirājasya. Putrasya Tryambaka charanāmbhuruha rajah paviṭrikrotanāgasya vyayaśmodṛītta pīnā kāṭhina bhujā dvāyasya sva bhujā bala parākrama kraya krita rājyaś kahit śāhasēthā piśāsanapī tikara niśita dhāra se | chīra pranastha deva bhoga brahmādēya vi sargga ayaṇa kārīṇa kali yugā bala pākavasanna dharmma vṛishchedharaṇa niyā samaddhaya śrīman Mādhava mahādhirājasya. Putrasyāvi chehinnāvamēdhaḥvahitrībhāshikta śrīmat Kādambara kula gaganā gabhasti mā.


[V.] krānta pratirāja māstakāpptēpratihata śāmanasya aneka mukhābhīvadhamāna vihhavoḍasya parājita dravinaprache pratītaneke guṇa nīdhana bhūtasya vidva-
CHIARA COPPER-PLATE OF S. ŠAKA 435.
tsu prathamā gaṇyasya pranayi jana hridaya nandanaṃ saṃkarṣitam marīyādālanghanālan-
krṣa rā tākāra vṛttasya yathāhṛta daṇḍītayānukṛta vaivasaṃvatsyasā pras-
taṭṭātā śayānagata vivasvato vaivasaṃvatsya vā Manoravānāśāramā-
bhirakshinā mādhūndhānā abhiḥgotum paryāśuṣvataḥ pratijanīnasya suprajasa-
hānā śīrmat Koṇgaṇi mahābhīrājasya. Avinīta nāmā putreṇa Punnāda rāja Sā-
[VII] nda Varmmā priya patrīkā janmanā svaguruśunāngkminā pitrā parasuta samāvaaji-
tayāpilasaḥsāvaya abhiratryayalingit vijnīna vākṣa sthāṇa vijirāmbaṃā sākti-
trayopanimita samasta śāṃtā maṇḍalena Andariya Aśantārā Paurulāre-
Penna garādy aneka samara makta mukhāhuta prapāta śūtra purusha paśāp-
hāna vihara vihaśkraṣaḥtāgni mukhena śīrmat Koṇgaṇi Vṛiddha rājase Durvini-
ta nāmadheyaṃ samasta Punnāda (Paḥkhāda) Punnālaḥpitānta Vaivasaṃvatera Mahānā varṇa-
śrāmabhīrāhasthānābhāsanā abhiḥgotum parāyāptavataḥ pratijanitena suprajasa-
[VIII] ātmanā pravarādhamānaṃ vijayesīvaryaṃ paśchātraṃ sad Vijaya sarvacare pravarttaṃ naṃ-
śīrmat Vālmiki nāmī janajā aśuṣyavaiḥ kharā Mahādevākhyā Kāyaṃpasa goa-
trā vajjasānyānā vādeya śīrmat Deva Sarvaṃkara Kejalo nāma Bempārīvar-
stā nam udaka pūrba datta śīnāyā diśā apakṣhetram chatari khaṇḍī-
Kṛṣṇa tāṭākam apakṣhetram ārdhṛta tri kāṇḍī adha apakṣhetram-
śaṭ khaṇḍī Penna nādi pūrvavā diṣām khaṇḍetram paścadaśa khaṇḍī-
maḥ brijkham agni nṛvatam śīnāyānā śāmbu brijkham puna puna-
[VII] śīnāyānā śāmbu taṇaka vāruṇā diśām khaṇḍetram dvādasā khaṇḍī vāyaṃ diśā mahā taṇaka ap-
akṣhetram saṭṭa khaṇḍī etan Mahādeva divya dattam. Apichātra Manu gīto śūlo-
svanāttaṃ paraddhantāṃ vā yaharet vaśundhārāṃ suhashīmām varishā ghorē tama-
vartata. Bahuḥbhirvasudhā bhukta rājābhīṣa Sakarādhībhī yasya yasya yada bhūmi tasya taddā paśam.
Svandātum sumahat chhāyaṃ damkhham [dukkham] anyārtita pālaṃman dānam vā pālaṃman vēti-
chechhreṇyanupānan. Abhūhi dattam trihiṃ bhuktaṃ saṭṭbhīṣaṃ pratipālaṃ samānas ni-
varttante pūrvavā rāja kritāṇi cha.

Translation.

Success through the adorable Padmanābha, resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky,
A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jānmi kula, distinguished for the strength of fortune and valour acquired by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound received in battle while cutting down the hosts of his terrible enemies, was Śrīmat Koṇgaṇi Varmma Dharma Mahābhīrāj of the Kanvāyanasa gotra.
His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, with a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects, of great understanding improved by acquaintance with the best principles of the substance of various sciences, a touchstone for (testing) gold the learned, skilled among those who thoroughly expound and practise the science of politics, maintaining a due distinction between friends and servants, the author of a treatise on the law of adoption, was Śrīmaṇ Mahāhāva Mahābhīrāj.
His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, having entered into war with many elephants (so that) his fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, of wide-spread renown sprung from his riding on lusty elephants and horses, of great wealth acquired by the use of the bow, was Śrīmaṇ Hari Varmma Mahābhīrāj.
His son, devoted to the worship of gurus,
cows, and Brāhmaṇa, praising the feet of Nārāyana, was Śrīmad Vishnu Gopa Mahādhīrājā.

His son, with a head purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka, with two arms grown stout and hard with athletic exercise, having purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour, bearer of a sharp... beloved by Rākshasas whose lips were black with hunger, a reviver of the custom of donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brāhmaṇa endowments, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali yuga in which it had sunk, was Śrīman Mādhava Mahādhīrājā.

His son, the beloved sister’s son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Varma, the sun in the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba kula, (and) anointed with the final ablutions of continual aśvamedhas—who received his royal (or coronation) anointing on the couch of the lap of his divine mother, possessed of the three powers of increase, enjoying the essence of the three objects of worldly desire* without one interfering with the other, fearless though surrounded with all the bands of tributary chiefs whom he had subjected, having parties of councillors attached to him by continual affection and gifts, having a mind purified with the increase of learning and modesty, follower of the lives of the kings of the Kṛta yuga, his wide-spread fame acquired by victory in many wars covering the three worlds like the unbroken expanse of a milk ocean, bold to give without stint, his invariable commands placed upon the heads of foreign kings subdued by his invincible might, surpassing Kubera in the growth of his wealth in many ways, a mine of many glorious qualities, reckoned the first of the learned, the joy of the hearts of his beloved ones, in not transgressing the bounds of respect resembling the ocean adorned with gems, like Yama in punishing according to desert, like the sun in the greatness of his glory, like Vaivasvata Manu devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders, the friend of all, of high birth, was Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Mahādhīrājā.

By his son named Avinīta, whose broad chest was embraced by the beloved daughter of the Punnaḍśa Skanda Varma, who herself had chosen him, though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his own guru, to the son of another,—having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs, having brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left from the animals offered up by him as a tribute, (namely) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for Andarī, Alantūr, Pannarāge, Perunagar, and other places; by (this) Śrīmat Koṅgaṇi Viṣṇubharājā, having the name of Dhrvvinīta, the ruler of the whole of Punnāḍ (Pākhād) and Punnāḍ, like Vaivasvata Manu able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South, the friend of all, of high birth—year Vijaya being current, thirteenth of the victories and wealth increased by himself; was given,—to Śrīmat Deva Sārmmana of the Kāsyapasa gotra and follower of the Vaiśnavay, (also) called Mahādeva, promoter of the race of that sun of the world named Śrīmat Viśama, the Benupurvivara-stāna named Kejale, with pouring of water.

(Moreover) on the north-east, wet land, 4 khandās; of the wet land of the Kṛṣṇa pond, above—3 khandās, below—6 khandās; of the land east of the Punna river 15 khandās; (bounded) on the south by a big tree, south-west by an āśvatta (tree), north-east by a jambu tree, further north-east by the Nakule pond; on the land on the west 12 khandās; on the north-west, of the wet land of the big pond, 7 khandās: thus much did he piously give to Mahādeva.

Moreover by Manu hath the śloka been delivered:—Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another shall be cast into terrible darkness for sixty thousand years. The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings: according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward. To make a gift oneself is easy, to maintain a gift made by another is difficult; but of giving or maintaining another’s gift the maintenance of another’s gift is more meritorious.

A gift made with pouring of water, one enjoyed for three generations, one maintained for six generations, such may not be resumed; neither the gifts of former kings.

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* The Canarese call them hennu, honnu, mannus—woman, gold, and land. But the third should probably be dharma, religious merit.
REMARKS ON THE SIKHÅŚAS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUÑA.

Since the publication of Professor Hang's valuable essay on the nature and value of the accents in the Veda, I have been enabled to collect from various parts of India a large number of Sikhåśas, some of which appear to be very little, if at all, known to Sanskrit scholars, and it was my intention to publish critical editions of such of them as seemed to deserve to be made more generally accessible. Unfortunately most of the MSS. which I have collected, even the best and oldest of them, are so incorrect that I feel inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. What I cannot but consider as wrong readings occur with such frequency and, if I may say so, regularity in the several copies of one and the same work as to render it probable that the text has been corrupt for several centuries; and although it would no doubt be possible, by conjecture and by means of such corrections as might be suggested by a comparison of other Sikhåśas, to produce in many cases a readable text, * I much doubt whether the adoption of such a course would be likely to meet with the approval of careful and conscionable scholars, and whether the result would be satisfactory.

There is another reason which makes me hesitate to publish the materials which I have collected, and one which mainly induces me to write these lines. The chief object of nearly all the Sikhåśas accessible to me is no other than to lay down rules for the proper recitation of the Vedas. They do not only state in a general way the qualities, both bodily and mental, of which he who wishes to recite the Vedas should necessarily be possessed; they not only tell us how the reciter of the sacred texts should prepare himself for his task; but they also lay down the most minute rules for the pronunciation of certain sounds and combinations of sounds, for the musical modulation of the voice, for the right postures of the body, for the motions of the hands and fingers which must accompany and which form an essential part of the recitation, &c. These rules it may be easy enough to understand when one has seen them illustrated in practice, but I doubt whether any one who has not actually and repeatedly heard and seen the Vedas recited would be able not merely to translate, but to explain them satisfactorily. For a European scholar, aided by the bare texts or even by commentaries, to do so, appears, so far as my own experience goes, to be impossible.†

* An example will illustrate my meaning. My copy M of the Maññåla śikåha reads verse IV. 9 as follows:—

\[\text{मन्नला संनवण न परं संयायते} \]

\[\text{ह ज्ञानिता वाणी पंचगीतानि महिति} \]

A copy of the original of my MS. M was sent to Berlin, and from it Prof. Weber gave an account of the Maññåla śikåha in an appendix to his essay on the Pratiśāstra. Professor Weber saw that the verse as given above must be corrupt, and after consulting Professor Roth he adopted the conjectures of the latter and printed the verse as follows:—

\[\text{मन्नला संनवण न परं संयायते} \]

\[\text{ह ज्ञानिता वाणी पंचगीतानि महिति} \]

This is no doubt a readable Sanskrit, but it certainly is no longer a verse of the Maññåla śikåha.

As the compound letter वच in MS. M is always written वच, the third word of the first line is really वच वच, a reading which is given by both my MSS. C and B, but which I at present do not understand; if I considered it right simply to admit the reading of another śikåha, I should adopt that of the Nāradaśāstra, नारद्य-संनवण, but I cannot yet bring myself to believe that वच वच should in the Maññåla śikåha have been altered to वच वच.

The case is less hopeless with the second line; here C reads पाराहिता and B पारिध्रिता; which readings, to

† As Professor Weber (On the Pratiśāstra, p. 75) wishes to know whether the Śikåha lately discovered in India throw any light on the verse describing the pronunciation of the nasal sound called ranga which occurs in the Pratiśāstra, I may venture to select his interpretation of that particular verse as an instance of how things occasionally may be misunderstood.

The verse itself is as follows:—

\[\text{नारद्य-संनवण अर्थ (v. n. तक्ष) सप्तमभाषये} \]

\[\text{पति तत्त्व विद्यात्मको अर्थ इव श्रेयं} \]

and it was originally translated by Prof. Weber thus:—

\[\text{Just as the women of Sūrabhṛṣṭa address (7) with the word (7) भानु} \]

\[\text{'Just as one ought to know the ranga, e.g., अर्थ इव श्रेयं'} \]

At p. 270 of vol. IV. of the Indische Studien a second translation is proposed, which we may omit here; but we cannot altogether disregard the third interpretation at p. 380 of vol. IX. of the same periodical, chiefly on account of the note appended to it, the sense of which is shortly this:—that both the readings अर्थ and श्रेय in the first line give no sense; that we have to read श्रेय े (सप्तमभाषये); that ब्रह्म is the Greek word χαρπε, that the Sūrabhṛṣṭa women of old used to greet one another with the Greek word χαρπε;
Professor Haug has been present at the recitation of one or two Vedas, and he has in consequence been able to correct several erroneous views conceived by other scholars in Europe and America, and I have myself had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the recitation of the Rājaveda. But this is not sufficient. What we want is an accurate, minute, and intelligible description of the manner in which the several Vedas are recited in the different parts of India, and this can only be given by native scholars. The subject is not one of very great importance, and the task by no means an easy one, but only when it has been accomplished can we hope to be able to explain all the details of the Śikhsas as they ought to be explained, if it should be considered worth while to explain them at all.

Professor Haug, in the essay mentioned above, has arrived at the conclusion that the Śikhsas are decidedly older than the Prātiṣṭhikhyas, and that the doctrines contained in the former were incorporated and further developed in the latter. Dr. Burnell (On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, p. 47) has adopted the same view, and, if I understand him rightly, has ascribed the Śikhsas, or at any rate their doctrines, to a school of grammarians which is said to have preceded that of Pāṇini. My own investigations, and the perusal of a larger number of treatises than were accessible to Prof. Haug or Dr. Burnell, have led to the conclusion that the views expressed by both scholars require to be considerably modified before they can be accepted.

To disprove the view taken by Professor and that finally their manner of pronouncing the final letter of this particular Greek word yaspre or yaspe is prescribed by the Śikhsa to be the right way of pronouncing the rang sound of the Vedas.

Years ago, when conversing with a native friend of mine who was to have been a reciter of the Rājaveda, I asked for his explanation of the above verse, and what I learnt from him was that the rangs ought to be pronounced like the final sound of the word nāma when shouted by a woman. I had not any doubt as to the correctness of this explanation. Had it been removed by the following passage from the commentary on the Svaracaturas-śikhsa which I subsequently received from Maxeur:

 strikes the note. See Rājaveda viii. 77, 3.

I could quote many instances to show that I do not exaggerate, but one must suffice here. Several Śikhsas hold that the Śikhsas (i.e. all the Śikhsas which are known to exist) are older than the Pratiṣṭhikhyas, it would suffice to state that one of the most important Śikhsas, and one the value of which appears to have been considered sufficiently great to ensure for its author the title of Śikhsa-kara! The Śikhsa-śikhsa follows the Taittiriya-pratiṣṭhikhya so closely as to be in many respects little less than a metrical version of the latter, and that Śanaka and the rest, the authors of the Pratiṣṭhikhyas, are actually quoted in the Yajnavalkya, or, as it is also called, Kātyāyana-śikhsa. §

I might also point to passages of the Servasammata and other Śikhsas in which the Pratiṣṭhikhyas are likewise cited, and in which their authority over that of the Śikhsas is extolled, as in the following lines:

शिवास च प्रविष्ठायाः च तत्त्वेत्रेष्य परस्परम् ।
शिवासु दुर्विश्वेनुवः शिवासबृवी मृगी यथा ॥

But it appears to me that such distinct references to the Pratiṣṭhikhyas are by no means required to prove the comparatively recent date of all the Śikhsas that have up to the present been discovered. A perusal of the more important treatises of this branch of Sanskrit literature, and a comparison of their form and contents, have ended, so far as I am concerned, in the conviction that, notwithstanding the high-sounding and ancient names which most of them bear, they are modern compilations, as a rule executed with very little skill.

Had Professor Haug confined himself to state that the contents of the Śikhsas may in the main be as old as those of the Pratiṣṭhikhyas, I contain a verse in which the reciter is warned against seven different wrong positions of the hands or fingers:

चतुर्भूजाय चतुर्भूजाय चतुर्भूजाय प्रविष्ठायाः ।
प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः समां ॥

To know the exact meaning of each of the terms contained in this verse is of course a matter of very small importance; but conjecture in a case like this would, in my opinion, be worse than useless.

§ The Vyasa-śikhsa actually refers to the Pratiṣṭhikhyas in the following lines:

नरम्य स्वात्मकताः कालः कालः तृणनिपतिः ।
प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः समां ॥

The verse from the Yajnavalkya-śikhsa alluded to in the above in my MSS. reads thus:

तथा नाराय नाराय नाराय नाराय नाराय नाराय ।
प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः प्रविष्ठायाः समां ॥

See Rājaveda, X. 146, 1.
should have felt little hesitation in agreeing with him; for there are traces in the latter to show that the principal doctrines embodied in our present Śikṣās were not unknown at the time when the Prātiṣṭākhyas were composed.|| But I am again obliged to differ from Professor Hang when he maintains that the teachings of the Śikṣās have been more fully developed in the Prātiṣṭākhyas. On whatever point I have compared the doctrines of both classes of works, I have almost in every instance been driven to the conclusion that the teachings of the Śikṣās are fuller and more minute than those of the Prātiṣṭākhyas,—that the former give much of detail which, if not unknown, has at any rate found no place in the latter. What do the Prātiṣṭākhyas teach us regarding the denotation of the svarūpas by means of the hands and fingers, about which the Śikṣās have so much to say, and about which they give such minute rules? All I can find are one or two short rules in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiṣṭākhyā, which contain hardly more than ten words. Why was Professor

|| That Śikṣās in verse were in existence when Panjali composed his great commentary on Kātyāyaṇa's Vārttikas, seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term sānāñci of the Vārttikas seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term sānāñci of the Vārttikas, seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term sānāñci of the Vārttikas.||

has all the appearance of being a Śikṣās-verse, even in this particular that the first line violates the metrical rules.

Loc. cit. p. 57, note 1. In my own copies of the Mādāk śikṣās the optional name for Pākanottī is Madhyā, but Yavamaṇḍhā.

The Sarvamāṁsata-śikṣās has for vartamabhāratī 'vartamabhāratī' which is also found in the Vyāsa-śikṣās.

* Instead of the term kārīgyat (loc. cit. note 2) of the Mādāk śikṣās and Yājñavālanya-śikṣās, other Śikṣās have kārīgye. See, e.g., Sarvamāṁsata-śikṣās:

कारिग्राहिते कारिग्राहिते कारिग्राहिते कारिग्राहिते

हरिणि सहस्राय शत करिकार्याये कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते

शत कारिकार्याय शत कारिकार्याये कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते

and Vyāsa-śikṣās.:—

सर्वप्रतिकारिते कारिकार्याये कारिकार्याये कारिकार्याये कारिकार्याये

हरिणि सहस्राय शत करिकार्याये कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते

† A knowledge of the Śikṣās might have rendered assistance to the editors of the Prātiṣṭākhyas, excellently as the latter have been edited, or it would at any rate

Haug himself the first to point out the different kinds of viṣāṇtī and of svārābhaktī accordingly described and classified in nearly every Śikṣās? Is there any Prātiṣṭākhyā which more accurately or more fully treats of the svārūpa than the Śikṣās do, any one which tries to describe the relation of the so-called four accents to the seven musical notes in the manner in which this is done in the Śikṣās? The Prātiṣṭākhyās do teach much that is not to be found in the Śikṣās, but on no one point do they teach more on what it is the object and the business of the latter to give information.

† The Śikṣās are manuals intended to teach the proper manner of reciting the Vedas, and inasmuch as the compiler of a manual has to adapt himself to the capacities and previous mental training of those for whom his work is designed, it is natural that the Śikṣās should have been given to their teachings the simplest possible form, that they should have illustrated them by examples which even the uneducated might be supposed to be familiar with, and have guarded them against occasional rash statements.

The commentary on the Taittīrī Prātiṣṭākhyā, XIX. 3, states that the word svārūpa is synonymous with svārābhaktī, upon which Professor Whitney remarks: "In yama as a synonym of svārūpas, and meaning 'circumference,' I cannot in the least believe."

Indian, like other commentators, are not infallible, but in this instance the commentator was right, for in defining the Prātiṣṭākhyā svārūpa the Vyāsa-śikṣās say—

ववस्वारूपाः उष्ण स्मिर्याणमि; कारिग्राहिते कवित्ते कवित्ते कवित्ते

The commentator is right, too, when he states that svārābhaktī (not merely describes the nature of the svārūpas, but is actually another term for svārūpa; this likewise can be proved from the Śikṣās.

That the term svāra, by itself, is synonymous with the svāra appears from the following verse of the Vyāsa-śikṣās:—

यो भुस्मु यो भुस्मु यो भुस्मु यो भुस्मु

This passage will show that the reading of the MSS. of the Prātiṣṭākhyā, r. 43, भृत्वे भृत्वे, ought not to have been altered to भृत्वे, and that the word यो भुस्मु यो भुस्मु should have been translated by the 'ring and the middle fingers.' (Ind. Stud. vol. IV. p. 365.) The following verses of the Bharatēsthākhyā called Sarvamāṁsata-saṅghāṭakhaṇa, the author of which professes to have studied the Śikṣās of Pluṇja, Nīrada, and Āpiśa, are evidently based on the verse of the Prātiṣṭākhyā referred to in the above—

अयूंगुरुमु यसो मलेर्यानुपालनारायणः

वधस्त: य भृत्वे य भृत्वे य भृत्वे य भृत्वे

कन्तुलुक्त्यानुसारसंभवस्तु ये सत्त्वः

तत्त्वाति सन्यासान्तुत्तपतिःस्वाभासः स्वाभासः

मन्यत्यादिस्वारूपास्त्तावाकारोऽमेवोऽपि

कन्तुलुक्त्यानुसारसंभवस्तु ये सत्त्वः

तत्त्वाति सन्यासान्तुत्तपतिःस्वाभासः स्वाभासः

मन्यत्यादिस्वारूपास्त्तावाकारोऽमेवोऽपि
that as a rule they should have avoided, so far as it was possible, the strict terminology and the concise forms of the grammatical schools, even when the temptation of employing the latter was by no means a slight one. The simpler their treatises, the more homely their illustrations,—the better they would serve their purpose. For it can hardly be doubted that in the recitation of the Vedas, as in a thousand other things, India of old did not differ greatly from India as we find it at present, and that the ancient Vedapāṭhakas were as ignorant in everything except their own profession as their successors are to-day. To adduce the less strict or less technical terminology of the Śikṣās as a proof for an antiquity higher even than that of Pāṇini, or at all to consider these treatises as the production of a school of grammarians, appears to me to be misunderstanding their nature and the purpose for which they have been composed.

II.—The Grant of Govindarāja.

The three plates containing a grant of Govindarāja originally measured 12” × 10” each, and were held together by one ring passed through holes in the middle of their left sides. The ring has been lost. The first plate has suffered, besides the loss of a circular piece out of the centre, considerable injuries at the left-hand corner. The obverse of Plate II. has been subjected to rough treatment, and the first line has been obliterated by blows with a hammer. The third plate has lost small pieces at the four corners, at the top, and on the left side above the ring-hole.

The characters of the inscription exactly resemble those of the facsimile of the Baroda plate published in the Jour. Ben. As. Soc. vol. VIII. p. 302. They are mostly deeply and well incised, except in some lines of Plate I. and on the reverse of Plate II. (II. B). Plate I. is, owing to its losses and the faulty execution of the letters, in so bad a state that neither a photograph nor an impression could be taken. It could hardly have been deciphered if the greater portion of its contents had not been a mere repetition of the Sāmangaḍh inscription. On the reverse of Plate II. (II. B) the incisions are so superficial, especially in the centre, that the wear and tear which the surface has undergone, and some accidental scratches, have made the deciphering very troublesome and difficult. Thus in verse 32 visvajanina was only recognized in the photograph; and baliḥ, which, owing to two accidental scratches, looks like balema, was made out only by the reading of the Baroda plate, kulaiḥ. The latter, though otherwise a misreading, proved the existence of a visarga and of a dissyllabic word which the metre required.

As regards the contents of the inscription, its chief importance lies in this, that, besides carrying the history of the Rāṣṭhraḵūṭas further down than the Baroda inscription, it gives a complete view of the genealogy of the older Rāṣṭhraḵūṭas, which the hitherto known plates of the 8th and 9th centuries gave very imperfectly, and helps us to define more accurately the position of the Rāṣṭhraḵūṭ kingdom in Gujarāt.

According to the Kāvi grant the Rāṣṭhraḵūṭas succeeded each other in the following order:

A.—Main line.
I. Govinda I.
II. Karka I.

III. Indra  V. Krishna

IV. Dantidurga  (Śaka 678) VI. Govinda II. VII. Dhuva.

VIII. Govinda III.  (Śaka 730) B. Gujarāṭ branch.
1. Indra
2. Karka
3. Govinda  (Śaka 740).

Against this enumeration the Sāmangaḍh inscription* names Nos. I.—IV. of the main line only, and the Baroda inscription Nos. I, II, V, and copies of the photographs have been sent to the various Asiatic Societies.

$ Plates II. and III. have been photographed (half size).
VII. VIII. of the main line, and Nos. 1, 2, of the Gujarāt branch. When speaking of Kṛishṇa (V.) the Baroda inscription states (v. 8) "that he destroyed his relation, who followed an evil course, and himself assumed the sovereignty for the good of his race." With the help of the Kāvi inscription it is now easy to see that the dethroned relative was no other than Dantidurga. It also becomes explicable why the writer of the Baroda grant should have left out Indra and Dantidurga. According to his own statement, he considered the latter a wicked prince. He therefore confined himself to the righteous branch of Karka's family. It is not necessary to assume with Lassen that the Rāshtrakūta empire split up into two parts after the death of Karka I.

From v. 29 of our inscription it is also clear that a separate kingdom of the Rāshtrakūtas was established only by Govinda II., and that this prince made over the Lātēvaraṇaṇḍa to his brother Indra, a statement which is supported by the amended reading of the Baroda grant. Lātēvaraṇaṇḍa obviously means 'the kingdom or province of the ruler of Lāṭa.' I infer from the phrase 'Indra received the realm of Lāṭa from his brother' that the latter had newly conquered it. For, had it been an old possession, it would probably have simply been stated that Lātadēśa or Lāṭaṇḍa had been made over to Indra. As the Van Dindori inscription of Govinda II. is dated in Śaka 730, the Rāshtrakūta invasion of Gujarāt must have taken place at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. During this period the kingdom of the Chāuptekastas or Chauḍas of Anhilvāḍ, which was established by Vanarāja in 746 A.D., was probably still weak and unable to defend an outlying province like Lāṭa. Lāṭa corresponds to what we now would call 'Central and Southern Gujarāt'-to the country between the Mahi and the Kōṇkaṇa. According to Lassen, the Latikē or Lekōtē of Potlemy included a somewhat larger tract of country. To judge from the position of the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvi and Baroda inscriptions, Lāṭa was confined in the ninth century by narrower boundaries. For Govinda III. resided, when making his grant, in Bharuch; and the village given by him, as well as those surrounding it, are nearly all to be found in the Jambūsār Tāluṅā. Kāpiṅkā is, of course, Kāvi; Vatapadraṅ, Ruhnaṅa, Jadrāṅa, and Kāliyara are now called Wardha, Ruṅḍa, Jantraṅ, and Kaliṅ.

Among the places mentioned in the Baroda grant, Ankottā and Jambuviṅkā exist now as Ankūṭ and Jambuva, and are situated five or six miles to the south of Baroda.

Besides we find at the present day Rāthor girassās in the Bharuch district and in the Guikvāḍi villages on the northern bank of the Tāpti—a certain sign that these districts were once under Rāthor, i.e. Rāshtrakūta, rule.

How long the rule of the Rāshtrakūtas in Lāṭa lasted, and whether they kept up any connexion with the main branch of their house, is at present difficult to decide. Two circumstances bearing on the latter point deserve, however, to be mentioned. Firstly, both Karka in the Baroda and Govinda in the Kāvi inscription call themselves simply mahādāmasāndhākipati, 'lords of the great feudal chiefs,' or 'great lords of the feudal chiefs,' and state that they had obtained 'the great titles.' As I have stated on former occasions, it may be inferred from these indications that they were not lords paramount, but vassals of some greater power. Secondly, the names of the successors of Govinda in the main branch, as given in the Karda and Kharepatan, inscriptions differ from those of the Gujarāt inscriptions. I am therefore inclined to consider the Rāshtrakūtas of Gujarāt vassals of those of Mālkheṭ.

Plate 1.

S. Vīayādhāraṇī, śālā, kālā, viśāmabharnā bhūtī।
Harṣa yasa kānṭe[l]u kālamālā ॥[11] ॥
Aṃśāstīdaya, niśarṣamāndānihātapati,
M. Vīyādhāraṇī, śālā, kālā, viśāmabharnā bhūtī।
Mānikāṭa, viśāmabharnā bhūtī ॥[3] ॥

Kharepatan, and Salogī plates discussed, Ind. Ant. 1. 265.
§ Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 170.
∥ Lassen, loc. cit., assumes that the main branch of the Rāshtrakūtas also ruled in Gujarāt. There is no evidence warranting such an assumption. But there is a good deal of evidence to show that they were a Dakhani race whose capital was Mānyākhet or Mālkheṭ. See the Karda,
Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.

Plate II A.
Plate II. B.

संतीबाबुदेवनारायणशाह के गुरुवर संस्कृत साहित्य शास्त्री बाबू के नाम के लिए निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक निर्देश
1. [मात्र सेवा] भाषामिश्र के इतिहास पर विषय निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक शिक्षा के लिए निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक निर्देश
2. [विषय] भाषामिश्र के इतिहास पर विषय निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक शिक्षा के लिए निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक निर्देश

Plate III.

1. [मात्र सेवा] भाषामिश्र के इतिहास पर विषय निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक शिक्षा के लिए निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक निर्देश
2. [विषय] भाषामिश्र के इतिहास पर विषय निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक शिक्षा के लिए निःसंस्कृत प्रादेशिक निर्देश

† V. 22, line 12 ends with निःसंस्कृत. V. 23, l. 13 ends with शब्द, and l. 14 with निःसंस्कृत. V. 24, l. 15 ends पर गो. V. 25, read एक और and तर्क. V. 26 ends with शब्द. V. 25, l. 17 ends with रेखा. V. 27, l. 18 ends with प्रभाव. V. 28, l. 19 ends with बाबू. V. 29, read ग्रंथि का l. 1 ends with शब्द, and l. 2 with शब्द. V. 30, read निःसंस्कृत and शब्द. V. 31, l. 4 ends with महाशय, and l. 5 with शब्द. V. 32, read शब्द, बिंदी and नाम. V. 33, read यथा. V. 34, read हेतु and जटा. V. 35, l. 10 ends with रक्षा, and l. 11 with शब्द. V. 36, l. 12 ends with शब्द and l. 14 with शब्द. V. 37, l. 14 ends with बाकी. V. 38, read जोड़ा. V. 39, l. 15 ends with निःसंस्कृत, and l. 16 read निःसंस्कृत. V. 39, l. 17 ends with शब्द.

§ Line 1. Only portions of aksharas 4-13 remain.
Translation.

1. May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel is the dwelling-place of Brahmā and Hara, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-sickle!

2. There was a prince, called Govinda-rāja, a royal lion among kings, whose fame pervaded the universe, and who, of pure (splendour), at the head of his trained army dispelled his enemies in battle just as the moon, the leader of the host of rising (stars), dispels the darkness at night.

3. When he saw an army flashing with gallant warriors coming to meet him, biting his lip and knitting his brow, clutching the sword, and planting courage in his clan and his own heart, he always raised forthwith the loud battle-cry.

4. When his enemies heard his name pronounced in the flight, three things unseasonably at once slipped from them,—the sword from the hand, animation from the face, and pride from the heart.

5. His son, the illustrious Karkarāja, whose resplendent glory was famed throughout the world, who stilled the pain of the distressed and supported the abode of Hari’s steps, who resembled the king of heaven, and whose orders in the Sāmangādi inscription. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstrī’s reading, dhvastattanayanam, is nonsense, and not warranted by the facsimile, which, though not very clear, may be read, as I have done, dhvastārthaya. The latter word must be taken as a denotative from dhvastārtha, ‘annihilated,’ or ‘dispelled.’ I am unable to say how Bāl Gangādhār Śāstrī got the ‘run’ instead of the ‘moon,’ out of viśānu.

† The verse is also the third of the Sāmangādi inscription. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstrī’s readings, uunadātman and cha saśtvan, are, I think, preferable to ours. But the di in uunadatman appeared to me quite clear. His translation of subhaṭṭoṭṭādhistam is utterly mistaken.

§ The verse stands fourth on the Sāmangādi plate also. Bāl Gangādhār Śāstrī’s variants are owing to mistakes in deciphering, and his translation is faulty.
found obedience, became (after him) the gem of the (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) race.||

6. His son was Inḍrārāja, as it were the mount Meru of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, a prince whose shoulders shone with the ichor flowing from the split temples of (hostile) elephants, and were scratched by the blows of their tusks, who destroyed his enemies on earth.¶

7. The son of him who had earned greatness was the illustrious Dantidurgaṇa, who, resembling Indra, ruled the whole earth that is girdled by the four oceans.*

8. He conquered quickly, with a handful of dependents, the countless unconquered host of Karjata, which was expert in defeating the lord of Kānchi, the Kerala, the Chola, the Pandyas, Śrīharsha, and Vajraya.†

9. He, contracting his brow, swiftly conquered by his bow Vallabha—untir'd, obeyed by all, who had not taken up his sharp weapons, and made no effort—and thus obtained the titles 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'‡

10. ..... §

11. When he had gone to heaven ..... Kṛiṣṇaṇarāja, the son of the illustrious Karkarāja, became lord of the earth.

|| The verse stands fifth in the Sāmānsagāth plate also. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī’s variants in the first and second pādās, as well as kṛiṣṇaṇaḥ in the third, are supported by the facsimile; the rest are microriginal. * Artūrtikā may be referred to Hari, as Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī has done.¶

† This verse stands seventh on the Sāmānsagāth plate. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī’s translation of prabhānaṃ ...... yathā is wrong, as he has not taken into account the word ‘ruchita’ which must be taken with ‘doṇa.’ In the second pāda he paraphrases instead of translating.

* Metre giti. The restoration of the name of the king is made certain by the genealogy as given in other plates.

† The verse stands last in the poetical portion of the Sāmānsagāth plates. To judge from the facsimile, Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī’s reading ajeyaratthakāthā instead of our ajeyam alpākāthā is, by no means certain. He has left it out in his translation. The synonyms alpākā and kīṣṇdevi are, I think, both used in order to give force to the statement that Dantidurga’s army was small. Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī has also left out Vajraya (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. vol. XXXII. p. 97) in the list of conquered kings.

‡ In the Sāmānsagāth inscription this verse stands just before the preceding one. But its text appears to be very corrupt. It is also difficult to say how Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī arrived at his translation. It appears to have taken agrīkāṇaṇaḥātcitātśatra and apratikātātśatra (his reading for apratikātātśatra) as apratikātātśatra, and to have referred them to the action of Dantidurga. But apratikātātśatra can certainly not mean ‘without sending armies.’ Antar or antar means ‘bowels,’ and nothing else. Again, agrī-

12. ..... The life of the illustrious Kṛiṣṇaṇaṇa was blameless as that of Kṛiṣṇa.

13. ..... 

14. ..... ||

15. He soon obtained the auspicious titles ‘king of kings’ and ‘supreme lord.’

16. ..... His strong arm quickly destroyed the multitude of his enemies inflamed with pride, as soon as he saw them (?).

17. He was the protector of the earth that is adorned with the girdle of the four oceans, and also of the threefold (sacred science); he gave much ghṛt to Brāhmaṇs; he worshipped the immortals and honoured his guru; he granted (to suppliants) their hearts’ desires; he was the first among the virtuous, the favourite of fortune, and in consequence of his great penance he went to the immortal abode to enjoy the rewards of heaven.

18. His son was the illustrious Govindarāja, called (also) Vallabha,† who was expert in making widows of the wives of the conquered world’s enemies, who in one moment split in battle the temples of the most elephants

\[\text{mitrāddhaśāstraṃ, ‘without wielding [his brilliant] weapons,’ is contradicted by the statement that Vallabha was conquered by the dānākalā. The latter word, which Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī leaves out in his translation, I take to be a synonym of dānākā, ‘bow,’ though I do not find it in any dictionary. It certainly is a derivative of dāna, and designates some kind of weapon. Finally Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī’s translation of apetayaṇāt, its reading for apetayaṇaṃ is wrong, as the ablative of the compound cannot mean ‘without any effort.’ I have thought it preferable to take the second compound of the first pāda and all those of the second pāda as accusatives masa, and to refer them to the conquered Vallabha, whose former greatness and sudden loss of energy and courage they appear to indicate. But I will not deny that they may be taken as apratikātātśatra adverbs by any one who can get over the contradiction contained in agrīkāṇaṇaḥātcitātśatra and dānākānaḥ jīvam.]

§ This verse, on account of its mutilation, admits of no certain rendering. But its general meaning seems to have been that Dantidurga conquered the whole of India. || vv. 13 and 14. I am not able to make out the general sense, even, of these fragments.

¶ There are two difficulties in the first two pādās.

Firstly, it is remarkable to find that the “warded-off heat” is given as the reason for the king’s sportive gait, instead “of the warding off of the heat.” Secondly, an account of the exigencies of the metre, vallabhaḥkhyāḥ, which must be construed with Govindarājaḥ, has been introduced into the sentence beginning with yena.
of his enemies, and who, his head whitened by the dust of the vanguard, ever walked in battle with sportive gait, since the heat of the sun's rays was warded off by his white parasol.

19. His younger brother was the illustrious Dhruvāraja, of great dignity and unchecked prowess, who, conquering all kings, gradually became (in fierce brilliancy) like unto the morning sun.

20. When that gem among good princes had become the chief of the Rāshtrakūtas, the whole world called him the good lord, daily its spiritual preceptor. When that righteous lover of truth was ruling the earth from ocean to ocean, then (people agreed that) in truth the age of truth (had returned).

21. Gladdening his relations, he daily gave, when pleased, all his wealth to the crowd of suppliants. When angered, the great hero impetuously took the life-breath of Yama even.

22. Highest joy filled the hearts of men when he righteousy ruled the earth together with the four oceans.

23. His son, the ornament of his race, was Govindaraja, a liberal (prince), dear to mankind, keeping fortitude as his only riches, endowed with notorious valour, who harassed his enemies, and whose fame was celebrated far and wide by the virtuous.

24. His second famous name was Prithvivallabha. He, alone, made subject to himself the earth that is bounded by the four oceans.

25. As the Universal soul, though one, appears manifold to those who maintain the existence of individual souls, so did he, when by the strength of his arm he crossed the boundless ocean of this foemen's host, appear manifold to his enemies in battle.

26. "Alone am I and lacking arrows, well armed and numerous are the foes"; such thoughts did never come to him even in a dream, much less in battle.

27. When many other great kings Sambha and the rest, allied together, were tearing from him by the strength of their arms the dignity of king of kings and supreme lord, which he had received from his father, being consecrated with (the water of) the coronation urns,

28. Then, destroying them all together with crowds of kings, he fastened that (title) in a great battle, though it had become loosened by the blows of Yama's sword, made Fortune stable and serviceable to his suffering gurus, to Brahmins and virtuous men, to his friends and relations, and forced her to hold his excellent, glittering chauri.

29. But his brother, the illustrious Indrarāja, equal to Indra in valour and of wondrous fame, became ruler on earth, and sovereign of the province of the ruler of Lāta, which he received from his (elder) brother.

30. To him who conquered single-handed, and was fond of deeds of hazard, his army served merely as a mark of royalty. That proud (prince) did not bow to any of the immortals even, excepting the first-born god, the lord of the whole world.

31. His son was (a prince) of great power, whose mind revelled in the pleasure of the knowledge of the Śāstras' meaning, and who carried openly the ancient auspicious appellation Sri Karkaraja, together with other secondary names.

32. When a dispute about good government incidently arose, it was formerly (the custom to cite) the kingdom of Bali as an instance of a realm where prosperity affected all subjects. Now (we give as an example) on earth (the kingdom) of this ruler.

33. At his death his servants felt towards him (a slip for taddattu) to taddatu. The translation is very inaccurate.

§ This verse stands third on the Baroda plates, and is there applied to Govinda I. The first and second pādas have been badly read by the Paṇḍita; the third shows a valuable variant lectio, "sūryaṃ śravāntiḥ kramantiḥ". The deity intended is, of course, Śiva.

|| The last two pādas of this verse occur in the 4th verse of the Baroda inscription, where, however, mukhyam is substituted for pāram. Paṇḍita Sāradāsa Chakravarti has utterly misunderstood them. He thinks that pāsūkāmaprātimśiṃ means "all good qualities"! In the Baroda inscription the verse refers to Karkaraja I.

¶ This verse stands fifth in the Baroda inscription,
who had been showering wealth on them just as husbandmen feel towards the cloud that has sent more water than is desired, when it stops (raising).

34. Struck by the fierce impetus of the numerous arrows shot by him, the herd of hostile elephants that had come into battle, imitated (in its movements) the great mountains when they are rocking to and fro in consequence of the fury of the storms that arise at the moment when a kalpa expires.

35. His younger brother, whose fame spread far, and who entirely vanquished the multitude of his enemies, was the illustrious Govinda rāja, the celebrated lord of kings who considered this earth, though it includes many continents, oceans, mountains, forests, and large towns, diminutive like the span of his hand for purposes of gifts and conquest.

36. What enemy did not find his destruction through him, or what supplicant did not daily receive gifts from him? What good man did not obtain honour, or what bad man did not suffer injury through him? Whilst he was lord, were not the wives of his adherents adorned with ornaments, and were not the wives of his enemiesjaunched on the ground? Thus his mighty deeds bore fruit in every respect.

37. His pure and countless virtues never knew any other location (than him), just as his pure and countless wives never saw any other house (but his).

38. The Universe alone knew the limits of his prowess, which in battle equalled the valour of Râma, and it became the scene of the sportive victories gained by his strong arm that was able to subdue all foes.

He, seeing that this whole life is unstable as a flash of lightning and worthless, has made this charitable grant, the sanctity of which is greatly enhanced by (its being) a gift of land.

And he, the ruler of the great feudah, the illustrious lord Govinda rāja, (called also) Prabhūtavarsha, who possesses all the great titles, addresses these commands to all his officials, functionaries, and persons in authority to the governors of provinces and siltás, to the heads of villages, heads (of castes) and others, whatever their connexion (with him) may be:

"Be it known to you that in order to obtain benefits in this life and the next for my parents and for my own self, and for the increase of spiritual merit and glory, I, dwelling in Bharukaccha, have given, confirming the gift with a libation of water, after bathing in the river Narmadā, on the full moon of Vaiśākhā, when seven hundred and forty-nine years of the Saka kings had passed, to the temple of the divine Šrīnā, called (that of) the illustrious Jyāditya and situated in Kotipura, which is included in Kapikā, for the restoration of its broken and rent parts, and (in order to defray the expenses) for perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps, and food-offerings, the village of Thūravati—the boundaries of which are, to the east Vatsapadraka, to the south the village of Jadārā, to the west the villages of . . . mānyana and Kālīyāra, to the north the village of Rukhālā, together with . . . , together with . . . , together with its green and dry produce, together with the (right of) fine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten faults, together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, together with the income in grain and gold, to the exclusion of all former grants to gods and Brahmans, according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein—(this same village), being not to be entered by the
irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by any royal officers, (and the grant to hold good) as long as moon, sun, earth, oceans, rivers and hills endure §

This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Govindaraja. And this has been written by order of the illustrious Govindaraja by me, the noble and illustrious Yogaswara, the son of the illustrious Avalokita, the minister of peace and war. The executive officer here is the illustrious Kunda.

Postscript.

An additional proof for the early use of the so-called Vikrama era of 567 B.C. is furnished by the corrected version of the Aihole inscription of Pulakeshi II, published by Mr. Fleet in the Antiquary (ante, pp. 67 et seqq.). There it is stated that the Saka year 507 corresponded to the year 3551 of the Kaliyuga. Mr. Fleet has pointed out that the Saka year 507, if the latter era be taken to be that beginning 78.9 A.D., and for the Kaliyuga the usual, beginning the vernal equinox of 2102 B.C., be accepted, corresponds to the Kali year 3686. He offers, however, no explanation for the curious statement of the inscription. It seems evident to me that the Saka year has been referred by the writer of the inscription, either intentionally or through inadvertency, to the Vikrama era. For the difference between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and that of the Vikrama era is . . . 3044. Add years of the inscription . . . 507

The total gives the Kali year 3551 mentioned in the inscription.

I do not think that the writer of the inscription, though calling the era in which he dated Sakas, really meant the Vikrama era. For the Chalukya inscriptions are all dated Sakas, and there can be no doubt that the later ones are dated in the era beginning 78.9 A.D. Besides, the author, Revakirti, belonged to the Jaina sect, and the Jains have more than once committed errors in respect to the two eras. I believe that he simply made a mistake, and put down the equivalent of 507 Vikrama, for that of 507 Sakas. But, however that may be, in any case it must be allowed that he knew the era beginning 567 A.D., which is customary to call that of Vikrama, and it may be asserted that the Aihole inscription furnishes another instance of its early use.

As regards the sign-manuals of the Gauraja and Rastrakuta kings, I have to add that Prof. Dowson has already called attention to those of the former, and has drawn inferences from them similar to those made by myself.

MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHABHARATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &C., EDINBURGH.

1. Union fait la force; mutual help.

The forest tree that stands alone,
Though huge, and strong, and rooted fast,
And braving long the storm, at last
By furious gusts is overthrown;
While trees that, growing side by side,
A mass compact together form,
Each sheltering each, defy the storm,
And green from age to age abide.

So too the man alone who stands,
However brave himself, and wise,
But lacking aid from stout allies,
Falls smitten soon by hostile hands.
But those sage kinsmen ever thrive,
Like lotus flowers in blooming pride,
Who firmly each in each confide,
And each from each support derive.

2. The same. v. 863.

By woods unsheltered, tigers fall
Beneath the hunter-troop's attacks;
And stripped of tigers, forests tall
Soon sink before the woodman's axe.
Let tigers, therefore, woods defend,
And woods to tigers shelter lend.

3. Caution in dealing with a crafty enemy.

When with a crafty foe thou wastest war,
Ne'er rest secure because he dwells afar;
For, know, the arms of such a man are long,
When stretched to wreak his wrath on those
Who've done him wrong.

§ The portion left untranslated contains only the usual injunctions on future kings, and the commissory verses against the resumption of land grants from the Mahabharata.
4. **Machiavellian counsel.** i. 5563 and xii. 5264.
   Whilst thou dost watch thy chance,—with seeming care
   Thy mortal foe upon thy shoulder bear;
   Then down to earth thy hated burden dash
   As men against the rocks an earthen vessel smash.

5. **Poverty lends relish to food.** v. 1144.
   The poor man daintier fare enjoys
   Than e'er his wealthy neighbours taste;
   For hunger lends his food a zest,
   While plenty pampered palates cloys.

   The Lord all creatures' fortunes rules:
   None, weak or strong, his might defies;
   He makes the young and simple wise;
   The wise and learned he turns to fools.

7. **Loss of Virtue the only real loss.** v. 1289.
   Thy virtue guard at any cost.
   Wealth none can trust; it comes and goes;
   The good survive misfortune's blows;
   But virtue lost, and all is lost.

8. **Ill-gotten gains fail to benefit.** v. 1251f.
   When men unjustly-gotten gains
   Employ unsightly rents to hide,
   Each ancient rent unveiled remains,
   While new ones gape on every side.

9. **Good to be drawn from everything.** v. 1125.
   From madmen's ravings, e'en, the wise,
   And children's prattlings, good may gain:
   As workmen skilled extract the vein
   Of gold in rocks that bedded lies.

10. **Evil Men to be avoided.** v. 1164.
    Let good men ne'er with bad themselves ally:
    Whene'er a friendly bond the two unites,
    The guiltless share the doom the knives that smites:
    Moist wood takes fire and burns when mixed with dry.

11. **Honest Advice.** v. 1348f.
    Bland courtly men are found with ease
    Who utter what they know will please;
    But honest men are far to seek,
    Who bitter truths and wholesome speak.
    So, too, those thoughtful men are rare
    Who blunt and sound advice can bear.
    A prince's best ally is he,—
    The man from servile truckling free,—
    Who faithful counsel gives, nor fears
    With truth to wound his patron's ears,—
    Not he who spares him present pain
    At certain cost of future bane.

12. "**The tongue can no man tame.**" (James iii. 8.) v. 1170.
    'Tis very hard to curb the tongue:
    Yet all this needful power should seek;
    For who much useful truth can speak,
    Or charm with brilliant converse long?

13. **Study beforehand the consequences of action.** v. 1112.
    If I now take this step, what next ensues?
    Should I forbear, what must I then expect?
    Thus, e'er he acts, a man should well reflect;
    And weighing both the sides, his course should choose.

14. **Means do not always lead to the desired ends.** xii. 831.
    Friends cannot always bring us bliss,
    Nor foes suffice to work us ill;
    Wealth is not always gained by skill;
    And rich men oft enjoyment miss.

15. **The best remedy for grief.** xi. 184.
    Nor valour, wealth, nor yet a band
    Of friends, can bring such sure relief
    To mortals overwhelmed with grief
    As strong and steadfast self-command.

16. **The wise superior to circumstances.** xi. 67.
    No day arrives but, as it flies,
    Of fear a hundred sources brings,
    Of grief a thousand bitter springs,
    To vex—the fool, but not the wise.

17. **Marks of a wise man.** v. 923.
    The men too high who never aim,
    For things once lost who never mourn,
    By troubles ne'er are overborne,—
    Such men the praise of wisdom claim.
18. Sanctity leads to knowledge. v. 1382.
The man who every sin forsakes,
Whose breast with love of goodness glows,
He Nature's primal essence knows,
And all the changing forms she takes.

19. The true Brāhmaṇ. xii. 9667.
The man who Nature knows, and all
The changing growth that from her springs,
And all the fates of living things,—
That man the gods a Brāhmaṇ call.

20. Appearances not always to be trusted.
xii. 4148f.
A bounded vault the other seems,
With fire the firefly seems to shine;
And yet no bounds the sky confine.
'Tis not with fire the firefly gleams.

So other sense-perceptions, too,
Which else might cheat, should first be tried;
And those which every test abide
Should only then be deemed as true.

21. Desires insatiable. xii. 6713.
When men grow rich, for something else they pine.
They would be kings; were kingly rank attained,
They faint would gods become; were godship gained,
They'd long to rule o'er all the race divine.
But should'st thou wealth and royal power acquire,
And, soaring higher yet, become a god,
Yea, rule all Svarga by thy sovereign nod,
E'en then unsated, thou would'st more desire.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.D. C.S.

(Continued from p. 76.)

No. XV.
This is another Pallava copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskrit language, from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. The plates are six in number, and in this instance, again, contrary to the usual practice, the inscription, to judge by the numerals on the plates, commences on the outside of the first plate and ends on the outside of the last, plate. The seal connecting these plates seems to bear no device; at least, none is given in the facsimile.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Māṅgadur, in the country of Vṛṅgōrāśtra, to certain Brāhmaṇs, in the eighth year of the reign of Siṃhāvarma. In this case, also, the date is not referred to any era.

If my suggestion be accepted, that, Viṣṇuṅgopavarmā being styled 'Yuvarāja'† in No. XII of this series, the Siṃhāvarma, in the eleventh year of whose reign the copper-plate recording Viṣṇuṅgopavarmā's grant was bestowed, must have been Viṣṇuṅgopavarmā's

 elder brother and the reigning Mahārāja,—the Palla, a genealogy will stand for the present thus:

| Skandavarmā I. |
| Vīravarmā. |
| Skandavarmā II. |

| Siṃhāvarma I. | Viṣṇuṅgopavarmā, |
| Viṣṇuṅgopa, (or Viṣṇuvarṇa†). | |
| Siṃhāvarma II. |

At the time of this second grant the capital is stated to be Daśanapura §; the locality of this town is not known to me. As regards Paḷakkāda, which in No. XII of this series is given as the capital, I see ‘hat Dr. Burnell|| gives 'Paḷakkāda' as the old form of 'Pālghāṭ' in the Cochin territory; perhaps the two names may be one and the same, but in the first line of No. XII the last letter is distinctly 'd', not 'd'.

* Compare the Psamitai of Euripides, pp. 506 et seq., where Eteocles says: 'Foe, I, O mother, will declare, concealing nothing; I would go to the place where the stars and the sun rise, and beneath the earth,—if I were able to do these things,—in order to possess royal power, the greatest of the dionysia.'
† Also 'Yuvarāja' in line 9 of the present inscription.
§ Possibly only a Sanskrit translation of some such Canarese name as 'Haḷḷur', the village of the tooth. See the remarks on the Sankritizing of Dravidian names at p. 77, note 5, of Dr. Burnell's South-Indian Palaeography.
|| South-Indian Palaeography, p. 36, note 1.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

I.a.

I.b.

II.a.

II.b.

W. Griggs photo-lith from Originals.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

III. a.

III. b.

IV. a.

IV. b.

W. Griggs photo-lith
Transcription.

First plate; first side.

[1] नित्यस्मय 
[2] दात्तेयस्मय 
[3] वृष्ण 

First plate; second side.

[4] प्रायीकर्ण 
[5] समयर 
[6] स्माननक्षेप 

Second plate; first side.

[7] श्रीरमवर 
[8] कर विर 
[9] यमो 

Second plate; second side.

[10] म न म 
[12] नस 

Third plate; first side.

[13] भा त्र 
[14] म (भा) 
[15] दिन 

Third plate; second side.

[16] हूँ (हूँ) 
[17] म | 
[18] हूँ (हूँ) 

Fourth plate; first side.

[19] रि 
[20] रू 
[21] क्र 

Fourth plate; second side.

[22] शमशक्य 
[23] म व 
[24] म 

* The vowels of these two letters—मा, वा—are just discernible in the facsimile copy with me, but will probably be lost in printing.

* This letter—वा—was at first omitted in the original and then inserted below the line.
Victory has been achieved by the holy one! Hail! From the glorious and victorious city of Daśanapura, the great-grandson of him, the Great King Śrī-Viravarṣa, who honoured according to the proper rites the gods and Brāhmaṇas and spiritual preceptors, and old men; who was made prosperous by the three constituents of royal power; who was high-minded; who enjoyed great happiness acquired by the strength of his own arm; and who was the bravest man upon the surface of the earth; the grandson of him, the Great King Śrī-Skandavarṣa, who achieved wondrous rank and power in a hundred battles; who grew old in respect of learning (beyond his years); who gratified endless desire; who performed an endless number of rites; and who abounded in good qualities; the son of him, the Yuvājña Śrī-Viśnugopa, who pervaded the whole world with his fame, which, white as the rays of the moon, was not interwoven with the fame of others; whose mind was refined by his learning; and who was most dignified, Śrī-Simha varṣa, the pious Great King of the Pālavaśas, who are a most exalted race; who are possessed of wondrous fame, which has been acquired by the strength of their arms and has become celebrated and established; who have prepared for celebration many sacrifices according to the proper rites; who are almost equal to Śatākratu; and who are the favourites of the goddess of fortune, he, who has pervaded the world with his great glory, which has scorched up the assembly of chieftains, and which day by day is increased by actions that have no counterparts (in the behaviour of others) and are such as are desired by good people; whose every undertaking is actuated by (a desire for) the prosperity of mankind; who is eminently desirous of conquest on the whole surface of the earth; who meditates on the feet of the holy one; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable Bappa; who is a most excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhāravāja, issues his commands to the villagers at the village of Māngadūr, in the country of Vēṇgoreśha, and to all the word ‘kāla’; in ‘ānontakalpa-pradhyayināk’, Skandavarṣa is compared with the ‘Kalpadruma’, or tree of paradise, which gratifies all desires.

† After this letter, the letter त, the first letter of तन्त्र as a separate word, was repeated in the original and then erased.

‡ In this and the following epithets there is a play on Indra.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

V.a.

V.b.

VI.a.

VI.b.
the authorities and the favourites and those who carry out his orders:

On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the eighth year of our victorious reign, to increase our life and power and victory, we constituted this village a grant to Brahman and gave it, free from all liability to taxation, and with the exception of the plough of the possession of the god, on the condition that it is to be enjoyed (only) by those residing in it, to Rudrasarma of the Athara gatra and the ritual of Apastamba, to Turka Sarasma of the Vatsya gatra and the ritual of Apastamba, to Damasa Sarasma of the Kaunika gatra and the ritual of Apastamba, to Yajnasarma of the Bhadravira gatra and the ritual of Apastamba, to Bhavakotigopa of the Parasharya gatra and the ritual of Apastamba, to Bhartri Sarma of the Kasyapa gatra and the ritual of Vajasaneya, and to Sivadatta of the Andamoghu gatra who chants the Samaveda hymns, and to Shashthikumara of the Gautama gatra and the ritual of Hiranyakasipu. Recognizing this, let them treat this village with immunity from all taxation and cause it to be so treated by others. And he is deserving of corporal punishment, who transgresses against this our charter. Moreover, are there not verses of the saints as to this? There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift better than a grant of land; &c.! Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; &c. He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows who confiscates land, &c.!

This has been engraved by Nemi at the personal command of the king.

NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INdIAN OR Dravidian FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., M.R.A.S.,
Member of the German Oriental Society, and Fellow of the Madras University.

It seems presumption to intrude into a field of research which my valued friend and fellow-labourer for years in missionary work, Dr. Caldwell, has made his own; but I am afraid that students of Indian languages are a little in danger of neglecting the principles of the Inductive Philosophy, and I desire to record my conviction that much has yet to be done before the great question of the affinities of the vernaculars of Southern India in particular can be considered as settled. Our most important business at present is to collect and classify the facts, to observe accurately, to note similarities, to group analogous facts together, and to examine carefully the documents of each language. Theories, those rapid generalizations of the philosophic mind, have in India, I fear, preceded in many cases a careful study of the facts, and have even prevented a fair and full examination of these facts.

In preparing a slight sketch of the TaJa grammar, and in making collections for a similar paper on the real Karg dialect, I have felt impressed with the conviction that we must begin with the less cultivated dialects of the family before we can judge fairly of the more cultivated members of it. I may hazard the assertion, in limine, that TaJa, Karg, and Old Kanarese differ far less widely from the Indo-European languages than the cultivated Tamil does.

My object in writing, then, is to put on record a few of the facts that I have collected during thirty years of study, and to suggest the inquiry whether certain things have not been taken for granted rather too suddenly in reference to the so-called Dravidian dialects. I have not carefully examined the second edition of Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, which is a monument of labour and genius; but I anticipate no controversy with him.

Dr. Muir, in the preface to his Sanskrit Texts, Part II., says that "the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kanarese tongues are originally and fundamentally quite distinct from and independent of Sanskrit," and that consequently "the people by whom these languages are spoken originally must have belonged to a race which had no affinities to the Sanskrit-speaking Aryas, and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kabhriyas."

It is rash, perhaps, for me to say that I can -
not so easily receive the authority of Muir as superior to that of Mann. It often happens that more accurate research tends to rehabilitate the despised writers of the olden times. My contention is (1) that between the languages of Southern India and those of the Āryan family there are many very deeply seated and radical affinities; (2) that the differences between the Drāvīdian tongues and the Āryan are not so great as between the Keltic (for instance) and the Sanskṛita; and (3) that, by consequence, the doctrine that the place of the Drāvīdian dialects is rather with the Āryan than with the Turānian family of languages is still capable of defence. I cannot hope for leisure, amid the weary and continuous labours of a school, to work out the subject in detail; but the few facts here adduced may set at work others who are younger and have more leisure.

In this paper I will confine myself to one point.

I. In preparing a Wordbook of the "Grundsprache" of the Drāvīdian dialects (a work which I am compelled, reluctantly, to leave unfinished), a curious fact came to my notice. I will state it in the form of a rule, which I believe to be only a part of a law not less useful in treating of the Drāvīdian tongues than Grimm’s law has been in the comparison of the recognized languages of the Āryan family.

This is the rule:—Initial $P$ of the Tamil and Telugu is often $H$ in Kanarese, and a corresponding root exists in the Āryan beginning with $Y, F,$ or $ϕ$—with an aspirate.

I give a few examples, taken quite at random. If these are coincidences, they are at least curious, and students may be glad to have them pointed out.

I believe, indeed, that a close examination will establish it as a truth that every word which in Kanarese begins with $H$ (a letter not used in Tamil at all) has a corresponding root in the Āryan. I may indeed, in the sequel, extend the area of the statement, and lay it down as a fact that every root in the "Ur sprache" of the Drāvīdian languages has a corresponding root in the Āryan.

I must now ask attention to the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Kanarese</th>
<th>Āryan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. pād;</td>
<td>hād.</td>
<td>$ϕ$ vaḍ (Fick, p. 159); vates (L.), barđ (§ 1, W.), barz (B.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. pulli,</td>
<td>hali.</td>
<td>$ϕ$ valla (L.), halle (balla) (Gael.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pen,</td>
<td>ben.</td>
<td>fem-inā (L.), hen; benn [ben] (Gael.). $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. pag-ai,</td>
<td>hag-e.</td>
<td>feog-can (A.-S.), foe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. pō-g-a,</td>
<td>hō-g-a.</td>
<td>vag-or (L.), $ϕ$a (Gr.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. pal-a,</td>
<td>hal-a.</td>
<td>fel-e (A.-S.) [roª].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pō,</td>
<td>hā.</td>
<td>$ϕ$λu (Gr.), phal (S.), flor. (L.), bloom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. pull-u,</td>
<td>hul-u.</td>
<td>$ϕ$λło (G.), feur (Gael.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. pul,</td>
<td>hul-u.</td>
<td>$ϕ$olo (G.), vi-is (L.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. pēth-ai,</td>
<td>hedor-u.</td>
<td>faln-u, (L.), $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. pōrr-u,</td>
<td>hor-u.</td>
<td>$ϕ$p (G.), fer (L.), b’hri (S.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. pērr-u,</td>
<td>her-u.</td>
<td>bear, beir (Gael.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. pāl-ai,</td>
<td>holl-u.</td>
<td>bairn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. pur-am,</td>
<td>holl-ai.</td>
<td>hollow-um (L.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general belief is that the substitution of $h$ in Kanarese for $p$ of the Tamil is a modern corruption. On the contrary, the $h$ is found in many ancient words not existing in the present Tamil.

I suppose that all words found in Tamil with an initial $p$, and in Kanarese with an initial $h$, were originally written with an aspirate $p’h$. The Tamil has retained the $p$, and the Kanarese the $h$.

* The Kanarese have the same dislike to initial $P$ that our Saxon ancestors had.
* If vēla = vēc-ula, this must be removed from the list.

I have noticed in my Outlines of Tuda Grammar that the Tudas retain the $f$ and the $x$, and are as partial to those sounds as any son of the Cymri or of the Gael.

In another paper I shall have something to say about other roots common to the "Grund sprache" of the Āryans and that of the Drāvīdians.

Bangalore, January 3rd, 1876.

[If femina is from fe-o (= produce), compare 12 in the list.]

 customary, so that the deriva-
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DOLMENS IN THE COROMANDEL COAST.

Sir,—Some months ago, being on a tour in the district, I determined to visit some curious stone structures of which I had heard, which were supposed to be of very great antiquity, and to have been inhabited by a new extinct race. Those that I first visited were situated about four miles from Tirukovilü, or the left bank of the Ponniyar, near the village of Kollur. Only two or three were visible, and of these only one was fairly above ground. It consisted of four large granite slabs forming a chamber 4' 3" high, 6' 4" long, and 3' 6" broad, and was covered over with a huge slab nearly a foot thick, and 10' 9" long by 8' 9" wide. The entrance was by means of a space about a foot wide, where two of the vertical stones did not join. The flooring appeared to be of stone. There was nothing whatever in this hut, so I proceeded to examine another, which was half underground, and after a considerable amount of digging excavated the whole of the space within the four upright stones. This I was able to do without much difficulty, as the top stone had been moved. On examining the sides I found a circular aperture in the eastern wall, about fifteen inches in diameter. In the interior of the chamber were arranged a number of vases of different sizes, about sixteen or eighteen in all, varying from one capable of holding several gallons to one not much bigger than a large marble. The vases were of red and black colours, and were nearly all glazed or polished, outside and inside. They were very well made, the clay being of excellent quality. Besides the vases, I found a singular kind of couch or vessel about four feet long and fifteen inches wide, with rounded ends, and about nine inches deep—something like a bidet. It was of great weight, having fifteen heavy legs, and being quite an inch thick. In trying to transport it to my camp it was broken in pieces. I found nothing in this vessel, but one thing about it struck me as very curious; all the legs, though part and parcel of the vessel, were stuffed with earth. This must have been crammed into them before the vessel was placed in position, and every vessel I found was similarly crammed full of earth. I was told that when an anikat was building in the neighbourhood, some years ago, the stone contractors had broken up and carried off numbers of the stones of these buildings, which would account for the one I examined having no covering stone; but the state of affairs as I found them seemed to me to leave little room for doubt that, though the covering stone had been carried away, no attempt had been made to touch the contents of the chamber, in which case it must have been filled with earth when the vessels were placed in it. My surprise in this respect was strengthened by some other excavations which I carried out a day or two afterwards, at a spot where a great number of these structures exist, about three-quarters of a mile due north of the Arakandamallur Pagoda. This Pagoda is a striking object, about 1½ miles from Tirukovilü, and on the opposite bank of the river. It is built on a rock on the river's edge, and is remarkable on account of the existence of five very singular cells cut in the solid rock, where local tradition says the five Teluguas lived when expelled from Ayodhya. I had two or three of the structures opened, to which I have alluded. They were situated within the limits of the village of Devanâr. In one of them I found two of the couches, one much smaller than the other, and the larger of the two about 4½ feet long. In this one I found some fragments of bones and some scraps of iron. One of the latter resembled a small knife-blade. I also found in one of the chambers a piece of iron which might have been part of an iron plate. In every case the singular opening in the eastern stone was found. The bones were rather small, and from a fragment which might have been part of a skull I concluded they were human. When cleared to the stone floor these chambers were about 7½ feet high by 6½ broad and 8 long. As at Kollur, so at Devanâr there were slabs of granite sunk in concentric rings around the structures. At Devanâr these structures are scattered over a space of three or four acres of ground, and in their midst is a huge upright slab fourteen feet high above ground, eight wide, and about six inches thick. It has a rounded top like a gravestone, and is called the Kacheri kol, or 'stone of office.'

These structures so closely resemble those described by Capt. Cole as found by him in Coorg and Maisur that I fancy they must both have been the handiwork of the same class of people, though this is the first time I have heard of their being found so near the sea, Tirukovilü being only forty miles from it.

Capt. Cole assumes that these are prehistoric structures, but while I think it is evident that their antiquity is respectable, I find they are alluded to in the Sthala Purana of Tirukovilü, the antiquity of which may perhaps go back five or six hundred years. In that Purana they are alluded to as being inhabited by Mahârâjas called Vâlikhiliya. Local tradition says they were

a dwarfish race, and that there were sixty thousand of them. In the jungles of Trinomala, close by, are still to be found a few people called Viliyans. I had two or three of them brought to me, and one was a little man only 4 feet 8½ inches high, but perfectly proportioned. The others were as tall as the general run of natives. Whether these are remnants of the former race it is difficult to say, but the similarity of name is at least curious. These people told me that their custom was to abandon a hut in which a relative died. Whether the structures I have described were used as dwellings or not, it is not easy to say, but there is good ground, I think, for presuming that they were used as burial-places.

J. H. Garstin, M.C.S.

Porto Novo, 7th February 1876.

GAURA.

I do not understand Bābu Ram Dās Sen’s argument (Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 25). He quotes two lines which run thus:

“Sāraswatā, Kānyakubjas, Gaurās, Maithilas, and Otkalas are dwellers north of Vindhyā known as the five Gauras.”

The allusion is to the five northern septs of the Brāhmaṇ caste. The Vindhyā range, running from sea to sea, is the natural boundary between north and south India. It is surprising that a Hindu should require to be reminded by an Englishman of the five great Brāhmaṇ septs—the Sāraswata, Kānyakubja (modern Kanaūj), Gaurā, Maithila, and Otkala (from Utkala = Orissa). The context clearly shows that the Gaurā sept must have inhabited Bengal. How the passage shows that Bengal was anciently called Bānga does not appear.

Gaurā is the country south and west of the Padma, or present main stream of the Ganges, i.e. central and western Bengal; while Bānga is that north and east of the same river, i.e. eastern Bengal. The Paurānic accounts of things in general are not very trustworthy, least of all in matters of history or geography.

Cuttack, February 5, 1876. John Beames.

QUERY—AN EXTINCT RACE.

I append a passage I lately came across in Col. Welsh’s Military Reminiscences* (vol. II. p. 54), referring to an aboriginal tribe in the Madras Presidency, apparently near Arcot. Can any of the readers of the Indian Antiquary give any information about this tribe? If these people are, or were till recently, extant, and were in the habit of building such houses as that depicted in the engraving from Col. Welsh’s sketch, many of the stone remains discovered in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere are possibly of recent, instead of being of prehistoric date, as they are generally supposed to be.

The passage in question is as follows—

“Returning by the Pedenaig Durgam Pass, I must make mention of a race of Indians, now supposed to be extinct, who formerly inhabited certain strongholds in the country, and appear to have been entirely different from every other tribe in their habits, manners, and customs. Approaching Naikenyary from the top of the Pass, the road winds along the base of a rocky hill, which leaving on the left hand it crosses by the band of a tank, within a few hundred yards of the wretched bungalow of that name. On the top of this hill are the remains of a stone village† formerly inhabited by the Paundwāry; there may be forty or fifty ruins, and a description of one will answer for all. They are generally a square of eight feet and about five in height; the walls, roof, and floor being formed of single stones, with two stones set in perpendicular and rounded at top for the entrance—door it cannot be called, the only passage being cut in a null circle in them, exactly opposite each other; the two stones being set two feet asunder, and the whole strengthened outside by a buttress of loose stones, with others of four feet high above the earth or rock in which they are set nearly perpendicular. I have added a sketch of the one I found most entire, to explain this incoherent description. Every endeavour to get some authentic account of these people failed; all I could learn was that they inhabited the hill-country, had laws and kings of their own, never mingling with other natives, but plundering them and retiring to their strongholds whenever they were pursued or successfully opposed. The whole in a body were called Paundway or Paundwār, and one was styled a Paundwar. I have twice met with sepulchres on the Malabar coast which appeared to me to have some connexion with the owners of these deserted hamlets.”

E. W. W.

M. Garcin de Tassy, Professor of Hindustāni at the School of Oriental Languages, has just received the Cross of Commander of the Portuguese Order of St. Diago, which is only conferred on men of high reputation in science or literature.

—Galignani.


† Can this be now identified? and, if so, is Col. Welsh’s curious sketch even approximately correct? It is, I suspect ‘too good to be true.’—Ed.
THE following notes are the results of observations made during a tour of many months in the mountains, and of a residence of some five or six years in Kumaon, and as they chiefly refer to races who have retained their primitive habits and customs unchanged for many centuries they may be found of interest. I propose to touch on agriculture and the implements employed in it, and such manufactures as came under my notice, on architecture, as well as general matters.

A Himalayan village generally consists of a cluster of houses, sometimes connected in ranges, but more generally separate, and mostly perched on a hill-side in terraces. In the higher ranges where fires abound, these are often built of stones and mud, with alternate layers of squared timbers crossing one another and projecting at the corners, with wooden balconies supported on wooden projections from the walls, in which are placed pierced carved wooden windows, or solid wooden shutters with slits in them.

Each floor is boarded with rough planks hewn out of a single fir-tree by cutting it on either side, and mud plaster is used. The walls exteriorly are often plastered with mud and then whitewashed. On this whitewash I often observed patterns roughly painted in red ochreous earth. The roof varies but little. When stone is procurable, huge blocks are made as thin as possible and used as slates. Thus I have seen slabs twelve feet in length and of prodigious weight. In other parts trees are cut in lengths of one foot or more, and their shingles are split off with wedges. As usual in all countries, the poor through how they can, although in these regions there are but few real paupers, the village system caring for all; and we therefore find nearly every hovel either stone or timber roofed.

The lower part of the houses, which are often of two storeys, is generally devoted to the live stock of sheep, cows, and cattle generally; and only the upper floor is inhabited by the family, who appear utterly reckless of the horrid fumes arising from the dung-heap below. Occasionally—generally about once a year—the dung-heap which has collected at the door from the removal of the filth of the sheds is taken away to the fields in killas, or baskets, on the backs of women; but it is always disagreeable to pass through a hill village, however picturesque it may look from a little distance. They have no sanitary arrangements whatever, so that when marching or shooting I never, if I could avoid it, passed through or to leeward of a native village; and when, from positive absence of room to pitch my little tent, eight by six feet, I was obliged to lodge in the village, I had to lodge in the small village square or space in front of the temple, which was the only clean place to be found. There is no arrangement for a chimney, saving a hole in the roof, and scarcely any for light, so that the state of an interior can be better imagined than described. Owing to the coldness of the climate, the people are more clad than in the plains; but as they never wash they are very filthy, their abodes being mostly full of smoke. Some of the houses extend to a great length, and I was told that several generations often lived under one roof-tree, additions with separate entrances from a common front verandah having been made from time to time.

The above remarks apply pretty generally to all Kumaon and Garhwal.

The roofs are nearly flat, and upon these in fine weather many may be seen sitting. They also use them for spreading out their grain, corn, and fruit: to dry, as well as clothes when rarely they wash them, and over these they often train their gourds and cucumbers. The shingles are very low, but solidly built, and the whole edifice will stand for a long time, as it is solidly constructed, and the smoke appears to preserve the timber of the roof.

One peculiarity runs through all their houses, viz. the wood-carving. This is particularly noticeable in the temples in the Satlej valley, where the Chinese or Tatar influence displays itself; but it is seen more or less everywhere, notably in the little projecting balconies with their carved wooden pillars and pierced open work, and it is curious to see how handy the hill carpenter is with his tools, few and rough as they are.
In Kumaon the Jaina influence shows itself in the vimāna, or square temple. Here the worship is of Siva and the linga and bull, although I am bound to say this is very much neglected. There, or crossing the hills by Gaṅgutri to the Baspā and Karnāwar valleys, we come to a strange mixture of Buddhism and Lama-worship. But more of this hereafter.

Almost every village has some sacred spot, where prayer is wont to be made, be it much or little frequented on ordinary occasions, and must have a temple or building of some kind.

There are also many forts on the Baspā and Satlej rivers. These are merely kept perched on some high rock, and most commonly built of stones and timber in alternate layers, like so many of the houses. They are of many storeys, with but few windows, and the only wonder is how they contrive to hold together. All are commanded by heights near, and, although looking formidable from below, are of no real strength. In fact they are now but residences of the headmen of the villages in which they are placed, or rather which have grown up at their feet for the sake of their protection.

But there is one most important point, to which I have not yet alluded. This is the bridges. Torrents and ravines abound in every path; hence their constant occurrence. Please to remember that there is no cart-road in the country under notice, and therefore no great breadth or strength is needed. 1st, there is the primitive bridge, consisting of a tree (often a fir) cut down and thrown across. This, worn to a polish and often wet, is very trying to a European, and it is marvellous how sheep and goats cross it.

(2) Next I have observed two or three boughs tied together and put across. This is even worse, as being generally very weak. It is, however, only used over very small streams. (3) Over larger streams we have put the single stem, generally a noble tree,—one I measured being over ninety feet in length—flattened on the upper side. (4) Next is the regular songa, in which beams of timber counterpoised by a heavy lading of stones overlap each other till they nearly meet, when straight pieces are laid across, and all is planked.* These are good bridges if well constructed with sound timber, and often last many years. (5) We next have a simple rope hanging high over the river, to which is fixed a cradle in which one is drawn over by a smaller cord. (6) Sometimes this rope is double, as it used to be at Śrīnagar, and a footway is suspended to it of pieces of bamboo and rope, forming a most shifty and unpleasant footing, and used for man only. (6) But the un-safest bridge I remember was one in which the double rope was constructed of twisted birch twigs, which being old were very rotten, and one took every step in fear. The whole bridge was of birch.* The ordinary rope is made from the fine fibre found at the base of some of the Andropogon grasses. (7) The best bridge, which has been introduced by the European, is the light iron suspension bridge. Of these there are many in our territory, and they suit the scenery well.

Roads there are none; there are merely sheep, pony, and cattle tracks. Sometimes, however, a ladder is placed, or sticks are driven into the face of the rock, or steps are even cut in it. This is, however, rare, and laden sheep could not pass by these contrivances. Of course I do not refer to our territory, in which we have very much improved the means of communication.

But few know how that, within a very limited distance from our hill settlements, polyandry prevails. I had heard of it, and as I passed from village to village on the banks of the Satlej near to the confines of Chinese Tartary I looked out for it. I did not, however, actually meet with it till I had passed Morang, at the village of Nisang. I will therefore quote from my diary a little about these villages and their people:—

“July 17.—Leaving behind me one tent, two servants, half my flock, and all heavy baggage, I started for the frontier of Tābet. The path wound along the steep and somewhat bare mountain-side, until after three miles some fields swarming with pigeons came in sight, proclaiming the vicinity of a village, which proved to be Porbālī, a small collection of houses, over many of which by way of standard, floated—attached to a pole—a yak’s tail, or chaurī. After a rest we here commenced a most villainous climb over a smooth face of rock, and then a descent to my halting-place, Rbā, a cluster of villages containing above 180 houses. On a terrace before the temple, commanding a beautiful view, my tent was pitched. On my right was the river Satlej, far below, with rocks

* See the accompanying plate for examples of these bridges.
Sanglû, Sanga or Bridge on the Baspâ River.

Rope Bridge of Birch Twigs at Namjâ on the Sutlaj River.
rising perpendicularly from it for several hundred feet. On my left rose some high and snow-capped peaks, whilst before me the river seemed to climb amongst the mountains. Next morning at 8 a.m. reached Rispa by a gradual descent, and found the grain nearly ripe, and the barley falling under the sickle. Halting for breakfast, pushed on for Morang, our resting-place.

"Crossing the Terong stream by a frail bridge, renewed every year, we kept above the Satlej, which here presents a curious sight. From a wide smooth stream it suddenly contracts and leaps down in a series of fierce bounds, splashing the banks with its muddy foam, so that Macaulay's description of the bridge of Horatius came forcibly to mind. But now we ascend gently for a mile or two, when the fort of Morang comes into view, perched on a nearly insulated heap of rock in the river-bank, and almost commanded, even by musketry, on every side. Two men only lived in it, and it looked utterly deserted. Here I remarked large flights of goldfinches busy with the grain, together with numbers of butterflies looking like Painted Ladies and Meadow-Browns. A little further and we reach a deep gorge cut out by a small stream flowing for ages. Along the sides of this we wind, until crossing by its head we arrive at the encamping-ground under the village of Morang, which consists of four or five scattered groups of houses on the hill-side, facing south, surrounded with terraced fields and vineyards. The place swarmed with wild pigeons, of which I shot a good supply for the camp.

"July 19th.—At early dawn commenced the steep ascent behind the village by a most villainous road of loose stones and sand. This till 8 a.m. I wearily climbed. The clouds lay low on the hills all round, and there was a raw, cold feeling in the air, and not a tree was to be seen for a long distance. At last one willow appears, and a feeble spring of water, the secret of its being there. Here the whole party halted, water being very scarce in these parts. After a short halt and smoke we all pushed on, but it was 1 p.m. before the crest (14,000 feet) was reached—Morang, our last resting-place, having been 8760 feet above the sea-level. Below 11,000 feet I noticed very few flowers, but above that limit I found many, some of which were new to me. The road was in many places a mere path or staircase of rocks, and the descent on the other side, if possible, worse from its steepness. The village of Nisang, my halting-ground for this day, was 10,110 feet above sea-level, so that I had 4000 feet to descend, and it was 5 p.m. ere I reached the village. This consisted of one compact mass of houses, intersected with narrow 'anes, one half of which acted as watercourses, whilst all were used as latrines. Small fields of barley were to be seen in every quarter, and for a long time I could not find a spot twelve feet square on which to pitch my tent. At last I was offered the use of a yard, some fifteen feet in size, on which I settled for the night.

"Next day I halted—in order to draw a few of the lovely flowers found the day previous, for as a rule my halts and marches were regulated by the number of new flowers I met with. Of these I had accomplished thirteen by 3 p.m. In this pent-up valley the sun was very hot, but the heat was tempered by a delicious breeze from the north-west. In the centre of the village was an empty space, and, as my custom was, I went thither to see the people, who meet here to gossip. It was a curious sight. Most of the women were dressed in red blankets, and adorned with a profusion of brass ornaments, huge silver earrings and bracelets, together with bead necklaces, in many of which I observed malachite and turquoise in huge rough lumps, as well as amber. Their hair was plaited in a multitude of fine plaits hanging down the back, when all were brought together and plaited in wool in one pigtail, which terminated with little red or blue worsted tassels. These plaits reached to the loins. Many had both arms bare, some only one; none had both covered. Amongst the countenances I remarked some of the ugliest and most repulsive Tatar cast. Hill-women (i.e. of Kumaon) looked handsome beside them. These Tatar women had their dirty dishevelled hair hanging about their shoulders, without the least attempt at dressing it. The little tassels worn by some hill-women in their caps were very tasty, yet simple—a number of grains of wheat strung crosswise on a thread, with a little coloured tassel at the end of each string. I had meanwhile sent in my demand for food, &c. for my camp, and each villager had to contribute his or her quota. The flour
was of every kind, some bringing wheaten
buckwheat, &c. All were then mixed up
for the purpose of making cakes, which
were of a most unsatisfactory quality. I
could not ascertain how the assessment
was apportioned, but it must be done by some rule; the
prices, however, were settled by the headman of
the village (muktiydr), and all supplies were paid
for on the spot. We often found the villagers
unwilling to part with a pound of flour, the
supply barely meeting the local demand. Only
two or three men were to be seen in the village,
the rest being absent and engaged in carry-
ing salt, grain, wool, &c., or in herding the sheep
on the hill-side. Strange to say, these women
were not afraid of Europeans, nor did they
make any attempt to conceal their features, so
that by means of an interpreter I managed to
obtain much information from them. I suppose
the cold in winter is too great for grapes, as
I saw none here; but the barley, some species
of which (the ceeullean) I have seen at nearly
13,000 feet at Nako, waved luxuriantly in the
little fields. A little way from my tent lived
a ‘Lama’ or Buddhist priest. He had a
queer little tent pitched on the top of a house,
in which he sat the livelong day, continually
turning a small mdsani or inscribed cylinder,
which at each revolution on its axis struck a
little bell. He was an old wizened man, flat-
-faced, with high cheekbones, his hair in long
thick plaits twisted round his head. During
my stay of two days I did not see him visited
by any one. What a strange life to lead!

"Strange noises are often heard near this,
amongst the mighty Raldang peaks, and I
have often lain awake at night hoping to hear
them. Last night I did so. The sound at one
time was like distant thunder, at another like
what one would fancy the breaking up of ice
at sea would be, at another like an avalanche,
and again like huge stones bounding from rock
to rock. They may have really been

ed of all these. Sometimes it sounded like an
explosion, which is one of the assigned causes,
said to be caused by the spontaneous combustion
of gases generated in the mountains. I do not,
however, think much of this last suggestion.
Whatever they were, they lasted only during
the early morning, and had entirely ceased by
8 a.m.

"It was in this village that I met with the
first woman who had more than one husband.
She whom I addressed very simply told me
that she had four—all brothers. I asked her
how they managed, and she said that they were
never at home together. One would be absent
with sheep, bringing salt from Tibet; another
with a consignment for disposal in the Ram
Serai valley; a third attending to the cultura-
tion of some distant outlying fields, or tending
sheep on the far-off hill-side: so that all went
on very amicably. The woman herself ap-
peared to be the common drudge of all, working
at household tasks and performing the culture-
tion at the village like the veriest slave, whilst
the present husband sat against his stone wall,
or on the sunny roof, smoking his pipe with
all becoming dirt and dignity.* These people
seldom use water or change their clothes:
for, as they often said, "If we bathe and take
cold and get fever, who is to cure us?" The
water generally is indeed cold, and even the
Hindus of the hill eat and cook clothed, on
account of the climate,—a practice which would
not be allowed for a moment in the plains,
where only the waist-cloth is retained, and that
after bathing.

"Respecting domesticated animals it may be
noted that it is customary to hang large tassels
of worsted from holes bored in the bullock’s
ears. Asses are extensively used near the
junction of the Baspá and the Satlej; and dogs are
highly valued, specially the Bhutan breed.

"My tent is pitched looking out to the north-
west, and before me rises, as nearly perpen-
dicularly as a mountain can rise without being

the practice of the father to marry his sons in their
childhood to young women, for the purpose of securing the
services of the latter as members of the family. Boys of
eight or ten are married to women of twenty-five or thirty,
and it is not uncommon for a bride to marry her husband
in her arms. The wife is thus at a period of decline when
the husband reaches adult manhood; and it seems, too,
that during the earlier years of the marriage the father too
often incestuously abuses his power over the person of his
dughter-in-law."—M. J. W.
one precipice, a solid mass of rock to the height of 4000 feet, with apparently scarcely a blade of grass or a single tree; yet up this lies my path to-morrow, although from my point of view it looks inaccessible. Around the village, in the terrace fields, chukor (Cacabia chukor), a large partridge, abounded, and I secured some of them in the evening. They are noble birds, and a great addition to the larder.

"July 21.—Off at 5 p.m., descending to the bed of the torrent, lying perhaps 1000 feet below. This I crossed by a very dirty much-melted snow-bridge. No path had been followed in the descent, which, like the ascent now to be made, consisted of loose broken stones, chiefly slate. It took me till 10 a.m. to climb to within about 1000 feet of the summit, and here all rested for a little water. By the water were lovely flowers amongst the barren rocks, and I caught by the tail and killed a fine snake, as he was slipping away, which measured 4 feet 2 inches. Forward again and the crest (some 14,000 feet) is gained. Here all join in building a pillar of stones, and I, sitting down, draw and colour one or two of the more perishable of my flowers. The descent was easier for perhaps 2000 feet, but after this it was really fearful,—all loose stones; no trees, no grass, no water, and scarcely a little shrub. At last all reach safely the bed of another torrent, blocked with dirty snow and huge rocks. From this an ascent of 500 feet led me to a little terrace scooped from the hill side, perhaps eight feet by fifteen in area. Here I pitch my little tent, and am glad to rest after my weary walk of twelve miles only."

But enough from my diary. What I have extracted will show the character of the country, which of course modifies that of the people in a great degree. It will also give an idea of what travelling in these parts means. There are no roads, but only footpaths, and these are often more fit for the mountain goat than for a man; and this brings me very naturally to the traffic carried on by these villages in the necessary of life.

When halting at Kâmrû, in the valley of the Baspâ river, an affluent of the Satlej, I prepared the following statistics, which, approximately correct, will give a good idea of the resources of a large and prosperous community in these valleys:

Kâmrû was once the residence of the Rajas of Bisshir, and is situated in the beautiful valley of the Baspâ. It is built of wood and stone mixed, at the end of a rocky spur overlooking its own fields, and contains about—25 zamindars, i.e. taxpayers and landholders; say, 25 brothers to ditto, i.e. not paying taxes; 22 or 23 women, and about 40 children; 6 coolies or artisans holding no land, paying no taxes, and feeding generally on grain for their services; 2 musicians, for temple worship.

Next a rough estimate of crop—400 muns of 80 lbs. each.

Cattle—excluding oxen, cows, and calves—150.

Sheep, i.e. rams and ewes, 250; goats 400.

Sheep for lading (wethers), 250.

Say, eaten in one year at festivals, 50 sheep; sick 25; leaving 225 sheep fit for work at one time. Now let us see what profit there will be on these same sheep.

1. Home wool: each sheep gives 2 lbs. at each shearing = 4 lbs. each.

Sold in Râmpûr at 5 lbs. for 2s. = £9 10s.

Less the cost of carriage, 8s. leaves £9 2s.

Foreign wool purchased in Tibet: 2 sheep = 1 rupee or 2s. = £1 2s. plus cost of carriage, 6s., for 400 lbs. weight.

Salt and grain:

1a. Salt is bought in Tibet: 6 lbs. of wheat.

1b. Salt sold in Râmrâr: 5 lbs. of rice.

Valley: 5 lbs. of rice.

At the rate of 1 lb. of salt = 9 lbs. of wheat = 4½ rice = 12½ barley.

2a. Plus carriage 1½ months = 11 men to 225 sheep = 33 days.

2b. Plus carriage, 18 days = 22 men to 450 sheep = 33 sheep.

Leaving clear for profit 159 sheep.

Cost of sheep (original) 6s. each, value £4 7s. 10d.

Cost of sheep's keep for 2 months (unemployed), 5 months at 4s. per annum—say, cripples and casualties 25 sheep = £3.

† Although polyandry prevails, I hold the women, as calculated by my native friend, at too low a figure.

‡ This apparent difference arises from food for man and beast having to be carried in either case, in the one case for 38 days, and in the other 46 days!
Say, then, that half the salt of one journey to Tibet, viz. 2250 lbs., is bartered for rice; each sheep carrying now 22 lbs., we shall require 460 sheep to carry 10,125 lbs. of rice; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs., the remainder having to be carried by men in leather bags, 80 or 90 lbs. to each man.

Say that half the salt of one journey is bartered for wheat, viz. 2250 lbs., at 22 lbs. weight for each sheep; we should need 947 sheep to carry 20,850 lbs. of wheat; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs. The balance, therefore, 15,900 lbs., is carried by men.

Hence we see 30, 40, or 50 per diem coming in with loads of wheat and rice from the Râmsêrâi valleys, whether they make repeated journeys; and it should be borne in mind that both salt and rice, as well as wheat, are largely consumed by the villagers, as well as by their flocks and herds.

The money prices in Râmsêrâi are generally about—wheat 60 lbs. for 1s., rice 36 lbs. for 1s.; whilst at Sanglâ, not many marches distant, wheaten flour sells at 12 lbs. for 1s.

The crop was roughly estimated at 400 mams of 80 lbs. each, and of this one-tenth goes to their government, besides the cash-taxes imposed upon them.

Cultivation is therefore not much attended to, and what little is done on every bit of available land is done by the women. The villagers of Bissechir have the monopoly of the barter between that province and Tibet, so that the inhabitants of the Râmsêrâi valleys are in the habit of supplying themselves with salt from them. Hence several thousands of sheep come from beyond, and thus the balance is maintained.

The sheep of Kâmar have 23 owners, so that comfort appears general, and good woollen dresses—the cloth for which is woven by the coolies, or artizans, the thread being spun by the men from Tibet wool as they saunter idly about—are worn by all.

Add to this—many vegetables, large crops of peaches, apricots, and walnuts. The apricots and peaches are eaten fresh and dried, whilst quantities of beautiful oil are extracted from the kernels. Many of the walnuts find their way to the hill-stations, where they sell at from two to four hundred for a shilling.

From the above it will be seen that the constitution of the village is on the Hindu plan, the only persons not agricultural being paid by all the others, generally in kind, and by fees on certain occasions.

Foremost amongst these ranks the Lama or priest. On the Satlej, as well as in Kumaon and Garhwal, this man often cultivates and holds land. Still, as head of the village, he gets offerings on new year festivals, on certain great religious days, on births, marriages, &c. Then there is the village barber, or hajjám. This man in large villages does no other work, and takes fees in a similar way, each villager giving him so many handfuls of grain from his heap on the common threshing-floor.

The musicians occupy an important place on the Satlej, and here they never cultivate, but live by offerings and presents, hire for officiating at weddings, &c. In Kumaon and Garhwal they are more peripatetic, and less attached to particular villages,—in fact, many villagers can and do play the tomtom, or hand-drum, which is all they here seem to need.

The dhobi, or washerman, who plays so important a part in the village economy of the plains, is less needed in Kumaon and Garhwal, and is scarcely ever heard of on the Satlej.

Few villages are without a man or men of the sweeper or lowest caste. They go by various names, and perform the lowest offices. They generally keep pigs, and assist at the burial of the dead. They very seldom hold any land, and they are paid by fees, chiefly in kind.

In Kumaon and Garhwal the dancing-girls are an institution, and hold endowments of land with certain privileges granted by ancient rulers. They are to be found in all the large villages, as well in the towns of Srínagar and Ámlói, which are their head-quarters. They are the regular prostitutes, and their children are held in great estimation by the natives of the plains, as possessing great personal charms, and the villages held by them are very thriving ones.

In all large villages there are carpenters and blacksmiths, as well as occasionally jewellers, but I was not able to ascertain that these refrained from cultivation. On some occasions the carpenter and the jeweller, as repairers of the village deity, or idol, or shrine, received offerings, besides being paid for what they did, but I do not think that this was generally the case.
IMPLEMENTS USED IN HIMALAYAN VILLAGES.
In some of the villages weavers were settled, and people brought them materials to weave from long distances, but more generally they went about from village to village, setting up their looms as they needed, so that they can scarcely be held to be constituent parts of the village community. Potters were still rarer, and in all my higher hill-wanderings I only once met a man pursuing his calling of making pots. Clay is very scarce, and earthenware very little used. For storing grain, pits are used; for small quantities vessels made of wood, called *thélás*, made of birch and other woods, and vessels of brass or iron. Large baskets made of twisted grass and plastered with earth are also used.

Clarified butter (*ghà*) and curds, &c. are always carried in these wooden vessels, which are turned out of solid blocks of wood, both in the Teri at the foot of the hills, and also in the higher regions, from the comparatively small birch-trees.

The accompanying drawings of implements used in Himalayan villages were all made at the time, being a few that escaped at the Mutiny, when the labours of years in the shape of hill-drawings were destroyed.

CASTES AND TRIBES IN KACHH.

BY DALPATRÁM PRÁNJIVAN KHAKHAR, INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, BHUJ.

The greater portion of the inhabitants of Kachh seem to have come from Sindh and Márwàd; Thul Pàrkar followed next, and Kàthiávàd and Gujaràt were the last to send their quotas. Most of the inhabitants were, and still are, Rájpúts of the Samma tribe, the progenitors of the Jà dé jà, who have assumed different names, from such of their ancestors as distinguished themselves. Hence we find a number of tribes originally descended from the same stock. Dèdà, Hothí, Otha, and Gàjan, who were the sons of Jàm Ràya dhan, ‘the Rich,’ gave names to the clans of Dèdà, Hothís, Gàjans, &c. Again, Gàjanjí had a son named Jiojí, who had also two sons, Aò dà and Mòd, whose posterity are the Aò ìs and Mòd; and Hàllojí, another son of Gàjanjí, gives name to the Hàllás. These all are, properly speaking, Jà dé jàs, but the name Jà dé jà is chiefly applied at present, in the province at least, to the descendants of Jàm Hamirjí, who had four sons,—Alliyà, Khàngár, Sàheb, and Ràyab. The second among these founded the city of Bhuj, and his descendants are distinguished by the name of the Khàngár branch; the posterity of the second are the Sàhebs, and of the third the Ràyabs. Most of those that preceded Khàngári are regarded as Dhàns or Mulyáns. A number of those who came from Sindh have become Muhammadans, but still indicate their Rájpút origin in their *nakhir* or family names.

Sarasvat Bràhmañas, Lohánás, Bhàtiás, Pokarnas, Kàshatrís, Bhànsalís, Oswáls, and most of the Muhammadan tribes, came from Sindh, and afterwards spread into Kàthiávàd and Gujaràt. Most of the Vâníás came at different periods from Márwàd and Pàhanpur, and a few from Gujaràt—who speak the Gujaràti language. The province is thus peopled by the most heterogeneous races. The following is a list* of the chief:

Abdàs (अब्दा)†—These are the descendants of Jàm Abòjí, who was fourth in descent from Jàm Lîkha, who gave the name Jà dé jà to the tribe. Abdà and Mòd were two brothers who gave name to the two districts of Aòdàs and Mòdàs, in Kachh, where they reigned. The Abdàs profess the Muhammadan religion; whilst there are Hindú Abdàs in Wàgaò, descended from the Dèdàs.

Ágàriyàs (एगारिया)—Muhammadan converts from Råthod Rájpûts originally from Agra. They are found in Bhuvàd, Mathodá, Khokhàr, and Mândài. They are cultivators.

Ágàs (अगा)—A very small clan of Muhammadans found in Ðòbàs and Kándú.

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References to the plate—Fig. 1 Dhxakma; 2 Gebers; 3 Lárov; 4 Sồr; 5 Táva; 6 Karò; 7 Khímà; 8 Dàn; 9 Wooden vessel for carrying water on the back; 10 Earthen jar for stores; 11 Bamboo basket; 12 Shallow basket for grain, apricots, &c.; 13 Càl; 14 Kàli; 15 Golì; 16 Jùl-taug; 17 Chàp; 18 Mùshàng; 19 Úkhàr, of stone; 20 Góù; 21 Gàrshál, cloth-crusher; 22 Lòtí; 23 Bòng; 24 Ràmd; 25 Saw at Nisàng; 26 Lathe turned by Water Power; 27 Ros; 28 Turned articles.

* This paper has been drawn up at the request of the Editor, who supplied a list of most of the castes to the writer, and he very kindly wrote out the paper on this basis, supplying several additional castes.—Ed.

† Conf. B calls. Lit. Soc. Trans. vol. II. pp. 219, 233.—Ed.
Ahers (अहेर)†—Hindus, generally cultivators. When there is no cultivation they maintain themselves by keeping a car: and a pair of bullocks, which they lend on hire. They are worshippers of Matā, and Vācharā—a Rājpūt saint. They are divided into five sub-tribes:—(1) Machan, from Machhukānta, living about Dhori, Kunari, &c.; (2) Prānthalī, in the district of Prānthal, in Kachh; (3) Borichā, in Kānti; (4) Sārthi, who came from Sārath and are scattered over Wāgar; and (5) Chorā, from Chorā, living about Ādeśar, Palanśā, Sanwā, Umīn, Jātāwā, Belā, &c. The other sub-tribes do not hold any intercourse with the Sārthīs, because when the latter were in political importance under Rāo Naughan of Jumāgadh, one of them is said to have betrayed him to the Emperor of Dihli, who killed him. Family-names—Hapā, &c.

Ajānīs (अजांनी)†—A branch of the earlier Jādejahs, and the descendants of Ajāji. They hold lands in Suthri, Tappar, Tanvān, Kākādā, Desalpur, &c.

Āmars (अमर)†—Descendants of Āmarji, one of the earlier Jādejahs.

Atīts (अतीत)†—These people are known under many appellatives in Kachh. Some marry, and some do not, whereas they are called Gharbāris (family men) and Mathēbhāris (ascetics or monks). These are again divided into ten tribes:—1 Gir, 2 Parvat, 3 Sāgar, 4 Pūrī, 5 Bhārthi, 6 Van, 7 Arā, 8 Saraswati, 9 Tith, 10 Āshram. The Atīt of any one of these sects attaches to his name the name of his sect as a termination, to make up his full name, as Karan-gar, Hirā-pūrī, Chanchal-bhārī, &c. By this he is distinguished as a member of a particular sect. A member of any of these sects can be a Gharbāri or Mathēbāri, who, again, may hold intercourse with each other. Most of them are professional beggars, but they take up any profession. They are found as ordinary sūpāris, bankers, or merchants, and also taking a prominent part in the affairs of state at native courts. Bāwā Rewāgar Kuvargar is one of the greatest bankers of Kachh, and his firm is held in great repute throughout Hindustān for its credit; and Bāwā Savāgar was highly trusted by the late Thākār of Bhūnagar. There are three heads of the Atīts, who are called Pīrs; one is the Pīr of Kalyānīwar, another that of Ajēpāl, and the third of Koteșwar. The Atīts are also called Gosāins.

Audiḥ (आउदी)†—These people are generally from Gohelvād, Hālār, and Gujārāt, and appear to have come to Kachh at different times within the last 250 years. Those living in Wāgar cultivate land, smoke the āndal, and allow rem marriage of widows; while the others are priests, reciters of Purānas, boggars, cooks, &c.

Balōchas (बलोच)†—Originally from Baluchistān; chiefly found in the district of Pāvar.

Bāphans (बघान)†—Mīyān Muhammadāns.

Barāchas (बराच)†—A branch of the earlier Jādejahs, descendants of one Bārachī, the son of Mulvāji. They are now regarded as mulgrāssias, and live about Nāgrea, Tehra, &c., chiefly cultivating lands.

Bāraḍs (बारड)†—Originally Rājpūts, but now degenerated into Khavās.

Bhalotās (बहलोत)†—Degenerated Rājpūts, almost like the Khavās; principally to be found in the village of Bhalotā.

Bhambhiyās (बम्बहीय)†—Rājpūts degenerated into Khavās.

Bhāndāris (भांडारी)†—Muhammadāns in Bhuj.

Bhansālis (बंसाली)†—Originally Rājpūts of the Solanki race, but have long ago ceased to have any intercourse with them. They put on the sacred thread and consider themselves Kshatriyas. Most of them cultivate lands, and are said to have come with the Jādejahs and become their first netatās. Some of them are merchants. They are to be found in the southern and western parts of Kachh. They are also called Vēguś (वेगूस).

Bhāts (बाठ)†—see Chhātrans.

Bhātiās (बाठी)†—Originally Bhāti Rājpūts, to which the Chief of Jesalmār belongs. Like the Jādejahs, they are said to be Yādāvā. After their migration to Sind they degenerated, it is said, into fishermen, but the Mahārājas of the Valabhāchāryas gained them over to wear
the sacred thread, and to follow the rules of his sect with much strictness. They have of late greatly risen in the social scale, and consider themselves almost equal to Vāniṣṭhas and Brāhmaṇs. They are among the most enterprising merchants, trading with Bombay, Arabia, &c., and some of them have gone as far as the coast of Africa.

Bhātīś (बातिश)—Originally Rājpūts, but have become Hindu Khaṇḍas or Musalmans; they are found chiefly in Bhuja and Māṇḍavi.

Bhojades (भोजदेज) are mulgrāssias, an early branch of the Jādejās.

Bhumās (भुमास)—A branch of the Sangars residing near Godi and elsewhere in Wāgād.

Bōhās (बोहा)—Mulgrāssias in Abdāsā, chiefly to be found in the village called Bōhā. They are Shiahs, and their High Priest or Mulla lives in Surat, who has great authority over them.

Buttās (बूता)—Originally Hindu, but at present Muhammadan mulgrassias; chiefly to be found in Abdāsā and Gurdā.

Chārans (चारान)†—There are three divisions of these:—1, Kāchhelā (Kachchis); 2, Māruvā (from Mawādā); and 3, Tumbels (from Sindh). The last two are the families of the Jādejās, and enjoy several villages as gīrās given by Jām Rāval and the Darbars of Kachch. The Māruvās and Kāchhelās reside in Māk, and the Tumbels in Kāṇthi. The Kāchhelās are money-lenders, and trade by caravans of bullocks. The Chārans in general are on the decline. The difference between a Bhāt and a Chāran lies chiefly in the latter being a simple reciter of a Rājpūt's praise in short rude poetical pieces, while the former is a regular genealogist, and sometimes the historian of the family.

Chāvādas (चावाड़)—Once a very powerful ruling race in Kachch, probably came from the neighbouring Panchāsār of Jayashekhari. One of their kings named Wāgām Chāvāda, who ruled in Pātigadh in Gārdā, was killed by Moj, the first Sāmā from Sindh. We find traces of their rule here and there in small townships till the end of the 14th century. There is a temple of Māhadeva at Bhunvād which bears an inscription containing the genealogy of one Vānra or Vannāja, and the date Samvat 1346. At present the Chāvādas have degenerated into Khavāsas, or Muhammadan sīphat, and one house of pure Rājpūt descent can scarcely be found in Kachch.

Chuchiyās (चूचीया)—Muhammadans of the Miyāna tribe.

Chuhtras (चुहत्रा)—Degenerated Rājpūts, a branch of the Jādejās, and reside in Dhang or the district about Lakhpat and Kora. They are also styled Virbhadra. They are proud of the martial and enterprising spirit of their ancestors. Dedās residing near Shikāpār are called Kārās.

Dhāngas (धांग)—This is not a particular tribe, but the name given to earlier settlers descended from Rao Rāyadhan, the son of Lākha Jādeja, who have either become poor peasants on account of their lands having been sold, or divided among the fraternity, or encroached upon by their powerful brethren of more recent descent from Rao Khangārī, the founder of Bhuja. The following are among the principal Dhang tribes:—Abdā, Āmar, Bārāch, Bhojde, Buttā, Gāhā, Gajān, Hothi, Jādā, Jēar, Kandade, Kāyā, Koret, Mokala, Pasaya, Retulā, Varama, &c.

Dedās (देडा)—The lowest caste among the Hindus, and found in every town and village. From their nākhs, or family names, most of them appear to have been originally of Rājpūt descent.


scents. For instance, we find among them Solankis, Chāvādās, Jhālās, Vaghélás, &c. The Hindus consider themselves polluted by their touch. Their profession is that of weavers, cobblers, wood-splitters, and tanners. They also take the hides and entrails from the carcasses of dead animals. They are also called Mēghhās, and serve as guides to government officers.

Gagdās (गग्दास) — Miyānās.

Gāhās (गाह) are said to belong to Dhang, and reside in A dhās.

Gajās (गाजा) — An offshoot of the earlier Jādejās, descended from Gajānji, the fourth in descent from Lākha Jādejā. Originally mulgrassās, but at present Muhammadan converts.

Ghosā (गोसास) — A sub-tribe of Miyānās.

Girrnās (गिरनास) — A large and wealthy class of Brāhmānas, originally from Jumāgadh.

Gohel (गोहेल) — There are only two houses in Kachh of pure Gohel Rājpūt blood, the rest being Khāvās.

Gujār Rājpūts (गुजार राजपूत) — When the Vaghélās came into Kachh the Gujar Rājpūts accompanied them, and it was chiefly through their assistance that they became masters of that part of the country, as a reward for which they obtained the right of tilling the land. They subsequently defended the Vaghélās from invasions from without. They are found in the Vaghélā towns of Gojī, Palāsāwā, Jatāvādā, Belā, Lodránī, U mū, Sanvā, &c., where they live by cultivating lands. They are of the following races: — Makvānā, Chanesar, Khod, Chāvādā, Chahurān, Gohel, U mū, Dūjā, Dābhī, Pādāriā, Chānd, Parmār, Tank (Taur), &c. They have no objection to the remarriage of their widows, as also to the appearance of their women in public.

Hālās (हाला) — An earlier offshoot of the Jādejās, descended from Gajānji, fourth in descent from Jām Lākha the Jādejā. Hālājī was the second son of Gajānji, who, after a long struggle with the descendants of Manū (who are called Kers, from his having killed his brother Unāj in Sindh), subdued all the villages in the south, middle, and west of Kachh. Jām Rāvāl was descended from this Hālājī, who conquered the western part of Kāthīwād from the Jēthvās, and gave it the name of Hālār, where he founded the town of Nowānagar and made it his capital. The Jān of Nowānagar is descended from him. Those who remained in Kachh are in enjoyment of some villages as their gi in the districts of Kānthi and Hālāchovī.

Halepotrā (हलेपत्रा), Narangpotrā (नारंगपत्रा) — Sindhi Muhammadans in Banni.

Hiṅgūra (हिंगूरा), Hiṅgūrajā (हिंगूराजा) — Muhammadan tribes from Sindh.

Hothīs (होथी) — Descendants of Hothījī, the brother of Gajānji. They are Mulgrassās, and reside in villages about Lakhpat, as also in Rehā, Jamābād, Tumābād, &c., in Kānthi.

Jādās (अजान) — An offshoot of the earlier Jādejās, now reckoned among the Dhanga.

Jādejās (अजादेजा) — The chief ruling race, who claim to be descended from Krishna, who belonged to the Yādava tribe. They were probably driven or went out of India after the Yādavāsthali, or civil war among the Yādavas, and after many adventures, as they allege, in Egypt and Arabia, came to Ghazni, where they killed the reigning emperor Feruzshāh, and ascended the throne. They were, however, disposed by Sultānshāh, the son of Feruzshāh. After wandering for some time they settled under Jām Lākha in Nagar Samāi, in Sindh, whence Mūd and Manū after killing their brother Unāj in order to obtain the throne, were obliged to fly into Kachh, where their relative Wāgam Chāvādā was reigning; here also they killed Wāgam Chāvādā, reduced the seven Vaghélā tribes (सत सांव वाघेल), and obtained possession of the province. After five reigns the line became extinct, and Kachh was in the hands of the rulers of Aṇāhilāpātan for some time; but about Saṅvat 1204, Lākha, the son of Jādā (whence the name Jādējā), came into Kachh, and gave name to the reigning tribe.

Jats (जाट) — A pastoral tribe originally from Aleppo in Turkey. Once they held some part of Kachh as rulers, but were driven by the Jādejās into Warai and Bājnī, where they rule over.
at present. They are in the north and west of Kachh.

Jesars (जेसरस) are mulgrässis regarded as Dhangs, residing about Navināl and Berajā.

Jhālās (झाला)†—There are very few of this tribe in the country.

Kānades (कानडेस)†—Mulgrassíi Dhangs residing in Wāgād.

Kāndāgarās (कांदागरास) Early Rājput settlers residing about the village of that name.

Kāthīs (काठी)†—There is not a single Kāthī to be found in Kachh.

Kāyās (काया)†—Mulgrassíi Dhanga residing about Vadvā.

Kāyasths (कायासंघ) Chiefly from Kathāwād and Mārāwād, about 100 families. They are priests, writers, and also sepoys.

Kērs (केर्स) Desendants of Manāi, who killed his brother Umād. At present landholders in Pipar, Polāi, &c., in Girdā. (See Hālās.)

Khrāvās (ख्रावास) is the name applied to native sailors who are generally Waghers and Miyānās.

Khōdās (खोडा)—Gujar Rājpūts.

Khōjās (खोजा)—Shiah Muhammandans found in every part of Kachh, but chiefly in Nāgalpur, Bhadrēswar, and Bhārāpur. Most of them were originally Hindus of the Bhātī caste. They have a separate religion of their own, consisting of the Dās Arāhis of the Hindus grafted on the Shiah tenets of the Muhammandans. Their high priest is His Highness Agā Khan of Bombay, to whom they pay extraordinary reverence. They do not go to the masjid, but have a separate place of worship called the Khānā. There are some reformers of late among them who, rejecting the mixed creed, have become Sunnis. They are chiefly cultivators in Kachh, but are enterprising merchants in Bombay and Zanzibar, China, &c.

Kōlis (कोली)†—These are aborigines in Wāgād and Anjār Chovisi, and live by robbery, though now they find it hard to carry on this profession, and have become cultivators.

Kuṅbis (कुंबी) An agricultural tribe. They are subdivided into Kaḍvā, Anjanā, and Lēvā, chiefly residing in Wāgād, Prānthal, Māk and Kānhī. There are Munūs but no Kaḍvās in Kachh. They are from Gujarāt.

Kṣatrīs (क्षत्री) call themselves Brahma Kṣatrīs, and consider themselves the descendants of these who survived from the persecution of Paraśurāma. After the persecution they are said to have ruled in Sindh. They were ousted from Sindh by a race of foreigners called Barbars. They then went to the goddess Hinglāj, who gave them certain professions. These people are a numerous class in every part of Kachh, and are generally dyers, printers, carpenters, turners, silk-weavers, traders, and Kārbhāris. The celebrated Sundarji Sivji, who aided Col. Walker and others in reducing Kāthiawād and Kachh to tranquillity, belonged to this caste.

Lohānās (लोहाना)§—Originally Rājpūts of the Rāthōro race who were driven from Kānauj into Sindh, whence they migrated into Kachh about the 13th century. At present they wear the sacred thread like the Bhanasilis, and call themselves Kṣatrīs. Once they took a leading part in the affairs of Kachh, and were its most able Kārbhāris and generals. They take up any profession that suits them. They are porters, menial servants, vegetable-sellers, shopkeepers, cultivators, clerks, and kārbhāris. Some of them are as handsome as the Rājpūts of the purest blood. They are to be found in every part of Kachh.

Māhājans (महाजन) is not the name of a particular tribe, but that given to the higher classes of Hindus as a guild or public body. It is also applied to Vānīs and other mercantile classes exclusively, on account of their acting as leaders of the public.

Makwānās (मक्वाना)∥—Hindus as well as Muhammandans. Also a family name among the Miyānās.

Māndhrās (मांधर)—Hindus and Muhammandans in Abūlāsā.

Māṅgarās (मंगरास)—Muhammandans.

Māyaḍās (मयादा) A low sort of Rājpūts.

Mēmās (मेम) are Sunni Muhammandan converts, chiefly from Lohānās, originally from Sindh, found in every part of Kachh. They follow all sorts of professions. They are enterprising merchants in Bombay and elsewhere.

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† Ed. Wilson's Insatificiæ, p. 159.
† Elliot's Races, vol. I. p. 156.
§ J. R. A. Soc. vol. I. p. 239, 247; Trans. R. A. Soc.
Miyānas (मियाना) reside chiefly in the district of Miyāni, which receives its name from them. They serve as sepoys, and also live by robbery. They are of the following family and sub-tribal names, some of which indicate their Rājpūt origin, though they came originally from Sindh and have long been Musalmāns:—Bānthā, Bāphān, Bāpū, Bhaloṭa, Bhāmālī, Bhukerā, Chalāngā, Chānū, Chāvādī, Chhuchhā, Dāndhī, Dhusā, Gagadā, Hodā, Jām, Jesā, Jesār, Jhābāi, Kakal, Kandechā, Katiā, Kechā, Kesar, Khārā, Khirā, Khod, Lādāk, Lūnī, Makwān, Malak, Mānāka, Mathādā, Mayāntrā, Mayātrā, Mēļ, Mandhā, Mokhā, Nāṅgā, Notīār, Pāḍī, Padēchār, Parīt, Patrā, Pehā, Pājā, Rāmā, Rochā, Sāl, Sāndhānī, Sannā, Sayechā, Seelāt, Siārā, Sīrāchā, Sisoliā, Sohlā, Trājā, Triling, Vārā.

Mōdhrā Brahmānas (ब्राह्मण) are from Mahākānṭhā in Kāthāwād. They do the duties of other Brahmāns, and are also reciters of Purāṇas, copyists, priests, cooks, &c.

Mōjīs (मोजी) are the descendants of Mōj, the grandson of Gajāni, son of Jījī and brother of Abdā. They are at present mulgarāsias, and are to be found in the Mōjās district. Mōj became a Musalmān, and worshipped one Ban-ādin-Pir. He undertook an expedition to Hālār, where he died.* His body was transferred to Mōjās, where he was buried according to his directions, at Mōj-Kubā. There is at present at Mōj-Kubā a maqṣid in the shape of a four-sided temple with pyramidal roof, which contains his sepulchre. He is worshipped now by the Mōjs as a pir, or saint.

Mokās—An offshoot of the Mokālsī Rājpūts.

Nāgars (नागर) do not figure among the early settlers. The first among them came to Kachh from Ahmadābād in the time of Rao Khangārīji, A.D. 1550. One or two families followed him from Pāttan and Dholkā; but they did not muster strong till the time of Lakhpāṭīji. They do not seem to have played a prominent part in the affairs of the state, except one Lakhshmidās. There are about 465 families, including their priests, in the whole of Kachh. They are well known as a political race. They are divided into Vardnāgara and Visālāgara. The latter are landholders.

Nandwānas (नंदवान) are from Marwād. They are found about Anjār, and are chiefly traders.

Ners (नर) and Noḍes (नोड) are Muhammadans from Sindh.

Notiār (नौतार)—Originally Samās, but now Muhammadans; scattered throughout Kachh. Jamādār Fateh Muhammad belonged to this tribe.

Oṭārs (ओटार)—Muhammadans about Sūthāri.

Padyār (पाद्यार)—Muhammadans about Tehra and in Māk.

Pāers (पांचर) —Mulgrāssias about Roha; reckoned among the Dhangs.

Pals (पाल)—Muhammadan converts from Bhatī Rājpūts.

Pāsāyās (पासाय) —A branch of Kanadde Rājpūts among the Dhangs in Wāgād.

Pehās (पेघ) —Rājpūts near Nakhtrànā. Phuls (फुल) —Muhammadans near Bitta, Tehra, &c.

Poars (पौर)—Sindhi Muhammadans.

Pokarnās or Pushkarsās (पकरास) are a numerous class of Brahmānas, chiefly from Mārwād and Sindh, and are the priests of the Bhāttīas.

Rājās (राजा)—Muhammadans.

Rājgars (राजगर)—Brahmānas of the Andīkhs stock, so-called from their accepting the priesthood of the ruling race. They are at present cultivators as well as priests of the Jādejās.

Ramdepotrās (रामदेपत्र) —A branch of Sochā Rājpūts residing in Khāvādā.

Rāymās (रायमास)—Muhammadans originally from Mokālsī Rājpūts in the north of Kachh.

Rebāris (रेबारी) —also called Bhopārīs (बोपारी) from their being the priests of Mātā. They chiefly tend flocks of sheep, goats, and camels. Their women make wool yarn, from which they get blankets and their aṣdis woven by the Dheds. They are from Mārwād, but most of them have the peculiar Persian physiognomy. One of their family names is Āghā, which seems to support their Persian descent. They are tall and robust, and have an oval face and aquiline nose. They live for days almost solely on the milk of camels.

* Perhaps he was the same who destroyed Ghumūl about Sam. 1369.—Ed.
Relaḍiyās (रेलडीया)—Rājpūts about Nirōnā.

Sāčhorās (साचोरा)—Brāhmaṇ cultivators in the Wāghelā towns, originally from Mārwrād.

Samās (समास)†—Descendants of Jām Samā, the son of Jām Narpat, who built Nāgar Samāi in Sindh and ruled there. His posterity came into Kachh and settled in Puchham, it is said, about a thousand years ago, where they are still to be found as Muhammadan grāssīs.

Samējās (समेजा)—A branch of the Samās, herdsmen in Banni.

Saṅghārs (संघार्स)§ were one of the tribes that accompanied the Samās from Sindh. They were subdivided into four castes when they entered Kachh. Other tribes of Rājpūts, such as Chāvada, Chāhuvān, &c., joined them, and there are at present seventy-two nākh or family names. Some are Muhammadans and some Hindus, but all worship the Jālā (जाल), which are supposed to be Romans or some foreign race that saved them from the oppressions of Pūvarā, the brother of Lākhā Phulānī, by killing him. The Hindus are to be found in Kānthī and the Muhammadans in Adbhās, Modeśa, and Māk. They are originally from Arabia.

Sārāswats (सरास्वत)—Brāhmaṇs chiefly from Sindh, but some have come from Hindustān and Gujarāt. They once held important posts under the state, and appear to have played a prominent part in the early history of Kachh. They are a very numerous class in every part of the province, but are fast degenerating. They are the family priests of the Kshatriya, Lohāṇās, &c., with whom they eat, and follow any other employment. They have no objection to go to Arabia, Mozambique, &c. They are priests, shopkeepers, merchants, sīpāhs, and gunners.

Sedāts (सेदात)—Muhammadans in Bhujand the village of Sārāt.

Sindhal (सिंदहल)—A branch of Sodhā Rājpūts in Khadir and Kānthī. They are regarded as Dhangs because they were once the rulers in Puchham. The name is patronymic.

Sīrāchas (सीराचा)—Degenerated Rājpūts.

Sodhās (सोधास)||—Hindu and Muhammadan Rājpūts in the north of the province. They cultivate lands and serve as sepoys.

Solaṅkis (सोलंकी)—Except the Wāghelā grāssīs in Wāgaḍ, there are no Rājpūts of this race in Kachh; but there are many among the Khāivasas bearing this name.

Śrāvaks or Jains (आचार्य) are Wānia mostly of the Osāl and Śrīmālī castes. The former are cultivators, and are chiefly in Adbhās and Kānthī. They were originally Rājpūts, but were converted to the religion of the Jains by their missionaries.

Śrīmālis (स्रीमाली)—Chiefly from Kathiāwād and Mārwrād, mostly cultivators in Wāgaḥ.

Sumārās (सुमारा)—Muhammadans from Sindh, where they once ruled. Now they serve as sīpāhs, and also cultivate land in Pāvar and Gardā.

Trāyiās (त्रायम)—Hindus and Muhammadans.

Uṣṭiṣyās (उष्टिया)—A branch of the Jāḍejās, and hold lands as Hindu Grāssīs. Also a clan among the Miyānas.

Wāghelās (वाघेला)*—Originally from Sardhār, near Rajkot. Once they were very powerful in the east of Kachh, but they were subjugated by Modī, the first Samā who came to Kachh, and by his successors. They still hold some towns of importance in Wāgaḍ and Prānthal, such as Ghejī, Belā, Jutwāndā, Lodrān, Bhūmaśār, Palāswā, &c., and are tributary to the Bhuj Durbār.

Wāghers (वाघर)†—The term has nothing to do with Wāgaḥ. They are both Hindus and Muhammadans, and serve as sailors. They are also fishermen.

Wāniās (वानीय)—There are nine subdivisions among these—Śrīmālī, Osāl, Modī, Mesi, Kandoī, Soni, Bhojkī, Sorathiā, Vādiā. Of these, the Osāl, Bhojkīs, and Śrīmālīs are Jains, and the rest are Vaishnavas. They are also subdivided into Visis and Dassās. Most of the Osāls are cultivators, and are found in those parts of Kachh where the best soil is available. Śrīmālīs are from Thāli and Māwṛād, and are generally engaged in trade. They are chiefly found in the eastern part of Kachh, and Wāgaḥ.
The Modhs are a political race, and are from Modhera, in Gujarát.

Waramsis (वरामस) — Dhang Rājpūts in Gardā and Pāvar. They are an off-shoot of the Samis.

Weṇas (वैण) — Muhammadans who serve as sipāhis.

Wirārs (विरार) — Dhang Rājpūts about Pāvar and Lakhpat.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. Č.S.

(Continued from p. 156.)

No. XVI.

No. 16 of Mr. Hope's collection is an inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet in a temple at Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Paṭṭadakisuvolal, on the Malaprabha, about eight miles to the east of Badami in the Kaladgi District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest in a shrine; on their right, a figure of Basava, with the sun above it; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. The inscription consists of seventy-four lines, of about thirty-eight letters each. At the bottom of the tablet there is another short inscription of ten lines: but it cannot be read in the photograph.

The inscription is one of the family of the Great Chieftains of the Sindavamsa, who were the local representatives of the Chāluksya kings, and is of the time of Chāruṇḍa II, the subordinate of Nūrmadītell or Tailapadēva II.

It records grants made to the god Vijayasvaradeva in the Šaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Subhān sanvatsara, by Chāruṇḍā's chief wife, Dēmaladevi, and his eldest son, Āchideva II, who were governing, apparently during Chāruṇḍā's lifetime and as his representatives, at the capital of Paṭṭadakisuvolal.

The text of this inscription, with a translation, has been published by me in the Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. (vol. XI, No. xxxi, pp. 259 et seqq.) Together with the following, and with four other Sindavamsa inscriptions at Narēgal and Koḍkop in the Rōṅ Tālkā of the Dhārwar District, published by me in the same volume, it establishes the following genealogy and dates of the family. Nāka and his younger brothers were the uterine brothers of Āchugidēva I.; their parents' names are not given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Āchugidēva I.</th>
<th>Nāka. Sinhā, or Dāsa. Dāma, or Chāruṇḍa I., Chāva. Dāva. or Chaumā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>or Ācha I.</td>
<td>Šaka 1042.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamma.</td>
<td>Singa II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āchugidēva II, Ācha II, Āchideva I., or Āchama, m. to Mahādēvi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pērmādīdēva I, Pērma, Pemna. Paramradi, or Hemmaḍīdēva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaka 1066.</td>
<td>Chāruṇḍa II, or Chaumā, Šaka 1064, m. to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st wife, Dēmaladevi.——</td>
<td>2nd wife, Siriyādēvi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āchideva II.</td>
<td>Šaka 1084.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pērmādī, or Pērmādīdēva II.</td>
<td>Bijjaladeva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaka 1091. Šaka 1084.</td>
<td>Bijravadeva (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Šaka 1072 to 1104. — Sir W. Elliot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| † According to the table in Brown's Carnatic Chronology, Šaka 1064 was the Chitrabhabhān sanvatsara, and the Subhān sanvatsara was Šaka 1065.
These six inscriptions contain many historical allusions, but not all of them can be explained at present. The government of Āchhūgardēva I. included at first only the Kisukāṭa; Seventy and the NareyangaśṬ Twelve, and his capital was Rāmbaragor Rāmbarage. Afterwards he acquired, in the conquests achieved by him at the command of his master, the Cháluksya emperor Vikramāditya the Great, the Kēlavādi Three-hundred and the Bāgadage or Bāgadige* Seventy, and also took, probably from one of the later Kādambas of Goa, Gāve and the Koṅkaṇa. A certain Bhōja I., with whom he came in contact, is probably Bhōja I., of the family of the Śilāhāra Mahāmanḍalēvara of Vaḷavāḷa near Kōlhāpur, whose date is about Śaka 1060 (a.d. 1128-9). A Jayaṭhērī, who was driven back, perhaps in an attempt to recover Goa, by Pērmatīḍēva I., would seem to be the Kādamba Jayakṛśī III, whose date is about Śaka 1060 (a.d. 1138-9). The same prince repulsed and pursued Bērīṭīga of Dhōrasamudra, i.e. the Hosāla king Vīṣṇuvardhana or Bīttidēva of Dvārativatipura, whose date is about the same. Sir W. Elliot has shown that the Hōyaśa kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of the Taṅgabhadrā in the person of Vīṣṇuvardhana’s grandson, Vīravallī, whose date is about Śaka 1113 (a.d. 1191-2). It would seem, therefore, that it was the Great Chieftains of the Sindavaṇśa who held them in check for the Chāluksyas up to that time, and that the Sindavaṇśa finally succumbed to and disappeared in the conquests of the Hosāla dynasty.

No. XVIII.

No. 1 of Mr. Hope’s collection is another Sindavaṇśa inscription, a fragment, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet in an old temple, now used as a house by Bājaṭ Pūjārī, at Aḥoḷe. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a standing figure of some god or goddess; on its right two seated figures, with the sun above them; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. The fragment consists of twenty-four lines of about thirty letters each. The text, with translation, has been published by me in the above-mentioned volume of the Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. pp. 274 et seqq. Since publishing it, I have seen the original and have ascertained the date, which cannot be deciphered in the photograph; lines 23-4 run “[23] ... rājāvīnsakaṭaḥ-yuttamore | Sevati śrīmaṇḍalēvaḥ | -vikramādēvarcaraḥ | 94nayaṃ [24]virōdhī | dharmānavaḥ-[-taraṇḍa],” etc. Accordingly it is an inscription of the time of the princes Bijjalaḍēva and Bījrayadēva (?), the sons of Chāvanda II by his second wife Siriyāḍēvi, who were governing the Kīsuṇaṭa Seventy, the Bāgadige Seventy, and the Kēlavādi Three-hundred, and the date of it is the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Chāluksya Vikramāditya the Great, or Śaka 991 (a.d. 1169-70), the Virōdhī shivāvata. The portion containing the grant which the inscription was intended to commemorate is lost.

No. XVIII.

This is another copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskrit language, from Sir W. Elliot’s facsimile collection. The plates are four in number, marked with numerals; and in this instance the inscription commences on the inside of the first plate and ends on the inside of the last plate. Dr. Burnell has already published a transcription of this inscription and a facsimile, which in some respects is better than Sir W. Elliot’s; in preparing my transcription, I have made use of both.

It records a grant of the Great King Vijayanandivarman, the son of the Great King Chandvarman, of the family of the Śālakāyanas. No era is referred to, nor is even the year of Vijayanandivarman’s reign given. In Sir W. Elliot’s facsimiles I have another copper-plate inscription of Vijayanandivarman and his Yuvamahārāja, whose name seems to be Vijayaṭu in of the thirty-six royal races, and who for a long time ruled over ‘Ahlīvālpatana’ in Gujarāt. Colonel Tod identifies the ‘Solanka’ with the Chāluksya; but this identification is rejected by Sir Walter Elliot, on the grounds that ‘The Solankas were one of the four Aṃgrukhas, whereas the Chāluksyas always profess themselves of lunar origin.’ The Śālakāyanas, however, being descendants of Viśrāmira, were of lunar extraction.

§§ Probably the second one mentioned by Dr. Burnell himself, and found, even by him, to be “almost entirely illegible.”
gavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmanā; but in this, also, I cannot discover any date, and the characters are, in fact, so rude and indistinct, that I doubt whether a transcription of it can be made. The language, even, is doubtful, but seems to be Prakrit or Pali, as the first line commences 'Sma-asi śrīvijayavananvairamamahārājasa,' and in line 2, again, we have the genitive 'yuvamahārājasa.'

As regards the date of these kings and the locality of their capital, Vēngi,—I can only quote from Dr. Burnell's, who, on paleographical grounds, refers the present inscription to about the fourth century A.D.:—"That the dynasty, to which the inscription given in Plates xx and xxi belongs, preceded the Chālukyas, was first pointed out by Sir W. Elliot in the Madras Journal (vol. XI, pp. 302-6). The capital (Vēngi) appears to have entirely vanished; it is said to have been the place now called Pedda Vēngi or Vēgi in the Krishna District, but there are several places of the same name in the neighbourhood. As in the Telugu Mahābhārata, which belongs to the twelfth century A.D., Rajamundry is called the Nāyakaratnām of Vēngi dēṣa, the old capital must have been deserted long before that time. Hoonen Tsang (iii, pp. 105-110) calls the small kingdom that he visited 'Ānt-lo' (Andhra), and the capital 'Ping-ki-lo.' It appears to me that this is intended for Vēngi; the 'lo' being merely the locative suffix '-lo' of the Telugu nouns, naturally mistaken by the worthy Chinese pilgrim monk for a part of the word. Julien's suggestion 'Vikhilā' only fails in there not being the slightest trace of such a place. The 'f' in Vēngi is uncertain; it occurs both short and long in the inscriptions."

"The origin of this kingdom does not probably go back beyond the second century A.D."—"This dynasty was supplanted, in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., by a branch of the Chālukyas established at Kalyāṇa about the beginning of the fifth century A.D."

TRANSCRIPTION.

First plate.

[1] स्वान || विजयवर्माग्रामराजस्यप्रसादस्यनाम (या) || वामय-||

Second plate; first side.

[2] इन्यासमक || परमाधिकारानामो || महाराजाय-||

[3] भवमेंद्रसुरकृष्णिदेवी || महाराजायिनिदेवी || कुंदाहारिभये ||

[4] विन्यवीपाकामं || मुनिद्वारसहितानामाठ्या-|| भाषामाधाययति || अरक्षण [1] ||

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† Dr. Burnell reads gavarmā as a proper name, but the third letter is not the same character as that in the syllable which he reads as न, and I as न, in this same line. For स्वान or सवन as a common noun, I can find no meaning; as a proper name, it is out of place here. Some correction of the text is evidently required. Now, the second syllable may be either सि or सँि. For, the characters न and न, the former with a loop at the lower part, and the latter without a loop, are constantly interchanged in the older inscriptions; so constantly, too, that such instances can scarcely be regarded as mistakes of the engravers. These are instances of this in the original of No. XV of this series. In the present case, compare the incorrect form of न, with the loop, in the syllables ज, line 3; ज, and ज, l. 4; ज, once in l. 5, four times in l. 6, and twice in l. 7; ज, l. 9; and ज, l. 11, with the correct form of the same letter, without the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription; and compare the incorrect form of न, without the loop, in the syllables ज, l. 1; ज, and ज, (the first ज), l. 5; and ज, l. 10, with the correct form of the same letter, with the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription. The corrected reading, which I would suggest as most in accordance with the letters engraved and the sense of the passage, is [अ]स्वान, which I adopt in the translation.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KINGS OF THE VÊGÎ COUNTRY.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KINGS OF THE VENGÍ COUNTRY.

III a.

III b.

III c.
ON SOME REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY AT HÂNAGAL, IN THE DHÂRWÂD COLLECTORATE, SOUTHERN MARÂTHÂ COUNTRY.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In many parts of India we meet with deserted sites presenting indications of former importance in the shape of mounds strewn with fragments of sculptured stones or broken pottery, which local tradition connects with some ancient dynasty or family, or with some abandoned line of the royal race. This may sometimes be true; but it is more generally the case that ancient works of art are marked on such mounds by the names of Hindu deities, and these names would naturally be supposed to indicate the importance of the place; and it must not be forgotten that the practice of building temples and mounds on the sites of early sanctuaries is to this day extensively followed among the Indians. 

§ This letter, —, is omitted altogether in the original.
¶ This letter, —, and the mark of punctuation after it, are omitted altogether in the original, through want of space at the end of the plate.
* See note ¶ to the transcription.
† 'Charana',—sect, school, branch of the Vedas.
‡ 'Tatra bhârapati mukhâjârâjanâd',—but the mean-
of trade, or, failing these, has recourse to mythological legends or fabulous narratives.

A knowledge of the existence of such neglected and now forgotten places may prove useful to the archaeologist investigating points of early history or geography, or if not may serve to elucidate the habits and condition of the prehistoric population.

The following notice refers to such a spot. I can give no explanation of its origin, but I desire to put it on record, in the hope that it may prove useful and interesting to others. The first of the accompanying plates is a rough sketch of the Kasha of Hānagāl, in the southwestern Tālukā of the Dhārwād Collectorate.*

In the course of several visits during successive revenue settlements between 1825 and 1832, my eye was attracted by lines of earthwork surrounding an old fortified centre, which, though no longer conspicuous for its magnitude, yet exhibited a regularity of plan that showed them to have been the work of design, whilst their extent indicated that they were not constructed for a temporary purpose.

The main work, or citadel (if it may be so called), is situated on the left bank of the Dharmār river, which flows round its southern and western faces, and then, turning more to the west, falls into the Wardā near Nerigāl, about twelve miles further down the valley.

The south-eastern corner rests on a large tank—the Amīkāra—after which the single outer wall is developed on the eastern face into three lines of defence, which, sweeping round the north side, join the works on the river, where it diverges to the westward.

The citadel (A, A) is called the Hālēkōtē, or old castle, and contains, besides the old town (C), a modern fort (B), of which, though now in ruins and deserted, the walls and bastions remain. The interior of this is filled with trees and brushwood, among which is a temple of Vīrabhadra (No. 14).

On the north-west side of the Hālēkōtē is the modern village (D), outside of which is a very fine temple of cut stone (E) dedicated to Tārakēswara, of which a plan and elevation is given in the second Plate.

Besides the outer defences above mentioned, the exterior line of the triple wall is carried onward, from the point where it turns to the west, to a low range of hills, through which a ditch has been cut to the Chauki, or shed, near a large tree (No. 23), from which the wall is continued round to the river.

But as it appears to have been found that the hill still commanded the place, a further work can be traced, though very faintly in some parts, to a trench excavated through the hill to the Dargāh (No. 24), from which point the rampart is continued till it joins the fourth wall, making in all five lines of defence, exclusive of the walls of the Hālēkōtē.

Traces of other mounds are perceptible beyond these, stretching eastward towards the hamlet of Mallegar, but whether connected with the defences of Hānagāl is not apparent.

The diameter of the Hālēkōtē is between 700 and 800 yards, and the modern or inner fort about 350 yards; but the circuit of the whole area is upwards of four and a half miles. The lines are obliterated in several places, and can only be traced with difficulty, but in others they are well marked.†

I was unable to discover any reasonable or probable account of the place, either traditionary or historical. According to old inscriptions, which are tolerably numerous, it bore the same

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* References to the first plate.
A. The Hālēkōtē or old Castle. B. The modern Fort.
C. The old town, within the walls of the Hālēkōtē.
D. The modern village of Hānagāl.
E. Temple of Tārakēswara dēva.
F. Kuntīnābba, 'Kuntī’s hilllock.'
G, G, G. A low range of hills extending in a north-westernly direction from the earthworks towards the Sundā (Siddi) frontier.
1. The site of the Amīkāra.
2. A. Waste channel, by which the overflow of the tank is discharged into the river.
3, 3. Broken watercourses or little pools.
4. Ruined temple.
5. Temple of Hānagāl.
6, 6. Road from the modern village to Gejalalle and other villages across the river.
7. Temple of Nārīnyana.
8. Temple of Vīrabhadra, near a tree.
9, 9, 9, 9. Road to Dāulēswara, Alur, and villages to the west.

† The plan was roughly drawn by one of Major Jervis’s native revenue surveyors, on a scale of 400 feet to an inch, from which the present illustration has been reduced.

12. Site of ruined temple of Kēchakājīt.
15. Lāṅgāyana Māthu.
17. Bungalow.
18, 18, 18. Road from the village to Sālēswara.
19. Small temple and a tiled shed over Hānā-līgā.
20, 20, 20. Road to Bōmanālīlīle.
21, 21. Two ponds, or small tanks.
22. A Chauki near a large tree.
23. Dargāh.
PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE
OF TÁRAKESWARA DÉVA
AT HANAGAL.

Indian Antiquary

W. Griggs photo-lith.

Scale 1 inch to 36 feet.
According to South-Indian writers, Virātā is one of the seven Koṅkana kings which Paraśurāma peopled when he recovered them from the sea. This accords better with the pretensions of Hānagal, but the attempts to build anything like a probable theory on such slender foundations is evidently futile.

The position of Hānagal—on the edge of the Malnad, or forest region, bordering the Sahyadri mountains, and on the frontier between the ancient Chālukya and Chēra kingdoms—may have given it some value as a military post when these two powerful states were in the ascendant. But the absence of compactness and solidity in the character of the defences is unfavourable to such a hypothesis. After these the Yādavas of Devarāgīrī (now Danalattābāḷī) and Dwārasamudra, in Māsur, became the ruling powers in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the latter established their authority in the districts north of the Tungabhādra, of which they have left lasting monuments in the neighbouring tālkā of Koda.†

In the inscriptions Hānagal is described territorially as a subdivision of: “the Banavāsī Twelve-thousand.” Banavāsī was the seat of the chiefs of the Kādaṁba family, but these were nothing more than feudatories during the eight or nine centuries of Chālukya supremacy. Tradition, however, states them to have exercised sovereign power before they were reduced to suzerainty under Kālyān. The town is situated higher up the valley, about twenty or thirty miles south-west of Hānagal, on an affluent of the Ward, and is encompassed by lofty grass-grown walls. It contains some fine temples and other remains, which I had not time to examine on a very hasty visit, during which, however, I was fortunate enough to pick up some fine old coins.*

It was known to the Greeks, and is mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century as Banavāsī, Barāsara, “in the middle of the Pirates’ country” (VII, 1, 174). To whosoever pertaining, therefore, it may be safely inferred that it had which I forget, but I think Rattanīlī is one, there are temples with groups of statuary on the roof, in front of the gopura, representing Hosalī Bellāla, the founder of the dynasty, in the act of seizing the tiger from which he derived his name. The figure of the hero is generally bold and spirited, but the tiger is in the form of the mythological ardūva. I do not recollect to have seen detached groups of statury in action in other parts of India.


† I do not recollect to have met with similar tumuli in India, except where serving for sepulchral purposes, like those on the Nilaḵi Hills described in the Transactions of the International Prehistoric Congress for 1868 (p. 260, fig. 10). § Archaeol. Eup. (1862-3), vol. II. p. 244; Ancient Geog. of India, p. 287. || These were Kirtā, Virātā, Mahārāṣṭrā, Koṅkana, Haiga, Tulaṇa, and Keralā.
risen to eminence before the Christian era. Failing to discover the relations of Ḥāṅgāl with any of these powers, or to conjecture what probable circumstances could have led to the construction of such extensive yet rude works, I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that they indicate the location of a prehistoric pastoral tribe, rich in flocks and herds, who were tempted by ready access to the abundant pasture of the open country during the monsoon and cold weather, and by the close vicinity of the shelter and grazing-ground of the forest during the hot season, to make it their principal station, while a large enclosed area would be required for the protection of the cattle, as well as the herdsmen and their families in times of danger.

Plate II. is a ground-plan and architectural elevation of the temple of Tārakēśvara,† one of the finest Sīvālayas I have seen, drawn by Vināyaka Rāṇdēsava, the Assistant Revenue Surveyor.‡ If I recollect right, a photograph of it is given in the collection of Drs. Figou and Neill and Colonel Biggs, published at Bombay, but by no means doing justice to it. It has much the character of the temples in the Fort of Belgaum figured by Mr. Burgess in his first Archaeological Report, but is finer than any of them. The roof of the central chamber is in the form of a lotus,§ and round the walls of the interior of the same compartment are figures of the guardians of the eight quarters, in bold relief. Two or three remarkable virgās, or monumental battle-stones, rest against the outer wall, near the south entrance. They are very large and containing many figures. One of them represents the storming of a fortified place.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JHĀLRĀPĀTHAN.

BY G. BÜHLER.

The transcripts of the subjoined two inscriptions have been made according to photozincographs prepared by the Editor.*

Colonel Tod professes to give an analysis of the first. But his Paṇḍits have served him in this instance as badly as usual. The date, as well as the names of the king, of the donor, of the poet, and of the stone-mason, have been given incorrectly. The former is, according to Tod, 748, while the inscription states sūreśu saptasaraṃ skhetkādeśiśadāsikāsa, 746. The name of the chief of kings Tod's Paṇḍit read Durgāṅgāl, while it is plainly Durgāgaṇa in No. I., and Durgāgaṇa in No. II., the latter being, no doubt, a mistake. The name of the donor is not Kayak (Kyuk), son of Tikyak, but Voppaka, brother of Deva. The poet who composed the inscription was not Gupta, grandson of Bhaṭ Ganeṣar, lord of the lords of verse of Mundal, and son of Haragupta, but simply Bhaṭṭa Saravagupta. The engraver was not Olak, but probably called Vāmana. The inscription, finally, contains nothing about the Paṇḍita Arjun, and his encounter with the demon Virodhī, nor any of the other touching sentiments and facts given by Tod. If it were worth the while, it would not be difficult to show how some of the errors committed by Tod's Paṇḍits arose, on which Tod himself further improved.

The inscription No. I., though on the whole well preserved, is in many respects unsatisfactory. We obtain the name of a king about whom Tod, at least, can ascertain nothing, and his date, which latter offers difficulties on account of the want of an indication of the era. Saṃvat 746 may, as Tod concluded, have to be referred to the Vikrama era of 567 B.C., and correspond to 689-90 A.D. But there is no reason to prevent any one from referring the date to the Saka or Gupta eras. Again, the rank of the person who built the temple is not clearly stated. I don't think that he really was the keeper of a gambling-house for rich kings. It seems to me much more likely that he was a great court-officer or general who played an important part in the political games of the Thākurs or feudatories of Durgāgaṇa. But what his office precisely was must for the present remain doubtful.

† Tārakēśvara, i.e., the lord of Tārakēśvara, the sūra or demon destroyed by Kārtikēya, the son of Siva, hence called Tārakēśit.

‡ References to the second plate.—Plan of the temple of Tārakēśvara Dēva at Ḥāṅgāl. B. Elevation, on a scale of one inch to twelve feet.

§ Like that figured in the same Report Plate VI.

* These zincographs were prepared from photographs forwarded to the Editor by Capt. W. Muir of Deoli, and had been taken for him by a local photographer, who whitewashed the stone and blackened the letters; and it is just possible a careful examination of the original by a competent scholar might lead to the addition of a few more letters or words, not quite obliterated, at least in the second. Both inscriptions are on one slab—on opposite sides of it.---Ed.

† Annals of Bijapur (Madras ed.), vol. II. p. 672.
The most interesting point about the inscription is the character of the letters. On the whole they show the Gupta type. But the mason has mostly taken out the kānas, i.e. the vertical strokes for the long ē, and placed them above the letters after which they are to be read,* converting each, in compliment to Śiva, into a diminutive trident. The medial ē is also highly ornamented. The form of the jñānamālāya which occurs in lines 6 and 7 also deserves attention, as it consists simply of a loop above the ka, and exactly resembles the sign still used in the Kāśmirian Śāradā alphabet.

The inscription No. II. is, unfortunately, in too bad a condition to be translated or to be read entirely.

Transliteration of No. 1.

Om! Adoration to Śiva.

1. May that (third) eye in the forehead of the multiform (Śiva) purify you, the flame of whose blazing fire, when increased by anger and fury, fills the universe, which in splendour resembles the twelve suns . . . . . . which Brahma, Indra, Upendra, and Rudra, filled with the fear of a universal destruction, eye with amazed looks, and which consumed the body of Cupid. §

2. "Sandhyā is the wife of the Sun, Gangā is the spouse of the Ocean; O ascetic, consumer of Cupid, art thou, though thou clearest to them, not afraid of sin?" Thus chided Bhavānī in successive sentences. May Bhava, who (there-

* In this respect, as well as in the form of the letters, the inscription resembles the seal of Sarvavarma published in Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. III. p. 377.

† V. 1, read with No. II. सिसाक्खातः. End of line 1, before सरस in तन्यसारसः; read देश; end of line 9—लोकंबहि. The first letter of line 3 doubtful. V. 2, read विसारसः. End of line 3—कण्याः, end of line 4—निम्याः. V. 3, अं अं in कण्याः very indistinct, अं in विसारसः in कण्याः very indistinct. Both restored according to No. II. end of line 5 before तलात, V. 4, end of line 6—सल्लमः; read सल्लमः.

‡ V. 5, read सुपुष्पः; प्रेमा दासः; कृत्तितवारिनी मयमः. श्री in तन्यसारसः doubtful. End of line 7—विसमः; and of line 8—लिखि. V. 6, perhaps अर्थस्वरूपः and read विसमः; end of line 9—आला. V. 7, read समापतीसः;
Upon loudly laughed with his four months, long give you prosperity!!

3. When Durga gana was chief of kings, who performed the deeds of a Protector of the world, who caused (all) brilliant virtues to be compared (with himself), who was skilled in the performance of all kinds of deeds exciting wonder in this (world)*,

4. During whose reign his subjects, in consequence of (the merit of) their actions, lived joyful and free from misfortunes, while the Brahmins, whose minds were purified by the knowledge of Truth, strove for the highest abode of the foe of Cupid.†

5. Who astonished all rulers of the earth, who, strongly and swiftly acting, utterly destroyed the dark cloud of his unhurt foes by the brilliant flame of his bravery, who caused (Siva) the foe of Andhaka, to doubt on account of his resemblance (to Cupid and to ask), "How is it that Cupid has recovered brilliant beauty, though he was consumed by the fire (of my eye)"?‡

6. Then lived a grateful, truthful man called Deya, who did not oppress his kindred, and who did not lose his presence of mind even in great misfortunes.†

7. His younger brother was called Voppaka, a bank-holder during the gaming-parties of rich kings, who, being a liberal man and upright, gladdened even the learned by his good qualities.§

8. He, seeing that a chain of sufferings, produced by old age and separation, clings to embodied beings, built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his crest, in order to avoid (future) births and deaths.||
THE WASHERMAN VĪRASENA: A LĪNĀYTA LEGEND.

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERRKA.

There is a story which concerns thy question, forms the basis for the service (sevā) of the mundī, and pleases the whole world. I shall tell it. Listen!

In Aryanārtha on the hill Svarṇakāṇḍa there stood the town Rataṇāmālāpura. In that town lived Vīrāsaṇa, a gopādhyaśakha, who had overcome the objects (of the world). He was a prānaśīla.† His body consisted of the prāsādas,** he was performing a clean āhāra,†† he was doing (good) works, was an aṅga of Rudrabhaḍra, §§ and bore all the characteristics. || He was full of glory,¶¶ possessed much riches, had conquered the three worlds, was a guru, * used to put on rudrabhahas, protected the true law, and bedaubed himself with ashes. He honoured the śaśṭhala brahmīnās,† knew the meaning of the six circles (chakra), ‡ was able to overcome the speeches of antagonists, and had worthy members (of the body). He had attained emancipation (mokṣa), his body consisted of the fundamental science, § he had performed all the vows that become them who desire emancipation, and scrutinized the ceremonial works of them who were engaged in the sixty-three śīlas. || He had got rid of the wrong notions regarding the fetters of the māyā life and lust, knew the mantra, ¶ was

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* C.: the eleven prāsādas are—suddhi, siddhi, prasiddhi, bhakti, sanaya, vinśata, vīrīna, ghrāta, pīthā, bhūta, and śaśā.
† C.: he attended to the kāyaka connected with clean clothes (māla).
†† C.: avatāra.
‡ C.; Virabhadrā, who was born of the sparks of the eye in Siva's forehead.
§ C.: he had the 32 puruṣa lakshanas.
¶ C.: in his body.
** C.: he was an elder amongst the Viśnusūtras.
† The šaśṭhala brahma comprises the six forms of Siva called sadyojāta, yamādeva, aghora, taṇḍurusha, jāma, and gopya.
‡ C.: the six ādānāchakras.
§§ C.: i.e. om namah śivāya.
¶¶ C.: omnāma.
¶ C.: the mantra called om namah śivāya.
intelligent, and had overcome the eight self-conceits (gavva). He was the spirit himself (dhamma), had a perfect knowledge of the essence (sādha), and despised all the sciences.

Goddes! He had taken upon himself the vow only and solely to wash the trowsers, sashes, coats, jackets, turbans, mattresses, covers, clothes of females, bodies and other clothes of the bhaktaas, §§ Bhūndrās, || muniindrās, || amala brahmākārins, * Māheśvaras, † prasādins, † prāṇaliṅgins, § sāraṇas, || and aikyās, ¶ (to be short) of all those who attended to the various (śaiva) ordinances. Be it in Svarga, Satyaloka, or on earth, the excellent cleverness in cloth-washing** of Vīraśena, †† of the prasāda brahmākārin, ††† of the stern one, §§ was the wonder of the worlds. My dear! The washermen rāja(ka)||| in Svarga, Satyaloka, and on earth desired to see him daily delivering the clean clothes of the Pramanathendrās, †† Viraktaś, * and Mahātmāna. † Venerable "one! in continually washing the various garments of the gurus ‡ in the town § he was serving. The Gaṇaṇāyakas || perpetually used to stay in the house of stern Vīraśena, as they were anxious to see his service. All the gaṇaṇās ‡ on my mountain ** heard of the stern one's faithfulness in his vow of clothes-washing, and rejoiced. Gauri! I also, together with thee, was always in his house, and longed continually to see the (performance of the) vow which was worthy of the vratins, †† and rest-
ed upon the thought of overcoming the world (lokajāya), ††† (to see) the virtuous vow (Śrīvratu) §§ of the Mahātmā, which (vow) was world-pure, presenting all riches, and glorious.

Thou with the handsome face! When the people and the rulers of the people heard that he did not desire anything mean (prākṛita-nirūma), || but washed the clothes of the Vīraśivas, †† Gurus, * and Yogins, † they said: "Vīraśena, at once abandon the talk about refusing to wash the garments of the world, ‡ and wash our garments too!" When Vīraśena heard the words of these persons of mean bodies (prākṛitadhehin), § he, who alone was honoured by the world, || was silent for a moment, and then said to the people and the heads of the people ¶: "I am one who is occupied in Vīraśiva works, ** am honoured by the world, †† and have a vow. ††† How do you dare to ruin my virtuous work among these people §§?" As soon as the people and the princess of the people||| heard that, they became blind from pride, full of delusion, tormented with immense selfishness, and subject to sinful nature and great wrath. (But) thou with the handsome face, what shall I say regarding the ruin of those rulers of the earth who in the world try to ruin the vows of the good? What did the yogin ¶¶ care for the bad language and the power of them who were seized by the darkness of pride?

** C.: ānāmasāpati.
†† C.: be know the saṅkalpas and vikalpas.
‡‡ C.: sabda, tarca, vedānta, māmānā, tādhyya, yoga.
§§ C.: the bhakta sthālas, i.e. simply bhaktas.
††† C.: Arādhyaas.
¶¶ C.: Atita. This is probably a Tadbhava of atithin, a person wandering about, = jaṅgama.
† C.: vīraktaś and ghanā līgas.
‡ C.: māheśvarās sthālaś.
§ C.: prasādāsthiśaś.
|| C.: prāṇaliṅgīsaś.
‡‡ C.: People that have taken refuge with Śiva, dependents.
††† C.: sāraṇasātiśaśaśaś.
¶¶¶ C.: aikyāsāśaśaś.
†††† C.: Here is seen the peculiar use that the Līgāyita makes of the term sthala; in these cases it is simply expressive. As one list of their six sthālas (in this case the word is neuter) we have here—bhaktasthala, māheśvarasthā, prasādasthā, prāṇaliṅgāstrhā, sāraṇasthā, and aikyāstrhā.
‡‡‡ C.: kāyaka.
††††† C.: of the madīvāla (washerman) who was an ascetic of the bhaktas.
‡‡‡‡ C.: a person who has the firm belief that the ten tirthas and the eleven āsanas are Śiva.
§§§ C.: who was sterna on account of the līga-baśa (śaśa) being tied to his neck, on account of the dangling ends of the necklace that crosses round his joints, on account of the bundle of washed clothes on his back, on account of the drawn sword in his right hand, and on account of the bell in his left.
The princes of the earth, thinking of their power and being full of wrath, wanted to fetter the Śiva-yogin⁶ washerman with a rope, and to bring in forcibly the pure gānas (vimalāda gandā) that were in his house, and the clothes,† all the princes of the earth, in delusion as to their own glory, overlooking the power of Vīra-sena yogin, and becoming angry precipitately and without cause. Thou with the handsome face! Vratin in connection with Śambhu (vāmbhavādha) certainly ruin the riches, the army and the great power of the princes of the earth who are blind from anger and ungrateful. The enmity which the wicked princes of the earth had against him concerned me too. Because the yogindra of washing had mastered the mantra (ōṁ namā śivīyā) of gurus, Ty he could not listen to the bad advice of the princes of the earth. Everywhere listen to the valid order also of that gaṇḍhīyaksha!**

Hill-born one! The mercenaries of the princes and the followers of the princes; like sparks of fire, fell on Vīra-sena. All the princes,†† with their sharp weapons, overlooking his pure and brilliant glory that consisted in his having mastered the mantra, came to attack him with bows and arrows, accompanied with troops of elephants, many horses and chariots. When the gaṇaṇāyaka saw the moving of the leaders and soldiers, he spoke jokingly: "A moving of what people is this like a vimāna of the earth?"††† The glorious Vīra-sena, the gaṇḍhīpā,§§ all at once took a resolution, made a whip of a washed cloth, and beat the ground with it. They did not pay any attention to the lashes of the whip, which were given by the strong fist of the gaṇḍhīyaksha and were well known and the seat of heroism, but led on the furious elephants, the bodies of which were like mountains, and which ran driven by the hands and feet of the riders. The gaṇeśavara|| thoughtfully looked at the elephants, putting his feet in position and bearing the pure liṅga on his body. He became full of the wrath of the world-destroying Bhairava,††† quickly struck them with his fists, and put to flight the hundred thousands of elephants. Mahēśvar! The mountain-like elephants fell to the ground by his blows as if by Jambhāri (Indra). He pounded with his feet the troop of swooned elephants as if it had been a mass of clouds. Gaṇiri! The intelligent and glorious Vīra-sena without delay pulled out two elephant-tusks, and beat down with them the swift horses. They fell to the ground with their heads cut off. When they saw the horses all fallen, the chiefs of the people and the foot-soldiers moved their feet, and covered him, O Hill-born one, as dark clouds cover the sun, with swords, mallets, lances, sharp spears, darts, clubs, dices, and hatchets. But he lashed the powerful warriors with his whip. Pārvati! When the god-honoured man saw how the warlike, proud in their Cupid-resembling lustre, low-minded warriors tumbled from their seats on the necks of the elephants, he beat them furiously as the storm beats the clouds. The full-armed warriors with bows, arrows, and many badges of honour, seeing the crowned,††† shining,† lordly (vībhū),† wind-swift liṅgā-gasaṅgīna who was boxing with a fist like a thunder-bolt, lost their courage and fled, Śiva! Then the warriors on the huge chariots, who were expert in the use of all earthly weapons for cutting and thrusting, and were filled with the intoxication that arises when stepping on the battle-field, covered the washerman as darkness at night covers the moon, him, the gaṇḍhīyaksha,§ who was whooping, dispersing the army, and faithfully keeping his vow, Gaṇiri! O thou with the handsome face! They let a rain of arrows and other weapons fall on him.

This washerman of the śaraṇya,|| the agent of the pure Brahman (vimalābrahma adhikāh),†† Vīra,** the washerman of the Bhūrudra,†† beat the army with the points of his

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* C.: Liṅgavarta.
† C.: Liṅgaravanta and Jāgamas.
‡ C.: they which they had laid down there.
§ C.: Śivasaraṇa.
|| C.: the aṣṭav (master) of the maṇḍīvala (washermen).
*** C.: bhāṭraka.
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C.: the anāśa of Vrābhadrā.
†† C.: that had come from the 56 countries to do homage (to the ruler of Ratnamallīpura).
††† C.: like frameworks or biers (māda) for the corpses of the town.
§§ C.: the master of them who had the kāṭaka of washing clothes.

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††† C.: Vīra-sena.
††† C.: pralaya Rudra.
†† C.: who had a crown of rudrakshas.
†† C.: who had a kavacha of rudrakshas.
†† C.: who was an atārā of Vrābhadrā.
§ C.: Liṅgaravanta.
|| C.: Śivasahkta.
†† C.: mirajana jaṅgama dhīti.
** C.: the atārā of Vrābhadrā.
hands as if he were beating clothes, he Virasena, who was a lion to the elephant-like furious enemies, a lord of the gods, whose body was purified on account of the cloth-washing, who longed to conquer the world-births, was firm (sārdama), consisted of essence (sārabhātu), was completing all virtuous acts, was faithful to his vow, possessed great power, had the shad bain dava kriyā, was the full-moon for the sea of the bhaktas, whose members were strewn over with ashes, to the feet of whom Brahmā and Vishnu used to make obeisance, who was a Vīra pākṣha, incomprehensible and above the sciences, had mastered all the Tantras, was consecrated through the everlasting mantra (or mantras), had burned Cupid's weapons, used to say over his beads (akṣamālājaapopetaḥ), shone by the greatness of the mantra, possessed a body in which the nine bhaktis had taken refuge (navabhiksatāra-syāgāh), whose form was a new spectacle, who had the lustre of a crown of honour, wore his sash after the fashion of a boxers, had rid himself of the eight kinds of pride, and possessed bow and arrows in his hands. Gaurī! when the men, enraged at the frustration of their desire, saw the calm guru who stood above the gunas, they said to the gāṇḍhīpa: "Hollos, washerman of the Bhūrūmads! Thou standest on the head of the worthy people! Thou bearest a śārayaka jama that is highly praised by the world! The furious elephant, warriors on chariots, horses and foot-soldiers that appear in the front, we shall cause to disappear (īśana) in thy body within a moment, certainly!" When the gāṇḍhīpa...
played with ball. When they saw his glorious form they ran at him as owls at the sun. They who had mounted horses, elephants and chariots, and the foot-soldiers and princes who had escaped with their lives, whilst encouraging one another, fell to the ground under the lashes of the whip in his hand, which was formed of the damp garment, just as doves fall under the strokes of a falcon. The lords of the earth, who were masters (guru) in the art of archery, stood with bows bent and arrows put on, and had bodies like Cupid, seeing how he threw down, remained himself unhurt, and destroyed the wicked people, § how he showed a glorious and terrible fortitude, how his whole body, like that of virágins, had a dark-red lustre, and how the ends of the bundle which contained the washed clothes of the Bhūrdras¶ were tied round his shoulders, became afraid indeed, and all who were assembled there did homage to the sword-bearer, with his pair of arms and thighs that belonged to a body which consisted of an essence glittering like poison, to the figure which was purified through Indira's hymns of praise. And the gods (evra) praised him who was endless, without a second,¶ an undivided form (akhandamūrta), ** had red hairs as the sun drawn by seven horses, resembled Soma kaladharā (Siva), wore an umbrella (like-bundle of clothes on his shoulders which was white) as the moon, and was Svayambhu himself.

LEGENDS AND NOTES ON CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUDEM.

Legend of Kukkakakani, Krishna District, S. I.

In the village of Kukkakakani, which is situated between Gañpur and Mangalagiri, in the southern part of the Krishna District, is a stone very rudely carved. The top part of the stone is broken off, but any one can see at a glance that the figures cut on the stone were a horseman and two dogs pursuing what seems to be a pig. There is an interesting legend connected with this stone and the village, which, as told at the village itself, is as follows:

Some two hundred years ago a man went to the village of Kondapallī to borrow some money from a merchant residing there. He promised to repay the money within two or three months. The merchant, however, naturally asked for some better security than his bare word, and to his great astonishment the borrower proposed to leave his favourite hound in pawn. To assure the merchant that the security was good, he turned to the dog and gave it several orders, which were instantly executed. Looking at the dog he then said, "Now I have put you in pawn for two months, and you are not to return till the money is paid; so go now and sit down by the merchant." Fully understanding all that was said, the dog immediately left his master and took up his station by the side of the merchant. The latter, now fully trusting the applicant for money, paid it over at once, and the dog remained with him. Before the two months had elapsed, one night the merchant's house was plundered excepting the room where the dog was tied up. In the morning when the merchant arose he discovered his loss, but going to the dog he unloosed him, and saw to his astonishment the dog set off as if following the scent of the rogues. Thinking that he could not do better than follow the dog, he likewise set off in pursuit, and at last, searching carefully the place where the dog came to a stand-still, he found all his property carefully concealed. On returning home he called the dog, and having written a note saying that he considered that the dog's intelligence and faithfulness had fully cleared off the debt, he tied the note to the animal's neck and sent him off to his master. The latter happened to have been able to procure a sum of money, and was on his way to redeem his favourite, when he met him on the road. Angry at what he thought a breach of honour on the part of the dog, he hastily raised his spear and killed him on the spot. He had no sooner done this than he spied the note, and on opening and reading it he discovered the terrible mistake he had been guilty of. Deep remorse now filled his mind, and turning round he slew his horse and then himself. A very short time after this a munī who was living near happened to come by, and saw the corpse, the money, and the note.

¶ C.: the army of the Pāṇḍavānava.
|| C.: Lūgavantās.
§ C.: had the ekavataniṣṭhā of being a śivabhaktu kulajā.
** C.: had a šoṭāvārakaṇḍa.
Being a man of great understanding, he comprehended the whole in an instant, and taking up the money, called in certain masons and had the above-mentioned stone carved in commemoration of the event. He also built a small mud tower around the stone. For some time the spirit of the dog assumed the shape of a piśāchī and troubled the passersby, but before very long this ceased. The former name of the village close by was Kākāni, but after the above-related event occurred it was changed to Kukka Kākāni: kukka is the Telugu name for a dog.

The Razu and the Tiger.

Near Dumasgudem a stone with a rudely carved figure of a man seizing a tiger and killing it, was shown to me some three months ago. It was said to have been put up two hundred years ago to commemorate one of the former petty razus of Pedda Nallapalli being attacked by a tiger on his way home. A fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the death of both the man and the tiger. Whether similar stones are often to be met with or not I do not know.

Notes on Customs.

After the days of ceremonial uncleanness consequent upon the birth of a child are over, it is the custom amongst many women of the Śūdra caste in the Northern Sārakaś to repair to the banks of a river, or to a tank or well. There they take a lump of mud, and the happy mother shapes it into something like the form of a frog; she then places on its forehead the bēttu (spot), and having adorned it with turmeric offers the naivedyam. This done, she distributes to the friends who have accompanied her a number of small cakes, &c., and then they return home.

I have not been able to find out the reason of this ceremony.

Worship of the Cobra.

Whilst I was living in Eillore Fort, in September 1873, a large crowd of people, chiefly women and children, came in, and visiting every white ant hill poured upon each their offerings of milk, flowers, and fruit, to the intense delight of all the crows in the neighbourhood, who thereby had a feast which lasted them all the afternoon. The day was called the Nagula Chaturthi—Chaturthi, the fourth day of the eighth lunar month—and was said to be the day when Vāsuki, Takṣahāk, and the rest of the thousand nagula were born to Kaśyapa-Brahma by his wife Kadruva. See the Skanda Purāṇa.

The other chief occasions when these ant hills are resorted to are when people are afflicted with ear-ache, or pains in the eye, and certain skin diseases. They visit the ant hills, pour out milk, cold rice, fruit, &c., and carry away part of the earth, which they apply to the troublesome member, and if they afterwards call in a Brahma to repeat a mantra or two they feel sure the complaint will soon vanish. Many parents first cut their children’s hair near one of these hillocks, and offer the first-fruits of the hair to the serpents residing there.

The Erikkalavandi.

The Erikkalavandi women (see Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 151) are accustomed to honour their lords and masters with the dignified title of ‘cocks.’

The Vaddevandi.

The women of the Vaddevandi section of the tank-digger caste only wear the glass bracelets on the left arm, as in years gone by (according to their own account) a seller of these bracelets was one day persuading them to buy, and leaving the bracelets on their left arms went away, promising to return with a fresh supply for their right arms. As yet he has not reappeared.

16th March 1876.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—As I was perusing the other day Mr. E. V. Tulku’s interesting account of Mahēsvara, published at p. 347 of vol. IV. of the Indian Antiquary, I found that one of Malāharīo Holkar’s attributes (मलाहरीयो होलकर्), occurring in the second stotra of the inscription transcribed from the temple of Ahalyabai (?), was translated thus:—“Having an umbrella white as the skin of the snake.”

I beg to propose another interpretation of the passage as follows:—“Having the expanded hood of a snake for his umbrella.”

I dissolve the bhūvyāhi compound thus:—

भूव्याही (Tt. 6) अवर्त्त स्वयं स:.

Referring the word व्याय to Dr. Benet’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary, I find that it also means
"a snake's expanded hood," and in support of this meaning the learned lexicographer refers the reader to Panchatantra 53, 6. Bhavabhūti also uses the word in the same sense in his Nandi to the Madhāti Mudilār (sloka 1, line 2).

where, according to the celebrated commentator Jagaddhara, the word may mean either the body of a snake or its hood, in support of which he quotes an authority from Vishnu Khosa, which is this:—

भोही: सुकुः स्व पालिकालोक दुग्धवानिः

The interpretation which I propose above exactly corresponds to the popular tradition indisputably associated with Mallārao Holkar's name, and running thus:—

Once upon a time as the shepherd-boy Mallārao was tending his flock of sheep, he fell asleep at noon. A serpent seeing the future king of Mālāwa suffer from the scorching rays of the sun, immediately crawled out of its hole and expanded its hood over the face of the boy, thereby foreshadowing his future greatness.

The above tradition has also been referred to by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, in his Memoir of Central India, chapter VI., on the Holkar family.

In the interpretation which Mr. Tullu puts upon the compound it is necessary to get the word 'white' from without. Besides, I am not sure that the word रेत means 'the skin of a snake.'

Allow me, as I conclude, to thank Mr. Tullu for the service he has rendered to the antiquities of Mahāśēra by visiting them personally and committing to paper his remarks thereon, thereby attracting the attention of the antiquarian to the famous city of the great Sahāsrārjuna in times of yore, and of the venerable Ahalyādēvi in modern times!

April 13th, 1876.

Buddhist Manuscripts in Ceylon.

The Ceylon Government has just published a report by the Chief Translator, Louis de Zoysa Mudilār, on four official visits paid by him to the temple libraries in Ceylon for the purpose of estimating the value of the literary treasures of the island. The Mudilār, though a Christian, met on the whole with a very favourable reception from the heads of the various Buddhist monasteries, though we regret that in three or four instances he appears to have been received with a good deal of mistrust, the monks evidently suspecting Government of some design upon their collections. Thus at Galkinda monastery, the librarian, an exceedingly learned Buddhist priest, "politely refused" to allow the Mudilār to inspect the books under his charge, on the plea (which, however, appears to be a just one) that he had already furnished Government with a complete catalogue of the library. At two important monasteries known to possess wealthy libraries only a few common books were produced, and the Government representative was informed that there were no others. On the other hand, at Mulgrigal temple, from which Turnour obtained his famous MS. of the commentary on the Mahawansa, the priest in charge "was exceedingly civil and frank, and seemed highly to appreciate the object of Government in wishing to preserve the manuscripts of Ceylon."

At a temple near Tangalle the librarian not only produced all his books, but helped the Mudilār to make a catalogue of them. At the Ridi Vihāra, or "Silver Abbey," the manuscripts, some of which were of extraordinary beauty, were preserved in a large box curiously painted and set with precious stones, and from the depths of this box the monks produced "with some pride" a copy of the first volume of Professor Childers's "Pali Dictionary!"

At Madawela it turned out that a once magnificent library had been destroyed by the British troops in the Kandyān rebellion of 1818. At Tissa the monk respectfully exhibited "a heap of fragments of books, of which nothing could be made, said to have been destroyed by the white ants." It is reassuring to hear that they also possessed "a good collection of valuable manuscripts," Mr. de Zoysa—who, it must be remembered, is a Sinhalese, though, like many of his countrymen, bearing a European name—appears to have carried out the task entrusted to him with tact and energy, and his report is interesting reading. The results of his mission are not inconsiderable. Some seventy or eighty rare or unknown MSS. were examined, many of which are likely to be of much historical and philological value. Probably the greatest "trouvaile" is a copy of a Sinhalese gloss on the Dhammapada, which, with the exception of the rock inscription at Mahintale, is now the oldest known specimen of Sinhalese prose. It is to be hoped that the Ceylon Government will order the publication of this unique work, which, apart from its literary value, may be expected to throw much light on the growth and history of the Sinhalese language. Incidentally he gives some interesting archaeological notes, and he describes his discovery of several rock inscriptions, one of which has enabled him to correct an error of thirteen years in Turnour's "Chronology of the later Sinhalese Kings."

—Pall Mall Gazette.

Dr. Goldschmidt's Report on the Ceylon Inscriptions.

The following is the text of Dr. Goldschmidt's Report on the Inscriptions in the North-Central
Province. Dr. Goldschmidt's services have been engaged for two years, and he has as yet only examined the inscriptions in a single district of Ceylon.

"In giving a general report of my work on Ceylon inscriptions during the last six months, I cannot attempt yet to connect the data to be derived from them into an historical account.

"A comparatively small portion of the inscriptions has come down to us in perfect preservation, the great majority of them being more or less considerably damaged, partly from natural causes, partly by willful destruction, the natives supposing the ancient Sinhalese letters, which by a curious misnomer they invariably style 'Nâgara,' to indicate some hidden treasure; thus, at Mandagala (thirteen miles from Anurâdhapura, in the jungle near the Kurumagala road), a long inscription was, for this reason only, completely destroyed some twenty years ago.

"My collection now contains eighty-three copies, comprising about one-half of all the inscriptions to be found in the North-Central Province, among which there are three in Tamil, and these not very ancient ones, the remainder being Sinhalese of various ages.

"No inscription of the pre-Buddhistic period having been discovered, we may infer from this fact that the custom, and perhaps even the art, of writing was unknown to the Sinhalese as late as the reign of Devâmampiya Tissa; from that time to the present day Sinhalese has always been written in the same alphabet, made known to us in its original shape by J. Prinsep, the decipherer of King Asoka's inscriptions, but so changed in the course of nearly 2,100 years as to exhibit hardly any trace of resemblance between the ancient characters and the letters now in use.

"By finding out the links between the old Indian alphabet and the modern Sinhalese, I was enabled after a short time to decipher inscriptions of all ages.

"The general squarish or angular character of the old letters is maintained as far down as to the third century A.D., while in the beginning of the eighth century we already meet with an alphabet similar to the rounded modern Sinhalese in its whole aspect. It is in the intermediate time that Sinhalese and Pâli literature seems to have flourished most; this circumstance accounts for the rapid change of the letters, as well as for the great development we find the language to have undergone simultaneously.

"As for the places where inscriptions are found, the old Vihâra rank foremost. The most ancient and a very numerous portion of them is seen in caves, with no more contents, generally, than the dedication by some king or private person of the cave to the priesthood.

"There are nine such caves at Mihintale, two at Wessagiri near Anurâdhapura, four near the village Nettukanda (eighteen miles from Mihintale, in the jungle towards Trincomali), and some at several other places I have visited.

"The inscriptions at Wessagiri refer to the donation of two caves by the wife and son, respectively, of the Brähman Halikâda, who seems to be the identical Brähman mentioned in the Mahâvaipûyana as one of the ambassadors sent by King Devâmampiya Tissa to King Dharmasoka. These, together with many other cave-inscriptions in which Brâhmans appear as donors, furnish us with the interesting fact that originally the Brâhman caste must have been a powerful and zealous member of the Buddhist community of Ceylon, while later every trace of them is lost among the Sinhalese. Short though they are, and generally devoid of historical interest, these inscriptions are highly valuable as being the oldest specimens of the Sinhalese language; and by comparing them with the contemporary languages of India, known to us by the inscriptions of King Asoka, as well as with the other Aryan dialects, we obtain the first foundation for a history of the Sinhalese language and an explanation of its grammar.

"There is another large class of inscriptions engraved on huge rocks, generally in the immediate vicinity of ancient Vihâras, to which particularly my above remark about willful destruction of the old letters applies. They also mostly refer to donations to the priesthood, supply of the four requisites (pratyayas), construction of a Vihâra, Chaityas, &c., the relationship of the donor being often mentioned. King Gajabahu (113-125 A.D.), to whom I have reason for ascribing the numerous inscriptions I have found bearing the name of Gâmini Abhayâ (while King Dushtâgâmini, who is known to have styled himself Gâmini Abhayâ, must have used a more ancient form of the alphabet), tells us, as far as I have made out, nothing of his wars in India. One inscription found on the Ruwanweli Dâgoba at Anurâdhapura, and containing the full name of the king (Gayâbahu Gâmini Abhayâ), refers to Vihâras constructed for the Dakshina and Abhaya divisions of the priesthood. The names of several tanks are given in another inscription of the same king, engraved on an enormous rock at the entrance to the Vihâra, Mihintale, and covering a space of 32' x 14' 6"'; but this is unfortunately defaced in too many places to admit of an explanation of the contents. The successor of King Gajabahu, Malâka Nâga, states on the rock of Mahâ Râtmâla
(three miles from Anurâdhapura, towards Kurunegala) that he supported the priesthood with rice-gruel (yatâ) and boiled rice (bata). There are inscriptions belonging to King Bâtiya Tissa, probably the second of this name, at Galgrîkanda (eight miles from Mâdavachchya, near the road to Jaffna), to Sirinâka at Anurâdhapura, and to others, written in the same characters.

"I have met with no inscription of the most famous king of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, Sângabo I.; but his murderer and successor, Meghavarna (Golu) Abhayya, has left us an inscription on a rock at Debelgalipasala (about three miles from the road to Trînkamali, eleven miles from Mihintale), and the minister of king Mahâseana, son of Gotabhâya, also called Meghavarna Abhayya, appears in a long but defaced inscription on the Ruwanâwâli Dâgoba, Anurâdhapura. Then follows a long period, inscriptions of which I have not seen as yet, before we meet with the name of Sângabo III. on several stones. A long inscription of his at Mihintale, written on fourteen broken slabs of stone, refers, as far as it is preserved, to several weights of gold, the use of which I have not been able to make out. A stone pillar at Anurâdhapura contains an edict of this king about fishing in Abhayawasa; another one, found at Mahâkalatawa (six miles from Anurâdhapura, on the road to Galkulam), grants freedom from taxation to the place where the king had built a nunnery in honour of his mother; a fourth one was lately found at Gômîkollawa near Mâdavachchya.

"The four last-mentioned inscriptions are dated, giving the year of the king's reign and the day of the lunar month. It is a matter of surprise to find, in the inscription at Anurâdhapura, the king reigning in his nineteenth year, while, according to the Mahâvâna, the time of Sângabo III.'s reign did not exceed sixteen years (702-718 A.D.). The full date of this inscription is the thirteenth day of the lunar month Mândindina (March), in the nineteenth year; the date of the inscription at Mihintale, the full day of the lunar month Hihila (i.e. the 'cold' month, November), in the twelfth year; the date of the inscription at Mahâkalattawwa, the tenth day of the lunar month Nawaya (February), in the fifteenth year of the reign of Sângabo. The date of the inscription at Gômîkollawa, which is much defaced, I am not able to make out, except that it was written on a poya or full-moon day.

"Besides these, I have copied a great number of other stone-pillar inscriptions of the same and later periods. Often we meet with such pillars having a crow and a dog engraved on one side. This, according to the interpretation of the natives, means a curse, viz., whoever shall violate this property of the priesthood shall be punished by being reborn in the low condition of one of these animals; often the same pillars show also the signs of the sun, a half-moon, a priest's fan.

"As the inscriptions latest in date copied by me, I have to mention one long one of King Nissanka Malla, the same king whose three inscriptions at Pollanaruwa have been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (April 1874), found on the Ruwanâwâli Dâgoba at Anurâdhapura, and one inscription of Lag Vijayasinghâki, general to King Salâmevan of the Okâka branch, husband to the (famous) queen Lîlâvati, written in the third year of the king's reign, according to which the general had built near Abhayawasa (now generally called by its Tamil name, Bâsâvakkula) a golden palace (ruwana-pîya), which word perhaps may only imply a palace called so after the Ruwanâwâli Dâgoba for the use of the priesthood, and furnished them with the four prâyatyas. The alphabet in which these last-named inscriptions are written is in many letters already almost identical with the modern Siîhalaese alphabet.

"I have examined and copied until now the inscriptions at Anurâdhapura, at Mihintale, in the jungle in the direction of Trînkamali, Puttalâm, Kurunegala, near Mâdavachchya on the Central road, and at a few other places.

"Of the ancient and famous Dâgobas at Anurâdhapura, only the Ruwanâwâli Dâgoba (the Mahâthupa of the Mahâvâna) exhibits a considerable number of inscribed stones, most of which I have mentioned above; the Thûpârâna has two short old inscriptions without special interest. The Abhayagiri Dâgoba contains one of the longest inscriptions in the island (written about the tenth century), which is, however, so much defaced that little of its contents can be guessed. The other Dâgobas, the Marîchavaṭṭi, the Jayâvârâma Dâgoba, have not yet been cleared. I have not seen as yet, in the inscriptions found near the ancient tanks; any notice concerning the means by which they were constructed.

"As the history of the Siîhalaese kings is comparatively well known from the chronicles, and statements about the culture and the development of the people are rarely met with in the Orient, either in historical books or in inscriptions, the chief result to be derived from a compilation of the Siîhalaese inscriptions will be a linguistic one, as we shall have the rare advantage of tracing out from the inscriptions a continued history of the Siîhalaese language. Siîhalaese is now proved to be a thorough Áryan dialect, having its nearest relations in some of the dialects used
in King Asoka's inscriptions, as well as in the Mahârâshtri Prâkrit of the Indian middle age, while it differs from Pâli in very essential points; many of the difficulties of Sinhalese grammar can already be explained by the help of the ancient inscriptions.

"For the reproduction of inscriptions I have applied paper copies (squeezes) wherever it was possible, but a great number of the inscribed stones, rough, worn out, and defaced, do not admit of this; in many cases the restoration of the old letters is left to conjecture.

"P. Goldschmidt.

"Anurâdhapura, Sept. 2, 1875."

(From The Academy, Nov. 20, 1875.)

THE TEXT OF TABARI.

Mr. H. W. Freeland, of Chichester, has forwarded to us the enclosed letter for publication. Mr. Freeland will be happy to receive and transmit to the proper quarter any contributions which the friends of Oriental literature may be willing to make:—

"Leyden, November 2, 1875.

"Dear Sir,—Allow me to give you some more particulars about a great literary undertaking at which I just hinted during your visit to our town: the publication of the large original Chronology of Tabari, the greatest historical work of the Arabic literature. The labour being too great for a single person, it has been divided between several scholars, under the superintendence of my friend and colleague, Professor de Goeje. Dr. Barth, of Berlin, will give the introduction and the Biblical history; Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, the Sassanides; Professor Loth, of Leipzig, the Prophet and the four first Khalifs; Dr. Müller and Dr. Grünert, of Berlin, and Professor Thorbecke, of Heidelberg, the Omaiyades; Professor de Goeje himself the Abbasides. It will be,' as Professor Sprenger writes, 'the task of this age to publish a critical edition of Tabari's history, just as well as to explore the interior of Africa and the Polar regions.' In comparison with the two last-named undertakings the expenses of the first will be small. But expenses there will be—not for the printing, Messrs. Brill of this town being quite ready to do that at their own risk, but for the copying of those MSS. which are inaccessible to the editors. In Constantinople those parts have been copied already which are not to be found in Western Europe, with the exception of a fragment, which will still cost 42l. In the British Museum one part has been copied, and another collated. Mr. de Goeje has been able to defray those expenses by a donation, of 210l. from Professor Stähelin, of Basle, and by a subsidy of 125l. from our Government. What remains is to obtain a copy of the other MSS. in Constantinople and the British Museum, which are to be collated with those we have, and a copy of a complete MS. which exists in Medina. Mr. de Goeje cannot state precisely the sum he wants for all that, but it certainly will be more than what has been already expended. The money is hard to find, and it would be a pity if the splendid undertaking miscarried through a merely pecuniary hindrance. Perhaps you and your friends in England will be disposed to lend a hand towards its realization. English gentlemen have shown very often that to large fortunes they join the love of science and the will to promote it; so I come to you as a beggar, the more confidently as I have no personal interest in the matter, my time being wholly taken up by quite another work. Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly, R. Dörz. —The Academy.

CUSTOM AMONG THE LAMAS OF THIBET.

The following strange custom of the Lamas of Tibet is related in the Report of the Yarkand Mission. At the yearly festival held at Joh, the bones of defunct Lamas, brought from all quarters, are boiled in a huge caldron. On this occasion two or three aged Lamas always sacrifice themselves by jumping into the boiling liquor, and become converted into soup which is called sholad-er-skan. At the conclusion of the festival, this soup is distributed amongst the attendant Lamas, who fill it into copper vessels covered with red cloth: these copper vessels are called lonka, and are carried about the person, suspended on one side from the girdle. When all these Lamas disperse and return to their own homes, they distribute their store of sholand-er-skan to the other Lamas, who receive it in little copper vessels the size of a thimble, and similar in shape to the lonka. They are always worn slung at the waist from the girdle; and when he eats, the Lama first dips a wood pencil into the little copper bottle, and passes it across his tongue.

THE SNAKES.

The Heaven is your Father, and the Earth is your Mother.

Soma your brother, Aditi your sister, O serpents!

Unseen but all-seeing, remain in your holes, and hiding.

Enjoy and amuse yourselves there in your fashion.

* From Baierlein's Land of the Tumutans, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.
NOW proceed to give a short account of the Sikshā treatises which I have been able to collect up to the present. Owing to the imperfect condition of my MSS., this account will not in every case be as accurate or complete as I could wish it to be. I nevertheless venture to hope that it will not be considered entirely useless or void of interest.

1. The Amoghānandini Sikshā belongs to the Madhyandina Śākhā of the Yajurveda. My MS. of this work contains 57 slokas, which, so far as I can make out from the very incorrect treat, text of the pronunciation of certain letters.

The treatise begins:

प्रणाय भिराता स्वर्णू विज़ीकृते संविशेष यथा।
विशेष मार्मिकत विशेष किष्टे मया।। १।।
याधुधधाय नयुध सोमेश्वरसादाय।।
मात्रादनुसार शास्त्राध्यायानुसारविशेष।। २।।
पाणिनीयांतिशृवाय सोमेश्वरसादाय।।
विशेषाणांपुनः शास्त्रां तदेशेऽपि मयोऽपि।। ३।।

taṣa [क्रिया] नुसारोऽयं कोण्ठये लोकसमाचारम्।
अमोघानान्तिशृवाय पूर्वीया मनोरघिर्म।। ५॥

The Library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta possesses a work entitled Amoghānandini Sikshā, which contains only 17 slokas, all of which are found in my own copy. Dr. Rajendralāl Mitra (Notices of Sanskrit MSS. No. I. p. 72) mentions another work which bears the same title, but contains 120 slokas.

2. The Āpiṣālī Sikshā treats of the classification and pronunciation (sthāna and prāyatana) of the letters of the alphabet. It is written in prose, but ends with three slokas which give a résumé of the preceding prose portion. My MS. contains 44 lines each of about 42 aksharas.—A very large portion of this Sikshā is quoted by Homācandra in the commentary on his Sūtra तत्त्ववाचार्यः।

3. The Aranyā Sikshā treats Chiefly of the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages met with in the Taittirīya Aranyāka: it professes to have been based on nine other Sikshās. It begins:

गणपतिगिरि स्ववाचार्यायावीतमयं
स्वपरमिति क्षेत्रार्थां (१) रोजितान।
विशिष्टरूपेण संस्करणम् तत्त्ववाचार्यायावीतमयं
मृगामपि नवस्ववाचार्यावीतमयं
ार्यावनमः बायानिः शाक्तियानस्ववाचार्यायावीतमयं
विशिष्टान्ति तु कृपानि विस्मित्य तत्त्ववाचार्यायावीतमयं
उदाहृतानि भूष्येन तदनि निपते
ादिभाषणामात्रयेत व तत्त दुः।
वायानिः मत्त्वयूचितेऽक्षोटेरूपेणम्
भवेयामात्रयेतृतस्मात च तत्त्ववाचार्यायावीतमयं

and it ends:

इत्यत्र निश्चयम् सर्वेऽस्मार्त्तीर्थानी
प्रेणद्रुप्तचारुपि नवेनिष्ठेन पटूनाम
आर्यान्यां यादेख किचन न स्वर्गीयः (२)
वेदिकायांतिशृवाय स्वपुरुषीयायाम्।

This Sikshā is accompanied by an anonymous commentary. Both the text and the commentary fill in my MS. 60 pages, each of which contains 9 lines with about 35 aksharas in each line.

4. The Kṣāvya Sikshā belongs to the Madhyandina Śākhā of the Yajurveda. It treats, like the Pratijñāsūtra 3-27, of the pronunciation of the letters त, त, त (to be pronounced as त, e.g. इति = इत्ये), r (to be pronounced as र, e.g. दस्त = दस्वत), स (to be pronounced as स, e.g. शास्त्र = शास्त्र), Anuvāra, the doubling of consonants, the
pronunciation of ज (to be pronounced as र, e.g. कुर्ण = कुर्ण), and the somewhat prolonged pronunciation of short vowels. Altogether this treatise contains nine śūtras called Mādhyanādaya-prāśa-vaśesaka-sūtraṁ, which are accompanied by a full commentary and the contents of which are repeated in six kārīkas. The following are the two first śūtras and the first kārīka:—

पदादौ पूर्विक्ष्यो नेतृत्वअनोवरतको संपूर्णात्मक च स्थादन्ति 

1 \& 1

e.g. तामृपः \& युक्ताः \& संसागम ः \&

पदावारस्त्व अधरेनसुम स्वर्गाः \& 2 \& 1

e.g. सर्वाङ्गागम् \& मध्यम \& बुध्वाः \& पूर्विक्ष्यो पदादौ च वेदे संपूर्णात्मकः \& (१) \& यशस्वर्गाय व धारणामयो च \& (१) \& २ \& १

My MS. begins:—

नवं व योगपति देवं परिभाषाय भविष्यवहिः 

उच्चते केशवेदे से द्वाराभयिन्द्रास्येः 

and it ends:—

दिवे माध्यमाणीयेन परिभाषाय भविष्यवहिः \& दिवे 

केशवेदे स्मारता 

The Calcutta MS., however, which I have compared, ends as follows:—

हस्ते माध्यमाणीयेन परिभाषाय भविष्यवहिः 

हस्ते केशवेदे स्मारता 

It therupon repeats the nine śūtras, and concludes with the words हस्ते केशवेदे स्मारता, ascribing thereby the nine śūtras to Kātyāyana, and only the commentary and the six kārīkas to Kesaṇa.

5. The CHAKRĀYANTA-SIKHĀ or CHAKRĀYANTA MAHĀSĀKHA, or, as it is several times called in the body of the work, the CHAKRĀYANTA-SĀKHA, consists of 10 adhyāyaśas with 335 ślokas, if my calculation be correct. The expression अक्षरसार- ।

† Instead of न as a Calcutta MS. which I have compared reads everywhere न — I am enabled to state on the best authority that all the rules laid down in the Kusāva-Sākha are strictly observed by the followers of the Mādhyanāda-Sākha.

I Adhyāya III, 2:—

नाम सन्तुकुर्विः 

सुरेणाध्यायते मालास्तव: \& शिवचिद्वन्दव: \& 

समुदाय: पदे शेष सङ्कुचनस्य व्यवस्थानम् 

नेतृत्व which occurs in the second adhyāya shows that this treatise professes to have been composed by CHAKRĀYANTA. It quotes Vaiśeṣika and Saṅkatukāra; and its contents are as follows:—

Adhyāya I, 64 ślokas: On the classification and pronunciation of the letters.

A. II, 57 śl.: On the combination of letters.

A. III, 37 śl.: On the combination of words; ends:—

संहितायां विपृत्त: प्रश्लः कविनामुपक्रमया ।

पुष्ण सक्षुभ्रीरुप: सत्तिकारिक केशव: ।

A. IV, 29 śl.: On the study and recitation of the Veda.

A. V, 18 śl.: On the different Svaritas, &c.

A. VI, 19 śl.: On Virāma, the Mātra, and Vivṛttis (containing an enumeration of metres used in classical Sanskrit: Vasantatilaka, Mālini, Mandākārāṇa, &c.).

A. VII, 8 śl.: On the Vivṛttis (drutā, &c.).

A. VIII, 46 śl.: On the Piṅḍas, Svarabhakti, and Ranga.

A. IX, 18 śl., and A. X, 40 śl.: On Krama, &c.

The MS. which I have used was procured by Dr. Bühler in Kāśmīr; it begins:—

अ नवीन नारायणयाः ।

अ नवीन नारायणयाः सर्वसंस्कारितायाः ।

शिवतां सार्वभुवनस्य तेनेकालितायाः ।

चारायणिः महाशिरसिः प्रस्तावनां स्मृतिः ।

नियोजन एकाकाविस्तर निबोन्धस्यायेः ।

व्रजांति सैत्य संवर्धनां संवर्धनां स्वकारक्षम ।

स्वरां साप्ताहानीयें शेष तेषा वेदमेशोपेतः ।

and it ends:—

पद्यप्रचाराणं न विप्रयोगप्रकटीये ।

तुल्यम विश्वचैतिका एकनीति-नाथयम् ।

पद्यप्रचाराणं प्रका: सत्य चर्चां एव हि ।

चन्द्रालीरथवेदम् न वनवेद इति ।

नानासाइयानिः किं शोच वै शास्त्रप्रकारसः ।

उपसाइयानिः पदे मेति चर्चाः ।

नारायणिः (१) सत्य योगम सत्यसाइयानिः किं स्वर: ।

पुष्पविनाशकयां विनाशयविनाशकयाः ।

नाभात्वमेन सा सामाज्ञास्वत्तितमि ।

आविस्वर्णस्य: स्वति प्रकाशाः ।

आरामभास्यां भारिणां नाम ग्राह्यत: ।

वाचिका उपसागरस्य निपतता: ।

(१) काश्यप: श्लेष: ।
Chapter 6.
The Narada Sūtra has been described by Professor Haug, L. c. p. 57, and by Dr. Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS., p. 42. It belongs to the literature of the Sāmaveda. It consists of two prapāṭhakas, each of which is divided into 8 chapters. At the end of my MS. the number of ślokas is stated to be 240, which will be found to be fairly correct when one counts the prose portions which occur in the 3rd chapter of the first prapāṭhaka in the way native writers do. The authorities quoted are:—Narada, Kaśyapa, Tumburu, Somasārman, Vasishtha, and the old (?) Audraavrājī (Prāchīnadharmārājī).

I do not think that there is anything to prove the existence of two different recensions of this Sūtra. All that appears from Dr. Burnell's description of the work is that in his MS. the first chapter of the second prapāṭhaka is omitted. The end of the first prapāṭhaka shows that the second prapāṭhaka must commence with the verse with which Prof. Haug's and my own MS. make it commence, and which my MS. gives correctly thus:—

यासत् सवं वाप असरं स्वर्त भक्तः

न च चादान पुरस्तत्व जायेत: स्वारं स उच्यते

I have not been able yet to procure a copy of Šobhakara's Nāradīśakāśī-vivaraṇa, although several MSS. of it seem to be in existence. That it cannot be a very modern work would appear from the fact that a Nāradīśakāśī-vivaraṇa of the quotation already in the Bharatābhāṣya (p. 160 of my MS.).

Chapter 7.
The Pāṇinīya-Sūtra has been edited by Professor Weber. I have procured a very modern and worthless anonymous commentary of the so-called Yajus version of this Sūtra, entitled Sūtrak-panjikā, which commences thus:—

ये ते क्रियामाय तत्तेत्रः सरस्वती

प्रतिष्ठानं वेष तत्सौर्प वर्णयेत् या या ।

चर्यापरिचयं विवरणेऽविवरणं य ॥

शिला विविष्ठा यथावतांस्तर्तां विवरणं य ॥

Verses 6 and 15:22 the author has left unexplained; the authorities he quotes are:—Audraavrājī (to judge from the quotations, author of a Sūtra), Nārada (the Nāradī Sūtra), Pāṇini, a Prātiśākhya, the Bhāṣyakāra (Patanjali), Manu, a Vishnu-purāṇa, sāstras and sūtras, Vyāsā, the Sābdakāsūḍa, the Sābdendukkha, Śāmakā, Śrīdāra, and Suyajna.

The number of ślokas contained in this Sūtra is stated in my MS. to be 138; the text is accompanied by an anonymous commentary which together with the text fills 152 pages, each containing 8 lines of about 38 aksāhāras.

My MS. begins:—

ॐ गणें त्रिप्रायम्यं सदेनां निर्धेरस्यात्

विधानं प्रक्ष्यः वदो नूतन्तरणम्

श्रीगणेशितानामानं वेदानां यथावतानामानांसूत्रादिकारणः

एवं प्रेमं सदेनं स सदेनां निर्धेरस्यात् वर्त्तमानीति भारताभाष्यानां ग्रंथाय

वृन्दे [MS. वृन्दे] ज उदासोबद्धकारण सहृदये

[MS. सहायः]

एवादम् असरसासिनां पद्यं करिम्यं कि भवेत्

वृन्दे [MS. वृन्दे] जकार्तुष्ट्र वज्रां वज्रां आकाशस्त्रे

मय। वृन्दे [MS. तृणं] शैव ते वज्रां वज्रां उदासो

हसन एवाहितम् दुःखितम् .......
and it ends:--

9. The Māndūka Śikshā has been described by Professor Hang, loc. cit. p. 55, and by Professor Weber in the appendix to his essay on the Pratijñātītra, p. 106. It forms part of the literature connected with the Atharvaveda. It contains 16 chapters with altogether 184 verses, and cites, besides Māndūka (मण्डुकमन्त्रम प्रमाणः), Kaśyapa.

10. The Mādhyanandini Śikshā contains 25 verses. V. 1-14 lay down the same rules which are given in the Kesava-śikshā, and the remaining verses treat of the pronunciation of Visarga and the motions of the fingers which are to accompany its pronunciation.

My MS. begins:--

अय सकारा संवेदितां मण्डुकमन्त्रम प्रमाणः।

and it ends:--

11. The Yājnavalkya, or Kātyāyana-Śikshā. Of this work I possess three different MSS., of which two generally agree with each other, while the third appears to contain a somewhat different recension of the text. In this last the work is described as Yājnavalkyoktā Śikshā, while in the first it is called Yājnavalkyavirachita Erihachchikhikā, and in the second, which is slightly defective, Kātyāyana-śikshā. Both as regards its contents and the number of slokas, this treatise resembles the Māndūka more than any other Śikshā. Yājnavalkya himself is cited at the beginning, and other authorities quoted are Somaśaraman and 'Saukaka and others.'

The MS. of the Yājnavalkyā-Śikshā begins:--

12. The Lomasi Śikshā or Lomāśinī, as it is also called in my MS., appears to belong to the Sāmañcaveda. It is said to have been composed by Gargacakrārya, and it cites Tambura (तंबुरास्तरम यथा). It consists of 8 khandas with altogether about 80 verses. The incorrect state of my MS. prevents me from giving an accurate account of the contents of this treatise, but I may state that it treats in the usual fashion of the Mātrās, the doubling of consonants, Kampa, Ranga, Svarabhakti, etc. It refers distinctly to the Sāmā, Sāmāgī, and Archiha.

My MS. begins:--

13. The Vāsiṣṭha-Śikshā.—Of this treatise I have not been able to procure more than a few slokas, which together with an anonymous commentary fill 7 pages each containing 8 lines with about 30 aksharas in each line, and which treat of the doubling of consonants and of Svarabhakti.

My MS. begins:--

14. The Vyāsa-Śikshā is the longest and certainly one of the most important and in several respects most interesting Śikshās which I have examined. I have stated already above that it so closely follows the Taittirīya-prātiṣṭhikāya as to be little less than a metrical version of the latter, and I trust that my statement will be borne out by the following short description of its contents. To facilitate a comparison
with the Taittirīya-prātiṣṭhākyā, I have cited, after the several verses quoted below, the rules of the Prātiṣṭhākyā on which they appear to have been based.

The first chapter of this Śikṣā treat of Samjñas, or technical terms, and begins as follows:—

श्रीवाृष्ण वरदे प्राणस्य

श्रीमाणेष च देवीम्।

शिखास प्रक्षे श्रुतिकारणां ॥ १ ॥

सुपोषाक लक्षणीयधीमृतम् ॥ २ ॥

अथ सर्वविद्या वन्यप्राणे च।

तत्तः च प्रसक्षामितिः प्रसीद्य यथा ॥ ३ ॥

अर्थाविरूढ्यते अनामितवे लम्बेशे

अद्वैती क्रमांदेतु सराते: स्युर्वाणानंत्र ॥ ४ ॥

(II, 1-6.)

काळितिक: । स्मृत: स्पष्टं अन्तस्य विद्यावेद्याः

जिह्वास्वद्हरास्तत्तत्त्रा । प्रसाध्य उद्धीरत: ॥ ५ ॥

(II, 1-7-9.)

स्मार्थाम पुष्च पुष्च स्नातां प्रत: ॥

तत्तवादिश्वराः: स्मृत: । पञ्चमसूत्रां क्रमात ॥ ६ ॥

(II, 10-11; 27.)

अधोपन: । स्मृतमान्याप्राणांतरमि न ह:।

गणीयासं दशायां धर्मात: पारे हस: ॥ ७ ॥

(II, 12-14.)

स्वविश्वस्तु परस्य क्रमांतरमणे तु:।

तुषाृत्य सह गुर्ग: । ग्रामवर्धरय जीवनम: ॥ ८ ॥

स्वविश्वस्तु परस्य श्लोकस्तव्य वैश्वात:।

अवसाने क्रमांतरमणे नादा हति तु:। स्मृत: ॥ ९ ॥

आश्चर्यनवक्ष्य: देशाय अन्नानां शरस्य कार्यार्थः।

भविषयकर: । कारे यो: हला रस्तेको भेलु: ॥ १ ॥

(II, 16-21.)

अद्वैते अध्ययने स्वविश्वस्तुत:।

विद्याय: । कारुप्रयोगाद्रितास्वप्पिन्य: ॥ १० ॥

(XXII, 4-5.)

न्यायौत्तिक न्यायमेति स्वविश्वस्तुति:।

अन्नानं निधन्ये स्युर्वाणिकाय मेलु: ॥ ११ ॥

(XXII, 6-8.)

संस्कृत: । स्वदृष्टेय:। स्वविश्वस्तु:। स्मृतिकारण:।

अनेकशब्दान्तर:। संख्याय:। प्रक्षेपित:। ॥ १२ ॥

A large portion of this first chapter treat of Prayâhas, and the rules which are given on this subject agree entirely with those contained in chapter IV. of the Taittirīya-prātiṣṭhākyā; the introductory verse reads thus:—

अथ प्रावह एवान्त उत्थते अप्राहे न चेदु।

उकार: स्युत श्रोकारी क्षयकार्यास्वत्तोत्तर।

(IV, 1-6.)

The first or Samjña-prakaraṇa is followed by several chapters which treat of the relation to each other of the Pada and Samśhitā-pâthas and contain rules of Saṅkhyā. These again are followed by the Svarga-dharma-prakaraṇa and the Svāra-saṃkhīta-prakaraṇa, on the accents and particularly the different Svāritas; and by the Svāra-nīsā-prakaraṇa, on the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, which last chapter has nothing to correspond with in the Prātiṣṭhākyā. The following chapters treat of the doubling of consonants, and of augment; the first of them begins:—

सचात्मकमित्वदेशान्तरमणे ज्ञातवोधिष्ठोत्तर ।

वर्तपाण्य च वर्तपाण्ये च हर्षाय उपाभिषुटत् ॥ (XIV, 1-2.)

Then follows a chapter on syllabication (Taitt-prāt. XXI.), called Aṅgasaṃkhīta-prakaraṇa, with a full description of Śvarabhakti. This again is followed by the Swā-kāra-prakaraṇa, corresponding with Taitt-prāt. II., and this by the Kālānīraṇya-prakaraṇa, on the Mātrās, on सु, and on the three Vṛttis. The two following chapters, with which the treatise concludes, appear to be called Sāvarṇa (?) and Ucchārdāraṇa-prakaraṇa.

The Vyāsā-śikṣā appears to me to be a work of very great importance for two reasons: firstly, because it shows to us, more clearly than this is done by any other Śikṣā, how Śikṣās are based on and have their origin in the Prātāśikhas; and, secondly, because, being older than the Triṣṭhānyaratna, it cannot but be of great value for the interpretation of the Taittirīya-prātiṣṭhākyā.

The text of this Śikṣā is accompanied in my MS. by a full commentary, called Vedaṇāya, which begins thus:—

वनिदेश मित्रमयूर्मिन्यं स्वपनधरणं गणाधिपतम्।

कृपामित व्यासविश्वस्तु विप्रांमयं ज्ञातवोधिष्ठ।
The text and commentary fill in my MS. 65 pages, each containing 8 lines with about 38 aksharas in each line.

17. The SIDDHANTA-SIKSHA I have mentioned already when speaking of the BHAVRUDRAJ-SIKSHA, and I have also stated the object for which it appears to have been composed. It belongs to the Triptirika-noda, and is the work of SRIKARADVISADHUDHITA. In my own MS, the end of this treatise is wanting, but according to Dr. Burnell's description the whole consists of 74 slokas. The text of this SIKSHA is accompanied by an anonymous commentary, according to which the author of the original had studied the nine SIKHAS of
27. The Śikṣā-chandrika.
28. The Hārīta-śikṣā.

Dr. Burnell (On the Aśvina Grammar, p. 46) enumerates besides—
29. The Kauṣikī Śikṣa.
30. The Gautami Śikṣa.

From the above short description of the Śikṣā-treatises which I have collected, it will appear that the term Śikṣā, or, as it is occasionally spelt in MSS., from the south of India, Śikṣā, is applicable to any work which treats of the classification and pronunciation of letters, and that in particular it denotes such works as profess to teach the correct pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts; lastly, the term Śikṣā has been applied, as it would seem to me, somewhat improperly, also to works composed for the purpose of keeping the Vedic texts free from incorrect readings. The 17 works described above may be classified thus:

A. Works which teach the classification and pronunciation of letters without special reference to the Vedic texts:—The Aśvina Śikṣā.

B. 1. Works which profess to lay down all the rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts,

(a) Without, so far as I can judge, reference to any particular Veda:—The Chāṇḍogya-, Pāṇiniya-, Māndāki-, Yājñavalkya-, and Vāsiṣṭha (?)-Śikṣā.

(b) With particular reference to the Taittiriya Veda:—The Vyāsa-śikṣā.

(c) With particular reference to the Śāma-veda:—The Nārada and Lomā Śikṣā.

(d) Professedly compilations:—Śikṣāsamuccaya and Sarvasamānita-śikṣā.

B. 2. Works which lay down particular rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic texts:

(a) Works teaching the peculiar pronunciation of certain letters only, as adopted by the followers of the Mādhyandini Śikṣā of the Yajurveda:—The Anoghinidi (?), Keśara, and Mādhyandini Śikṣā.

(b) Works teaching the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages in the Taittiriya Áraṇyaka:—The Áranyika-śikṣā.

C. Works composed with the object of keeping the Vedic texts free from wrong words:—The Brhadāraṇyaka- and Śiśupāla-śikṣā.

§ See the expression स्राग्नुमते in v. 3 of the Rig-version of the Pañiniya-śikṣā, and compare with it expressions such as
Concerning the relation between the Prātiśā-khyas and such Sikṣās as are enumerated under B, which may be called the Sikṣās karīśyas, my views are, shortly expressed, as follows—

Much of what is taught in these Sikṣās was taught before them in the Prātiśā-khyas, but as the latter were found to contain many rules with which the reciter of the Vedas texts had no concern, manuals—such as the Sikṣās are which are known to us—had to be composed which professed to give only the rules required for the correct recitation of the Vedas, and to give them in both an intelligible and an easily remembered form; the composition of such manuals became the more necessary when the recitation of the Vedas texts had become so artificial that it no longer was sufficiently accurately described by the comparatively simple rules of the Prātiśā-khyas.||

ŚRĀDDHA CEREMONIES AT GAYĀ.

BY PROF. MONIER WILLIAMS.

The city of Gayā is most picturesquely situated on the river Phalgū, about 60 miles southwest of Patna, near some isolated hills, or rather short ranges of hills, rising abruptly out of the plain. The town itself crowns two low ridges, whose sides, covered with the houses of its narrow, tortuous streets, slope down to an intervening hollow occupied by the temple and sacred tank dedicated to the Sun. But the most sacred temple, and the great centre of attraction for all Hindus who wish to perform once in their lives a Gayā-śrāddha for their forefathers, is the Vishnupada temple, situated on one of the ridges, and built of black stone, with a lofty dome and golden pinnacle. It contains the alleged footprint of Vishnu in a large silver basin, under a silver canopy, inside an octagonal shrine. Pindas and various kinds of offerings are placed by the pilgrims inside this basin round the footprint, and near it are open colonnades for the performance of the śrāddhas. About six miles from the city is the well-known place of pilgrimage called Bodh-Gayā, celebrated for a monastery and numerous temples, but chiefly for the ancient tower-like structure said by the natives to be more than 2200 years old, and originally a Buddhist monument.

It has near it other alleged footprints of Vishnu (probably once assigned to Buddha), under an open shrine. Behind the tower, on an elevated stone terrace reached by a long flight of steps, is the sacred pījaval tree under which, according to popular belief, the Buddha attained supreme knowledge. The tree must be many centuries old, but a succession of trees is secured by planting a new one inside the decaying stem of the old. In a chamber at the bottom of the tower-like Buddhist monument—now used as a temple—a substitute for the original figure of Buddha (carried off by the Burmese about a hundred years ago) has been placed, for the sake of the Buddhist pilgrims who come to repeat prayers and meditate under the tree; and in the same place a linga has been set up, to which the Hindus do pūjā. When I visited the spot many persons were in the act of worshipping, and several members of the Burmese embassy, who had come to meet the Prince of Wales at Calcutta, were to be seen reverentially kneeling, praying and meditating under the sacred tree.

Before describing the śrāddhas at Gayā, I may state that I asked several pāñjīts in different parts of India to give me the reasons for attaching special efficacy to the celebration of religious rites for ancestors in that locality. The only reply I received was that in the Gayāmāhātya and Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati it is declared that a powerful demon (asura), named Gayya, formerly resided there and tyrannized over the inhabitants. Vishnu took compassion on them, fought and killed the demon, and

|| I cannot conclude these remarks without a word of thanks to the gentlemen whose kindness has enabled me to collect the treatises described in the above. The Secretary of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta has placed at my disposal all the Sikṣā MSS. which belong to the Society. Dr. Bājendraśāl Mitra has, with his usual kindness, furnished me with copies of the Amoghānandsin, Kātyayana, and Lomaśa Sikṣās. My friend Dr. Bührer has collected

for me, on his travels in Gujārāt, Rājputana, and Kāshmīr besides the Sikṣāpanjikā, no less than eight Sikṣās: the Amoghānandsin, Āpiśali, Kācāra, Chhārayānīya, Nārādī, Māpūk̄k̄ (3 copies), Mādhyanīya, and Yāja alka. And to the kindness of Colonel Malleson of Māisur I owe copies of the Ārānya, Bāhrādvāja, Viśāhyā, Vīṣṇu, Sarvasammeta, Siddhaṭha-Sikṣās, and of the Sikṣā-samuchchaya, together with their commentaries.
left a print of his foot (Vishnu-pada, commonly called Bishanapada) on the spot where the fight occurred, ordaining that it should be ever after called Gayā and consecrated to him, and that any śraddha performed there for fathers, forefathers, and relatives should be peculiarly efficacious in securing the immediate conveyance of their souls to his own heaven, Vaikuṇṭha.

It is also stated in the Gayā-māhātmya that the great Rāma, hero of the Rāmdāvan (himself an incarnation of Vishnu), and other heroes set the example of performing śraddhas to their fathers at Gayā. Brahmā is also said to have performed an āśvamedha there, and to have consecrated the whole locality by this act. The plain truth probably is that as the Indo-Āryans proceeded southwards, the Brāhmans found it necessary to invent reasons for attaching sanctity and attracting pilgrims to other spots besides those already held sacred in the North-West.

It was on this account that the Māhātmyas of various places were gradually written and inserted in the Purāṇas. Some of these additions, intended to exalt the importance of places like Gayā, are comparatively modern, and the Māhātmyas of one or two śīvanas, such as Paṇḍharpur in the Dekhan, are said to have been added during the last fifty or a hundred years. I was even told that Paṇḍharpur has become late years a kind of rival to Gayā. Alleged footprints of Vishnu like those at Gayā are shown, and the Viṭhoba sects perform śraddhas there. Models of the Gayā Vishnupada are made in brass and in black stone, and sold for worship.

Several were presented to me. They are often placed, like the Śalagran stone, in the houses of the natives, for domestic pājā.

With regard to the śraddha ceremonies generally, there seems to be much confusion of thought and obscurity, besides great inconsistency, in the accounts given by pañcits of the exact object and effect of their celebration. It may be useful to explain to those who have not made the subject their study that a distinction is made between śraddhas and funeral ceremonies (antyoshṭi). The latter are amayqala, 'inauspicious,' while the former are manyala, 'auspicious.' To understand the reason for this, it should be borne in mind that when a man dies his sthāla-sartra or 'gross body' is burned, but his soul quits it with the linga-sartra or 'subtle body,' sometimes described as angushthamātra, 'of the size of a thumb,' and remains hovering near it. The deceased man, thus reduced to the condition of a simple individual soul invested with a subtle body, is called a preta, i.e. a departed spirit or ghost. He has no real body capable of enjoying or suffering anything, and is consequently in a restless, unsatisfactory and uncomfortable plight. Moreover, while in this condition he is held to be an impure being. Furthermore, if he dies away from his kindred, who alone can perform the funeral ceremonies, and who are perhaps unaware of his death, and unable therefore to perform them, he becomes a pūrṇa, or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery upon all living creatures by a variety of malignant acts. I heard it remarked not long ago by a pañcī that ghosts are much less common in India now than formerly, and, on my inquiring the reason, was told that communication was now so rapid that few die without their deaths becoming known and without having funeral rites performed very soon afterwards. Besides, he added, it is now so easy to reach Gayā by rail and by good carriage roads. The object, then, of the funeral rites, which are celebrated at an intermediate body, between the linga or 'subtle' and the sthāla or 'gross' body—with a body, that is to say, which is capable of enjoying or suffering, and which, as leading to another future gross body, is sometimes called the kāraṇa-sartra or 'causal body.'

In this manner only can the preta obtain gati, or 'progress' onward through the temporary heaven or hell (regarded in the Hindu system as a kind of purgatory) to other births and ultimate emancipation. On the first day after death a pīṇḍa, or round ball (generally of some kind of flour) is offered, on which the preta is supposed to feed, and which endows it with the rudiment or basis of the requisite body, whatever that basis may be. Next day another pīṇḍa is offered, which gives it, perhaps, limbs, such as arms and legs. Then it receives hands, feet, &c. This goes on for ten days, and the offering of the pīṇḍa on the tenth day gives the head. No sooner does the preta obtain a complete body than it becomes a pūrṇa, when, instead of being regarded as impure, is held to be a deva, or 'deity,' and
practically worshipped as such in the śrāddha ceremonies. Hence a śrāddha is not a funeral ceremony (as some have described it), but a worship of departed ancestors; which worship, however, is something very different from puja to a god, as it is continued at stated periods with a view to accelerate the gati, or 'progress,' of the pītriis onwards to heaven, and then through the various stages of bliss, called sālokya, sāniṣya, and sārūpya, and thence through future births to final union with the Supreme (sāyujya). And the efficacy of śrāddhas performed at Gayā is this, that wherever in this progress onwards departed relatives may have arrived, the śrāddhas take them at once to Vaikuṇtha, or Vishnu's heaven. The departed relatives especially entitled to benefit by the śrāddha rites are as follow:—1. Father, grandfather, great-grandfather. 2. Mother, mother's father and grandfather. 3. Stepmother, if any. 4. Father's mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother. 5. Father's brothers. 6. Mother's brothers. 7. Father's sisters. 8. Mother's sisters. 9. Sisters and brothers. 10. Fathers-in-law.

An eleventh person is sometimes added, viz. the family spiritual teacher (guru).

Let no one suppose that the process of performing śrāddhas at Gayā is either simple or rapid. To secure the complete efficacy of such rites, a whole round of them must be performed at about fifty distinct places in and around Gayā, besides at the most holy spot of all—the Vaiśnavāpa temple—the time occupied in the process being at least eight days, and sometimes protracted to fifteen, while the money spent in fees to the officiating priests (who at Gayā are called Gayavāls = Gayā-pālas, regarded by some as an inferior order of Brāhmaṇs), is never less than Rs. 40. But only the poorest are let off thus easily. The Mahārāja of Kashmir, who is a very strict Hindu, and performed śrāddhas at Gayā the other day on his way to Calcutta, is reported to have distributed Rs. 15,000 to the Gayā Brāhmaṇs.

When I was recently staying with Mr. Halliday, the Collector of the district, I obtained, through his kind influence, from the principal Gayāl, named Chotī Lāl, a detailed account of all the ceremonies connected with the Gayā śrāddhas—which, considering the important position they hold in the Hindu religious system, and considering that no trustworthy description of them has, so far as I know, hitherto appeared, it may be worth while to place on record.

First Day.—The ceremonies begin near the sacred river Phalgū. The first duty is to make a sankalpa, or 'religious vow,'—that is to say, a promise to perform all the rites in regular course. This is done by repeating mantras and pouring out water on the banks of the sacred river. The pilgrims bathe in the Phalgū and perform tarpāna, or homage to the spirits of departed ancestors, with water, kuśa grass, and sesame seed. Then comes the first full śrāddha, consisting of offerings of balls made of rice or barley flour with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, sesame seed, honey, coagulated milk, and small lighted lamps. All this is done in or near the Phalgū river, which in the dry season dwindles to a narrow stream, leaving a dry sandy bed on each side. 2. The second place is called Pāta-Sītā or Rāma-Sītā. Here the pīṭha śrāddha only is performed, i.e. balls of rice-flower with milk are offered to the pīṭha and afterwards thrown into the river or given to the cows. 3. Rāma-kuṇḍa. Here they bathe and make both tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna, 'presentation of the balls.' 4. Kākābali: here they perform three pīṭha-dānas.

Second Day.—5. Brahma-kuṇḍa. Here they only bathe and perform tarpāna. 6. Preta-parvata. Here they make pīṭha-dāna and scatter round upon the ground parched barley reduced to meal or made into a paste.

Third Day. 7. Uttara-mānasu. Here they bathe and make tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna. They also do homage (pavanā) to the Northern Sun. Pilgrims pass from this station to the next without uttering a word. 8. Udditā. 9. Kanakhala. At these two stations they bathe, make tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna. 10. Dikshīna-mānasu. Here, after tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna, they do homage to the Southern Sun. 11. Jīrā-lola. Here, after bathing in the Pancha-kūṭha (five different sacred places near each other), and after tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna, they do homage to Mahādeva (as Pīṭha and Mahēśvara). They also do homage to Gāndhāra with panchamrīta, i.e. with coagulated milk, clarified butter, milk, honey, and sugar, and adore him with flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, cloth, ornaments, and lamps.

Fourth Day. 12. Matandga-vōpi. Here they bathe with tarpāna and pīṭha-dāna, as well as

**Fifth Day.** 15. Brahmacaras. Here, after bathing, **tarpāṇa**, and **piṇḍa-dāna**, they sprinkle water over a mango-tree, go round the Brahmkāpa, and make **prājāma** to Brahmac. 16. Kākābali. Here they offer three **piṇḍas**. (N.B. There seems to be here a repetition of No. 4.)

**Sixth Day.**—On this day they present **piṇḍas** at the following stations, near the Viṣṇu-pada temple:—17. Budrapada. 18. Viṣṇupada. Here there is adoration, as well as **piṇḍa-dāna**. 19. Brahmapada. Only **piṇda-dāna** here and at the following stations, where footprints, or marks like them, are supposed to be found:—20. Gārhapatypada. 21. Maṇiśītāpada. 22. Sabhyapada. 23. Āvasathyapada. 24. Dakshināṇi-pada (only one **piṇḍa**). 25. Indrapada. 26. Sāryapada. 27. Kārtikīyeypada. 28. Agatypada. 29. Kraunchapada. 30. Gaṇeśapada. 31. Chandrapada. 32. Matangapada. 33. Kaṇapada. 34. Dīdākhipapada. 35. Kaiyapapada. 36. Gaya-sīra. (Here two **piṇḍas** are offered.)

**Seventh Day.**—37. Bāma-Gaya (**piṇḍa-dāna**). 38. Sīkhaṇḍa (three **piṇḍas** made of sand). 39. Gaya-kāpa. One **piṇḍa** and often three **piṇḍas** are presented at this and the following five stations:—40. Maṇḍapryāksha. 41. Kraunchapada or Ādi-Gaya. 42. Dhautapada. 43. Bhima-garta or Bhima-gaṇya. 44. Gopacāra. 45. Gada-gular. Here they bath, perform **tarpāṇa** and **piṇḍa-dāna**. 45. Akṣhayavatā. Here, after the regular **śrāddha**, particular gifts are presented, which strictly ought to consist of the following articles:—gold, silver, copper, brass, a cow, an elephant, a horse, a house, land, a bullock, cloth, a bed, an umbrella, shoes, money, grain. Here also they feed the Gaywals and do homage to the Bar-tree and to Mahādeva and Mahādevi.

**Eighth Day.**—47. Gīyantar-fūtha. Here in the early morning they bathe, perform **prājāma-saṇḍhyā**; or morning devotions, with **tarpāṇa** and **piṇḍa-dāna**. 48. Śvitrī. Here they perform madhyāntina-saṇḍhyā, midday devotions, with **tarpāṇa**. 49. Sarasvati. Here they perform evening saṇḍhyā. 50. Vaitāraṇi. Here, after bathing and **tarpāṇa**, they present gifts, technically called **goddā**, which ought properly to consist of the following articles:—a cow, a calf, a cloth, a vessel for holding milk, a silver hoof, a golden horn, a tail made of pearls and copper, and gold.

The above sacred places are the most famous, but there are others where the pilgrims perform ceremonies, such as—1. Viśālī. 2. Leelānā. 3. Bhurulārama. 4. Akṣāgangā. 5. Devanādi. 6. Yanand, &c., to the number of about twenty-two.

With regard to the **śrāddhas** I myself witnessed at Gaya, they were all performed in colonnades and open courts round the Viṣṇu-pada temple. One example will suffice. The party celebrating the rite consisted of six men, who were of course relations, and one Gaywal. The men sat on their heels in a line, with the officiating Gaywal (sometimes called Paṇḍa) priest at their head. Twelve **piṇḍas** were formed of rice and milk, not much larger than the large marbles used by boys (called ‘alleys’). They were placed with sprigs of the sacred tulsi-plant in small earthenware platters. Then on the top of the **piṇḍas** were scattered kuśa grass and flowers. I was told that the **piṇḍas** in the present case were typical of the bodies of the twelve ancestors for whom the **śrāddha** was celebrated. The men had kuśa grass twisted round their fingers, in token of their hands being perfectly pure for the due performance of the rite.

Next, water was poured into the palms of their hands, part of which they sprinkled on the ground, and part on the **piṇḍas**. One or two of the men then took threads off their clothes and laid them on the **piṇḍas**, which act is alleged to be emblematical of presenting the bodies of their departed ancestors with garments. Meanwhile mantras, or Vedic texts, were repeated, under the direction of the Gaywal, and the hands were sometimes extended over the **piṇḍas** as if to invoke blessings. When all the mantras were finished, and one or two added to pray for pardon if any minute point in the ritual had been omitted, the whole rite was concluded by the men putting their heads to the ground before the officiating Brāhmaṇ and touching his feet. Of course the number of **piṇḍas** varies with the number of ancestors for whom the **śrāddhas** are celebrated, and the size of the balls and the materials of which they are composed differ according to the caste and the country of those who perform the rite. I saw one party in the
act of forming fourteen or fifteen pindas with oatmeal, which were of a much larger size than large marbles. This party was said to have come from the Dekhan. Sometimes the pindas were placed on betel-leaves with pieces of money (afterwards appropriated by the priests), and sometimes the water used was taken out of little pots with stalks of kusa grass, and with these sprinkled over the balls. At the end of all the ceremonies the earthen platters employed were carried to a particular stone in the precincts of the temple and dashed to pieces there. No platter is allowed to be used a second time.

Amid this crash of broken crockery, the tedious round of rites, ceremonies, and vain repetitions, which, if they effect nothing else, certainly serve to enrich a goodly company of Brāhmaṇas, is perhaps not inappropriately concluded.

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GRANTS FROM VALABHI.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Two of the three Valabhi grants of which transcripts are given below (B and C) were sent to me by Mr. Burgess, and A by Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Revakṣāṭhā. The contents of all three so nearly agree with the tāśanas already published, that it would be a waste of paper to give a translation. For the future historian of Valabhi and for the Sanskritist it will be sufficient to be put in possession of the facsimiles and transcripts, and to have notices of the particulars in which the new inscriptions add to our knowledge of the Valabhi kingdom.

A.—The Grant of Dhrusasena I.

This grant is inscribed on two plates measuring 13 inches by 8 each. The rings with which they had been fastened together in the usual manner, as well as the seal, have been lost, otherwise their preservation is perfect. They were found in the Bhaunagar State. The letters closely resemble those of the grant of Dhrusasena I. published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. IV. p. 106.

The grant is dated from Valabhi. As regards the vahīdeval, or the portion giving the genealogy, it is to be noted that the five titles occurring in the grant first published last year are here not given to Dhrusasena. But it is stated that he meditates on the feet of the Parambhattāraka, the Supreme Lord. The grantee was a Brahman Sāchitisrāman, of the Drāmayana gotra, and a student of the Atharvanā Veda (Pl. II. li. 3-4). This last particular is of some interest, as there are few proofs for the early existence of the Atharvaveda, or for the age of the small colonies of Atharvavedins now found in Western India. The donee resided at Hastakavapra—probably the modern Hāthah in the Bhaunagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas on account of its temple of Nīlkanṭh. The objects given to him appear to be two, a well (gūpa) and kada, i.e. the wild growing produce, roots, fruits, grass, &c., of a certain locality (Pt. II. ll. 2-3). The latter word occurs in the compound yoṭilopratyaśitādīppādāvartrīkṣadānū. Two portions of this word, yoṭila and stīḍāpāda, evidently are proper names, and yoṭilopratyaśitādīppādāvara must therefore designate the place where the grass and other natural produce grew. Pratyaya occurs in the grant of Dharasena II. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. XI. p. 381), repeatedly placed after the names of persons and before words, like kṣetra, 'field,' vāpī, 'reservoir.' Rao Sāhob V. N. Maṇḍlik renders it 'held by,' and this rendering may be defended by the statement of the Kosha that pratyaya means, among other things, adhetu, 'dependent.' I am inclined to translate the whole by 'the pasture and wild growing produce in the stīḍāpādāvara held by Yoṭila.'

Both the pasture and the well are further stated to be situated hastakavapradharaṇyanukkaṭapram, which I am inclined to render by 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, (situated) in the Hastakavapra Aharani.' Kukkaṭa is the modern Kukkaṭ, in the Gogo Tāluk, which lies a few miles from Hāthah.

Hastakavapradharaṇyanukkāṭapram cannot be correct as it stands. The compounds standing in the Valabhi and other grants before the names of villages contain usually the territorial division, i.e. the zilla or tāluk, to which the villages belonged. A locative is therefore required, and dharaṇya should be changed to dharaṇya. An āharani must have been—like the sthali which so often occurs in the Valabhi grants, like bhukti,
vishaya, and rāṣṭra—a territorial division. I am, however, not aware that the word occurs anywhere else.

The wording of the second part of our grant differs not considerably from that usually adopted on the Valabhi sāsamās. Thus we have (Pl. II., l. 2) anudārayati for samijāpyayati (Pl. II., l. 6), anuvādaś for atierishtu or pratipādaś, the Prakrit-like form karshāpyataḥ (Pl. II., l. 7) instead of karshāyataḥ, &c. Two terms, dhrusva and sthānādhikarana, which occur in the enumeration of the officials and functionaries to whom the king addresses himself (Pl. II., l. 1), deserve a word of explanation. In translating formerly the grant of Gahsenā I rendered the equivalent dhruvādikarapunika, which occurs there, by ‘faithful judges,’ adding, however, that dhrusva might be a technical term. I have since found that this is really the case. ‘Dhrusva’ or ‘Dhrus’ are actually at the present day employed in Kāthiāvād and Kachh, and are persons who on the part of the Rājā superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue. Their duty is to see that he does not collect more than his proper share. Dhrus is also not uncommon as a family name among Gujarātīs. In such cases it has, no doubt, come down from an ancestor who held the office. The ‘Sthānādhikarana’ appears to correspond to the ‘Thānadār’ of the present day, who in Kāthiāvād and Rājputāna combine police and magisterial functions.

Lastly, the date of the grant—the seventh day of the bright half of Kārtti, of Sainvat 207, which is very distinct, deserves attention. It makes the plate the oldest Valabhi grant known.

Transcript.

1 सरिति कलम् प्रसभयणताभिषेकः मैत्रकाणामुलनक-प्रतापोपनकत ॥
2 साधुपालोपखोणांसंसभयणताभिषेकः साधुपालोपखोणांसंसखयणनक-प्रतापोपनकत ॥
3 साधुपालोपखोणांसंसखयणनक-प्रतापोपनकत ॥
4 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
5 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
6 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
7 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
8 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
9 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
10 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
11 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
12 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
13 द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥

Plate II.

1 विनियुक्ताधिकरांसह चालयुक्तस्वयथापाचिकरन्दपाधिकारायणनया य- ॥
2 यस्याविस्मितमनुद्दर्शयंस्वयथापाचिकरन्दपाधिकारायणनया य- ॥
3 यस्याविस्मितमनुद्दर्शयंस्वयथापाचिकरन्दपाधिकारायणनया य- ॥
4 यस्याविस्मितमनुद्दर्शयंस्वयथापाचिकरन्दपाधिकारायणनया य- ॥

† J.A. vol. IV. p. 175.
I. L. owe this explanation to Mr. Dalpatram Khakhbar, Deputy Educational Inspector, Kachh.
‡ Line 2, read प्रथम with the other plates. L. 4. dele frist म, read महाराज स. L. 5, read विवेक. L. 7, read महाराज स. L. 10, read प्रथम. L. 11, read सत्ताण. L. 12, read नि-
† L. 1, read द्वारेश्वरराजीशविनांविधिनयनयनखपरंतिकर्यिण्यभूपमनलमाग-स्वभावत ॥
‡ L. 2, read बालविना. L. 3, read महाराज स. L. 4, read प्रथम. P. 5, read यस्याविस्मितम. L. 6. read महाराज स. L. 7, read महाराज स. L. 8, read प्रथम. L. 9, read प्रथम. L. 10, read महाराज स. L. 11, read सत्ताण. L. 12, read नि-
B.—The Grant of Guhasena.

The grant of Guhasena is inscribed on two plates 14" by 9" each. The ring and seal which held them together are preserved, and the latter shows the usual cognizance, the recumbent bull with the inscription Srīhatārkāka. As the seal has been forcibly torn out of its place, the parts of the plate adjoining the ring-holes have been damaged. Both plates are thickly covered with verdigris. Very few words only on Plate I. are legible. But these suffice to show that the grant was dated from Vañabhī, and that the first plate gave nothing but the vasāvidvali from Bhatārka to Dharapāṭha, such as it is known to us from the grants of Dhrusena I. and Dhrusena II. Plate II. begins with the last portion of the description of the grantor, Guhasena. There it is that the most interesting statement occurs. For in line 2 the illustrious king Guhasena is called Paramapāraka, 'the ardent devotee of Buddha,' whence it appears that this ruler was actually converted to Buddhism. In the grant formerly published (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 174) he still professed Śāivism and called himself Paramapāraka.

The donor is (l. 6-7) the "community of foreign monks belonging to the eighteen schools (of the Hinayāna) and living in the Abhyanātari Vihāra or monastery, which had been built by the venerable Miṃmā, and was situated close to the monastery of Bhatārka presented to the Rājasthānya Śīra." (l. 7). If the reading Bhatārka were quite certain, it would be of some interest, as it would prove that the founder of the Abhyāna dynasty already favoured the Bandhārta faith. This Bhatārka Vihāra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination, as the phrase rājasthānyaśāraya praśaddhāraṇa shows.

Miṃmā was, no doubt, like the venerable Dvāra ṇā, whose name occurs in the formerly published grants of Dhrusena I. and Guhasena.

The object granted is Vastabhālkaprāyaprabhumālaśrīdaśmānaṃ kutumbādhyasānyogapakakkheṇḍaśakaladāndrayaḥ (l. 5), which I translate tentatively by "the income (āya) (to be paid) by the Kaśabī Sānyāsa, the herdsman Ceyākaka, and the Dāsaka Astra in the village of Bāhumāḷa belonging to Vastabhālkaprāya (?)".

The date is the 14th day of the dark diminution of Aśvayuja of Śaṅvat 17 7 7, which possibly may be 258. The second sign is, however, read 48 by General Cunningham and Paṇḍita Bhagvānalād Inderej, and 50 by Professor Bhandārkar. I have given the reason which inclined me to read it 60 in the Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 174. I think that the question does require further consideration, but that more plates are required in order to decide it. The last sign has been taken for 6 by Professor Bhandārkar. But the sign for six is 9. My reading was suggested by a remark on the subject which Paṇḍita Bhagvānalād made to me last year.

Among the officers to whom king Guhasena addresses his commands there are two not


† Jour. Beng. As. Soc.

found in the other grant—the anuppanāṁdaṇaṁ cakravakṣa and the śivākikā. The latter are probably custom-house officers, who collect the śūlka or dues?§ Regarding another officer, the rājasthānīya, whom our grant mentions twice, some information is found in the Lokapraśāda

of Kāhenendra. There it is said—Prak. IV. (beginning)

प्रजापतिरेनाथास्थि श्रीमति से क्रस्मयानियः ॥

“He who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters him is called a Rājasthānīya, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’

Transcript.

Plate II.

1) नाथाकार्यप्रदनानन्दितिविक्षुरणिधर: पादेशरीव सकलभूतनमण्डलमयोऽ

2) प्रभीद: परमप्रताप: महाराज श्रीगौरसेन || कुष्ठली सर्वध्वनिवृक्षविविनयस्ते। ||

3) भडाठ्याराज्यकरिकनिर्णयस्थितानुपवयुतमुनि कश्याकरिकाद्वयनां श्रीमति से

4) संविधानीकथाप्रमाणस्वयमपदार्थवत्ता क्रस्मयानियः श्रीमति कार

5) लक्षकलिनियान्यकारणयजयनानियान्यबुधुवात्ममेण कुदुक्कियान्यकरिकाद्वयनां श्रीमति कर

6) कारत्त्वमुष्कतायानियः संस्कारायरणिर्देशेष्य कृप्यायानियान्यविविश्चित्तिकाद्वयनां श्रीमति कर

7) भडाठ्याराज्यकरिकनिर्णयस्थितानुपवयुतमुनि कश्याकरिकाद्वयनां श्रीमति कर

8) पासाचार्यनन्दितिविक्षुरणिधरः यात्सायानियान्यकारणसन्त्यायः श्रीमति कर

9) पादिर्वतमय न कृष्णप्रकाशपदार्थ श्रीमति श्रीमति कर

10) भूमिदाशदसमपदार्थ श्रीमति श्रीमति कर

11) मर्हापत्रकोसपातककृतसुंक्षपादिर: । श्रीमति श्रीमति कर

12) भूमितः तस्यावतः तदा दिनान्यां दृष्टिवर्गमार्गार्थं तदान्यां दृष्टिवर्गमार्गार्थम्

13) वीणमार्गार्थं तदान्यां दृष्टिवर्गमार्गार्थम्

14) पिठकारम च पुनराधिरेण दृष्टिवर्गमार्गार्थं

15) समुद्राना: निमित्तं सन्त्यायानिकरणामार्गसंबंधयते स आश्चयानाम ॥

C.—The Grant of Śilāditya III.

The grant of Śilāditya III. is written on two plates of large size, 16 inches by 18. They are in perfect preservation, and the ring and seal belonging to them are in their proper place. The characters resemble those of the two grants of Śilāditya IV. published by the Hon'ble Rao Sāheb

§ See also the Pet. Dict. f. v.

Line 2, महर �indistinct. L. 5, वर्तमान indistinct. L. 14, doubtful.


The grant is dated (Pl. I, 1. 1) from the camp of victory fixed at the tank of Bālāditya,

L. 6, read कारस् || कृष्ण: || L. 7, भाग्यको: doubtful. L. 14, except the last five words, all indistinct and doubtful.
and was therefore issued during a royal progress. The Bāltārya after whom the tank was named is probably king Dhruvasena II of Valabhi, who, according to Pl. I., II. 25-26, bore that surname.

The vānsāvali teaches us absolutely nothing new. But it may be as well to extract from it and the preceding grants a correct list of the kings of Valabhi. For the Hon'ble Rao Sāheb's pedigree of the Valabhi dynasty, given loc. cit. p. 331, is disfigured by an error regarding his No. X., which probably is due to the printer. Dr. Bhāuj Dāji's list, though it gives the names correctly, does not distinguish between actual rulers and princes who, though not kings, were fathers of kings.

† 1 Bhaṭṭārka, Senāpati.

2 Dhara-

3 Drāma-

4 Dhruva-

5 Dharaṇaṭa.

6 Gulasena.

7 Dharaṇaṇa II.

8 Śilāditya I.,

Dharmaṇaṭa.

Derābhaṭa §

Śilāditya §

11 Dharaṇaṇa III.,

Bhālīṭaṇa.

12 Dharaṇaṇa IV.

10 Dharaṇaṇa III.

13 Dharaṇaṇa III.

14 Kharaṇgra I.

15 Śilāditya II.

16 Śilāditya-deva III.

17 Śilāditya-deva IV.

The last two Śilādityas II. and III. of our grant are said 'to meditate on the feet of the supreme Bhaṭṭārka, the king of kings, the supreme lord Bāva (Pl. II., l. 27), and of the supreme Bhaṭṭārka, the king of kings the supreme lord Bāva' (Pl. II., l. 21), respectively; and in the grant of Śilāditya IV. that king also professes his devotion to Bāva. The Hon'ble Rao Sāheb V. N. Manḍīlik expresses his belief (loc. cit. p. 355) that Bāva and Bāppa were

same note that Khāḍa in Gujarāt became the capital of the Valabhi kings has, hitherto, not been proved.


† The numbers prefixed to the names show the order of the succession. The names without numbers marked § are those of princes who, according to the grants, did not actually reign at Valabhi.

Kings Nos. 1-4 are to be found on the plates of Dhruvasena I. (see above), Nos. 5-6 on the plates of Guhasena (see above), and Dharaṇaṇa II. (Jour. Beng. As. Soc.); for the remainder there are the plates of Dharaṇaṇa II., of Śilāditya I. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc. vol. XI. p. 355), Dharaṇaṇa IV. (Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 14), Śilāditya III. (the one under discussion), and Śilāditya IV. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc. vol. XI. p. 355).

The extreme limits between the dates known at present are 106 years (Dhruvasena I., Saṁvatsara 200, and Śilāditya IV., Saṁvatsara 400), which have to be divided among nine generations. As regards the spelling of the names, Bhaṭṭārka and Derābhaṭa ought not to be split with two s's, as is sometimes done on the plates and by antiquarians. For it is inappropriate to make a ruler a bhāṭa or priest. Bhaṭa, i.e. 'warrior,' on the other hand, is a fitting appellation. We owe the bhāṭas in the grants merely to the carelessness of the engravers, who usually did their work so better than bad copyists do it nowadays.

Plate II.

1. talinamahabhutaśrīśeṣōdakāvidyāsī sārṣedvaprītā cilanāsŚ bhāgavatpravakṣijñānāṃ. pravajñānaṃ vedantaśāstraṃ. bhāṣyaṃ. pravajñānaṃ vedantaśāstraṃ. bhāṣyaṃ. pravajñānaṃ vedantaśāstraṃ. bhāṣyaṃ.


3. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

4. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

5. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchāgraṇitaṃ. paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

6. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

7. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

8. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

9. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

10. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

11. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।

12. vārda-mahārāṣṭrapatiḥ paracchाण्यम् तद्विद्धित्वोत्पत्तिः।
दस्तुरितिलकहिन्दुकुलाल सप्तमें यथार्थ धर्मालोगश्यामारणयामा परमाभिः
कीर्तिभवितसहितकुलद्रव्यालय विंदितागुरुगुरुदेवश्रममींधीजीवितनिबुधबगरोपाध्याय
कोणः पतुः श्रीश्रीलालकुलमुनिष्वलाय
करण इव प्रतिदिनसंबर्द्मानकलकाचकः केरलनाथमुरुरा जालकोत्सवमेलालिमालकृङ्कुः
शिवरूपाकेचतुष्टय गच्चकम्भूभूमिः प्रचलनेऽत्रः पुरुषोऽस्मीतिः
शक्तिभवांश बादामगम इव प्रतापानुसरसः संयुगे विद्वानंयोगानीव परमात्मादुरितं

खाभारुपालिहित रमण भ्रमणाराजप्रियारण्येऽवर्षिबारयापत्रः परमबालकमहाराजाधिराजपर्वे श्रीश्रीलालकुलमुनिष्वलाय

dुस्तापादातुपयाद्वादशीमापिरकां च राजार्यसंयुगे तुलान्यस्यिष्टी मुनिमभमममहिम
न्योपनीत्यमूर्णिसामायानुपालिः च यज्ञवल्लाहः कोपार।

cीतामणि ब्रह्माकुलाराशिकारणिकरां च प्रदानसम्ये तुलान्यस्यिष्टी मुनिमभमममहिम


gमाणा मन्यालालकुलमुनिष्वलाय प्रियारण्येऽवर्षिबारयापत्रः परमाभिः


dुर्गालकमहाराजाधिराजपर्वे श्रीश्रीलालकुलमुनिष्वलाय

"सरस्वतीकुलेश्वरानाथस्वामीदेवसरस्वतीमातिक्षुकुलकुलमुनिष्वलाय


cयेन चद्रार्यसङ्गति समाजमेलमानकाः सरस्वतीकुलेश्वरानाथस्वामीदेवसरस्वतीमातिक्षुकुलकुलमुनिष्वलाय


dुस्तापादातुपयाद्वादशीमापिरकां च राजार्यसंयुगे


TRANSLATION OF AN EPISODE IN THE 1ST BOOK OF THE RÂMÂYÂNA OF TULSI DÂS.

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The Hindi Râmâyâna of Tulsi Dâs is by far the most popular, and for other reasons also the most important work in the vernacular of Upper India. But though three centuries have now elapsed since the year 1575 A.D., when it was written, no portion of it has ever yet been translated into any European language. This singular neglect is to be explained by two causes. In the first place, the colloquial idiom and homely allusions would form insuperable difficulties to any foreigner who had not some local experience and personal acquaintance with native usages; and therefore no philologist at home would essays the task. Secondly, here in India the Hindu side of popular speech has always been viewed with a certain amount of disfavour by the English Government, and this has so much discouraged its study among official residents that, as a rule, the only Europeans in the country who have acquired an accurate knowledge of Hindi are the Protestant missionaries, who find it indispensable for bazaar preaching. I had long hoped that some of these very able scholars might be induced to supply a want which they unanimously deplore: but they plead the length of the work and their own little leisure as an excuse. At last, after ascertaining that there is no prospect of my hope being realized by their labours, I have myself commenced the translation, of which the following episode is a specimen. It relates the story of Pârvatî's penance and her subsequent marriage with Siva, which was the boon she had begged, and is a fair example of the author's unaffected narrative style. The chanda which are introduced here and there, whenever the interest of the plot thickens, or the poet feels himself carried away by an access of religious fervour, are metrically rendered as an indication of their peculiar character. The only other remark to be made is that the division into dohâ, chaupâdi, &c., which in a prose translation seems at first sight altogether unnecessary, has been retained for the special reason of facilitating a critical reference to the original, and eliciting suggestions for an improved rendering of doubtful passages.

Translation.

But Umâ, cherishing in her heart the feet of her dear lord, went into the forest and began her penance. Though her delicate frame was little fit for such austerities, she abandoned all food and became absorbed in prayer, her devotion so growing day by day that all bodily wants were forgotten, and her soul was wholly given to penance. For a thousand years she ate only roots and fruit; for a hundred years she lived on vegetables; for some days her only sustenance was water and air, and on some she maintained a yet more absolute fast. For three thousand years she ate only dry leaves of the bel tree that had fallen to the ground, and at last abstained even from dry leaves, whence she acquired the name of aparâna (‘the leafless’). At the sight of her emaciated frame, Brahmâ’s deep voice resounded through the heavens:

Dohâ 84.

“Hear, daughter of the mountain-king! your desire is accomplished; cease all these intolerable afflictions: Tripurâri will soon be yours.”

Chaupâdi.

“Though there have been many saints both resolute and wise, not one, Bhâvana, has performed such penance as this: accept now the divine oracle as ever true and ever good. When your father comes to call you, cease to resist, and go home with him; and when the seven sages meet you, know this to be the sign of the heavenly prediction.” When she heard Brahmâ’s voice thus speaking from on high, Girijâ thrilled with delight. Now with her we have done for a time, while we turn to Sambhu. From the day when Sati’s spirit left the body he became a rigid ascetic, ever telling his beads in Râma’s honour, and attending the public recitations in his honour:

Dohâ 85.

Even he, Siva, the pure intelligence, the abode of bliss, exempt from lust, freney, and delusion, wanders about on earth with his heart fixed on Hari, the joy of the whole world,

Chaupâdi.

Now instructing saints in wisdom, now ex-

* The bel tree (Aegle Marmelos) is specially sacred to Siva.
pounding Rama’s praises, and though himself the all-wise and passionless Lord God, yet saddened by the sadness of a bereaved disciple. In this way many ages passed, while his love for Rama daily increased. Then the gherornings and merciful god, full of grace and benignity, seeing his steadfastness and affection, and the unchangeable stamp of devotion on his soul, became manifest in all his glory and landed him highly, for none other had ever accomplished such a vow. In divers ways he instructed him, telling him of Parvati’s birth and of her virtuous deeds, all at full length, in his infinite compassion.

Dohā 86.

“Now, Śiva, if you have any love for me, listen to my request: go and marry the mountain-maid and do as I ask you.”

Chauḍāṇī.

Said Śiva, “Though it is scarcely seemly, yet when a master speaks he is not to be gainsaid. I must needs bow to your order, for obedience is the highest duty. If a man would prosper, he must do, without thinking, as he is told by his parents, or his confessor, or his superior; you are in every way my benefactor, and I bow to your commands.” The lord was pleased when he heard Saṅkara’s reply so full of faith, knowledge, and religious feeling, and said, “Hara, your vow stands good; take to heart what I have told you.” So saying he vanished, but the vision remained impressed in Saṅkara’s soul, Then came the seven Rishis to visit him, and he addressed them thus in pleasant wise:—

Dohā 87.

“Go to Pārvatī and make trial of her love, and then send her father to fetch her home and remove all his doubts.”

Chauḍāṇī.

When the Rishis saw Gaurī, she seemed to them like Penance personified, and they cried, “Hear, O daughter of the mountain! why prac-

tise such grievous self-mortification? What has been the sin, or what is the aim? Tell us the whole secret truly.” When Bhavānī heard their speech she replied in strangely moving terms:—“I greatly shrink from telling my secret, for you will smile at my folly when you hear it; but my soul is obstinately set and refuses to hear instruction, though I am like one building a house upon the water, or as one who would fly without wings, relying only on the truth of Nārāda’s prophecy. “See, O saints, the extent of my madness. I long for the unchangeable Saṅkara as my husband.”

Dohā 88.

The Rishis smiled on hearing her speech, and said: “You are moulded like the parent rock; but tell me who has ever listened to Nārāda’s advice and had a home?”

Chauḍāṇī.

“Did he not advise Dakṣa’s sons? and they never saw their father’s house again. It was he, too, who ruined Chitraguṇa’s family, and also Hiranyakaśipu’s.† Whoever listens to Nārāda’s advice, be it man or woman, is certain to become a houseless beggar. Seeming’s pious, but deceitful at heart, he would make every one like himself. And now you are led away by his words, and are longing to marry a very outcast, a worthless, shameless, tattered wretch, with a necklace of serpents and skulls, and without either family, or house, or even clothes. Tell me, now, what pleasure is to be had from such a bridegroom as this? Better forget the ravings of the impostor. For he married Satī only because other people suggested it, and soon abandoned her and left her to die.”

Dohā 89.

“And now he never gives her a thought, but goes about begging, and eats and sleeps at his ease. What respectable woman could ever stay with such a confirmed solitary?”

† It was by Nārāda’s advice that the sons of Dakṣa were dissuaded from multiplying their race, and scattered themselves all over the world in the hope of acquiring knowledge. Not one of them ever returned, and the unhappy father, thus deserted by all his children, denounced as a curse upon Nārāda that he, too, should always be a homeless wanderer on the face of the earth.

King Chitraketu was childless, though he had a thousand wives. At last, by the blessing of a saint, one of them bore him a son; but when it was a year old they all conspired together and poisoned it. The king was weeping sorely with the dead child in his arms, when Nārāda came and after much persuasion consented to restore it to life. It at once sat up and began to speak, saying that in a former state of existence it had been a kriś, who had retired from the world into a hermitage. There one day a woman in charity gave him a cake of fuel, which he put on the fire without perceiving that there were in it a thousand little ants. These innocent creatures all perished in the flames, but were born again in a more exalted position as Chitraketun’s wives; while the woman who gave the fuel, and the hermit who used it, became the mother and the child, whom inexorable fate had thus punished for their former sinful indulgence. After this explanation, the child again fell back dead; and Chitraketu, giving up all hope of an heir, abandoned the throne and began a course of penance.

When Kāśīdhī, the wife of the demon-king Hiṃsakaśipu, was about to bring forth, she received instructions from the sage Nārāda, whose words reached even to the ears of the child in her womb. Accordingly, from the moment he was born he devoted himself to the service of Vishnu, and thus provoked his impious father to the acts of persecution which resulted in his own destruction and the extinction of his royal line.
Chauḍāpī.

"To-day if you will hear my words, I have thought of an excellent bridegroom for you, so beautiful and honourable, so pleasant and amiable, that even the Veda hymns his praise—the faultless and all-perfect lord of Lakshmi, who reigns at Vaikuṇtha. He is the husband that I will bring you." On hearing this Bhavānī smiled and replied, "You said true that I inherit a rock-nature, and would sooner die than yield. Gold, again, is another product of the rock, that cannot be changed by any amount of burning. Nor will I change my faith in Nārada's word; whether my house be full or desolate I fear not; whoever doubts the word of his spiritual adviser must never dream of obtaining either happiness or riches.

Dohā 90.

"Mahādeva is full of faults, while Viṣṇu is all-perfect; but love is governed by caprice.

Chauḍāpī 91.

"If, reverend sirs, I had met you sooner, I would have submitted to your advice; but now that I have given my life for Śambhu, it is too late to weigh his merits and defects. If you are firmly resolved and cannot rest without making a match, there is no death of lovers, the world is full of young men and maidens; but as for me, though I hold out for a million lives, I will either wed Śambhu or remain a virgin. I will not forget Nārada's admonition, who told me again and again of Mahādeva. I, who am styled the mother of the world, fall at your feet and bid you return home; your time is lost." When the sages beheld her devotion they cried, "Glory, glory, glory to the great mother Bhavānī!"

Dohā 91.

"United as Mayā to the god Śiva, the parents of the universe!!" then bowing their heads at her feet and thrilling with rapture they left.

Chauḍāpī.

And sent king Himavant, and with many entreaties brought Girijā back. When they returned to Śiva and told him Uma's whole history, he was delighted to hear of her affection, and they went gladly home. Then the all-wise Śambhu, firmly directing his intention, began a meditation on Rāma. Now at that time was a demon Tāraka, of gigantic strength of arm and high renown, who had subdued the sovereigns of every region, and despoiled the gods of all their happiness. Knowing neither age nor death, he was invincible; and the powers of heaven were vanquished in innumerable battles. At last they all went and cried to the Creator, and he seeing them so dismayed,

Dohā 92.

Reassured them, saying, "The demon shall die when a son is born of the seed of Śambhu, who shall conquer him in fight."

Chauḍāpī.

"Having heard what I say, devise a plan by which such a lord may arise and assist you. After Sāti quitted the body at Daksha's sacrifice, she was born again as the daughter of the Himālaya, and has been practising penance in the hope of obtaining Śambhu to husband. He, on the other hand, has left all, and sits absorbed in contemplation. Though the disparity is great, yet list to what I propose. Send Kāma, the god of love, to Śiva, to agitate his soul, and then I will approach with bowed head and arrange the marriage, and in this way your object will be attained." All exclaimed that the plan was good, and heartily applauded it. Then came the god with the fire arrows and the fish-standard.

Dohā 93.

And they told him their distress. He heard, and after reflecting a little replied with a smile, "Śambhu's displeasure will work me no good.

Chauḍāpī.

"Yet I will do you this service. The scriptures say charity is the highest of virtues, and one who gives his life for another is ever the praise of the saints." So saying he bowed and took his leave, he and his attendant, with his bow of flowers in his hand. And as he went he thought within himself: Śiva's displeasure will surely be my death. Therefore he hastened to exhibit his power, and for a time reduced to subjection the whole world. If Love is provoked, the stepping-stones of the law are swept away in a moment; religious vows and obligations, self-control, ceremonial observances, knowledge and philosophy, virtuous practices, prayer, penance, self-mortification, the whole spiritual army, is panic-stricken and put to flight.

Chhand 3.

Virtue's grand force is routed in panic and dismay.

And in dark nooks of holy books her champions skulk away.

† Kānadeva's attendant is Riturāja, or Basanta, the spring season.
Great god of fate! in this dread state what saving power is nigh?
'Gainst man's one heart Love's five-fold dart wins easy victory.

Dohd 94.

Every creature in the world, animate or inanimate, male or female, forgot natural restraint and became subject to love.

Champãi.

In every heart was a craving for love: the tree bent its boughs to kiss the creeper; the overflowing river ran into the arms of Ocean; lakes and ponds effected a meeting. And when such was the case with inanimate creation, what need to speak of man? Beasts on land, and birds in the air, under the influence of love, were unmindful of time and season; all were agitated and blind with desire, and the swan regarded neither night nor day. Gods, demons, men, kinnaras, serpents, ghosts, witches, goblins and imps, were all at once enslaved by love; even saints and hermits, sages and ascetics became again sensual under its influence.

Chhand 4.

When saints and hermits own his sway, why speak of serf and thrall?

God's whole creation, recreant grown, swore
Love was all in all;
Each jocund dame, each amorous swain, found heaven in love's embrace:
Two hours sped past, Love still stood fast and reigned in Brahma's place.

Soratha 8.

None is so bold but Love steals his heart, and only they whom Râma protects can then escape.

Champãi.

For two hours this triumph lasted, till Kâmadeva drew nigh to Śambhu. On seeing him Love trembled, and the whole world returned to itself. Every living creature at once grew calm, as when a drunkenard recovers from his drunkenness. When Love looked at Śiva, the invincible and unapproachable god, he feared; then returned shame too strong for words, and, resolved upon death, he formed his plan of attack. Fortwith hectic Spring stepped forth, and every tree broke into blossom; wood and grove, lake and pond, every quarter of the heaven, gladdened and overflowed as it were with love, and even the deadest soul was quickened at the sight.

Chhand 5.

At Love's touch the dead were quickened, blossomed all the wood so dark,
While a breeze soft, cool, and fragrant fanned the love-enkindled spark.
Langhs the lake with many a lotus, hum the bees with drowsy sound,
Swans and parrots chatter gaily, gladly dance the nymphs around.

Dohd 95.

Though he tried every trick and manifold device, and triumphed over host and all, yet Śiva's unbroken trance still continued, and Love grew furious.

Champãi.

Seeing a mango-tree with spreading boughs, he in his folly climbed up into it; then fitted a shaft to his flowery bow, and in his great passion taking aim and drawing the string home to the ear he let fly and lodged the five arrows in his breast. Then the trance was broken and Śambhu awoke. In the lord's soul was great agitation; he opened his eyes and looking all round saw Kâmadeva in the mango-tree. At his wrath the three worlds trembled. Then Śiva unclosed his third eye, and by its flash Kâmadeva was reduced to ashes. A confused cry went up through the universe from the gods in their dismay, from the demons in exultation; the rich were sad when they remembered love's delights, while saints and hermits felt relieved of a thorn.[

Chhand 6.

The saints were freed from torment: but Rati swooned for woe,
And in sad guise with weeping eyes at Śiva's throne fell low,
Sore wailing and lamenting her dear lord's hapless fate;
Till quick to pardon spoke the god in words compassionate:

Dohd 96.

"Henceforth, Rati, your husband's name shall be called Anang (the bodiless), and thus etherealized he shall pervade all things. But hear how you will again find him hereafter:

river, vainly calling to each other to cross. During love's brief triumph the curse was for once removed.

With this whole narrative compare that in the Kâma Sambhava of Kâlidâsa.—Ed.
Chāupāi.

"When Krishna becomes incarnate in the family of Jadu to relieve the world of its burdens, your husband shall be born again as his son (Pradyumna); this my word shall not fail." Upon hearing this prophecy of Saīkara's, Rāti retired. I now turn to another part of my story. When Brahmate and the other gods heard these tidings they first went to Vaiṅgūth, and thence, with Vishnu, Brahma, and all the rest, into the presence of the merciful Siva, and each of them separately sang his praises. Then the gracious power whose crest is the moon and whose standard a bull said, "Tell me, ye immortals, why ye have come." Said Brahma, "My lord, you can read our hearts, but as ordered I speak.

Dohā 97.

"In the mind of all the gods is one idea. Saīkara is love-smitten, and we would lean with our own eyes see his marriage.

Chāupāi.

"O destroyer of the pride of love, let us feast our eyes on this glad event. In granting a husband to Rāti after Kāmādeva had been consumed you have done well, O sea of compassion, in punishment remembering mercy; the great have ever an easy temper. Accept now the incommensurable penance that Pārvatī has endured." On hearing Brahma's speech and perceiving its purport, he exclaimed joyfully, "So be it!" Then the gods sounded their kettledrums, and rained down flowers, and cried "Victory, victory to the King of Heaven!" Then, perceiving it was the proper time, the seven sages came and were despatched by Brahma to the Himalaya, where first they sought Bhārāvī, and addressed her in mild but deceptive terms:

Dohā 98.

"You would not listen to us, but rather took Nārada's advice; now again is your vow proved vain, for the god of love has been consumed by Mahādeva."

Chāupāi.

Bhārāvī replied with a smile, "O wisest of sages, you have said well. Your words 'Love has been consumed by Mahādeva' imply a belief that aforetime Sambhu was liable to change. But I know him to be from everlasting an ascetic, faultless, loveless, passionless: and if, knowing him to be such as he is, I have served him devotedly in heart, word, and deed, so gracious a lord (be assured, O sages) will bring my vow to accomplishment. Your saying that Hara has destroyed Love betrays great want of judgment. Fire, my friend, has an unalterable nature, and ice cannot exist near it; if brought near, it must inevitably perish; and so must Love in the presence of Mahādeva."

Dohā 99.

On hearing this speech and seeing her love and confidence, the sages were delighted and bowed the head before her, and went to king Himāchal.

Chāupāi.

And told him the whole history. When he heard of Love's destruction he was much distressed, but was again comforted when told of Rāti's promised husband. After pondering on the majesty of Sambhu he reverently summoned the wise men, and at once had the day fixed according to Vedic prescription, selecting an auspicious date, and planet, and hour. Then he gave the letter to the seven sages, humbly falling at their feet, and they took it to Brahmate, who could not contain himself for joy on reading it, but at once proclaimed it aloud. The whole company of heaven was delighted: there was music and a shower of flowers, and in every quarter festive preparations were commenced.

Dohā 100.

All the gods began adorning the different vehicles on which they ride abroad; the Muses sang for joy, and all was bliss and happiness.

Chāupāi.

Śiva's attendants began to dress their lord, arranging his serpent-crest and crown of matted locks; with snakes for his earrings and bracelets of snakes for his wrists; his body smeared with ashes, and a lion's skin about his loins; the moon on his brow, the lovely Ganges on the crown of his head, his eyes three in number, and a serpent for his Brāhmaical cord; his throat black with poison, a wreath of dead men's skulls about his breast: in such ghastly attire was arrayed the great god Śiva. With trident in hand he advanced riding on a bull, while the drums beat and instruments of music were played. The female divinities all smiled to see him,

"like Sampātī who lost his wings;" Sampātī being the brother of Jātā in whom the information of Rāvana's raps of Sītā.
and said, "The world has no bride worthy of such a lover." Vishnu and Brahma and all the company of heaven followed in the procession, each on his own carriage; they formed a wondrous sight, but were nothing compared to the bridegroom.

Dohå 101.

Then Vishnu with a smile cried to all the heavenly warders and said, "March separately each one with his own retinue,"

Chand 7.

"Otherwise on going into a strange city it will be a joke against us that the procession is a failure after the bridegroom." The gods smiled to hear this speech, and marched separately, each at the head of his own followers. Mahadeva smiled too, not understanding Hari's joke, but taking it as a most friendly suggestion, and sent Bhringi to bring all his own company together. On receiving Siva's order they all came and bowed the head at his lotus-feet. Then Siva laughed to see the host in their motley attire, riding every kind of vehicle; some with monstrous heads, some with no head at all; some with many hands and feet, and some with none; some with great eyes, some with no eyes; some very stout, some very slim.

Chand 8.

Little seemed the world's Creator, and his skill of nothing worth;

Lake and fountain, grove and garden, shone more fair than aught on earth.

Wreaths and arches, flags and banners, made each house a goodly show;

Gallant youths and lovely maidens set a saint's heart all aglow.

Dohå 102.

The city in which the Great Mother had taken birth surpassed description; joy, prosperity, and abundance were ever on the increase.

Chand 9.

When it was known that the marriage procession was close at hand, the stir in the city and the brilliancy of the decorations grew more and more. With numerous carriages and all due equipment the heralds started for the formal reception. When they saw the army of gods they were glad of heart, and yet more so when they beheld Hari. But when they perceived Siva's familiars, every beast they rode started back in affright. Grown men summoned up courage to stand, but the children all ran for their lives straight back home, and when their parents questioned them could only reply, trembling all over, "What can we say? it is beyond telling; it is no marriage procession, but the army of death: the bridegroom a maniac, mounted on a bull, with snakes and skulls and ashes to adorn him."

Chand 103.

"Skulls and snakes and streaks of ashes, matted locks and body bare,

Witches, imps, and frightful goblins, and appalling ghosts are there.

Happy man who sees such horrors nor dies at once of fright!"

So from house to house they babble on Umā's wedding night.

Dohå 108.

The fathers and mothers smiled, for they recognized Siva's familiars, and reassured the children in every possible way, saying, "Do not be afraid, there is no cause for fear."

Chand 10.

The heralds brought in the procession, and assigned them all pleasant quarters. And Maina,
having prepared an elegant sacrificial lamp, and lustrous water in a golden bowl, proceeded with much gladness to move it round and round over Śiva's head, while her attendants sang festive songs. When they saw his terrible attire the women feared greatly, and ran inside the house all of a tremble. Māhādeva advanced to the guest-room, and Mainā, sorely grieved at heart, called her daughter and in the most loving manner took her into her lap, while her lotus-eyes overflowed with tears:—"To think that the Creator should have made you so beautiful, and then given you such a raving fool for a bridegroom!"

Chhand 10.

"How can God send such a raving groom for such a lovely bride?
What a thorn-bush is our wishing-tree, the fruit for which we cried!
From mountain-top, in sea or fire, I cast me down with thee:
Welcome disgrace, so they be gone; this wedding ne'er shall be."

Dohā 104.

All the ladies were distressed when they saw the queen so sad, who in her deep affection for her daughter began to weep and make great lamentation.

Chauḍāi.

"What harm had I done to Nārada that he should make my home desolate, and give Umā such advice, to undergo penance for the sake of a mad bridegroom? In good sooth he is fancy-free and passionless, an ascetic who wants neither money, nor house, nor wife, and therefore is destroying another's home; he has neither shame nor compunction; for what does a barren woman know of the pangs of childbirth?"

When Bhavānī saw her mother's distress, she answered thus placidly and discreetly, "Be not troubled, my mother, with these thoughts, for God's plans are unalterable. If Fate decrees me a mad husband, then why should any one be blamed? can you blot out the handwriting of the Creator; then refrain from profitless reproaches."

Chhand 11.

"Cease from profitless reproaches, nor in vain bemoan my fate;
I must go where'er my destined joys and sorrows for me wait."

Hearing Umā's pious answer, all her ladies felt surprise,
Much they talked of God's injustice, while the tears bedewed their eyes.

Dohā 105.

Atthat time came Nārada, and with him the sages (for they had heard the news), and at once betook themselves to the king's palace.

Chauḍāi.

Then Nārada instructed them all, and recited in full the past history, saying, "Hear, O Mainā! my words are true; your daughter is Bhavānī, the mother of the world, the everlasting Female Energy; without birth or beginning; Sanbhu's inseparable half; the creator, supporter and destroyer of the universe; who at will assumes the semblance of human form. First she was born in Daksha's house, Satī by name, of excellent beauty. Then as Satī she married Śaṅkara, and her story is famous throughout the world,—how once with Śiva she met the son of Raghu's lotus-line (i.e. Ṛṣṇa), and in her infatuation was not obedient to Śiva, but was beguiled into assuming the form of Śītā.

Chhand 12.

"For the crime of this assumption she was widowed many a day,
Till in the fire before her sire her sins were burnt away.
Now, born your daughter, for her lord in penitence she stayed;
And Śiva aye shall be her lord; know this, nor be dismayed."

Dohā 106.

On hearing Nārada's explanation, the sadness of all was dispersed, and in a moment his words were spread from house to house throughout the city.

Chauḍāi.

Then Mainā and Himavant were glad and fell again and again at Pārvati's feet. All the people of the city, whatever their age, men and women alike, were equally delighted. Songs of joy began to sound in the streets; golden vases were displayed; meats were dressed in various ways according to the rules of gastronomic science. But the banquet-table of Bhavānī and her mother was altogether beyond description. The marriage guests—Vishṇu, Brahma, and all the heavenly orders—were courteously entertained, and took their seats line after line. Then the skilful servers began to serve, and the women,
when they found the gods were sat down, began to jest and banter in pleasant strain.

Chhand 13.

In pleasant strain with dark refrain they hint at love’s delight:
Charmed with the song, the gods sit long, nor heed the waning night.
With growing zest each jovial guest prolongs the festive hour:
At last they rise; each bids adieu and seeks his separate bower.

Dohá 107.

Then the sages came and, declared to Himavant the marriage proposal, and, seeing the time was fit, sent to summon all the gods,

Chauráí.

Whom he courteously addressed, and assigned to each an appropriate seat. An altar was prepared according to Vedic ritual, while the women chanted festive strains; and a divinely beautiful throne was erected, the handwork of a god, beyond description. Then Síva, after bowing to the Bráhmans, took his seat, remembering in his heart his own lord, Ráma. Then the sages sent for Umrá, who was brought in by her handmaids, richly adorned. All the gods beholding her beauty were enraptured. What poet in the world could describe such loveliness? The deities, who recognized in her the universal mother, the spouse of Mahádeva, adored her in their inmost soul,—Bhaváni, the crown of beauty, whose praises would still be beyond me even though I had a myriad tongues.

Chhand 14.

A myriad tongues were all too few to sing her matchless grace;
Where gods and muses shrink abashed, for 
Tulsi’s rhyme what place?
With downcast eyes the glorious dame passed up the hall, and fell,
Bee-like, at Síva’s lotus-feet, the lord she loved so well.

Dohá 108.

At the injunction of the priests, both Sambhu and Bhaváni paid divine honours to Gañés. And let no one be perplexed on hearing this, but know well that they are gods from everlasting.

Chauráí.

The whole marriage-ceremony was performed by the priests in accordance with Vedic ritual, and the father, with kusa grass in his hand, took the bride and gave her to Síva. When the two had joined hands, all the gods were glad of heart; the chief priests uttered the scriptural formula, and the cry went up of “Glory, glory, glory to Sánkara!” all kinds of music began to play, and flowers were rained down from heaven. Thus was accomplished the marriage of Hara and Girijá, amidst general rejoicing. The dowry given defies description—men-servants and maid-servants, horses, carriages, elephants, cows, raiment, jewellery, things of all sorts, and wagon-loads of grain and golden vessels.

Chhand 15.

Thus great and more the dowry’s store that king Himachal brought;
Yet falling low at Síva’s feet he cried that all was nought.
The gracious lord cheered his sad sire in every way most meet.
Then Maina came, most loving dame, and clasped his lotus-feet:

Dohá 109.

“Umá, my lord, is dear to me as my own soul; take her as one of your servants, and pardon all her offences: this is the boon I beg of your favour.”

Chauráí.

After Sambhu had in every possible way reassured his wife’s mother, she bowed herself at his feet and went home, there called for Umá, and taking her into her lap gave her this excellent instruction:—“Be ever obedient to Sánkara: to say ‘My Lord and my God’ is the sum of all worldly duty.” At these words her eyes filled with tears, and again and again she pressed her daughter to her bosom:—“Why has God created woman in the world, seeing that she is always in a state of subjection, and never can even dream of happiness.” Though utterly distracted by motherly love, she knew it was no time to display it, and restrained herself. Running to her again and again, and falling on the ground to clasp her feet, in a transport of affection beyond all words, Bhaváni said adieu to all her companions and then again went and clung to her mother’s breast.

Chhand 16.

Still clinging to her mother’s breast she cheered her weeping train.
Then with her handmaids sought her spouse, yet oft looked back again.
Midst beggars’ blessings, richly bought, forth rode the royal pair:
The glad gods rained down flowers, and sounds of music filled the air.

Dohá 110.

Then went Himavant most lovingly to escort them, till with many words of consolation Mahadeva bid him return.

Chandál.

Then he came speedily to the palace, called all the gods, entertained them courteously with words and gifts, and allowed them to depart. They proceeded each to his own realm, and Sambhu arrived at Kailása. How shall I tell its delights when thus occupied by Sambhu and Bhavani, the father and mother of the world, and their attendants? They began to indulge in sport and dalliance, and every day was some new pleasure. Thus a length of time was passed and the six-headed child (Kártikeya) was born, who vanquished in battle the demon Tákaka. His fame is sung by all the sacred books, and his deeds are known throughout the world.

Chandál 17.

All the world knows the story of the birth and the glory of Mahádeva’s six-headed son; And this is the cause why so briefly I pause on the generous deeds he hath done.

Man or maid who shall tell or sing true and well how Siva took Uma to wife,

Shall be happily wed, and, with blessings bestowed, live at ease all the days of his life.

Dohá 111.

The amorous deeds of Girijá and her beloved are an ocean-like depth that not even the Veda can sound; how then can an ignorant clown, such as Tulsí Dás, succeed in describing them?

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THE RAJMAHAL HILLMEN’S SONGS.

BY THE REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RAJMAHAL.

Colonel Dalton, in his interesting work *The Ethnology of Bengaui*, says: “I nowhere find any description of the dances or of the songs of the Pahari.” This suggested to my mind the idea of sending a few speciments, with rough sense-translations appended. I have collected them chiefly from the Pahari young men who are being trained as school-masters in the Taljhari Church Mission school.

A great many of their songs are extempore, composed by the singer on the spur of the moment. Supposing a friend should invite the poet to a feast, the latter thinks it the correct thing to celebrate his host’s praises in song after dinner. The Paharis are very clever at composition, and one chorus, with very little alteration, will answer the singer’s purpose on many occasions.

It is very noticeable that the Paharis of the Rájmahál district are not nearly so fond of singing and dancing as those of the south. In the villages near Rájmahál I have not seen any special places set apart for dancing, as are to be found to the south-west.

1. "Sonani sajeni chicheken,
    Rapani sajeni chicheken,
    Lele kalen, ani,
    Indire ariiso mala."

"A necklace of gold I have given to her,
A necklace of silver I have given to her.
She said, I will go to him to-morrow;
Why has she not arrived?"

2. Ráji majiye gandi thi* sariwa.
    Sona ti banja tayan.
    Qegeo lero soena ti,
    Banja tayan.
    Kero kero kerojuri,
    Sona ti banja tayan.

"The nobles of the land have little bodies,
But they deck themselves with gold.
We will deck you out with gold,—
Yes, indeed, we will deck you out with gold."

3. "Bamara menoti dinen thi bechìya,
    Oya moqi ki mundiya.
    Qegeo lero oye moqi ki mundiya.
    Ino juris ano maqo.
    Oye moqi ki mundiya."

"There was a man who wished to be a Brahmán,
He abstained from meat for many days,

* Th in Pahari is pronounced the same as in the English word “the.”
But on the last day (of probation) he saw a cow,
And being tempted broke Lis row.
What a pity! he ate a cow and was defiled!
Yes, my brother, yes, my sister,—
He ate a cow and was defiled!'

4. "Guiraye, Guiraye Mesie, adiro toqot ekiya,
Nadahi ugal menja adiki oyoka Chandire.
Nadahi ugal menja adiki oyoka Mesire."

"Mesie, Guiryar's daughter, went forth to
gather herbs;
The keeper of the garden said to her,
Come and pick whatever you please,
The keeper said to Chandi, Pick where'er
you please."

5. "Ithikid dame panch ana raniko,
Kolikeno chiechen.
Ochekeni tundino sihapyapa dure menjado.
Jare panch ana paisa mupikden anure,
Surajire!
Jare panch ana paisa mupikden anure
Surajire!

"He told me the price of this was five annas,
Then I opened my purse and gave it to
the (cloth-merchant);
I took it home and opened it, and to my
great surprise
I found it nothing else but rotten rags
neatly sewn together.
Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O
Surja!"

Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O
Surja!

6. "Guiraye Mesire tok token jarath ekiya,
Tanase ambiya namato kudetore chaqetore,
Chandire."

"O Guiraye's daughter Mesie, the rain is falling
on the hills around,
The clouds depart leaving our own
unwatered;
But sorrow not, O Chandi, we will hoe
our ground, and hope for better times."

7. "Aiyore keyetande, kiretar malayye,
Enn keyen atha uglgo malekenne.
Ore Gossai engeni ambo makkore."

"Woe to us two, we shall die, and never
return to meet again."

(Companion answers) "I shall die, but I do
not grieve at the thought,
O God, do not forsake me!"

8. "Chilimil Sahibe dene;
Feringhi gule dene.
Javira Suraja."

"Be like Cleveland Sahib,
Be like a Feringhi,
O Suraja, son of Javira!"

This song is sung in honour of Mr. Cleveland,
a Collector of Bhagalpur. He it was who re-
duced the Pahariis to order. Before his time
they were great robbers, and a terror to all the
surrounding country. Now they may be reck-
oned as one of the most peaceful tribes in India.
Mr. Cleveland died A.D. 1784.

MISCELLANEA.

A BUDDHIST JATÁKA FROM THE CHINESE.
From the xivth Kionen of the "Mahâpâr Nirvâna
Satra."* Translated by the Rev. S. Beal.
Illustrious youth, in years gone by, before the
Sun of Buddha had come forth, I was born
as a Brähman. I practised in this birth the con-
duct (or mode of life) of a Boddhisatwa. I was
thoroughly conversant with all heretical teaching;
well versed in the knowledge of final deliverance;
my heart at perfect rest, &c. Yet after all, though
I inquired and searched through all the Books of
the Great Development, I knew not nor heard of
the name of Vaiûpaya Satras.
At this time I was dwelling in the Snowy Mont-
tains, surrounded by every kind of pleasant scenery,
and with fruits and edible roots in every variety.
Thus dwelling alone, and feeding solely on the
fruits of the earth, I passed many years in the prac-
tice of religious meditation, and so through all this
time I neither heard of a Buddha having been born,
nor of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle having
been delivered. At this time, whilst I was going
through such mortification as this, Sa Krâ and all
the Devas assembled in mass, their hearts greatly
affected with awe, and spoke thus one to another:—
"On every hand there are portents
That in the midst of the quiet Snowy Mountains

† Chilimil is a perverted form of 'Cleveland.'
* This Satra is probably one of the first of the Vaiûpaya
class. It was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha
in the 6th century A.D.
There is a Master who is practising the way of self-control and the destruction of selfish desire.—
An illustrious and highly virtuous King.
Already has he banished covetousness and anger.
Eternally separated himself from folly and doubt;
His mouth has not yet uttered a word
Either of base or false language."

At this time in the Congregation there was a Devaputra named "Joy and Gladness," who spoke as follows:—

"This practiser of asceticism,
Advancing so resolutely in purity,
Why does not Sakra look for him,
With all the Devas?
If he be a heretic
Practising these austerities,
Much more should this man's abode
And birthplace be known by Sakra."

At this time there was a Rishi who, on behalf of Sakra, spoke as follows:—

"Lord of Devas, Sakra,
Let not such contradiction as this be yours;
For a heretic practising austerities
Let not your Majesty seek."

Having uttered this gatha again, the Rishi said:
"Kusika, there is a great Sage in the world, who for the sake of all flesh, not caring for his own body, desiring to benefit others, practises every kind of penance; without a remnant of covetous desire, so that if the earth, mountains, and seas were filled with gems, he would behold them as seeing spittle, without the least desire. He has given up all—wealth, wife and child, head, eyes, narrow, hands and feet, bit by bit, house and possessions, elephants, horses, chariots, slaves, even a desire to be born in heaven, if only he might give true happiness to all flesh. His only aim is if at last he may reach the condition of Anutara Sanyaka Saṁbodhi."

The Sakra Devānam replied: "According to your words, this man is aiming at the control of all living creatures. Great Rishi, if in the world there be any room for a Buddha (lit. tree or offspring of Buddha), then he will be able to clear away all Devas and men, and also to counteract all sorrows, whether in the condition of an Asura or a poisonous snake. And so all creatures under the shadow of this Salvation will be freed from all woes and misery. Great Rishi, if this man at some future time obtain a good deliverance, then I and others ought thoroughly to get rid of the endless toils of care and trouble that now molest us. But this is difficult to believe, for there is a difference between the beginning and the end of a thing. The moon's image may for a time be reflected in placid water; but let the water be disturbed, and how the reflection also is broken! It is difficult to complete a picture, but how easy to destroy it! So also it is with the heart (or the state) of religious conviction—difficult to mature, easy to destroy. Great Rishi, as there are many men who put on a bold front with their weapons when they go to meet the robbers who threaten them, but afterwards turn their backs and are overcome with fear, so is it with the heart of knowledge (Bodhi). So I have seen it with countless mortals; at first their hearts full of confidence and courage, but afterwards what a change and falling away! So I am unable to believe that this man who is practising austerities will be able to continue! I will therefore go and ascertain for myself. For as the two wheels to a chariot and the two wings to a bird, so, Great Rishi, is it in this matter: the devotee may have great constancy in suffering self-inflicted mortification, but has he also wisdom? If he has deep wisdom, he will accomplish his aim. Just as the fish in the sea, whose spawn is great in quantity, and the fish born from it few; or the Asura tree, its flowers many, and its fruit few;—so of mortals, those who undertake the attainment of wisdom are many, those who reach it few. But, Great Rishi, I will go with you and try this man! Great Rishi, it is as the gold thrice tried, and thus known to be good,—by fire, by hammer, by rubbing; so is it with penance,—it must be tried and tested before it be really known."

At this time Sakra Devānam, changing his body into the shape of a Rākṣasa horrible to look at, descended to the Snowy Mountains, and not very far from them took his seat. And then, with a soft and pleasant voice, repeated this half-stanza of a Buddha gone before:—

"There is no permanent result from religious exercises.
Birth and death are universal laws."

Having uttered this half-gatha he remained fixed in his place, stern and with unmoved face. Then the ascetic, having heard this half-stanza, conceived the highest heart-joy. Just as a strange traveller, who in journeying along some difficult and precipitous mountain-path towards evening loses his companions, is afflicted with fear, when suddenly he comes on them again—what joy! Or as an invalid who suddenly finds the relief which his physician prescribed for; or as a man perishing in the sea who meets with a boat; or as a thirsty man who finds cool and refreshing water; or as a prisoner who hears of his pardon; or as a husbandman who watches the rain falling on his dried-up crops; or as the wanderer who finds himself at home again; so, illustrious youth, it was
with me when I heard this half-gāthā; and as I arose from my seat and saluted the four quarters, and said, "Who is he that uttered this half-verse?"
Then, seeing no one except the Rākṣa, I said, "Who is he that opened this door of Salvation? Who is he that is thus able to declare the words of all the Buddhās? Who amongst the slumbering crowds that pass through life and death is the wakeful one, leading the victims of life and death to the highest participation of Bōdhī? Who is the master of the vessel,—the good physician? Who has repeated this half-gāthā, as refreshing to my understanding as the waxing moon to the opening lily?"

Seeing only the Rākṣa, I thought, "Could it be this Rākṣa who uttered this half-verse?" And then I doubted, and said, "It cannot be so, for no such word can proceed from such a form. Is the lotus produced from the fire? Freezing water comes not from the solar heat." And then I thought again, "I am but a fool, perhaps this Rākṣa may have remembered from long ago this half-gāthā. I will ask him." And so, going up to him, I said, "Where, O Great Sage, did you in former days obtain the knowledge of this half-gāthā, the half of this precious gem? for this verse is in truth the true wisdom of all the Buddhās, past, present, and to come." Then he answered and said, "Great Brahmā, ask me not such a question; and why, because for several days I have had no food. Everywhere have I sought it, but in vain. Parched with thirst, my mind is confused, and I can answer nothing. There is no food for me in earth or heaven." Then I said, "Rākṣa, do but finish this gāthā, then for ever I will be thine, and my body thine. That which you now just uttered was only half-said, and had no meaning in it; only finish it, and I am thine for aye." Then the Rākṣa replied, "The utmost knowledge you possess goes not beyond your present body; but the pangs of hunger which possess me who can describe?" Then I said, "What food do you eat?" The Rākṣa said, "Ask me not, for the answer is a fearful one!" But I said, "There are none to frighten here, and I have no fear of you; speak out then!" The Rākṣa said, "That which I eat is the hot flesh of men, and I drink only their warm blood. Everywhere have I sought for this food in vain, for men now-a-days are so good that the gods protect them, and I can do nothing." Then I said, "Finish only this gāthā, and my body is thine." The Rākṣa replied, "What reliance can I place in thee? Who will believe that for eight words you will be ready to give up your body?" To whom I replied, "Surely you are a fool, for what is it? Would not a man gladly give another an earthen pot to obtain a gemlike vase? And so I, sacrificing this feeble body, obtain an imperishable body. And yet you say, Who can trust you? I call Brahmā, Sakra, the four kings, and all the Bōdhīsataw, and all the Buddhās, to witness that I am ready thus to give up my body for the sake of these eight words." "Listen then, listen then," said the Rākṣa, "if it be so, and I will repeat the other half of the verse." Oh, what joy was mine as I prostrated myself before the Rākṣa, and besought him to proceed! Then the Rākṣa added, "Birth and death, destroyed. (This) is the joy of Nīrṇāṇa."

The Rākṣa, having uttered this gāthā, added, "Oh! Bōdhīsataw Mahāsataw, you now have heard the full meaning of this stanza; and now before you give yourself up as a sacrifice to my body, you wish to benefit the world by proclaiming the truth you have heard. Do so." Then, having well considered the meaning of this gāthā, I went from place to place, and on every stone and wall, on every tree and road, I wrote this stanza. Then, carefully arranging my clothes, so that after death my naked body should not be needlessly exposed, I ascended a high tree, purposing to fulfil my vow and put an end to my life. Then the Tree Deva asked me the following question, "Venerable one, what are you doing?" To whom I replied, "I am about to sacrifice my body in return for the knowledge of a gāthā given me." "And what use is this knowledge?" added the Tree Deva. To which I replied, "This gāthā contains the mysterious doctrine of all the Buddhās, past, present, and to come, compared with which there is nothing of value in the world, and for the knowledge of which I now give up my life." &c. Then casting myself down, such sounds came from mid-air and ascended even to the Aksānīsha heaven! Then also the Rākṣa returned to his true form as Sakra Devānām, and in a moment arrested the fall of the Bōdhīsataw in the air, and placed him harmlessly on the ground. At this time Sakra and all the Devas, with the Great Brahmā, came and prostrated themselves at the feet of this Bōdhīsataw, and in terms of commendation sang, "Well done! well done! Thou art a true Bōdhīsataw, able to benefit the world, deserving to hold the torch of the Great Law in the midst of the darkness of the world! Oh, would that in future ages, when you attain the perfection of Buddha, you would think on me and acquit me of all my sins!" &c. And so by the virtue of this gāthā, for which I gave up my life, I was able (by anticipation), to pass over twelve Kalpas, and in the presence of Maitreya to attain perfection as Buddha.

Such merit attaches to the love of the true Scriptures of the Great Vehicle.—Trübner's Record, Jan. 1876.
THE TWELVE EMĀMS.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. R.R.B.A.S.

BEFORE the dynasty of the Ăfāsīs the Emāmites began gradually to strengthen their position all over Persia. Already during the time of Ābās the Great the Emāmite Faith (ståna-a-sharīa, i.e. of the twelve) became dominant, and has continued so to this day. It asserted itself, however, much earlier in some countries, where the followers of Āḷi had better and safer opportunities for developing their tenets. Āḷi was only the fourth Khalīf, whereas according to his partizans he ought to have been the second, i.e. the immediate successor of the Prophet. This is the origin of the difference between the sects of the Sunnis and the Shiahs, who were secretly organized immediately after the murder of Āḷi, and added to the profession of faith the words “and Āḷi is the Vely of God.” The meaning of the word Vely was afterwards amplified into that of “vicar,” and gave rise to various theories about Āḷi’s divine nature. Some even exalted Āḷi to the highest grade of divinity, and called him Allah; but whatever differences may exist at present on that point, not only do the Emāmites, but all the Shiahs, agree that the title of Emām belongs to his family only. In fact, besides himself and his son Ḥasan, all the other Emāms—ten in number—are the descendants of his son Ḥusain, and the ancestors of the many thousands of Sayyids now living in the Muhammadian world. The names of the twelve Emāms are:—

I. Āḷi; II. Ḥasan; III. Ḥusain; IV. Zain ul-a’bedin; V. Muhammadd Bāqer; VI. Jaferes-Sādeq; VII. Mūsa el-Kāzem; VIII. Ali Mūsa er-Riṣa; IX. Muḥammad Taqī; X. Ali Naqī; XI. Ḥasan al-A’skari; XII. Mohdī.

I. Āḷi the son of Abū Ṭā’leb, being the son of the prophet’s uncle, was his cousin. He was born at Mekkah in the thirteenth year of the eleventh, and became the first convert of Muḥammad, who afterwards gave him his own daughter Fatemah to wife. He might have become the immediate successor of Muḥammad, but the prophet’s favourite wife A’ayshah managed to keep him away, and to get her own father, Abū Bakr, elected Khalīf. Āḷi, however, became Khalīf after the murder of Oṭhman, and was thus the fourth instead of the second Commander of the Faithful. Soon, however, A’ayshah, “the Mother of the Believers,” raised opposition under her own auspices, by leaving Madinah with Taḥlah and Zobayr and proceeding towards Boṣra, and proclaiming everywhere that Oṭhman had been slain with the consent and by the command of Āḷi. The latter, no doubt apprehensive of the dangers in store for him, also left Madinah, and sent his son Ḥasan to Kufah; but Abū Mūsa, the governor of the town, at first prevented the people from manifesting any feelings of loyalty; afterwards, however, some thousands of them marched out and joined Āḷi Zī Kāder, whence he marched with them towards Boṣra, and encamped in the vicinity of the town, but A’ayshah with Taḥlah and Zobayr came out of it with 30,000 men and took up a position in front of him; they also sent letters to him demanding the extradition of the murderers of Oṭhman, to avert hostilities. The latter, who were several hundreds in number, detached themselves from Āḷi’s army and made a night attack upon A’ayshah’s army, which appears to have been a mere skirmish; a short time afterwards, however, the people of A’ayshah assaulted the army of Āḷi, which gained the victory. The leaders Taḥlah and Zobayr lost their lives, and the very camel on which A’ayshah rode was cut down, so that she escaped with difficulty. This was the battle of the camel, in which 17,000 of the followers of the ‘Mother of the Believers,’ and nearly 3,000 of the ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ are said to have fallen. Hereupon Āḷi entered Boṣra, harangued the people in the great mosque, and sent A’ayshah to Madinah under a guard of honour.

After overcoming these difficulties, new ones arose for Āḷi; certain parties who also considered him to be an accomplice in the assassination of Oṭhman went to Syria in order to instigate Mā’i’shah to avenge it. The latter most readily accepted the invitation, and immediately began hostilities. He despatched insulting letters to Āḷi, who was at Kufah, wherein he accused him of aspiring to the Khalifate as soon as the prophet had died, and of complicity in the murder of Oṭhman; and, lastly, he threatened that he would chastise those who had a hand
in it, wherever he could find them. After this the real warfare between the parties began; A'li assembled an immense army to combat M o ạ v i ạ h B e n S o f i â n. The latter with his troops arrived first at C a f f i n, and at once so arranged ten thousand of them that when A'li approached the river Euphrates his army could not quench its thirst. There many combats of an indecisive character appear to have occurred, but no real battle, in spite of the marvellous verbiage expended by Persian historians about the victory there gained; since after these so-called defeats M o ạ v i ạ h was so strong that he was able to send troops in various directions, to Mesopotamia, Yemen, H e j â z, and E r â k, to establish his supremacy, which A'li was unable any longer to contest, being assassinated by three malcontents while entering the mosque at Kufah, about the middle of the month Râmâdân A.H. 40 (began Jan. 8 A.D. 661).

II. When M o ạ v i ạ h heard that H â s a n the son of A'li had been proclaimed Khalif, he marched with 60,000 men to conquer Arabian E r â k, and Hasân left Kufah with 40,000 men, who not only proved to be cowards, but mutinied against him instead of attacking M o ạ v i ạ h, whom he was compelled to acknowledge as Khalif on the promise of a pension from the treasury. For this act of submission he had to suffer the reproaches of some of his more turbulent adherents, by whose advice also a clause was inserted in the act of pacification that no Khalif after M o ạ v i ạ h should be appointed without Hasân's consent; and M o ạ v i ạ h being some time afterwards desirous to nominate Yazîd his successor, but being persuaded that he could not get Hasân to agree, put him out of the way by dispatching Mervân Bân Hakan, a disgraced attendant on the prophet, to Jâ'dab, the spouse of Hasân, with a poisoned towel, and instructing her through this wretch to wipe the limbs of her husband therewith, on condition of receiving after his death 50,000 dirhems from M o ạ v i ạ h and becoming enrolled among the wives of Yazîd. He died at Madinah in the middle of the month Râmâdân A.H. 58 (5th September A.D. 673), and was buried there.

III. The k u n y â t (sobriquet) of H u s a i n was A b u A'b-d-ullâ h, and his lâkâb (honorific title) was 'the Martyr' and 'the Prince by birth.' He was born at Madinah on the 4th Sha'bân A.H. 4 (10th January A.D. 626). His tragic end took place at Kerbellâ during the khilafât of Yazîd, A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), at the age of 57 years. He was overwhelmed by his foes and slain without mercy. The R o w â t-al-Shâhâdât treats largely on the disaster of Kerbellâ.

IV. A'li, the son of Husain, bears the k u n y â t (or epitheta) of A b u M u h â m m a d, A b u-l-H u s a i n, and A b u-l-Q â s e m, or A b u B â k r; his lâkâb is S a y y i d-u-l-aâb e dîn ('prince of the servants of God') and Z a i n-ul-aâb e dîn ('ornament of the servants of God'). He was of royal descent, as his mother S h e h e rîâ n or S h e h e r bân was the daughter of Y a z d e j e r d the son of S h e h e r i â r, son of K h o s r u, son of P a r v i z, son of H o r m u z, son of N u s h i r vân the Just. He was born A.H. 38 (A.D. 648-59). There is a tradition of Zohry stating that A'li the son of Husain wore a yoke on his neck and heavy bonds on his feet, by order of A'b-d-ul-malak Mervân. He was thus kept prisoner in a tent. On being compassed by Zohry about his condition, he stated that he could at any moment get rid of his shackles, and that he would go no further than two stages from Madinah with his guardians. This actually took place, for when they were at some distance from the town on their journey to A'b-d-ul-malak Mervân their prisoner disappeared miraculously. This Emâm is said to have worked numerous miracles, and was, on account of his great piety, named Z a i n-ul-aâb e dîn ('the ornament of the servants of God'). How he again re-appeared in Madinah is not stated, but the author of the R o w â t-al-Câfâ mentions that he died there on the 18th M u h â r r a m A.H. 95 (14th October A.D. 713), and was buried in the Bâkî' cemetery.

V. M u h â m m a d, the son of A'li, the son of Husain, was born in Madinah on the 1st Rajab A.H. 57 (10th May A.D. 676). His k u n y â t is A b u J a'fâr, and his lâkâb is B â k e r. To describe his miracles a volume would be required. He died A.H. 104 (A.D. 722), at the age of 57 years.

VI. J a'fâr, the son of M u h â m m a d, the son of A'li, son of Husain. His k u n y â t is A b u A'b-d-ulla h, and his well-known lâkâb is Câ-deq. He was born at Madinah A.H. 133 (A.D. 750-51). He was a great divine, and wrote five hundred treatises on religious subjects. M u hâm-
mad Ben Eshandar, a courtier of the Khalif Mançur, who reigned from A.D. 758 to 775, says:—"One day I waited upon Mançur, and finding him melancholy I asked, 'O commander of the Faithful! what is the cause of your sadness?' He replied, 'O Muhammed! I have slain many of the descendants of A'lli, but have left their chief guide.' I continued, 'Who is he?' He replied, 'Ja'fer, the son of Muhammed.' I said, 'He is a pious man constantly engaged in the worship of God, and abhors the world with all its ways.' He continued, 'O Muhammed! I was aware that you believe in his Emamship.' Hereupon I swore an oath that I would set his mind at ease on this point before the night set in; then he called in a negro and said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muhammed comes, and I place my hand on my head, thou art immediately to kill him.' Afterwards he issued orders that the Emam Ja'fer should be brought, and when he made his appearance I perceived that his blessed lips were moving, but could not understand what he said. I felt the kiosk shaking like a vessel among the waves, whilst Mançur hastened with bare head and feet to meet him, and all the members of Mançur's body quaked. Taking hold of his arm he seated him on the throne and addressed him as follows:—'O descendant of the prophet! what is the reason of your coming?' He replied, 'You have sent for me, and so I came.' Mançur continued, 'Express your wish!' He answered, 'My wish is that you should not send for me any more, so that I may pay you a visit of my own accord whenever I feel inclined.'

"As soon as Ja'fer Çâdek had departed, Mançur went to his bedroom and slept till midnight, so that his prayers were forgotten. When he awoke, he called for me and said, 'Remain till I finish my omitted orisons, and inform you of what has happened to me.' After he had terminated his prayers he said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muhammed was present I saw a dragon the tail of which was coiled around my castle, and the upper jaw of which was on the top, whilst the lower one touched the base of it. This dragon uttered distinctly the following words:—"Allah has sent and commanded me to swallow thee, with thy house, if anything should befal his servant!'" Muhammed states, "I said to Mançur that this was a sorcery, but he replied, 'Do not say so! It is the force of the ineffable name, which was revealed to the prophet, and by the blessing of it he could, if he was so minded, transform a bright day into a dark night, or make the night as shining as the day, and could do whatever else he liked.'"

Ja'fer had said that A'lli the Commander of the Faithful left two books, called Jamâ', from which the events of the world till the day of resurrection could be ascertained, and that he had seen one leaf of it in Egypt from which the history of the kings of that country had been extracted, and had in course of time been verified. The Emam Ja'fer Çâdek also said, "Our science is the Ghâber, the Mazâeb, the Na'tâh fi al' küllâ, and the Na'âb fi allilimâda'; we possess, moreover, the red and the white Jefr, the book of Fâtemah, and also the Jâma'h, which contains everything men stand in need of. On being asked for an explanation concerning these books, he replied, 'The Ghâber is the science of what has happened; the Mazâeb is a knowledge of past events; the Na'tâh fi al' küllâ is divine inspiration; the Na'âb fi allilimâda' are the words of angels whom we can hear, but whose essences we cannot see; as to the red Jefr, it is a vessel which contains the weapons of the apostle of God, but they are not taken out until one of us who are of his family arises; the white Jefr is a vessel containing the Pentateuch of Moses, the Beangal of Jesus, the Psalms of David, and all the inspired books; the book of Fâtemah contains everything which happens, and the name of every king or governor until the resurrection; the Jâma'h is a book, seventy cubits long, dictated by the prophet of God, and written by the hand of A'lli; it contains everything mankind are in need of till the day of resurrection."

This Emam died A.H. 148 (A.D. 765), at the age of 65 years, and was interred at Madinah in the Bakî' cemetery, where also his father, the Emam Muhammed Bâker, his grandfather the Emam Zain-ul'-a'bedîn, and his uncle the Emam Hasan are buried.

VII. Mûsa, the son of Ja'fer-al-Çâdek, was ing the ninety-nine names of God, through the science of the blessed Jefr,' &c. There is nothing mentioned, however, about this Emam and supposed possessor of the white
born at Abwa, a place between Mekkah and Madinah, in the month Cafer A.H. 128 (A.D. 745, November). His kunyat is Ab-ul-Hasan, Abu Ebrahim, and Abu Abd-ulla, and on account of his extreme gentleness and restraint from anger he obtained the lakab Kazum. He had already during the khilafate of Almohdi been called to Baghdad, and his friends entertained apprehensions that his life would be taken. These fears were, however, not realized until a considerable time after, when Harun-al-Rashid again called him to Baghad from Madinah during his own reign, where he caused poison to be administered to him in an assembly by Yahia Ben Khalid the Barmekide, from which he died A.H. 183 (A.D. 799-80), and was buried there in a place the Korish cemetery. According to the author of the Rabii-Allahbr he lived 54 years.

VIII. Ali, the son of Musa-al-Reza. His kunyat is, like that of his father, Emam Musa AbulHasan, and his lakab is Reza and Murtaza. He was born in Madinah A.H. 148 (A.D. 765). It appears that this Emam had a presentiment concerning his death, which was so strong that he made all the arrangements for it, and gave directions to Abu-al-Calt, who continues his narrative on the matter as follows:"The next day when the Emam Reza had finished his prayers, put on his clothes, and was sitting in a state of expectation, a slave of the Khalif Mammun came in search of him. He rose, departed, accompanied by me. On arriving in the reception-hall of Mammun, the latter was sitting with dishes of fruit placed before him, and eating a bunch of grapes which he held in his hand. As soon as he caught sight of the Emam, he leapt up, embraced him, and, after kissing him between the eyes, handed the bunch of grapes to the Emam and said, 'O son of the apostle of God! did you ever see finer grapes than this bunch?' The Emam replied, 'In paradise are good grapes.' Hereon Mammun handed a bunch of grapes to the Emam, saying, 'Eat of these grapes.' The Emam begged to be excused, whereupon the Khalif asked whether he had any suspicious concerning him; and taking back the bunch he ate some from it himself, and then again returned the bunch to the Emam, who swallowed two or three but threw the rest away. After that he arose, and on Mammun's asking him where he was going he replied, 'Whither you have sent me.' He went home, lay down on his bed and died. He was then 55 years old. This happened A.H. 203 or 208 (A.D. 818 or 823) in Tous, and he was buried in the same spot where Harun-Al-Rashid was interred; at present, however, his mausoleum is at Mashhad, which has become a great resort of pilgrims, not only from Persia and Arabia, but also from Turkey and India. They expect the greatest temporal and spiritual blessings from visiting the tombs of the various holy personages there.

IX. Muhammad was the son of Ali, son of Musa-al-Reza. His kunyat, like that of the Emam Muhammad, is Bakr, and for this reason he is also called Abu Ja'fer the second; his lakab is Tak, Jawad, and Murtaza. He was born at Medinah on the 18th Ramazan A.H. 195 (16th June A.D. 811). This Emam was so distinguished both for piety and learning that the Khalif Mammun gave him his own daughter to wife; but the noble lady was unhappy with him, and complained to her father in letters that she could not enjoy conjugal bliss alone, as she was compelled to share it with other women, with whom likewise her husband cohabited; all the reply, however, she could get from her father was the reproof that she required him to consider that illicit which the prophet himself had made lawful. How this Emam fell afterwards into disgrace and misfortune does not appear, but it seems that he laid claim to being a prophet and was carried in chains to Syria; but in the tradition of an anonymous writer, who boasts of having been miraculously transported in a very short time to various holy places, it is recorded in the Rouzat-al-Çafa, that he met the same individual in whose company he had made the supernatural voyage on another occasion, and that on adjuring him to say who he was he made the following reply:—"I am Muhammed the son of Ali, son of Musa, son of Ja'fer; one day when I narrated my case in the company of friends and acquaintances, the news spread, and reached the ear of the governor of Syria, who suspected me of wishing to be a prophet, and imprisoned me in this place, as you see me." The same narrator states that he immediately wrote a letter detailing the case to the governor of Syria, who, however, contented himself with endorsing the following words thereon:—"Tell the person who wishes
this man to be liberated that he is to request him to transport him again in one night from Syria to Kufah, thence to Madinah, thence to Makkah, and thence to Syria." The narrator was greatly distressed at this reply, and when he again went to pay a visit to the imprisoned Emām, in order to inform him of the answer, he perceived that his watchmen and soldiers were in great confusion and fear, and on being asked for the cause they replied, "The man who had been confined for being a prophet has disappeared. It is not known whether the earth has swallowed him, or whether birds have taken him up into the sky."

There is no doubt that this Emām was put to death; about this, however, the author of the Rouzāt-al-Ḫufa says nothing, and merely states that he was snatched away in Bagh 'dad at the end of the month Diŋa'dah a.h. 220 (began on the 27th October A.D. 835), at the age of 25 years.

X. ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad Ben Aʾlī Ibn Muṣa Al-ʾreṣa. His kunyat was Abū Ḫusayn, and his ḥābat Ḥādi, but he is chiefly known by the name of Aʾṣkari; they also call him Zāki and Tākī. He was born at Madinah in the month Zhilhejah a.h. 212 (began Feb. 21, A.D. 837). He was sent to Sermonra'i, now called Sāmrah, by the Khalif Motawakkel, where he spent his whole life as a prisoner, though he was allowed his own house. He perished during the khilafat of Muntazer, at the age of 41 years, at the end of Jumāda II. a.h. 254 (towards the end of June A.D. 868).

XI. ʿAlī Ben Ḥusayn Ben Muḥammad Ben ʿAlī Ben Muṣa Al-ʾreṣa. His kunyat is Abū Muḥammad, and his ḥābat Zāki and Khāliq; he was, like his father, known also by the name of Aʾṣkari. He was born in Madinah during the month Rabi' II. a.h. 232 (December A.D. 846). He is said to have worked numberless miracles, and, as in the case of Muḥammad Bāqer, the phrase "he was snatched away" is used in the Rouzat-al-Ḫufa, instead of saying that he was killed, at the age of 28 years, a.h. 260 (A.D. 879).

XII. Muḥammad Ben Ḥusayn Ben ʿAlī. His kunyat is Abū al-Kāsem, and the Emāmites call him Hājjat, Kāʾīm, Moḥādi, Montazin, and Ḥābe al-Zaman. He was born at Sāmrah in the middle of Sha'bān a.h. 255 (30th July 868), and was consequently five years old at his father's death. According to the traditions of the Athna-ʿasher-Emāmites (Faith of the twelve Emāmites), the Cāheb al-zaman, i.e. 'lord of the period,' entered a house in Sāmrah, and, though his mother waited for him long, he never came out again. This happened A.H. 265 or 266 (A.D. 878 or 879), and he is believed to be up to this time still alive in his concealment. He was only a boy of ten or eleven years of age when he disappeared. The Muḥammadans in general believe that the re-appearance of the Moḥādi, the director, and the Cāheb al-Zaman, the lord, of the world, will be one of the signs of the approach of the end of the world and of the resurrection, and the Emāmites in particular state that the absence of the Moḥādi from the world is divided into two periods—namely, the Ḥāqbat Ḥāqy or short absence, and the Ḥāqbat Ḥāqy or long absence. The former comprises the time from his birth until the termination of the ambassadorship, and the latter the period from the termination of the ambassadorship until the time decreed by the Eternal Will for his final reappearance begins. It is asserted that during the period of the short absence his ambassadors succeeded each other through many generations, and conveyed to him the needs and demands of all human beings, and also brought back his answers to them, and that the last of these ambassadors to mankind was a man named ʿAlī Ben Muḥammad, who died A.H. 327 (A.D. 938). Six days before his demise this ʿAlī produced a document which he said had been written by the Emām Muḥammad Ebu Alʿhashan Alaʾskari, and which contained also the following words:—"O Aʾni, son of Muḥammad! May God magnify the reward of your brothers in you, for you will die after six days. Terminate all your affairs, and delegate your office to no one after your death." He died at the specified period, after which all communications with the Emām ceased. The Emāmites keep records of numerous miracles performed by Muḥammad Ben Ḥusayn Ben ʿAlī during the period of the short absence; they believe him to be the Moḥādi (director) of the last times, and that after his appearance Jesus will descend from heaven; but all sects of Muḥammadans have collected traditions about the Moḥādi.

Of the twelve Emāmites not one died a natural death. Eleven were killed or poisoned, and the fate of the twelfth being unknown, he is supposed to have miraculously disappeared from the world.
ŠILPA ŚĀTRA.

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There is in Tamil a treatise on Śilpa Śāstra, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen, who, according to mythology, was a son of Brahmā and architect of the gods. The original work appears to have been disseminated far and wide, and to have suffered by omissions as well as by additions. The work under consideration seems to have been formed from selections of existing editions of the original work under the superintendence and guidance of persons having a practical knowledge of Śilpa Śāstra, or at least of persons professing to have such knowledge. It has passed through a second edition, from which we may infer that the work is in demand. It was greatly to be desired that a future edition should have a competent Tamil scholar to carry it through the press, for the errors in the present edition are numerous beyond all precedent; and this, added to a bad style, renders the perusal of the book anything but a pleasant recreation. There are, besides, frequent repetitions, and many things that might be omitted without in any way impairing the value of the book as a work of art. The book is dedicated to the glory of Śiva, and after the usual ślokas in praise of the deities the need of a Śilpan is thus stated:

"Temple, towns, seaports, houses, tanks and wells, these require the Śilpam's hand;
Construct them by the hand of another?
This is said to be equal to the sin of murder."

The study of the Atharvāga Veda, the 32 Śilpa treatises, a perfect knowledge of the Vedic mantras, by which images are inspired with the indwelling presence of deity, are necessary to the Śilpan who desires to understand his profession thoroughly.

The book next gives the cubit measure as follows:

"Eight atoms make one cotton fibre (in thickness),
Eight fibres make one hair (in thickness),
Eight hairs make one grain of sand,
Eight grains of sand make one mustard seed,
Eight mustard-seeds make one bamboo-seed,
Eight bamboo-seeds make one finger,
Six fingers make one quarter-cubit,
Twelve fingers make half a cubit, Eighteen fingers make three-quarters of a cubit (this latter is termed matthibam), Twenty-four fingers make one cubit.

This measure is also called Jāthi and Māmangulam. It is used by Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra."

But although this is the standard of measurement for all four castes, the instrument itself is constructed of a different material for each. The rule is as follows:

For Brāhmaṇa the measure should be of bamboo,
For Kshatriya it should be constructed of ebony,
For Vaiśya it should be of teak,
For Śūdra of the red yengai (Atropa Mandagora).

As a preliminary to all work, the exact position of Vasthū-purusha (the god of the earth) must be accurately ascertained. He is represented as sleeping, standing, walking, reclining, &c., and the exact time of each of these is of the utmost importance, for each duration of time has an influence for good or evil towards the man who wishes to build. His sleeping-time is very unlucky. To ascertain these times, a marvellous amount of astrological calculation has to be got through. In the months of Sitterai, Vaykasi, Aṭī, Avarni, Aipasi, Kārtika, Tai, and Masi he is "standing or up." But having ascertained so much, it is still necessary to ascertain the lucky days in these months. Accordingly we are told:

The 10th of Sitterai, the 21st of Vaykasi, the 11th of Aṭī, the 6th of Avarni, the 8th of Aipasi, the 8th of Kārtika, the 21st of Masi, and the 12th of Tai—on these days Vasthū-purusha is up: these are proper days.

Having gone so far, we have still further to go, for we have to ascertain the auspicious hours of these days. Here they are:

The 8th Indian hour of the day in Tai, the 10th of Kārtika, the 2nd of Aṭī, the 6th of Sitterai, the 21st of Avarni, and the 8th Indian hour of the day in Aipasi.

There is very much more to be ascertained regarding Vasthū-purusha before the house-post is set up; and to deter people from venturing to build before ascertaining everything about Vasthū, and, having ascertained all necessary knowledge, to compel them to build accordingly, we are told—
"Knowing all that is necessary about Vasthū, if one does not construct his house accordingly, his substance shall be consumed, he shall lose his life, the goddess of misfortune shall be with him, his women shall waste away, and the designer of his house shall perish by disease."

Having ascertained all that is necessary about Vasthū, we still have much to do before ascertaining the site for the contemplated house. We must ascertain the earth upon which to build. The rule is as follows:

*Sweet earth is for Brāhmaṇa,*
*Bitter earth for Kṣatriya,*
*Sour earth for Vaiśya,*
*Pungent earth for Śūdra.*

"Upon earth that smells like curdled milk, like clarified butter, honey, blood, hair, fish, birds, or buttermilk, sow no grain, for it will yield nothing, neither upon such land erect a house."

As correct time is a very necessary matter in this science, the author gives directions for the construction of sundials, but the preliminaries are many. He directs as follows:

"First determine the auspicious day; then the northern solstice, the right ascension of the rising point, or the arc of the equator that passes the horizon with each sign of the ecliptic, and the star or constellation at the time.

"Dials made of elephants' tusks are proper for Kṣatriya, of blackwood for Brāhmaṇa, and of heart of tamarind for others."

Here, though not in the order of the book, we may give two very simple methods for ascertaining the time of day before the sun has reached the meridian:

**Rule I.**

Stand with the sun to your right, join your hands horizontally—reject the thumbs—erect the index-finger from the middle. If the shadow of the erect finger extends to the outer edge of the finger next adjacent—to the index finger of the left hand—it denotes 48 minutes past sunrise, and so on.

When the sun has passed the meridian, the position must be altered accordingly.

**Rule II.**

Take a straw eleven fingers in length, place it on the ground, bend it, raising one part to serve as a gnomon, the gnomon being erected against the sun, east or west of the meridian. The height of the gnomon is found by raising the end of the bent portion no higher than suffices exactly to throw its shadow to the extreme point of the recumbent portion of the remainder of the straw. The gnomon so found gives the time of day. Ascertain how many fingers it contains; the sum is the time in Indian hours.

N.B.—If the time is taken before twelve o'clock, the sum shows the number of Indian hours since sunrise; if after twelve o'clock, the sum denotes the number of Indian hours to sunset.

"Omens" are largely used in this Sāstra; thus, on your way to select a site—

"Should a person with a broad head, or a bald head, should a snake, a sanyāsi, a single Brāhmaṇa, a woman with no breasts, a new pot, a person without a nose, a bundle of firewood, a sick person, a barber, a blind person, an oil-merchant, should these or any of them meet you, it is an omen of evil."

"Should the architect, or the master about to build the house, meet a young handsome virgin, the sign is most auspicious."

Omens are ascertained also by coconuts, and this form appears to be in great demand:

"If the crown of the coconut is large, and the opposite side small, this denotes wealth (in the proposed house); if on throwing it upward three parts fall on the head, and two on the foot, this denotes joy; if it break in pieces of five twos and five threes, this also denotes wealth; if a piece is attached to the inner fibre, this denotes long life; if it is dashed to pieces, diamonds will be discovered; if it fall splitting in the middle, great affliction will befall the householder."

Before commencing a building or wedding pandāl, a ceremony termed māhārthan, or the fixing the auspicious hour, is performed in a small hole or pit in the ground, and to the omens that may be obtained in this hole or pit much importance is attached:

"If a black ant, a scorpion, a white ant, a red ant, or a hair be seen in the pit, the house built on such a site shall be consumed by fire."

"If a bit of gold, a frog, a cow's horn, grains of any kind, a brick, or a bit of silver be seen in the pit, all happiness, prosperity, and pleasure, together with long life and boundless wealth, shall ever be found in the dwelling erected on such a site."

There are also omens obtained from flowers:
"In the centre of the proposed site, make a pit one cubit in length, depth, and width. Fill it with water. Take a flower in your hand, meditate upon the deity, then cast it into the water, and if it floats round by the right-hand side to face the sun it is a sign of great happiness, wealth, fame, and honour. If, however, the flower should float by the left-hand side, it is a sign of great affliction, continual anxiety, and unheard-of misery. A house should not be built on such a site."

There are many more omens derived from flowers thrown into the pit, with reference to the point of the compass at which the flower remains motionless:

"If the flower remains motionless at the north-west, the eighteen kinds of pulmonic disease shall seize the builder of a house on such a site; his wealth shall be taken by others, death shall carry him away, and demons shall convert the site into a place for burning the dead!

"If the flower remains motionless at the north-point, the builder will become rich, he shall have the blessing of sons and of long life, he shall be revered by the venerable, and being charitable, reverencing him who is called a 'Refuge,' he shall be esteemed a saint!"

One might well suppose that now, at least, the yajanaka might commence to build his house; but the very spade that is used to mark off the site of the proposed building, and the pegs and lines, must give forth their omens:

"If the edge of the spade bends at the first delve, if the peg flies out of the ground (as the blow is made upon it), or if the marking-line snaps in two, these are inauspicious omens. The man who builds on such a site, besides affliction and anxiety, must also endure never-ceasing trouble, and eventually become the prey of the god of death."

In the foregoing quotation the "marking-line" is mentioned, but it must not be supposed that any cord will suit the purpose. The rule is as follows:

"For the gods (i.e. temples) the line must be of silk and of three twists; for Brâhma's (houses) it must be of dharba grass and of two twists; for Kshatriyas it must be of the feelers of the banyan and of three twists; for others it must be of cotton thread and of two twists. This much is declared."

The site at length having been decided upon, it is divided into, first, four equal parts, and these again into sixty-four parts. The four parts in the centre are regarded as Brâhma's, and the four points are regarded as the region of Rûthiran; other four points are regarded as Vîshnu's, and all the remaining parts are regarded as pertaining to the gods of Sûrga. Here the author remarks that there is in the universe and the body an apparent fitness, and that the same fitness should be discernible between the body and the house; and he then adds that the man who, having regard to this analogy, builds a house, shall secure its existence for a hundred ages; he shall possess calves, bullocks, and milch cattle, increasing day by day, and he shall join in the celestial dance with the glorious Lakshmi, who sits on the cool lotus-lily."

The following will throw some light on this passage:

The Eight Points and their properties.

"Indra's place (the east) is the proper conjugal abode of the householder; Revati's place, S. E. 11° 29' 5" (γ Piscium), is the proper place in which to eat food; Yama's place (south) is the proper place in which to keep clothes; in Niruthi's place (south-west, Canis ?) is the proper place in which to keep water; Varuna's place (west) is the place proper for devotional exercises; Vayu's place (north-west) is the place proper in which to store grain; Kuvera's place (north) is the place proper to keep gold, &c. &c.; and in Esani's place, N. E. (γ or δ Corvi ?), is the place proper for women of the household to give birth to children."

The author then gives us the rule regarding the dwellings of the four castes:

"The south for Brâhma's, the west for Kshatriyas, the north for Vaisyas, and the east for Sudras."

We next have a rule with reference to the disposition of the householder's property:

"Put your ashes to the south (of your house), your straw to the south-west, keep your buffaloes to the west, and in the north-west keep your grain and your cows."

"To the north of your house erect your kitchen, to the east keep your sheep, in the south-east of your house keep your children. This is ordered."

According to this Sûstra every house should have a box, technically termed garba, in which to keep the family plate and jewels; and this
box is kept in a certain part of the house, astrologically determined upon. The rule regarding the construction of the box is as follows:

"Take clay from a crab's hole, clay from the horn of an elephant—i.e., clay that an elephant has on its task after butting the earth—clay from an anthill, clay from the horns of a bull—i.e., after butting the earth; mix them well together and form the box. Divide the box into nine parts, put diamonds into it, reverence it, and then bury it in the north-east point of your house, and happiness will ensue."

The next order pertains to "Doors":

"If the door of the house closes of itself, having been opened, it is a sign of long life to the householder. If it closes with a creaking noise, it is a sign that the house will perish. If it stands as one leaves it, it is a sign of long life and happiness.

"If it moves like the two pulses vatham and pitham, it is as though one said, 'Drive a nail in the centre bar.' disease without end shall dwell in that house.

"If the door makes a noise like an oil-mill, the happiness of having sons shall not be found in that house. The householder's wife shall die, and distraction of mind shall ensue."

The author next passes on to the consideration of trees, of which he gives us three classes:

"Male Trees.

A tree that is strong and thick like a pillar—that is long, straight, and regular—is a male tree.

"Female Trees.

A tree with a thick base, a pointed, narrow trunk, and small at the top, is a female tree.

"Heraphrodite Trees.

"Slender and long in the middle of the trunk and having a thick head, this without doubt is an heraphrodite tree."

"Male trees serve for pillars; female trees for wall-plates, beams, and capitals; heraphrodite trees serve for cross-joists, joists, and rafters."

"The mango is proper for temples, the marcha for Brâhmans' houses, the teak for Kshatriyas, the iluppâ for Chettis, and the vengai for Vellalârs' houses."

Our author now proceeds to treat of trees.

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Concerning Trees.

"For houses there are trees proper for their construction, and trees that are unsuitable; we shall now declare the trees that are suitable for gods and men.

"Trees from a place of public resort, trees from a village or from the precincts of a temple, trees that have been burnt, trees in which are birds' nests, trees growing on anthills, trees in which are honeycombs, trees fruiting out of season, trees supporting creepers, trees in which maggots dwell, trees growing close to tanks or wells, trees planted in the earth but reared by constant watering, trees broken by elephants, trees blown down by the wind, trees in burning-grounds, in forsaken places, or in places which had been paracerhis, withered trees, trees in which snakes live, trees in places where there are hobgoblins, devils, or corpses, trees that have fallen down of themselves—these are all bad trees and to be avoided; if one uses such trees in his house, evil shall befall him.

"The Ficus racemosa, Ficus indica, Ficus virens, the Silk-cotton tree, the Butea frondosa, the Abrus, the Jujuba, the first leaf of a Palmyra, the Makarla (P), the Woodapple—all these are to be avoided: for if any of them are used in the construction of a house, the wealth of the householder will decrease, his children will die, and poverty and affliction will be his lot."

Our author now gives us the auspicious days for setting up the posts, rafters, &c.:

"On Monday set up the posts, on Wednesday place the rafters, on Friday thatch the house, and on Thursday take up residence. Like Indra, the householder will have long life and happiness."

Our author next treats of certain astrological observations that are necessary in order to ascertain what the ground selected as a site may contain within itself, and on the discovery then made the person who intends to build is expected to act. He commences irregularly by at once stating what observations are to be made, while a little further on he gives a complete list of the things that may be found and which affect the šilpa.

We shall commence with the list; meantime
we would observe that this portion of the book is designated Bhumi-Sallium.

"There are sixteen kinds of sallium, viz., skulls, bones, bricks, potsherds, dry sprays of timber, demons, ashes, charcoal, a corpse, grains of corn, gold (includes all metals), black stone, frogs, cows' horns, dogs' bones, urns in which the dead have been buried."

We shall now show our author's rules for discovering the sallium in the selected site:

"If in the seventh mansion from the rising sign (at the time of consultation) there are planets, and if at the same time the moon should be found in the fourth, seventh, or tenth mansion from that, there are hindrances most certainly in the proposed site; and should a man build a house upon it, his women will be murdered, his family will perish, his wealth and happiness will vanish, and to his own life danger will accrue. There can be no happiness in a house on such a site.

"If in the seventh mansion there are planets (at the time of consultation), and if at the same time the moon is in their kindras,† in the proposed site ashes and bones shall be found. If one builds on such a site, he will become lazy, he will live in the constant fear of snakes, his wife will hate him, his wealth will vanish, and misery and affliction will seize him.

"If in the tenth mansion there are planets (when the observation is made), black stone, bones, dry sprays, lead and brass shall be found in the site. Now to build upon land where even a part of these is found would be to ensure the entire loss of one's property, the destruction of men, as well as of the house, and the householder shall have most horrible dreams: so saith Myen.'

There is much more of this sort, but what we have given will suffice. The author next treats of the mode of discovering treasure that may be concealed in the selected sites, thus:

"If Jupiter or Mercury at the time of observation is in the fourth, seventh, or tenth lunar mansion from the moon, or if the sun is in the third, sixth, or eighth mansion from it, there is treasure in the site.

"If Venus and Mercury are in conjunction, and Jupiter in opposition without retrogression, Saturn being in the leg of Jupiter, in the selected site treasure will be found; anyhow silver will doubtless be found.

"If you desire to discover the exact place where money, enchantments, charcoal, bones, &c. &c. are concealed, divide the selected site into twenty-eight parts exactly, then ascertain what mansion the moon is in; in the part corresponding with the number of this mansion, the wealth, &c. &c. is concealed." Having given us these and many more, the author passes on to the consideration of times that are auspicious for various purposes. The first thing to do is to ascertain the time of the star Kulikan.† The rule is as follows:

"On whatever day you wish to ascertain Kulikan's time, from that day to the next Saturday count up the number of Indian hours; multiply this by $\frac{3}{4}$, and the sum thus obtained is Kulikan's time."

To ascertain an auspicious hour:—"From the day you desire to ascertain the auspicious hour, to the fifth day following (at sunrise), deduct from each day two and a half Indian hours; if the remainder equals the sun's aphelion distance, death will be the result of anything undertaken that day. If, however, the remainder gives the distance of Venus, it is auspicious; if it gives Mercury's, children will increase; if the Moon's, praise; if Saturn's, death; if Jupiter's, clothes; if Mars', unrelenting hate, will be respectively the consequences."

Our author next introduces to us the days of the week upon which it is considered unlucky to travel in certain directions, viz.:- On Mondays and Saturdays eastward, on Tuesdays and Wednesdays northward, on Fridays and Sundays westward, on Thursdays southward. On these days to journey towards the prescribed points is not only unlucky, but positively disastrous.

To know the unlucky days, however, is not enough,—we should know the propitious hours in which to commence an undertaking: accordingly our author gives them:—On Mondays and Saturdays it is propitious to undertake a journey any time up to the 8th Indian hour; on Thursdays it is propitious to set out on a journey southward up to the 12th Indian hour:

† Kindras are found by subtracting the place of the planets from their aphelion; the remainder is their kindru or anomaly.

† An imaginary planet in Hindu astronomy, but perhaps Caput Draconis.
on Fridays and Sundays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour; on Tuesdays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour to journey northward; and on Wednesdays it is propitious to the 16th Indian hour.

The author next gives the various points, their regents, together with the astrological points, and their signs, &c. &c., and then proceeds as follows:— "In the following four months, namely, Auni, Purattaci, Margali, and Punguni,§ if one builds a house, endless sickness and poverty shall be his lot. Even the gods themselves would suffer should they build in these months." In proof of what has just been stated he adduces the following examples:— "On a Monday in the month Adi, Råvana lost his head; in the month Margali the Bhārata war and other wickedness took place; in the month Purattaci Hyraniya died; in Punguni Śiva drank the poison; in the month Auni Mapelassakiravarti fled from his town: therefore, in the months Auni and the others aforesaid, to commence a house, or to take up residence, is dangerous. Persons who do so will not only be obliged to desert the house; they will further become beggars. The gods themselves cannot prevent this taking place.

"If Sunday and the tenth lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the sixteenth, Tuesday and the sixth, Wednesday and the ninth, Thursday and the twenty-fourth, Friday and the fourth, Saturday and the twentieth asterism, do not build on these days: if you do, the house will be consumed by fire.

"When Sunday and the second lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the fourteenth, Tuesday and the twenty-first, Wednesday and the twenty-third, Thursday and the eighteenth, Friday and the twentieth, Saturday and the twenty-seventh, these days are unlucky for the performance of anything.

"On these days if one marries, his wife shall soon be a widow, the newly built house shall, soon be a ruin.

"If on those days one sets out on a journey, death shall overtake him, and though he perform the nideka ceremony, his wife shall be barren, but should a child be born it will die.

"When one is building his house, he should present the śilpa with a new cloth, money, sandal-wood powder, and garlands; he should further salute him and make respectful inquiries regarding his health: so decreed Myen." Auspicious signs when visiting the selected site:— "When the householder and the excellent śilpa set out to inspect the newly selected site, if on the way they should meet with a handsome damsel, or a damsel whose skin resembles gold in colour, build the house immediately.

"When the excellent śilpa and the householder arrive and are standing on the site, if a lizard chirps on the right side it is a good sign; if on the left the sign is excellent, the householder will have good fortune; let him finish the house rapidly and neatly: those that dwell in it will obtain riches and never lose them."

The Site.

"If one finds a piece of land the east and west of which are low but the south-west high, there he should build his house, for all kinds of prosperity will attend him. If the site should be low on the western and the northern sides, or should the western be high and the northern side low, in a house built on such sites the family will increase, they will have long life and live prosperously.

"If one should build a house on a site crossed by a pathway common to the people, his wealth will perish, his cattle will die, his wife and children will die, and the house will become equal to a burning-ground for the dead.

"Land at the side of a temple or in front of one, land frequented by devils and hobgoblins, land on the right side of a temple sacred to Kāli, or land belonging to the highroad, are not suitable for building-sites. Should, however, a man be so far lost to decency as to build upon such sites, his wife and children shall die, his cattle and all that he has will perish, and, alone in the world, he will wander from place to place, a beggar living upon alms.

"The site of an old or ruined church, land in which snakes dwell, land upon which Pariaha resided, land upon which sages have resided, burning grounds, battle-fields, these are unsuitable for building-sites. Should a man build upon them, he and his relatives will perish, and the house will become a jungle."

In the first portion we mentioned the author's division of the site into sixty-four parts. In the second part he recurs again, but with..."
considerable difference, and as it may interest the reader we produce it here.

The rule for building a house.

"Divide the site into sixty-four parts: the four central portions constitute Brahmā's place (sthānam), the four portions or rooms at the corners of Brahmā's sthānam are for guardian demons, the eight portions or rooms adjoining these latter are for guardian deities, the remaining forty-eight portions are for the use of people." The author illustrates this with the following chart:

Chart of a house, or ground-plan.

The author next treats of the śilpa himself, his dress and character, and the extent of his professional knowledge, as follows:

The Śilpa.

"One adorned with a necklace of sacred beads, the sacred thread upon him, a ring of dharba upon his finger; delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, true to his family, of a pure mind and virtuous, he is a śilpa indeed.

"Girded with silk-like cord made of fibre, chanting the Veda, constant in the performance of ceremonial acts, piously acquiring a perfect knowledge of various sciences, the śilpa follows his profession.

The Śilpa's Art.

"The śilpa should perfectly understand the cubit measure, the level, the gnomon, the jewel (proper for him to wear), the box for keeping jewels), the part of the house named garba, the line, the peg, the floor, the various kinds of trees, the mode of hewing timber, the characteristics of trees, the places where each are to be found, the plumb-line and morticing."

Concerning the Gnomon.

"In building temples great attention is paid to the gnomon: therefore we shall declare what is the proper length and thickness, &c. &c. of this instrument. It should be twelve fingers in length; three-fourths of this should be absorbed by the head (or the thickest part of the instrument), and the remaining one-fourth should taper off to a point like a needle, the whole being turned in a lathe and resembling in shape a conch-shell.

"Gnomons for the use of men should be made of the timber of milk-producing trees, as, for instance, the Artocarpus integrifolia, the Ficus indica, Ficus religiosa, Ficus racemosa, and the Ficus virens. For temples, however, it must be of Acacia Sundra."

Concerning the Peg.

"The pegs should each be eleven fingers in thickness, twenty-four fingers in length. Ascertain the position of Vāstu: then in the south-west corner of his belly, the south-east, the north-east, and the north-west corners drive home your pegs."

Concerning the Site.

"When required to build houses, palaces, private apartments, &c. &c., first ascertain the centre of the site by the line, form there a pit one cubit square and one cubit in depth, and pour water into it until it is quite full. This water should then be made to flow over the sides of the pit in the directions of the cardinal points; by so flowing, it will discover the defects in the site; stretch the line accordingly and make it level.

"Houses built with black stone, or with black stone and bricks, are proper for gods, for Brāhma, and for hermits; for others than these to dwell in such houses is unbecoming."
Concerning Trees.

"When about to build houses, halls, palaces, or mandapas, the injunctions of Myen with reference to trees—which are good, and which are bad—may not be neglected.

"Having performed the necessary mukkārtham, proceed to the forest, taking with you various kinds of sweetmeats; offer these as a sacrifice to the god of forests, standing close to a male tree.

On the south side of the tree deposit dhārba grass, on the west place your axe; then, meditating on the mantra for the expulsion of demons and hobgoblins, drink some milk, dip your axe in milk, and, devoutly looking upwards, strike the tree with the axe a clear cubit from the ground."

(To be continued.)

ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 43.)

XII.—Aqua Marina Gexe, ancient and modern.

In Koimbatūr, an inland district of the peninsula, situated between the Madras and Malabar coasts, and overlooked on the northern border by the Nilgiri mountains, there is a spot once, and probably immemorially, famous as producing the delicately beautiful transparent sea-green gem known as the Aqua marina or beryl. In the Kangyaam Tālukā of the above-named district there is a small village called Padiūr (Puddyoor of Sheet 61, Great Trigonometrical Survey Map), or more usually Paṭṭiālī, forty miles east of the town of Koimbatūr; the aspect of the country is that of a vast undulating plain bounded by the highest mountain ranges in Southern India,—the Nilgiris, Anamalās, the Palais in Madura, and the Shevarais in Salem. Mountains and plain consist of primary rocks, gneiss, hornblende-slate, granite, and basalt; and dykes and beds of quartz, serpentine, porphyry and basalt are frequent, and form a peculiar feature, great milk-white masses of quartz sometimes cropping out conspicuously, or traversing the country in veins or reefs for long distances, accompanied by parallel reefs of serpentine. Kangyaam lies nearly in the centre of the great plain, and is the driest and stoniest tālukā of a preeminently dry and stony district; but its rough and arid fields nevertheless produce the best breed of cows in the south, for which high prices are paid. On the east side of the village of Paṭṭiālī there is an extensive dyke of crystalline porphyry granite in the gneiss rock: the dyke abounds with masses of quartz, with large crystals of the same, as well as of felspar, cleavelandite, and garnets. The crystals of cleavelandite are remarkably fine, and it often occurs in large masses, in the cavities of which the aquamarine is found in six-sided prisms. The dyke is throughout divided by seams and fissures, generally filled with whitish limestone deposit, and the various minerals are mostly arranged in laminæ, often interrupted and passing into nests and lumps.

The mine last worked was sunk through this dyke, and originally intended for a well. It was dug in 1798 on the ground of the monigâr, or village head-man, and intended for irrigation; in the course of excavation the gem was discovered by the diggers, who kept the secret, and for eighteen years secretly sold the gems to the itinerant jewellers and merchants, who bought them for a mere trifle, and sold them at an enormous profit in the various European stations and cantonments. At length Mr. Heath, an enterprising and energetic planter and merchant in the adjoining district of Salem, obtained a clue by which he was enabled to trace the gems to their situs; and, with the consent of Government,—who, it seems, were to have a royalty of half the proceeds,—he arranged with the monigâr—who, entirely ignorant of the treasures contained in his well, had for eighteen years been thus robbed by his own people—to rent the well and its contents. Mining operations were accordingly carried on for little more than two years, and discontinued on account of the mine becoming exhausted.

* The tree to be cut down.
† In which is to be observed the bad forestry of the Hindus. It is easiest for a short man to cut at this height, but the rules of European foresters are that such trees as coppice (i.e. grow again from the "stool" or stump) must be cut close to the ground, in order to secure a round and straight second growth, while trees which do not coppice should be "stubbed up" (eradicaded).—Ed.
and water breaking in. The well has since reverted to its original purpose of irrigation, and is about twenty-four feet long by twenty broad, and thirty-two feet deep to the bottom, with seven feet of water. Some idea of the productiveness of the mine, and the amount of gems that was probably taken from it during the years of fraudulent excavation, may be obtained from the subjoined return for one of the years of Mr. Heath's operations, from June 1819 to June 1820, taken from the books of the district,—the ār employed is a weight of 24 rupees, and a "star pagoda" = 3½ rupees:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stones</th>
<th>Value in Star</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Pagodas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sort</td>
<td>66 = 18 = 1,440</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ,,</td>
<td>318 = 12 = 760</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd ,,</td>
<td>309 = 9 = 462½</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th ,,</td>
<td>510 = 8 = 358</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311 = 7 = 210</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692 = 6 = 624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small pieces</td>
<td>... = 140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total...2,196</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3,433=£1,201-11s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is highly probable that most of the best aquamarines of the true sea-green colour used in modern times in Europe, including the largest known—weighing six ounces and valued at £500, which was supposed to have come from Ceylon, where it is not found—came from this well; and some considerations will now be offered endeavouring to show the probability, at least, that its produce reached Europe even in classical times, and may have been the object of Roman barter. The gem was known and prized in remote antiquity: Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) enumerates it amongst the precious stones that covered the prince of Tyros. Pliny first conjectured, what science has since proved, that it is but a variety of emerald, and says especially of it (Nat. Hist. bk. xxxvii. cap. r.), "the best beryls are those which have the greenness of pure sea-water (viriditatem puri maris) and come from India, seldom found elsewhere (rarum alibi reperti)." He also remarks that they are most lustrous when artificially polished hexagonally (sexangulâ figurâ artificium ingenios)—not being aware, seemingly, that they occur in six-sided crystals.

One of the most beautiful and exquisite arts of antiquity was that of engraving on gems, which appears to have reached its fullest development under Alexander the Great, and was patronized by all the luxurious and refined monarchs of the East and the West, many of whose portraits it has handed down in the wonderful intaglio which are the pride of so many royal, national, and celebrated private collections. A long list of ancient artists famous for skill in gem-engraving has been preserved; but the examples that can be safely ascribed to them are few and priceless. Medieval and modern art has been skillful in imitating the subjects, and even the signatures, of the antique Greek engravers; but amongst the few genuine works which can with confidence be referred to the artist whose name they bear are some engraved on aquamarines. Conspicuous amongst these is the Julia Titii of Evodus, the masterpiece of Roman portraiture, engraved on an immense and lovely aquamarine, signed by the famous artist. The history of this gem can be traced up to Charlemagne; it was in after years presented by Charles the Bald to the abbey of St. Denys, and is now at Florence, where also is an aquamarine bearing the head of Sextus Pompeius, or perhaps Hadrian, signed by Agathopus. Another aquamarine engraved with a Giant, signed by the most celebrated of all the antique engravers, Dioscorides, is in the Turin collection. In the magnificent collection of engraved gems in the British Museum there is a true antique intaglio of a Cupid bestriding a Dolphin on a beautiful aquamarine; and one, by Anteros, of Hercules carrying the Bull, in the Devonshire cabinet. Amongst mediaeval works the Bacchanalia, once in the Beesborough cabinet, engraved on a fine aquamarine after an antique original, may be specified. These examples, out of many, must suffice.

Now whence came the aquamarines known to Pliny, and on which the Greek and Roman engravers exercised their skill? In modern times the gem, besides the Indian well, has been found in America, both North and South, in Siberia, and at a few places scattered over Europe, particularly at Limoges. America and Siberia may be excluded from the sources of ancient supply. The localities in Europe are in regions little known to the Romans, and unmentioned by Pliny, who had the best means of information. It is unknown
in Ceylon. Its ancient origin seems therefore limited, as Pliny says it was, to India, and there it is only known to occur at the locality in Koimbattur described in this Note, where, moreover, the gem is distinguished by the true clear sea-green colour specified by Pliny; elsewhere it is often bluish or muddy in tint.

In the neighbourhood of Pattaíli there are numerous excavations in the cleavelandite dyke; and that mineral, which is the matrix of the gem, can be traced in the rocks and strata for more than thirty miles, east and west. Lumps and masses of it, evidently broken up in search of the contents, lie about the pits and hollows in very large quantities; and the excavations are generally too shallow, and situated too high and dry, for wells. In that stony soil and almost rainless climate centuries would cause little change in the state and appearance of such pits, and the antiquity of many may reach back to almost any conceivable date. There can be little doubt that in ancient times, when the surface veins were unexhausted, the gem was obtained in abundance.

Roman coins have been found not infrequently in Southern India, but nowhere in such large hoards as in Koimbattur. At Pālachī (Polachy of Sheet 62, Gt. Trig. Survey Map), forty miles S.W. of Pattaíli, in 1800 a pot was dug up containing a great many Roman coins of Augustus and Tiberius: they were of two kinds, but all of the same weight and value. (Hamilton’s Gazetteer.) In 1806 five fine gold coins of the Caesars were found at Karūr, a considerable town (mentioned by Ptolemy) forty-five miles east of the beryl tract. In 1842 an earthen pot containing 522 Roman denarii was dug up near Vellālūr, a small village two miles from the town of Koim-

* This discovery took place just before I joined the district. I took casts of some of the coins, which by order of Government were sent to Madras—whether they melted in the Mint or reserved in the Museum I know not. The coins were very well known and ‘edited’ types; a short description may, however, be archaeologically interesting. Of the 522 there were 134 bearing the head of Augustus with inscription CAESAR AVGVTVS DIVI F. PRÆT. PATER. PATRIM. AVG. Providence, and 379 bore the head of Tiberius with inscription TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS: on the reverse the emperor seated, with PONT. MAXIM. and the remainder bore the head of Claudius and legend TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. VI. IMP. X. Two remaining types were indistinct, one bearing a sort of arch. The hoards of coin referred to were all discovered in the first half of the present century; how many may have been found in the same neighbourhood in bygone ages, and how many may yet rest undiscovered, any one may conjecture.

† Cordurum stones, used by jewellers, and of which the sapphire and ruby are only blue and red varieties, abound in the Koimbattur district. One variety is surpassed in hardness only by the diamond, and belongs to the same class of mineral; the word, whose origin has caused some doubt, is pure Tamil, Kārvāntu. Fine rubies have been drawn by four horses abreast, with letters EX. S. C. There were two other types of Claudius, one bearing on the reverse a female seated, the other a wreath enclosing letters; and two coins of Caligula bearing the emperor’s head, on the reverse of one a head surrounded with rays. A single example bore a head of Augustus with AVGAVSTVS. DIV. F., and on the reverse Diana carrying a spear accompanied by a deer or fawn, and legend IMP. X. Two remaining types were indistinct, one bearing a sort of arch. The hoards of coin referred to were all discovered in the first half of the present century; how many may have been found in the same neighbourhood in bygone ages, and how many may yet rest undiscovered, any one may conjecture.
XIII.—Wigs, ascetic and ancient.

In a previous Note (X), at page 39 of this volume, some remarks were ventured upon the close curly hair that distinguishes Jain images and statues of Budha, and an allusion made to the Siamese tradition that when Buddha determined to turn Arhat he cut off his hair with his sword, which thenceforward never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand. The same story is found in the Legend of the Burmese Buddha, by the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet, where at p. 60 the prince, having resolved to become a Rahan, is represented saying, “These long hairs that cover my head, and my beard too, are superfluities unbecoming the profession of a Rahan! Whereupon with one hand unsheathing his sword, and with the other seizing his comely hairs, he cut them with a single stroke. What remained of his hairs on the head measured about one inch and a half in length. In like manner he disposed of his beard. From that time he never needed shaving; the hairs of his beard and those of his head never grew longer during the remainder of his life.” On this passage the learned bishop observes in a footnote, “This explains one peculiarity observable in all the statues representing Buddha. The head is invariably covered with sharp points resembling those thorns with which the thick envelope of the durian fruit is armed. Often I had inquired as to the motive that induced native sculptors to leave on the heads of all statues these sorts of inverted nails, without being able to obtain any satisfactory answer; only from this passage I was able to account for this singular custom, which is designed to remind all Buddhists of the ever-continued wonder whereby the hairs that remained on Buddha’s head never grew longer from the day he cut them with his sword.” Nevertheless a doubt may remain whether these stories may not be classed amongst “myths of observation,”—that is, stories suggested by the appearances they pretend to account for.

I have, however, lately met with a passage which suggests another explanation of the perplexing close-curbed hair. Very possibly it may have been discovered by other writers, but not to my knowledge. In Sir T. Stamford Raffles’ History of Java, vol. II., there is an account of the antiquities at Brambanam, and an abstract given of a Report made by “Capt. George Baker, of the Bengal Establishment, employed in the provinces of the native princes to survey, measure, and take drawings of all buildings, images, architectural remains, &c.” Captain Baker was accompanied by a Brahma sipahi, who was greatly astonished at the temples and sculptures at Brambanam, and declared they must be the work of the gods, and that “India could in no respect furnish a parallel to them.” Captain Baker remarking “certain figures in a sitting cross-legged posture, with long-extended ears and short-curbed head of hair,” considered they must be Jaina or Buddhist, but the sipahi maintained they were simple Hindu devotees in the act of making tapas, and that Brähmans frequently placed such images in their temples before their own gods; and he asserted, moreover, that what Captain Baker called curled hair was nothing more than a peculiar kind of cap (topi he called it) worn by devotees when in the most sacred act of tapas, which caps, he said, were common in Bengal and Hindustan, and made for the purpose by a particular class of people. (Vol. II. p. 11, ed. 1830.) It is the more particular object of this Note to draw attention to the foregoing passage, and inquire whether any such cap or wig imitating curled hair is now in use anywhere in India, or known by tradition, in any class. I have never met with anything of the sort myself in Madras, but have a vague impression of having somewhere read of a sort of skull-cap by yogi performing penance. Supposing for a moment that the sipahi’s idea had any foundation, and regarding the curly hair simply as an ascetic cap, it would throw some light on the puzzling circumstance that, whereas the Jaina to-day despise and revile Buddha, they represent their own Tirthankaras wearing the same very peculiar curly locks. It might indeed be

now and then been discovered in the Koimbattur district, and there are records of diamonds having been found in Kangeyam. Aquamarines are now occasionally obtained in the Salem and Trichinopoly tanks, and probably still procured secretly in the Pattali neighbourhood. A company has been formed for working the gold diggings under the Nilgiri and Kundâ slopes, that rise in full view of the Koimbattur plains; perhaps search
objected that had any such wigs been in use or known, the story—certainly very ancient—of Buddha's having cut his hair with a sword, and its never afterwards growing longer, could not have arisen; but there is no appurtenance of man so liable to frequent, rapid, and extreme changes as the head-dresses and the fashion of the hair and beard: consequently none more liable to be forgotten or confused. It is certain that wigs of the most ample and elaborate style were in use in Egypt and Assyria, even long before the time of Buddha,—curious specimens have been found in tombs; and Jain sculpures abound with figures wearing full-bottomed wigs, though shaven heads are rather now the fashion, except amongst Sanyásis and ascetics. In Java, at Chañí Sewn, or the Thousand Temples, Captain Baker saw two gigantic janitors kneeling with uplifted clubs before a temple, "wearing large full-bottomed wigs in full curl all over, which the Bráhman sipáhí said was the way in which the Munís dressed their hair"

(p. 17).

When a fashion drops out of use, legends like the cutting of Buddha's hair with a sword might easily arise to account for any surviving representation of it; and how rapidly and completely fashions may change, all may realize who look upon portraits of worthies who lived in the earlier part of last century, and reflect that the wonderful flowing wigs depicted were habitually worn by the grandfathers of men now living. Were the last traces of the once general custom, surviving in barristers' and conchoom's wigs, to be represented in statuary, § perhaps the effect might not be greatly unlike the Jain and Buddhist curly|| heads, or some conventional indication would be adopted and maintained, which in after-ages might conceivably become a cause of perplexity, and give rise to myths and legends. It is curious to look back upon the various lights in which long hair in men has been held by different nations and ages. Now regarded effeminate, it was not so in Homer's time, and when the Persian host caught sight of the Six Hundred in Thermopylae the Spartans were engaged in dressing and arranging their long hair. The fierce Norse sea-kings when taken captive disdained to ask any other boon than that no slave should touch their hair, and the grim Earls of the Heptarchy strode about, "Their beards a foot before them, and their hair a yard behind."

Later the Cavaliers, with their 'long essenced hair,' were not less keen than their opponents, the Roundheads, to whose 'crop-eared' style the youth of to-day, both English and French, seems to incline. Beards, the prominent mark of manhood, were held cren by the warlike tribes of Germany, and no young warrior was allowed to shave till he had slain a foe. We, too, have witnessed how little more than a generation can bring a change in all classes from shaven lips and chins to beard and moustache.¶

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ON THE MAHÁBHÁŞYA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN,

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When last year I wrote for this journal (vol. IV. p. 107) a note on a passage of the Rajataramáni,

I had just been reading, later perhaps than I ought to have done so, Prof. Weber’s valuable article times represented ladies wearing immensely thick chevelures, covered with close short curls, much of which must have been artificial, delineated in engraving just like Buddha's hair. The curly-headedness characterizing all Assyrian sculptures needs only be mentioned; it must indicate a universal wearing of wigs in Old Egypt. All classes seem to have shaved the head and worn wigs, the poorer people even using perukes of sheep's wool, very Buddha-like. Sir W. Jones, in several of the Discourses in the third volume of his Works, favors the idea of Bauls having been a stranger from northern or western countries.

§ I venture to refer to the apparently peruke-like equestrian statues of George the Third, last in hand, in Cockspur Street, Charing Cross.

¶ Mr. Bryan Hodgson (spat the late Dr. J. Wilson in Journ. Bo. Br. As. Soc. Jan. 1838, p. 359) was informed by a Buddhist priest that curled hair was introduced into statues of Buddha simply because it was esteemed a beauty. — En.

This note should not close without referring to the instructive and interesting Observations on the Kudvun or hair-tuft, by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 160).
on the Mahābhāṣya (Indische Studien, vol. XIII. p. 293), and as there I had found some statements regarding the history of the text of that work for which there appeared to me to be little foundation, I deemed it advisable to conclude my note as follows:

"I cannot conclude this short note without protesting against the statement, which I find repeated over and over again, that at some time or other the text of the Mahābhāṣya had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we know at present amounts to this, that for some period of time Patanjali's great work was not studied generally, and had consequently ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, but for the present we are bound to regard the text of the Mahābhāṣya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

My object in writing these lines was no other than to induce Professor Weber to reconsider the grounds for his assertions. From a note on p. 242 of the second edition of his lectures on Indische Literaturgeschichte I now learn that he has done so, but that he has seen no reasons to change his views. For Professor Weber, in reply to my remarks, sums up his own views in the following words:

"On the other hand it follows, not only from the statements of the Rājatarangīṇī, but also particularly from those at the end of the second book of Hari's Vākyapadīya .... that the Bhāṣya has suffered manifold fates, that it has been several times vicēkhīnna and newly re-arranged, so that the possibility of considerable alterations, additions, and interpolations cannot be denied, and that in every case it remains a priori uncertain whether a particular example belongs to Patanjali himself, or is owing only to these later reconstructions .... Kielhorn, it is true, has strongly protested against the statement that 'at some time or other the text of the Mahābhāṣya had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c,' and will only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation,' while for the present he considers us bound 'to regard the text of the Mahābhāṣya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago.' Let us await, then, his proofs; for the protest alone might, in opposition to the statements handed down to us by tradition (on three different occasions the terms vīpīlātīta, bharaṣṭa, vicēkhīnna are employed regarding the work), not be sufficient. It must, besides, be added that the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see Preface to the Vansābīr. p. 231, note), appear to differ considerably."

So far as I am aware, the question at issue between Professor Weber and myself is, clearly stated, this:

According to Professor Weber there are grave reasons for doubting the text of the Mahābhāṣya, as we find it in the existing MSS., to be the original text of that work. At the time of king Abhimanyu of Kashmir the original text of Patanjali's work existed only in fragments, &c, from which a new text of the Mahābhāṣya was reconstructed by Chandrachurīya and others. This second text underwent in its turn the same fate as the original, and a new (third) text was accordingly prepared, under king Jayapaḍa of Kashmir. This third text is the one given by our MSS.

According to my own view no evidence has yet been adduced to prove that the text of the Mahābhāṣya as known to us from MSS. is not the original text of that work, and the only one that ever existed; and I shall now attempt to show why the reasons which have been brought forward to the contrary appear to me invalid. In the note from his lectures quoted above, these reasons are clearly implied by Professor Weber to be the following:

(1) According to the testimony of Dr. Burnell, the South-Indian MSS. of the text of the Mahābhāṣya differ considerably from those found in other parts of India.

(2) From the verse IV. 487 of the Rājatarangīṇī we learn that a new (what I have called above third) text of the Mahābhāṣya was prepared, under king Jayapaḍa of Kashmir.

(3) In another verse (I. 176) of the same work and in the concluding verses of the text of the Mahābhāṣya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago.

In his later articles Prof. Weber employs, so far as I remember, only the Sanskrit words vīpīlātīta, bharaṣṭa, and vicēkhīnna, but I believe that the above represents his views correctly. From a note on p. 297 of vol. XIII. of the Ind. Stud. I infer that the word vicēkhīnna is taken in the sense of 'incomplete,' on p. 315 Prof. Weber speaks of 'remediations' (Bearbeitungen), on p. 329 of 'reconstructions,' but on p. 321 distinctly of 'fragments' out of which a new text was constructed. On p. 16 of vol. V. vīpīlātīta is translated by 'devastated' or 'destroyed' (verwüstet), on p. 161 bharaṣṭa by 'lost,' and on p. 167 vicēkhīnna by 'split into pieces.'
ON THE MAHĀBHAŚYA.

second book of Bhārtihari’s Vākyapadīya we are told that at the time of king Abhinavagupta of Kashmir all that remained of the original text of the Mahābhāṣya were fragments, from which Chandrāchūrya and others reconstructed a new (or second) text.

To the first reason Professor Weber himself does not appear to attach any very great importance; but it may be admitted that if the South-Indian MSS. really did contain a text considerably different from that which is given by MSS. from other parts of India, a fact such as this might prove, at any rate, the existence of different recensions of the Mahābhāṣya. All, however, I find Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding the difference of the text in the South-Indian MSS., is this: that in the introductory Āhāraṇika the latter “omit the quotation from the Atharvaveda”; moreover, on p. 91 of his essay On the Andra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, the same scholar deliberately states “that the Northern and Southern MSS. of the Mahābhāṣya differ to no great extent, though various readings occur.” I may add that in the course of the last ten years I have examined MSS. from nearly every part of India, and that I have not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of Patanjali’s great commentary.

I now proceed to verse IV. 487 of the Rājaśāhitya, which in the Paris edition is given thus:—

देवान्तरादिगमण्य आचार्यानाथमापि:।
प्राचर्यवत्व विहिष्टं महाभाष्य लस्मणदेल॥

On p. 167 of vol. V. of the Indische Studien this passage has been translated—“The king (Jaśyapida) caused interpreters to come from other countries, and set the split Bhāṣya again going in his realm;” and from the remarks which immediately follow this translation it is clear that Prof. Weber, when first quoting and translating the passage, understood it to relate the ‘introduction’ or ‘re-introduction’ of the Mahābhāṣya into Kāśmīr, and not a ‘reconstruction’ of the text of the work. This view has been abandoned in vol. XIII. of the Ind. Stud., for in the latter Prof. Weber speaks on p. 315 of a ‘remodellations,’ and on p. 320 (where the word स्थापात्य is rendered by ‘knowing’ or ‘expert men’) of a ‘reconstruction’ of the text, as having been brought about at the instance of Jaśyapida.

If, for argument’s sake, we were to admit that the word विहिष्ट did convey the sense of ‘incomplete’ or ‘existing in fragments,’ which has been ascribed to it, and that under Jaśyapida fragments of the text of the Mahābhāṣya in Kashmir, would there be any reason for assuming the same to have been the case all over India? Do we not know of numbers of works of which fragments only exist in one part of India, while complete copies are to be found in others? And supposing that fragments of the text existed in Kashmir, what possible good could Jaśyapida have done when he desired to encourage the study of the Mahābhāṣya by sending for interpreters? For as to the meaning of विहिष्ट there can, I presume, be no doubt whatsoever.

In reality the context in which the term विहिष्ट is employed in the above passage, as well as the manner in which it is used elsewhere, show that the former cannot in the above convey the meaning which has been assigned to it. Sanskrit writers frequently speak of अप्राचर्यवत विहिष्ट, and call the study of a text विहिष्टावधारण; and in accordance with this usage I maintain that विहिष्ट भाषागच्छ can only mean “the Mahābhāṣya which had ceased to be studied” and was no longer understood in Kashmir, and that the whole verse must therefore literally be translated thus:—“The king, having sent for interpreters from another country, brought into use in his realm the Mahābhāṣya, which had ceased to be studied” (in Kashmir, and was therefore no longer understood).

Before I proceed, I find it necessary to point out two slight inaccuracies in Prof. Weber’s remarks concerning the history of the Mahābhāṣya. Prof. Weber has stated more than once (see above, and this journal vol. IV. p. 247), and has apparently laid great stress on the fact, that the Mahābhāṣya on three different occasions has received the epithets viplavaśī, bhrāshaṭa, and vichkhina. In reality vichkhina occurs in the verse of the Rājaśāhitya quoted above, and the words viplavaśī and bhrāshaṭa are found, as will be seen below, in one and the same sentence of the Vākyapadīya, although not in one and the same verse. Moreover, the epithet
bhrashta has been applied by Bhartṛhari not to the text of the Mahābhāṣya, but to the vyākaraṇaśāstra, the traditional knowledge of grammar as handed down from teacher to pupil,† a fact by which alone the force of Prof. Weber's argument would be considerably lessened. The terms े and े are indeed used occasionally with reference to the text of a work (नाद), and when they are so used it must be admitted that the writer who employs them desires to state that such text is lost, either completely, or at any rate partly. But it does not follow that because the अग्रम, i.e., traditional interpretation of a text, has become ल, or because a work is no longer studied, its text must necessarily have been lost too. Puṣyārāja, the commentator of the Vākyapadiya, when accounting for the fragmentary state of the third chapter of that work, bringing forward, as one of the probable reasons, the अग्रम, the fact that part of Bhartṛhari's work had ceased to be studied,§ and his doing so sufficiently proves that although अग्रम may in course of time lead to 'the loss of a text,' the former is not equivalent to the latter. There exist at the present day numbers of works in the libraries of this country, though their अग्रम has been lost, I am afraid, beyond the hope of recovery.

The passage of the Vākyapadiya from which Prof. Weber concludes that (at the time of king Abhimanyu) fragments only of the original text of the Mahābhāṣya were in existence, and that from these a new text of the work was prepared by Chandrāchārya and others, was first pointed out by the late Prof. Goldstücker; it was republished with corrections by Prof. Weber himself in vol. V. of the Indische Studien, and subsequently again reprinted, together with the commentary of Punyarāja, by myself on pp. 285–7 of vol. III. of this journal. After having stated

† From the way in which Punyarāja subsequently in the commentary in the verse संगमवम (see above, vol. III. p. 287), as well as in his résumé of the contents of the second book of the Vākyapadiya (परमतीविविधानममययाकर
गंम), employs the term संगमवम, it is evident that संगमवम cannot possibly mean 'the text of the Mahābhāṣya,' but can only mean 'the doctrine or the traditional knowledge of grammar.'

§ The name of this scholar is spelt both Punyarāja and Puṣyārāja in my MSS.

the reasons which induced Patanjali to compose his great commentary, and that the latter, on account of its difficulty, was not generally understood, Bhartṛhari proceeds thus:

वैभवसमस्यांचे उत्तराध्यायितः ।
आर्येनितिवस्यप्रस्तावः ॥
वषयमात्रविशिष्टायमात्रायातः ॥
काले स दशकात्मकु सन्मादि अपरिवर्षः ॥
विवेकदार्गुम संभव्या बाघवीमादिति ॥
स नीति माहात्म्यमर्थार्थादिर्दिष्टः।
पुरुषः ॥

Prof. Weber's translation of these lines on p. 160 of vol. V. of the Ind. Stud. is this:—

"Vaijī, Saunbha, and Haryaksha, addicted to dry reasoning, . . . . destroyed the Rishi's work.

"The grammar-text, lost to Patanjali's pupils, existed for a while among the Dākṣiṇāyikas, in one MS. only."

"Thereupon Chandra and others, searching for the seed (i.e. the original) of the Bhāṣya, received the text from Parvata, and made many branches of it."

From the remarks which follow this translation it appears that the words 'destroyed the Rishi's work' are not to be taken literally, but must be understood to convey the sense (see p. 163) that Vaijī, etc. "rose up against the work of Patanjali and caused it to fall into disuse (verdängten es) for a while." Moreover, from pp. 166 and 167 we learn that Chandra and the others recovered the Mahābhāṣya, and that they did not establish a new text. Whether Prof. Weber was justified by his own translation in speaking, on p. 168, "of the reconstruction (by Chandra and others) of a text which had been lost for a time," — a view which, so far as I am aware, he has upheld in all his later writings,—I leave for the decision of the reader. But the translation itself—which was prepared
ON THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

without the assistance of any commentary—is open to objections, for some of which I may refer to Prof. Stenzler’s remarks in the Ind. Stud. vol. V. p. 448. Following Puyārāja’s commentary I venture to render Bhartṛihari’s words thus:—

“When the book of the Rishi had been perverted by Vaijī, Saubhava, and Haryakshā, because (in attempting to explain it) they had followed their own unaided reasoning.”

“The traditional knowledge of grammar, lost to the pupils of Pātanjali, in course of time existed only in books, amongst the Dākṣiṇāyanas.

“It was again widely diffused by Chandrāchārya and others, who, after they had received the traditional knowledge from Parvata, followed (by its means) the principles laid down in the Bhāshya.”

After a careful consideration of Bhartṛihari’s statement and of all that has been written about it (see also Barnell, loc. cit. p. 91), I am unable to perceive that it contains any allusion to the history of the text of the Mahābāshya. What the author of the Vākyapadiya really tells us, so far as I understand his meaning, is this:—There were certain scholars, mentioned by name, who in the explanation of the Mahābāshya rejected the assistance of the traditional interpretation handed down to them, and trusted each to his own unaided reasoning. Their attempt, as might have been expected, proved unsuccessful. The meaning of Pātanjali’s work became perverted; its text, indeed, continued to exist, but as its true meaning was no longer understood, this existence was a sham (अभाव, as Puyārāja says,) rather than a reality. The traditional interpretation having been once neglected ceased to be handed down orally from teacher to pupil, and remained only written down in books, which I understand to mean in the shape of written commentaries, among the Dākṣiṇāyanas. Chandrāchārya and others held of these commentaries which gave the traditional interpretation, and made it again generally known; they developed and diffused the science of grammar after, by means of the traditional interpretation, they had mastered the principles laid down in the Mahābāshya.

For the sense in which I understand verse 6.176 of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, I may refer the reader to p. 108 of vol. IV. of this journal, and I may add that even according to Prof. Weber’s own interpretation, as given in Ind. Stud. vol. V. p. 167, the verse must not be understood to refer to a ‘reconstruction,’ or, as Dr. Barnell, loc. cit. p. 91, has expressed it, a ‘revision,’ of the text of the Mahābāshya, but relates only the ‘introduction’ of the work into Kāśmir.

The above are, I believe, all the reasons which Prof. Weber has ever brought forward to prove that the text of the Mahābāshya has been several times newly rearranged. The more important of them were examined at length, after the publication of Prof. Goldstücker’s Pāṇini, in vol. V. of the Indische Studien, and the conclusion to which they appeared to point then was, to use Prof. Weber’s own words (p. 169), “that there existed no cogent reasons to doubt the authenticity of the text, so far as it was known,” fourteen years ago. Since then, it is true, the whole text of the Mahābāshya has been made generally accessible; but, as I fail to perceive how thereby its authenticity should have become more doubtful than it was before, I consider myself still justified in maintaining “that for the present we are bound to regard the text of the Mahābāshya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago.”

But I shall be told that even if all I have maintained in the preceding were correct, there would still remain sufficient internal evidence of which we know nothing must have existed even in Kiṣṇa’s time, because he frequently introduces interpretations that differ from his own by अपन, द्वारा, केवल. And there is no reason why commentaries on grammatical works should not have been lost, as well as others. The commentaries on Pāṇini’s Sūtras by Chāllībhaṭṭia and Nallīṭa, which are mentioned by Jīnendrabuddhi, are, so far as I am aware, not known to Sanskrit scholars even by name. And that commentaries on Kāśyap’s Vārttikas were in existence when Pātanjali composed his own Māhābāshya no one will deny who is acquainted with the latter.
to prove that what we are accustomed to call the *Mahābhāṣṭya* is but a modern compilation, prepared probably during or after the 7th century of our era. This at least is the view to which Dr. Burnell has given expression in his essay *On the Aitūdra School of Grammarians* (p. 91), and which has been approved of by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Burnell’s book. As it is desirable that the case should be stated to the reader as fairly as possible, I am obliged to quote Dr. Burnell’s opinion and arguments in full, the more so because it would seem as if the views of that scholar have been somewhat misrepresented by his reviewer.”  

“Dr. Burnell, it appears to me that the form of the *Mahābhāṣṭya* is in itself a convincing proof, that the text is not in its original form. That it is highly controversial has already been noticed, but I think that, as it now stands, it may be rather taken as a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini’s system, and as a controversial manual. No doubt, Kātyāyana criticized Pāṇini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the former, but the *Mahābhāṣṭya* goes further than this. The first *āhānikā*, which contains a long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., and which fills no less than 27 pages in the splendid India Museum facsimile edition, has no parallel in the older commentaries, and certainly is not to be expected in a book of the second century before our era, but is just what we find in the controversial literature of the 7th and the following centuries A.D. How is it possible to believe that Patanjali himself found it necessary to furnish arguments which would justify the study to which he had devoted his life? Again, the whole arrangement and the matter are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana, whereas the epigrammatic forms of Kātyāyana’s criticisms on Pāṇini point rather to an abridgment of Kātyāyana’s words than to quotations. It must not be forgotten that Vārtātikas of others besides Kātyāyana are occasionally given. Is it likely that these criticisms of Pāṇini merely stated their corrections, real or presumed, in the fewest possible words, and did not assign full reasons for their opinions? It thus appears to me that the *Mahābhāṣṭya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini’s critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works, and that it has been made with a view to practical polemics.”

If I rightly understand these words, Dr. Burnell maintains that some time before the 7th century A.D. there existed certain works composed by Kātyāyana and others in which these scholars stated their criticisms on Pāṇini, assigning full reasons for their own opinions; that at the same time there existed another work by Patanjali which was exclusively devoted to a refutation of these criticisms; and that the *Mahābhāṣṭya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation (prepared during or after the 7th century) of the views of Pāṇini’s critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works of Kātyāyana, Patanjali, &c. To corroborate this assertion, it is stated that the *Mahābhāṣṭya* looks like a manual of controversy:

1. Because the views of Kātyāyana and other critics of Pāṇini are given in it in an abridged form, the reasons which those critics must have assigned for their views having been omitted.

2. Because what we are accustomed to consider as Patanjali’s remarks are not confined to a refutation of Kātyāyana, as may be seen—
   a. From the long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., filling no less than 27 pages; this argument is out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana; it is not in keeping with Patanjali’s date (the second century B.C.), nor in keeping with his devotion to the study of grammar.

b. From the whole arrangement and the matter, which are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana.

I have examined these statements with that care and attention which Dr. Burnell’s scholarship and wide range of reading are always sure to command from a fellow-worker, but I have been unable to convince myself of the truth of his premises, or the fairness of the conclusion such work as the *Mahābhāṣṭya* which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali, but had to be reconstructed when its original text in course of time had been reduced to fragments. According to Dr. Burnell our *Mahābhāṣṭya* has been compiled from several original works, and may therefore be called an original compilation from works which have been altogether lost. See below.
which has been derived from them. Whether the late Prof. Goldstücker was right in describing the nature and the object of the Vārttikas as he has done, I may have occasion to examine hereafter; but allowing for the sake of argument that the Vārttikas contain nothing but criticisms on Pāṇini, and that it was the sole aim of Kātyāyana ‘to find fault’ with that grammarian, it certainly appears to me that in the Mahābhāṣya those ‘criticisms’ have in every case been given as fully as could be expected, that they are supported by reasons whenever their nature admits of or necessitates such support,§ and that the term ‘abridgment’ is as little applicable to them as it would be applicable to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. As regards Patanjali, it has nowhere been shown that he was bound to confine his remarks to a refutation of Kātyāyana, nor has it been proved that the justification of Pāṇini was the main object of his work. Moreover, so far from having attempted to bring forward anything in favour of the assertion that what we know of Patanjali’s views has been compiled from a more extensive work of that grammarian, Dr. Burnell appears rather inclined to regard the copiousness of the matter in the Mahābhāṣya as inconsistent with the idea of its being an original work. The long argument as to the utility of grammar, which to Dr. Burnell appears to be so much out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana, fills in reality by far the smaller number of the 27 pages of the introductory Āhikā: for as early as the 12th page we read the words सिद्धिः सन्दर्भायन्तः, which, by the unanimous consent of all grammatical works known to me, form the first of Kātyāyana’s Vārttikas. I too am inclined to believe that the reasons§ in favour of the study of

§ A few examples must suffice here. On P. I. 1. 1 the two first vārttikas are:—
(a) संसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारसंसारs

and Iśvarānanda's Bhāṣyapradīpikāpavīvarana

The vārttikas commented on by Patanjali in the first āhikās are the following:—

(a) सिद्धिः सन्दर्भायन्तः
(b) श्रवण्या सन्दर्भायन्तः
(c) श्रवण्या सन्दर्भायन्तः
(d) उच्चारण्या

II I need quote only Vākyapadīya, I. 23:—

नियम: शास्त्रप्रकाशरूपसंवादमा मार्गित: :

उपजान न सन्तुष्टमा मार्गित: :

in which the commentator remarks:

अनुमा मार्गितः: तमावृद्धिं खोजनां संवादमा संवादमा हिं :
grammar, by which this Vārttika is preceded, have not been invented by Patanjali; but, so far from allowing them to be an addition made during or after the 7th century A.D., I would rather maintain that those arguments must have been current long before Patanjali, and that all he has done himself is to comment on them, and to quote the interpretation of another scholar which differs from his own. When a scholar of Yāska's antiquity has thought it desirable to bring forward arguments in favour of the study of his science, the presence of such arguments cannot, surely, furnish any just cause for casting doubts on the authenticity of a work supposed to have been composed during the second century before our era, and it is accounted for, rather than rendered suspicious, by Patanjali's devotion to the study of grammar. To my mind the language and the style in what we are accustomed to call the Mahābhāṣya are a sufficient proof that that great work must have been composed a very long time before the 7th century. In the Vākyapādia native grammarians have given to us a specimen of such a compilation or controversial manual as has been described by Dr. Burnell, but I am unable to admit that the terms used by that scholar are fairly applicable to what tradition has taught us to regard as the original work of Patanjali.

And this leads me to touch upon one more question raised by Prof. Bcirh,—the question, namely, whether the Mahābhāṣya ought not to be considered the work of the pupils of Patanjali, rather than the work of their master.

"It is true," says Prof. Weber on p. 322 of vol. XIII. of the Ind. Stud., "one of the arguments which I have brought forward in favour of this view, viz. that Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is always spoken of in the third person, and that his opinions are several times introduced with or, rather with pūrabhi lumāchi, is no longer strictly valid. For, on the one hand, we several times find in it also statements in the first person... on the other hand, according to Bhandārkar, we have to understand by the word yāma in such phrases as pūrabhi lumāchi: not Patanjali at all, but Pāñjini! As regards some passages, Bhandārkar appears to be strictly correct; by no means, however, as regards all: for on the one hand this would form too glaring a contrast with Nāgara's distinct statement to the contrary that in the Bhashya it is also the only Patanjali; and, on the other hand, in many of those cases the reference to the statements of the Bhashya (not to the wording of Pāñjini's Sūtras) is perfectly clear and distinct. How matters really stand will still have to be specially investigated. But, in spite of these two corrections of my former statements, so much at any rate remains certain, that on the whole the cases in which the views of the Bhashyakāra are stated in the first person are comparatively rare, and that, as a rule, his statements, on the contrary, are made in the third person."

I was, I confess it, somewhat startled when first perusing these lines; for I also had studied portions at least of the Mahābhāṣya, and during that study it had always appeared to me that the word yāma, in cases where no other Acharya was particularly specified, denoted either Pāñjini or, though much more rarely, Kātyāyana; and, moreover, I could not remember to have found Patanjali, if I may say so, speaking in the third person. I was sorry, too, that a man of Nāgojiṃaṭṭa's vast learning and scholarship, whom I had found cause to regard as one of the greatest grammarians of modern times, should have been thought capable of making a statement the falseness of which could be demonstrated from almost every single page of the Mahābhāṣya. The first thing I had to do was to examine Nāgojiṃaṭṭa's remark for myself, and here I found that it admitted of a very different explanation.

I. 17. अध्यापिकां दार्शन विद्वानां न (वचिे ||
अध्यापिकां दार्शनिक विद्वानां न ||
विद्वानां दार्शनिक विद्वानां न || (See Patanjali.)
दत्त वचिे || (See Patanjali.)
दत्त वचिे ||

† Nāgojiṃaṭṭa says भाष्यकृत्याः.
Nágajībhatā's declared object in composing his Bhāṣyaprāpinḍīya was to elucidate Kāyata's Bhāṣyaprāpinḍīya, but he did not thereby regard himself as prevented from commenting on the text of the Mahābhāṣya as well, in cases where he deemed Kāyata's commentary insufficient, and, to show the student at first sight that he was explaining the text of the Mahābhāṣya, and not that of Kāyata's commentary, he adopted the practice of prefixing to such explanations the word याब्रां (see Ballantine's ed. pp. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, &c.). This is exactly the case in the passage quoted by Prof. Weber (loc. cit. p. 36), अपि अचार्याय अस्ति रास्ता, अपि अचार्याय विवेकान्त. Nágajībhatā considers that Kāyata ought to have given a note with the meaning of the word अचार्याय in the एवं विलासितवर्णम् of अपि अचार्याय, because this particular passage अचार्याय does not appear to him to convey its ordinary meaning; and to supply this defect he is good enough to tell us that (in his opinion) अचार्याय denotes, in this particular passage of the Mahābhāṣya, exceptionally the author of the Bhāṣya himself, and not those whom it generally denotes (Pāṇini or Kāyata).

Accurately to determine whether Prof. Weber was right in maintaining that in the Mahābhāṣya अचार्याय in such phrases as अचार्याय: अचार्याय: (by which I understand Prof. Weber to mean the phrases अचार्याय, अचार्याय: अचार्यायानि, and अचार्यायानि:) denotes in the majority of cases Pāṇini, and that the latter, as a rule, is spoken of in the third person, or whether I was correct in believing that अचार्याय (with possibly the one exception pointed out by Nágajībhatā) did not denote Pāṇini, and that the author of the Mahābhāṣya in the body of the work ascribed to him (with perhaps the exception of those five passages in which, according to Professor Weber, the terms गौतमम् or गौतमायुष्म् occur) was not spoken of in the third person, I should have had to read through the whole of the Mahābhāṣya. Though I had not the time for doing this, I thought it right to study once more at least part of the work, with the view of testing, so far as was in my power, the truth of Prof. Weber's statements and of my own impressions. Accordingly I read through carefully the first 240 pages of the text of the Mahābhāṣya as given in the lithographed Benares edition, and the results at which I arrived by doing so were the following:

(a) As to the word अचार्याय. On the first 240 pages this word is found sixty times, and among those sixty passages in which it occurs there is only one, viz. that pointed out by Nágajībhatā, in which it denotes Pāṇini himself, providing Nágajībhatā's statement be strictly correct. The phrase अचार्याय: अचार्याय: occurs twenty times, अचार्यायानि: nine times, and परमेव लोकाय: seven times, and in them अचार्याय always means Pāṇini. Besides, Pāṇini is denoted by अचार्याय nine times (on pp. 11b, 12a, 40a, 46a, 476 twice, 94b twice, and 112b).

Four times अचार्याय denotes Kātayana, viz. twice on p. 13a, once on p. 18b, and once on p. 75b (see his vaṭṛ on P. VI. 1. 129).

The अचार्याय is mentioned on p. 82a.

The अचार्याय generally are spoken of six times; अचार्याय other than Kātayana once; and the अचार्याय mentioned by Pāṇini likewise once, viz. in the vaṭṛ. आचार्याय: अचार्याय: (P. VI. 1. 129).

(b) As to whether Pāṇini is, as a rule, spoken of in the third person. Since Pāṇini (with the possible exceptions already pointed out) is not mentioned by name, the question to be decided is really this: whether for verbal forms such as परमेव, परमेव, in cases where their subject has not been particularized in the Mahābhāṣya, and where it is impossible to supply the subject Pāṇini,§ we have ever to supply the nominative प्रत्यायित:

p. 24b, वदवम्—स्वरूपम् p. 25a, 31b, &c.

Do. प्रत्यायित.

p. 31a, अनुपमपदेशित.

p. 34b, यद्य प्रत्यायिता (P. VII. 4. 38) नृपमपदेशिता प्रत्यायिता.

p. 55b, कृतिप्रत्यायितास्वती (P. I. 1. 5), &c.

As in all these and similar cases the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs परमेव, परमेव, can be no other than Pāṇini, it was unnecessary for Pāṇini to tell the student that it was Pāṇini who had taught something by the rule अचार्याय; Pāṇini who had
On the first 240 pages the verbal forms that have to be considered are the following:

p. 22a, कायद्वित; supply कायद्वाण, See his वार्त. on P. I. 1. 9, नित त्वास्य स्तीर्य न कुलद्वाणनाम खलिम, and the way in which it has been paraphrased by Patanjali on p. 69b.

p. 27b, (अन उच्चे) पदवा; supply कायद्वाण, His वार्त. is given immediately after the word पदवा.

p. 30a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VI. 4. 133.

p. 40a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. I. 2. 45.

p. 40b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VIII. 2. 6.

p. 55b, (अन उच्चे) पदवा; supply कायद्वाण, his वार्त. follows immediately upon the word पदवा.

p. 59b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on the same page.

p. 66b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. I. 1. 47.

p. 69a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on the next page.

p. 72a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VI. 1. 101.

p. 77b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. I. 4. 14.

p. 86b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VI. 1. 1.

"कलपित; supply कायद्वाण; see his वार्त. on P. VIII. 3. 59.

p. 88a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. I. 1. 72.

p. 99a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. II. 2. 35.

p. 99b, l. 3, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. II. 2. 35.

p. 102a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VI. 2. 2.

p. 106b, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VIII. 2. 3.

p. 117a, कलपित; supply कायद्वाण, वार्त. on P. VI. 4. 72.

The only verbal forms of this kind which remain are कलपित on p. 24a, on p. 52a, and on p. 99b, line 1. As regards the latter, it might indeed at first sight appear as if we had to supply for them the subject Patanjali; but to do so would in my opinion be incorrect. For in reality the statement which follows upon the word कलपित on p. 52a is not of Patanjali's invention, but it must, as we are told by Patanjali on P. V. 2. 4, be ascribed to Pāṇini; similarly the statement which follows the word कलपित on p. 99b is not Patanjali's, but is implied in कायद्वाण के वार्त. on P. II. 2. 35, and belongs therefore to him. Finally, not even the one remaining कलपित on p. 24a is likely to support Prof. Weber's view, for the best copy of the Mahābhāṣya accessible to me does in this case not read कलपित, but कलपित (see the lith. ed. of the India Office, p. 31).

As, then, the perusal of the first 240 pages of the text of the Mahābhāṣya does not appear to furnish any argument in favour of Prof. Weber's views, it will not, I trust, be thought unreasonable when for the present I venture to doubt their correctness, and when I continue to regard the supposition that the Mahābhāṣya may have been composed by the pupils of Patanjali, as void of foundation. The longer I study that great work the more I am convinced that from beginning to end it is the masterly production of one and the same individual scholar, and that few works in the whole range of Sanskrit literature have been preserved to us as complete and intact as the text of the Mahābhāṣya.

I may be wrong, and when I find my view refuted by cogent arguments I shall be the first to say so. The Mahābhāṣya, besides being one of the most interesting works for the student of language, is in many respects also one of the most difficult, and every attempt to facilitate

Patanjali adopts both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana as authorities for one and the same thing; he does consider it necessary to inform us that he is quoting the Vārttikas: अभिज्ञानम्

That no subject whatever need be supplied for the phrase हायम् when it occurs in such sentences as न कालः, उपस्वर्णम्

That no subject whatever need be supplied for the phrase निन्द्याम् when it occurs in such sentences as निन्द्याम्, निुपस्वर्णम्, गतितिकायकृति, &c., which gives answers to questions that have been previously raised, those who are acquainted with the style of the Mahābhāṣya need hardly be reminded of.
the understanding of it, or to solve the problems to which it gives rise, must be received by all scholars with gratitude. But we ought never to forget that little will be gained by conjecture, or by a perusal of the bare text of Patanjali's work, and that no attempt at understanding the true nature of the Mahābhāṣṭya is likely to be successful unless it be based on a careful study of what the Hindu commentators themselves have written about it.]

ON THE NOUBAT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., OF WOLFLEE.

In translating old inscriptions, terms denoting ancient titles or honorific distinctions are sometimes found which have either become obsolete, or which are expressed by words that do not convey the same meaning as formerly.

One of these is pānch-a-mahāsābda. It occurs occasionally in the string of titles describing donors of land or other benefactions. The prince or noble conferring the grant is said to be samadhi-gata-pānchā-mahāsābda, literally ‘he who has obtained five great sounds or words.’ Unable to find an intelligible meaning, I ventured myself with rendering it ‘Lord of the Pānch-Mahāsābdas’ in a grant made by a chief of the Kalachurī family at Ingaleśvara, in the Solapur district, observing in a note that it was a title conjoined with that of Mahāmandaleśvara, the ordinary designation of subordinate nobles, but not usually assumed by a sovereign prince, although it does occur among those of Pūjakaśī, one of the earliest Chālukya kings of Kalyān, in a copper śāstra dated A.D. 489. (Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 33, 1836.)

Mr. Shankar Pāpurang Pāndit, translating a Nāgari grant of a chief of the Sinda family in the Kaladgi district, makes it ‘one who has obtained the five great words,’ adding that ‘it had been usual to render it as meaning ‘who has obtained the five great sounds,’ viz. of certain musical instruments; but it seems more probable,’ he continues, ‘that mahāsābda refers to certain five titles, though I am not certain what these were, probably to five words or titles beginning with mahā, as mahārāja, mahāmandaleśvara, &c.” (Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 81.)

Mr. Fleet's opinion is to the same effect with reference to its occurrence in certain inscriptions of the Kadamba lords of Banawāsi. (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. pp. 180, 204.)

A passage in Ferishtah’s History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India has suggested a more probable and, I think, a more satisfactory explanation. Describing the splendid ceremonial introduced into the court of Kalbura by the second prince of the Bāhmanī dynasty, Muhammad Šāh I., who succeeded his father in A.D. 1358, he says, “the noubat or band of music played five times daily at stated hours,” and one of the great officers of the household was styled the Mir Noubat, and held the command of the bodyguard, which consisted of 4,000 men. (Briggs’ Ferishtah, vol. II. p. 299.)

In a later part of his history he again alludes to the custom, and records that Sultan Qūtb Šāh of Golkondā, who threw off the Bāhmanī yoke in A.D. 1612, “contrary to the practice of Persia, introduced the customs of Persia at his court, among which was that of beating the noubat or imperial band five times daily.” ibid. vol. III. p. 323. Ferishtah forgets, however, when he derives the noubat as a novelty from Persia, that he had stated it to have been a well-known usage nearly two centuries before.*

* Briggs derives the word noubat from bālt, ‘a musical instrument,’ and states “the noubat was originally a band composed of nine different instruments.” But this is mere conjecture. Neither Meninski nor Johnson is such a meaning given. It is true, as he says, that the syllable is found in such words as barbat, sakkbat, but the derivation of these names does not appear to be known. The sakkbat is said by some to be a stringed, by others a wind instrument, and a representation of it in the

latter character is given in Knight’s Old England, taken from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (Cléopatre), where it has the form of a large trombone. See, too, Notes and Queries, 5th Series, vol. I. p. 185. The barbat (βαρβατ) was certainly a kind of lute, but its etymology is equally obscure.

The meaning of noubat according to Meninski is a large kettledrum (σαντρούμιοιοι), which, he adds, “In the time of Alexander was beaten three times a day”—a tradition derived from Persian authorities, for the Būrāhī Qītī, sub voce, after stating that the moubat was played three times during the reign of Sikandar s’il Ģarzān, who afterwards added a fourth time, goes on to relate that when Sultan Sanjar was fleeing before his enemies he fell ill, and being unable to proceed, he ordered the moubat to be beaten a fifth time, in the hope that his persecutors might
That it was equally in use by Hindu princes appears by the following passage from the 10th book of Chând’s Prithâīrîj Râmas, where the poet describes Padam Sin, the father of the fair Padmâvatî, as translated by Mr. Beames:

"With many standards very splendid, Song, and music playing five times a day, Mounting ten thousand horses With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings, &c. &c.

But, whether originating in India or Persia, it seems to have been an ancient Aryan institution, and is probably referred to in the 3rd chapter of the Book of Daniel, where the people were commanded to fall down and worship the golden image when they heard the "sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music."

In the course of investigating the titles of

\sqrt{NOTES ON SOME LITTLE-KNOWN BAUDDHA EXCAVATIONS IN THE PUṆĀ COLLECTORATE.}

BY G. H. JOHNS, Bo. C.S.

Nânoli—Shelârwardi—Bhâmchandra.

A short time ago I visited the groups of caves at Nânoli, Shelârwardi, and Bhâmchandra, in the Puṇā collectorate; and, though the excavations of the last named are alone of special merit, it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of all the three sets.

The two first mentioned are in the Mâwal tâlkâ to the north and south of the town of Talegâm, and the Bhâmchandra hill is in the tâlkâ of Khâj, a few miles to the north-east of Nânoli.

The village of Nânoli lies three miles to the north of Talegâm on the left bank of the Indrâyâni, and the caves are in the escarpment of the hill a mile north of the village. A steep climb three-fourths up the hill brought me to the base of a high scarp facing south-west, skirting which I passed first a cistern and cell, and then reached a high flight of steps rudely cut; ascending them I entered a flat-roofed cave about eighteen feet square, with a height of upwards of seven feet; this excavation is now used as a temple to Feringâbâi; a small cell is caverned out of the south wall or side. Further on, the escarpment is hollowed out into two small cells.

The Shelârwardi excavations are high up in the hill about two miles to the south-east of Talegâm, and are most of them in the village limits of Gahurje, and facing south-west.

The north-west caves are in Shelârwardi, which is a hamlet of Talegâm, and consist of two or three cells only; they are nearly inaccessible, and have some fine champaka trees (Michelia Champaca) at the entrance. The south-west excavations possess more merit; at the base of the scarp out of which they are hollowed is a narrow footpath, pursuing which a two-princes: Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. XXXVIII. p. 145. Another phrase, furâja nîyâkechana, frequently occurs in connection with mahârâd and, clearly referring to instrumental music.

† When a prisoner in Kîtûr in 1824, my companion and myself were confined in a house close to the Noubat-khând, which resounded with the clang of the instruments three times a day, the performers not producing the slightest approach to a tune, but merely making no music as much noise as possible.
cemed cave high up in the cliff is first passed, and then a fine cistern: two cells succeed, one with an inscription of five lines cut on its outer face, close to which, but further south, is a large excavation consisting of a nave or vestibule 24 feet by 18 feet, with four cells on either side, and of an inner shrine near the end of which are what would seem to be the remains of a dāhyābā, viz. an abacus of four slabs, the lower the smaller, pendent from the roof, and an indistinctly traced foundation of the drum; the latter is now occupied by a śāluṇika and śākya. The roof is flat and about nine feet from the ground. The entrance to this cave is now walled up with two round-arched doorways as means of ingress. Further on are a cistern and a cell. The cave being flat-roofed and the top of the dāhyābā being an abacus would induce the opinion that it is an unfinished excavation, which would have been converted into a circular-roofed temple with a chhatri'd dāhyābā on completion.

The Bhamchandra excavations are hollowed out of a hill seven miles west of Chakan, within the village limits of Sinde, close to the boundary of Bhamboli. The hill rises steep from the plain on the south and west, and in the escarped southern side are the caves in question. After a somewhat arduous climb from the base of the hill a cistern is passed on the right; the villagers call it 'Sitā's Bath.' A little further on, after rounding a promontory, the principal cave is reached; it is small and faces south-west, and is now dedicated to Bhamchandra Mahādeva. There is a cistern on the left as one enters; the entrance, which is 8 feet high by 13 wide, is now built up, having a small arched doorway in the centre. The temple is very nearly square, rather more than 14 feet long by 15 broad, the height being 7 feet; the roof is flat; four pillars, two on either side, divide the cave into three compartments (it would be a straining of terms to say into nave and aisles), the side compartments being each adorned with two pilasters similar to the pillars, and having each a niche with pillared jambs and canopy. There is a trace of a dāhyābā in the centre,—a circular base five feet in diameter within a square mark where it once stood; and the chhatri carved in the roof confirms the view that a dāhyābā once occupied the cave. The pillars are massive and square, but halfway up are twice chamfered off so as to be octagonal; the capitals have massive projections on their four sides. There is an inner shrine occupied by the phallic symbol, and a figure of Buddha: the latter is carved on a detached stone, and may originally have adorned the dāhyābā. The inner is separated from the outer cave by an elaborately sculptured doorway, the opening being two feet wide by four feet high; the carvings are mostly of human figures. There are no horse-shoe arch or Buddhist rail ornaments discernible in the cave,—contrasting in this respect with almost all the other chaitya excavations in the collectsare; and were it not for the dāhyābā I should hardly suppose it to be a Buddhist temple. Perhaps it is a Buddhist chaitya of the Chālukyan era. The rock of which this hill is composed is of a soft nature, and the screen or doorway dividing the two shrines (the presence of the dāhyābā in the outer prevents my calling that a mere nave) has had to be cemented or mortared by the villagers to be kept in its place. Further on is a cell, or rather cavern; and at some little distance, in the middle of the escarpment, and therefore reached with difficulty, is a cave at the end of which is a winding cavernous road low and narrow, said to permeate the hill, and to be many kos in length. There are one or two inaccessible holes or caves higher up, and beyond, on the west, is also a small cave.

The gurū of the temple is supported by a grant of inām land in Bhamboli.

AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Dear Sir,—I have read with particular interest Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the Śikṣās in the Indian Antiquary, vol. V. pp. 141 seqq. I am very sorry to hear that he has to complain of the great incorrectness of most of the MSS. which he has collected, even the best and oldest of them, which goes so far that he feels inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. On the other hand I am glad to see that he coincides thoroughly with my own views regarding the age of these phonic treatises, maintained by me, in opposition to those expressed by Prof. Haug (whose untimely death, on the 3rd instant, is a heavy blow
and severe loss to science) and adopted by Mr. Burnell, in my reviews of their respective works in the *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung*, 1875, p. 316 (1st May), and 1876, p. 203 (March 25). I am, moreover, very thankful to Prof. Kielhorn for different corrections of my explanations of several Śāktā passages. But there is one passage among them, regarding which I cannot yet surrender my former position; and it is the particular object of these lines to defend it—at least to maintain its relative merits, as opposed to the explanation proposed by Prof. Kielhorn himself. I mean the passage in the *Pāṇiniya Śāktā* about the women of Surāśṭra.

First, I beg to remark that Prof. Kielhorn is not quite correct in his statement that I proposed three interpretations of the verse in question, and particularly that on p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* I did propose a second translation, 'which we may omit here’ and pass to the ‘third.' In reality I have treated the verse first on p. 269, and secondly on p. 350 of that volume (1858), and both times I have given the same translation. On p. 270 I add only the alternative option to take the words in the second hemistich as not only a quotation from Rāj. VIII. 66, 3, but at the same time also as figuratively descriptive of the minute exactness of the phonetic process itself (‘as the spokes in the nave with a hammer, thus you ought to contrive the rāṣṭa’). And when I return to the passage the third time, on p. 389 of vol. IX. (1865), I propose only, while fully adhering to the translation itself given at first, a conjectural reading for the words in the first hemistich: and, on this before the pāṇiniyaṁtarastā. Both readings I state to be equally senseless, and I propose therefore to draw the word खे standing in the second hemistich also to the first, and to read खे (kṣāya). The author would seem to have selected from amongst the numerous Vedic instances of kṣāya, just this passage kṣāya, in order to adduce an instance as similar as possible in its phonetic sound to the formula of greeting kṣāya of the Surāśṭra women. In course of time this word (kṣāya), having become unintelligible to the copyists, changed to vṛtta (as given in the quoted passage), and in (on other grounds, see below). Now in this Surāśṭra formula of greeting kṣāya I propose to recognize a form, adapted to the Hindu ear, of the Greek formula of greeting, ἀξιόπορος, and to take this either as the infinitive itself, or as the imperative form ἀξιόπορος. For the adoption of such a Greek phrase I call to account the predominance of Greek influence in Surāśṭra lasting for some centuries, as I had pointed to the possibility of some such contingency already the very first time when I touched upon the subject (Ind. Stud. vol. IV., p. 269, note). Now there is certainly nothing so uncommonly strange in the adoption of foreign greeting formulas. We Germans, for instance, use constantly, when parting, the French formula adieu, changed to Adje, Adje, Ađe (as well as bon jour, merci, bons dies, prosi, gratias, and other words of the same stamp). And French influence has not been predominating in Germany for so long a period as the Greek, in all probability, has done in India.

But what is it particularly with these Surāśṭra women? I asked formerly (Ind. Stud. vol. IV. p. 269), “Is there to be concluded from this verse a particular occupation of the Surāśṭra women with declamatory representations?” I may add now that tradition has really preserved some traces of that kind, for we read already in Wilson’s *Hindu Theatre* (1835), vol. I. p. xiv: “The Udāya (a style of dancing) was taught by Pārvati to the princess Uśā, who instructed the Gopis of Dvārakā; the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the women of Surāśṭra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions.” See the text of this passage from the *Nṛttdhyāya* of Śārīgadeva’s *Śāngtarāṅgadāra* in Aufrecht’s *Catalogus of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Bodl. Library*, p. 209a (1859). Now it appears to me a priori as really very likely that a statement like that contained in our verse should refer to this very dancing métier of the Surāśṭra women, and not to their "shouting the word त्य as dairy-women in the street," as Prof. Kielhorn proposes to read and translate in accordance with the commentary on the *sālāntaśīkuḥ*: for we know nothing at all about their particular proficiency as "dairy-women," while we do know about their excellency in Udāya.

The explanation adopted by Prof. Kielhorn accounts, after all, only for the reading त्य in the one recension of the text, not for the reading अर्ट in the other; and I should think it highly probable that the former reading really owes its very origin to that explanation itself, proffered for the dark passage by some scholar—maybe already a long while ago—but wrongly, as far as I can see. For the root भाष with अर्ट is used in general only in the sense of addressing,—at least never in that of shouting. The proper words for shouting would be the roots kṣāya, prāya, etc., alone or with different prepositions, or with a particle, thus (compare सात्ती), उर्तात्सत्ती (comp. उर्तात्सत्ती), प्रातात्सत्ती (comp. उर्तात्ती, सात्ती), प्रातात्ती (comp. सात्त्ती) उर्तात्ती. Whichever reading, therefore, we may adopt, अर्ट or what I conjecturally propose त्य, its purport certainly must be in harmony with the verb.
very closely resembling the Indian sarcophagus, as will be seen from the annexed outlines of both, taken from a plate in the Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. (January 1853) p. 378.

In the British Museum amongst the most archaic Greek pottery there is a remarkable painted terracotta coffin from a tomb at Camirus, in Rhodes. It is 6 feet long by 1 foot 10 inches broad, not rounded but angular at the extremities, and the edges flattened and overlapping; the ends are covered in, one for about a foot, the other about six inches; on the flat surface of the former a bull is delineated between two lions in very rude archaic style, the lions strongly resembling the conventional Hindu representation of them; the surface of the latter end has two similar lions, and a scroll pattern is painted along the side rims. In the same museum is the extraordinary Etruscan terracotta coffin-tomb of the same general shape, but covered and bearing on its lid life-sized painted figures of an Etruscan man and his wife, and on the sides processional and ceremonial scenes in relief, all the figures strikingly Hindu in appearance; this—one of the latest and most unique acquisitions of the museum, though more elaborate in ornamentation, and of priceless value as displaying in full size the colour, feature, garb and habit, as they lived, of the Etruscan couple whose bodies it contained—is but a development of the plainer earthen coffin-troughs of Babylonia and India, which in the Rhodes example shows the first rude application of ornament in coloured design. More will ere long be heard of the important discovery and identification by Mr. George Smith of the ancient port of Carchemish, near the mouth of the Euphrates, by which the long sought-for link or stepping-stone between the civilisation of ancient Egypt and Babylonia will be supplied, and an explanation at last obtained of the marvellously full stage of development and grandeur in which Assyrian remains are found, with no indication of ruder beginnings, or progress, and of their similarity to Egyptian art. It is conjectured on the highest authority that the race inhabiting that vast city, almost rivalling Nineveh and Babylon, were of Turanian stock, and the same with the Biblical Hittites, the chief aborigines of Canaan, who were also the mysterious Rasenna or Etruscans. Whatever affinities may be shown to exist between the Dravidian dialects and the Aryan family of languages, which still seem slender, all other racial affinities point to a Turanian rather than an Aryan origin of the Dravidian peoples. Amongst other points of resemblance it is certainly noteworthy that of the urns with three and four legs common in these tombs throughout the Peninsula; see Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 13.
the peculiar custom of interment in earthenware coffins identical in shape, dimensions, and material should have obtained in India, Assyria, and, with a Mediterranean island as a stepping-stone, in Italy,—always in regions where the presence of Turanian races is suspected, and where alone in Italy (see Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 277) the rude stone or megalithic monuments so characteristically Turanian have hitherto been found. Let it also be added that these monuments, kistvaens, cromlech-dolmens, and stone circles abound in Palestine and the Sinaiic peninsula, where mountain-sides and valleys are scattered over with huge dolmens "each consisting of four large slabs from six to ten feet long, standing with their edges in the ground, yet rising upright five feet above it. On top the capstone is always the largest and heaviest of all, being nearly as broad as long, and from one to three feet in thickness: it projects over sides and ends,"—exactly corresponding to megaliths in Southern India.

Returning to Mr. Garstin's account, it may be remarked that there is nothing unusual in dolmens being found much nearer the sea than Tirukovilur; at the Red Hills, near Madras, they occur close to the beach, and are there peculiar as being formed of laterite, the only instance known to me. On the other coast there is a remarkable collection of dolmens, called Topkals, at Chatta-parambal, on the Beypar river, seven miles from Calicut. As to the use of these structures Mr. Garstin is assuredly right in concluding they were used as burial-places, never as dwellings for any living race: the traditions told him and Colonel Welsh (whose "stone village, formerly inhabited by the Pandywans," doubtless exists, and could be identified—they are numerous all over the Peninsula) of their having been the abodes of extinct races are all "myths of observation," i.e. stories suggested by the appearances for which they pretend to account; the hut-like shape with the singular hole so uniformly found, door-like, in one of the side stones, and the vessels, often of culinary shape and marked with fire, placed within, have always led the natives to regard and designate them as houses. The Rev. W. Taylor, in his Analysis of the Machesie Manuscripts, has enumerated the following curious series of popular legends as to their origin and use, all purely "myths of observation":—

1. In very ancient times the astrological books predicted that all mankind would be destroyed by a heavy rain: so the then existing men took counsel together and constructed solid impene-trable houses of stone, to which they retreated with their families and household utensils. One day, however, a rain of gold fell, which lured them forth, and whilst they were gathering up the gold the predicted fire-shower descended and destroyed all except a few who had remained at home, by whom the human race was perpetuated.

2. In remote ages there was a race of pygmies who, although so diminutive, possessed the strength of elephants, and could with ease lift large rocks and split them asunder; this dwarf people constructed the stone huts and dwelt in them till destroyed by the flood that closed the cycle.

3. The house of the stone built by the Pandavas whilst wandering from place to place to escape the persecution of Duryodhana.

4. After the flood the world was covered with forests abounding with ferocious beasts, and these stone structures were built by hunters as places of safety for their wives and children whilst they were absent on the chase: hence they are often called (bedh-kud) 'hunters' huts'; others say they were raised by Rakabasas for the same purpose.

5. In the reign of Bama there were tribes of men having tails like monkeys, and very ferocious and strong; they could cleave rocks and carry huge stones. They built these stone houses for their own use, and were destroyed by the Yuga deluge.

6. In long-past ages the lives of men were far more prolonged than now, reaching even to many centuries, and even then they did not die, but when feeble through age they lay in the house like huge ripe fruits, breathing but unable to move and helpless, to the great inconvenience of the younger generation. At last, to get these pumpkin-like encumbrances out of the way, and to prevent the pollution of their possibly dying in the house, the younger people constructed stone sepulchres underground, in which the ripe-fruit-like ancients were placed with food and pots, and tended daily whilst they lived. When at length they died, the door of the sepulchre was closed, and earth heaped over all. Thus the men of old time escaped the inconvenience of the fruit-like stage of their forefathers.

7. Some regard these stone houses as deposits of treasure, and affirm that vast sums were buried in them, and men often killed upon them, whose ghosts are bound by spells to guard and conceal the treasure. (See Ind. Ant. for last January, vol. V., p. 22.)

M. J. W.

Note.—In some parts of the Bombay Presidency, especially in Thakur Panvel of the Thakur collectorate, the shevare, or stool on which the winnower stands to shake his basket of grain, is constructed of three or four rough vertical slabs surmounted by one horizontal. When the circular enclosure of the threshing-floor is also of the same materials, the resemblance to the megalithic monuments of prehistoric ages is very striking.—En.
Professor Kern's Versions of Some of the Aśoka Inscriptions.

I.

Letter to the Assembly of Magadha, found near Bāhbara.

Dr. Kern gives the following revision of the transcript of the 'Letter to the Assembly of Magadha' found near Bāhbara:—


This he then renders into Sanskrit thus:—

Priyadāsī (śi) rājā Māgadhām (Magehā) saṅgham abhiṣadaya tam ahaṁ bāsa vatātā saukhaṁ bhāśitaṁ. Viditam eva, bhavanatāḥ! yāvasu asamākam Buddhaco, dharmena sahe iti gauravocca prasādasana. Yat-kiñcita, bhavanatāḥ! bhagavatā Buddhena bhāṣitaṁ, sarvaṁ tat subhā-sītaṁ eva, yacca khalu, bhavanatāḥ! prāmaṇyena drṣṣyeva; evaṁ saddharmaśa chitrāthitaka bhaviṣayati jñānyena ahaṁ tävattāvāhitaḥ bhavato dharmaparyaśayaḥ; vinayasaṁkakṣaṁ, āraja-vāsa (?) anāgata-hāyāni, munigahā, manneysutrama, Upatisa-preśā, yaśaḥ Rākalavākdo mṛtyusvādam adhibhriyābhavatā Buddhena bhāṣitaḥ. Etaṁ, bhavanatāḥ! Dharmaparyaśaya ichhami kṛti-bāhunāya bhikṣu-bhavacca bhikṣu-niyēcā bhikṣu-bhikṣunāsa śīkṣṇyaśācā śīkṣṇyacchā śīkṣṇyacchā śīkṣṇyaśācā śīkṣṇyaśācā; evaṁ evaṁ upāsaśīkā upāsaśīkā. Etaṁ, bhavanatāḥ! idam lekhāyay abhīmitāccha madhyōkṣeti?

This he then renders thus:—

"King Priyadāsrin (that is, the Humane) of Magadhā greets the Assembly (of Clerics)"

and wishes them welfare and happiness. Ye know, Sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the triad which is called Buddhave (the Master), Faith, and Assembly. All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken: wherefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority; so the true Faith shall last long. Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works:—Summary of the Discipline, The Supernatural Powers of the Master (or, of the Masters), The Terrors of the Future, The Song of the Hermit, The Sūtra on Asceticism, The Question of Upātiṣaya, and The Admonition to Bāhula concerning Falsehood, uttered by our Lord Buddha. These religious works, Sirs, I will say that the monks and nuns, for the advancement of their good name, shall uninterruptedly study and remember, as also the laics of the male and female sex. For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident."

The Bāhbara inscription is the only one in which Būdha's name is mentioned. The reason of that name not occurring on any of the other inscriptions is easily seen: they were intended for the whole empire, for entire without distinction of creed, and it would have been unbecoming if the prince, in his admonitions, had appealed to a Master who was not known as such to the majority of his subjects. Besides which, Aśoka speaks as the administrator of the realm, and not as a religious preacher. In one other place only—"I mean the signature of the Girṇāri inscription—the following words have reference to Būdha. Of this signature there remains—

... va sveto hasti savalokasukhārā nama.

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means "the white elephant whose name is Bringer of happiness to the whole world." That by this term Śākyamuni is implied.

† Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. IX. p. 618.
‡ Or "gestaat de Assembly of Magadhā."
§ Over de Jaartelling, &c. p. 37.
Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VII. p. 241; compare Westergaard's copy in the Jour. B. As. Soc. vol. XII. opposite p. 133. Prinsep has wrongly assigned the signature to No. 13 of the Girnāri inscription: it is true that it stands right underneath it, but that is because No. 13 is in the middle. One has but to look at Westergaard's facsimile to see how the matter stands. Wilson's transcript is inaccurate.
there can be no doubt, since the legend says that the Bodhisattva, the future Buddha, left heaven to bring happiness to men, and entered his mother’s womb as a white elephant.

Thus we read in the Lalita-vistara, 63:

“Pashyanaksharayoge Bodhisattvas Tushita-varambhavanāḥ chyutvā samṛthaḥ samprajāyanaḥ pāṇḍurogajāro pṛthvīyā yanāyā dakshināyam kukśhāv avākramata.”

With regard to sarvalokasukhāvara, we may compare the gāthās of Lalita-vistara 111, in which allusion is made to the happiness which the birth of the Buddha was to bring into the world:

“āpyāśeṣaḥ yādā śāntiḥ sukhi sarvaḥ yādā jagat

dhruvaṃ Sukhāvahā jātaḥ sukhi sthāpayitā jagat ||

Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty. In the short inscription No. XIV., which is neither more nor less than a postscript addressed to the reader, we find apologies which recur word for word in the postscript of modern manuscripts and even printed books. When we read at the end of the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata “asmin purvāṇi doṣo vijñānā iti kārā pravādī dāti na bodhyam,” we can almost fancy we have before us Aśoka’s warning against the negligence of his scribes, against tipikavatāpādito, as his own words express it:—so tenacious is Indian tradition! Later on we shall return to the postscript of the Gîrnâr inscription. The ascription of homage to the White Elephant—that is, to the Buddha—corresponds to the Śrī-Rāmāyana amatu, and similar expressions, of the Indian MSS. of the present day.

Though the king’s edicts, or rather written addresses to his subjects, contain nothing which could give offence to the adherents of other forms of belief, they are nevertheless more or less Buddhistic in their style. They are composed in a preaching tone, full of repetitions. Just as Buddha ghoṣha commends the sacred writings for their proximity, so Aśoka informs us that he has intentionally repeated some things on account of their sweetness, in order to impress them favourably upon the people, and cause them to meet with the greater acceptance.

In making these remarks on a certain littleness in his style we have no intention of being unjust to the memory of a good prince. The following pages will afford proofs that we do justice to the king’s noble aspirations, to his toleration, to his merits as a ruler.

All the discovered inscriptions of the king of Magadha fully merit, on more than one account, the attention of every Indian scholar, though the text of most of them is in such a condition that I have hitherto not ventured to undertake a reproduction of all. I shall therefore confine myself to such as are in great measure, or in essentials, intelligible. I will begin with two inscriptions in which the king speaks of his conversion, namely, Nos. IV. and VIII. of Gîrnâr.

Of No. IV. in the Gîrnâr series there are three versions—one in the dialect of the country in which Gîrnâr lay, which dialect we may perhaps venture to call Gujārāti, or more generally Marathi; the second in Magadhi at Dhanālī; the third in Āryan writing at Kapurdi in, the language of North-Western India, or Gândhâra.1 The language of the last-mentioned version is nearest to Sanskrit, inasmuch as it has retained various conjunct consonants, such as pr, tr, ṛ, etc., as well as the three sorts of sibilants. Not much further from the Sanskrit is the Gîrnâr dialect, in which the groups st and st occur regularly. The Magadhi presents all the characteristics of a fully developed Prākrit. This inscription was the last dealt with by Burnouf, and the most carefully analysed by him (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 373 ò.). He has taken the text of Gîrnâr as his basis, and rightly so, because it has suffered least, and has been most carefully written and revised. It runs as follows:-

1 Atīkātaṁ antaraṁ bahūnāṁ vāsaśatāṁ vaiśāhita eva pāṇārānḥ bhūtimāsaḥ bhūtānāṁ satānāṁ

2 asampatipatti bhavanamsamanānāṁ asampatipatti; ta aja DeVâsānapiyasa Piyadasino rāño

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Of this tablet Burnouf has given the following version:—

"Dans le temps passé, pendant de nombreuses centaines d'années, on vit prospérer uniquement le meurtre des êtres vivants et la méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le manque de respect pour les parents, le manque de respect pour les Bâmaças et les Sâmanas (les Brahmanes et les Cûmans). Aussi, en ce jour, parce que Piya-
dasi, le roi cheri des Dêvas, pratique la loi, le son du tambour («retentit»); ou, la voix de la loi [s'est fait entendre], après que des promenades de chars de parade, des promenades d'éléphants, des feux d'artifice, ainsi que d'autres représentations divines ont été montrées aux regards du peuple.

C'est que depuis bien des centaines d'années ou n'avait pas vu auparavant, on l'a vu prospérer aujourd'hui, par suite de l'ordre que donne Piya-
dasi, le roi cheri des Dêvas, de pratiquer la loi. La cessation du meurtre des êtres vivants et des actes de méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le respect pour les parents, l'obéissance aux père et mère, l'obéissance aux anciens (Théra), voilà les vertus, ainsi que d'autres pratiques de la loi de diverses espèces, qui se sont accrues. Et Piyadasi, le roi cheri des Dêvas, fera croître encore cette ob-
servation de la loi; et les fils, et les petits-fils, et les arrières-petits-fils de Piyadasi, le roi cheri des Dêvas, feront croître cette observation de la loi jusqu'au kalpa de la destruction. Fianmes dans la loi, dans le morale, ils ordonneront l'observation de la loi; car c'est la meilleure des actions que d'enjoindre l'observation de la loi. Cette observation même de la loi n'existe pas pour celui qui n'a pas de morale. Il est bon que cet objet prospère et ne dépérisse pas; c'est pour cela qu'on a fait écrire cet édit. Si cet objet s'accroît, on n'en devra jamais voir le dépérissement. Piyadasi, le roi cheri des Dêvas, a fait écrire cet édit, la douzième année depuis son sacre."

"Let us," he says, "in the first place examine the state of the Gîmar text as it has come down to us. Thus much we can see, that, while there are no gross errors, there is much carelessness and irregularity in the spelling. The system of sounds of a dialect cannot be too carefully considered, if firm ground is to be obtained for the settlement, and thereby for the interpretation, of the text. The pronunciation via, Sanskrit vireha, is as good as uma (spelt uma), since it is in Prâkrit a matter of indifference whether a syllable is long by position or by the natural length of the vowel. Consequently the developed Prâkrit does not admit a vowel long by nature in a syllable which is long by position. The spelling bâmhaça in line 2 transgresses this rule, while bâmhaça in line 6 is correct. The same inconsistency is seen else-
where—now a, then i. In the second line pati (= pati), with the dental t, occurs twice; in line 6 it is twice written with the lingual. These forms are both quite correct, but they should not have been interchanged in the same document. From

* The mark before the is half effaced, though the reading is settled by the two other texts.
† Burnouf usually renders this group by t. The pronunci-
ation is uncertain; perhaps the symbol is nothing more than a mode of expressing it in cases in which it answers to a Sanskrit t. It is worthy of notice that the Sanskrit cittha is usually spelt chitta in Javanese, where the t is merely used to represent the Sanskrit sound of the double t since Javanese has a t of its own, though pronounced like a single t.
† This is clearly the reading, and not seta as Burnouf reads: not only can seta be clearly distinguished, but the form is required by the dialect.
§ How Burnouf can maintain that the facsimile admits of a reading tithi is to me a riddle. The reading is clearly bhâtau, besides which tithi is contrary to the dia-
lect, which requires tisâti, as may be seen abundantly in Series IX.
the Sanskrit prati there is produced on the one hand, by the dropping of the r, pati; on the other, first, the form priti (pérti); then, as well as an s, serving to effect the transition to an immediately following t in the class of dentals. In the oldest Indian of all, this sometimes takes place, in the Sanskrit still more frequently, while in the Prākrits it is the rule. Thus the Sanskrit kṛta becomes pretty generally in the Prākrit keta; pérti, pafi, and thence later pati, pafi, and pari. We find the same inconsistency in saulā along with suaḥ. The distinction between the dental and lingual s has not yet died out, but the author or transcriber continually confuses them; thus doasaḥ should have the dental; ripaḥ, on the contrary, the lingual s. A carelessness of frequent occurrence in the majority of Indian MSS., even the most recent, is the use of the t after s, instead of the aspirated ṭh, as in tāṭaṁko, cece. This is not the only point which shows clearly that the habits of the Indian transcribers all existed at that time the custom of indicating every nasal sound with which a syllable closes by a spurious anusvāra, simply to save trouble, is another example. In general, those documents of 238-237 B.C. present exactly the same kind of errors that we are accustomed to find in Indian MSS. The s before ṭ, though as a sign the same as the dental s, cannot, for a simple physiological reason, possibly have been the dental. Before a lingual, and above all an Indian lingual, no mas can bring out anything but a lingual. The reason why the sh was not used to indicate the required lingual sound, which must have been, that while the sh is indeed a lingual, it possesses besides that, a characteristic of its own, so that it comes near to the lingual sound of a liquid s.

"Two forms occur which I see no chance of explaining from the dialect of Gītārjīna, viz. dva and the neuters in e, as chariye, kasuva, &c. That dva savatkaproti corresponds to a Sanskrit yevat savartkaprālī has been correctly perceived by Burnouf; and admits of no doubt; but dva for Sanskrit yevat is regular Magadhi, not Gītārjīna. Let it serve for proof of this assertion that the Magadhi dule, Sanskrit yehrtam, is in our document line 4, ydiria. The termination also of the neuter in e, in cece, kasuva, is Magadhi; so also is tāris as respects the termination; in like manner bahuvidhe dhaṇinaḥarana in line 7. It would be presumptuous to assert positively that an e = Sanskrit ane and neuter ane, was absolutely unknown to the Gītārjīna; but we have doubts on the point, and that because in Magadhi the a stems in general, whether masculine or neuter, have e in the nominative, and so forth. Thus Mag. pyes is as much equal to the Sansk. priyā as to priyam; but in the western dialect the masculine has always o. There is no explanation whatever to be given of dva instead of yeva. Briefly, however hazardous it may appear, we will not refrain from expressing the conjecture that the text had been written originally in the language of the king himself, the Magadhi; that the other redactions are translations thereof, more or less successful; and that Magadhi forms have crept into the versions. We cannot, however, regard the word hātra, Sansk. sthanavara, as a Magadhiism, for it becomes th at the beginning of a word in the Gītārjīna as well. This much is certain, that the Magadhi text of Dhanukā, which, alas! has suffered most, and has been the most hastily transcribed—s throughout the most consistent with itself in spelling and word-formation, is the best written, and excels the other redactions in the correct use of the connecting particles.

"It is also of importance to inquire in how far any irregularities may admit of being explained from the condition of an original text, because all those three redactions agree in the reading of a very suspicious word, viz. mā (and dēmā) in line 11. Sanskrit mā means clearly enough 'diminution,' and aḥāri 'non-diminution.' Now if it even should be supposed that the form of the participle mā had exercised some influence on that of the monster hāri, yet in no single Prākrit, including the Pali, has such a hāri been found, but, on the contrary, hāri. The fact that the three redactions agree tends in this particular case not to establish, but to weaken the reading. Because the existence of such a monstrality as mā might be in some slight degree conceivable as a sporadic instance in a single dialect, but that such a thing should appear in three widely diverging dialects or languages would be altogether too singular. If, however, all the redactions are from one source, than it might be possible that there was at first an error in that source." It is fortunate that the meaning is not obscured in the redactions by the manner of writing.

I shall now give the text of Gītārjīna with the slight modifications which appear to me justified by comparison with the Kāpurīdīgī version:—

1 Atikātāna anātanam bhātini vasaśtanvam vajihito ēva pāsāraṁbhun, viṁśiṣṭhaḥ bhūtānām, mātisā
2 anānapatipat, bhamāsamaratnam anānapatipat; ta sja Dēvānāmīpya Fiyadasino rāga
3 dhānmaḥārāmāma bhūrīgho sas dodgegagho, viṁ
4 mānasaśarāmāma hastadāsunācā agikhañtāhānācā

†† The difference between 4, 4, and i is so slight in writing, that it may after all be a question whether māt really stands in all places where the transcripts have it.
I have also allowed myself—the object being taken into consideration—to translate more literally than is consistent with strict propriety. I am well aware that, as a general rule, a literal translation is the very opposite of a correct one. Literal translations are a sort of "tour de force," which on occasion may have their use, provided they are not given forth as real translations. A man who translates literally does not understand the language from which he is translating, and, generally speaking, he does not understand the language into which he is translating.

Translation of No. IV.

"In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brāhmans and monks, have only grown greater. But now, when king Devānampiṭya Priyadarśin practises righteousness, his kattle-drum has become a summons to righteousness,† while apparitions of chariots of the gods, and apparitions of celestial elephants, and fiery balls, and other signs in the heavens, showed themselves to the people. In such a manner as has not been the case in many centuries previously, now, through the exhortation of king Devānampiṭya Priyadarśin to cultivate righteousness, has the sparing of animal life, the gentle treatment of creatures, respect for relatives, respect for Brāhmans and monks, obedience to father and mother, and obedience to an elder,‡ grown greater. This and many other kinds of virtuous practices have grown greater, and king Devānampiṭya Priyadarśin shall cause this practice of virtue to increase still more, and the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devānampiṭya Priyadarśin shall also§ cause this culture of virtue to increase; standing steadfast in righteousness and morality until the destruction of the world,|| they shall exhort to righteousness;|| to exhort to righteousness is surely a very excellent work, while from him who is immoral no practice of righteousness is to be expected. In these words, these things, and no diminution, is good; for this end has this been written;** may they attend heartily.

elder." In No. VIII one text has the same word, while another has erākha.
† "Also" is wanting in Girñakā, but is found duly expressed in Dhañall.
‡ Dhañall—"As long as the world (seculum) lasts."
§ Dhañall—"they shall rule."
|| Dhañall—"they shall exhort to righteousness,|| to exhort to righteousness is surely a very excellent work, while from him who is immoral no practice of righteousness is to be expected. In these words, these things, and no diminution, is good; for this end has this been written;** may they attend heartily.

* Dhāñall—bhāvissyaṃtaḥ śāśśyaṃtāḥ
§ Dhāñall—ltikītaḥ
|| Dhāñall—hāṁśyaś mālirnaccham
† The meaning is “and not to war, as is usually the case,”
‡ It is not quite clear what is to be understood by "an
to the increase hereof, and not aim at the diminution of it! king Devanâmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this to be written twelve years after his inauguration."

In comparing this translation with that of Burnouf, it will be seen that they differ in a marked degree only in two places. Burnouf, as well as Lassen and Prinsep before him, had perceived that the clause beginning at Viṣṇudardana and ending at janaṁ exhibits an altogether irregular combination of words, and they translate as if there stood in the Sanskrit: Viṣṇudardana &c. . . .
darśinesu. In this they are right, I think, but the meanings which they have assigned to most of the terms are unknown in the language. Viṣṇudara is a so-called "chariot of the gods;" what aerial phenomenon is to be understood by it matters little for our present purpose. Between a certain aerial phenomenon or chariot of the gods, and "chariot of parade," as Burnouf translates it, there is hardly any connection to be seen. The rendering of apmahâstikâ (apmahâśna) by "feux d'artifices" is sheer arbitrariness. The expression divyâni râpaṇi might in itself be sufficient to convince us that celestial phenomena are meant, for the term is, in Latin phrase, "solemnis." Dârkâyatâ is not only "shows," but also "shows itself." The only other expression which remains to be explained is hastikârânânam. I have never met with hastin itself in the sense of an aerial phenomenon, but it is a synonym of Aiśvâra, which is used especially to denote Indra's elephant, and Aiśvâra is an aerial phenomenon which is frequently mentioned. There is therefore but little doubt that hastikârânânam is another expression for Aiśvâra-râpaṇâram. This is confirmed by hasthini being neuter in Dhauli; for Aiśvâra, in the sense of an aerial phenomenon, is sometimes masculine, sometimes neuter; therefore also hastin when it is used in the signification here assigned to it. What Âśoka says is almost as follows: "The joyful circumstance which consisted in the fact that the sound of the war-drum would henceforth be a symbol of peace was announced, and as it were received with acclaim by the heavenly powers. Every man who is in any degree acquainted with Sanskrit literature knows how frequently the above-named phenomena are mentioned, and no one who knows aught of human nature will be surprised that the king, on beholding celestial phenomena which, though indeed not of daily occurrence, yet were far from being very uncommon, connected them with an event which, in his eyes, was so important."

† Kern, u.s. pp. 43-54.

The words vadhâni yuvajñatu and kâsinâ mālo-charijin are clear when it is considered that as viddhi and abhi are synonyms the predicates also must be in the same position. Consequently, yunaktī is to be taken in that sense in which it expresses almost the same thing as dicrochayati; that is, in the meaning of anuchintayati, for which see Peterâb, Dict. For the sake of distinctness I have written vadhâni yuvajñatu, without, on that account, overlooking the fact that vadhâni yu., with Anûmâsika rejected or not expressed, agrees with saîyâjâma, &c. The cases, however, are not altogether parallel, for the phonetic alterations in a word apply in Prâkrits only exceptionally in the period. — A syllable has fallen out on the stone before lochetavâd, which can have been nothing but na or sa, because there does not appear to be room enough for no â, which would signify the same thing.

In the inscription now discussed there is nothing which could give offence to any class of the people. It is true, indeed, that the term dharma might be understood by some as an allusion to the Dharma, the Religion of the Buddhists, but none of that generation could fail to see, even for a moment, both on account of the connexion and the combination dharamcharanam, that the word here signified "righteousness," "virtue." Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhistic in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the king, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society, and of an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Sâkya muni. More plainly, but at the same time most modestly, Âśoka mentions his conversion in No. VIII. of Girnâr.

The VIIIth edict reads thus: —

1 Atikâtaṁ antaram râjâṁ vâhârayâstaṁ śa-yaśu etamagaya aśâînîka etâśrâśi kâ abharâma-kâni aluniaśu; so Devânapâpyo Piyâdasi râjâ das-vaśaâbhîtisto saînto ayâya saîmbodhiṁ 2 tena sâ dhama-yâtâ eta yath hoti bâmharâmasanânam das-va śaṇe dâpeca, thairâpandca dasâpeca 3 hira-mâpavîdâhune ca janspadasa janaś dasanâm dhâmâmânasistheca dhampaaparipuccâhâca 4 tado-paya esâ bhiyâ ratî bhavati Devânapâpyasî Piyâ- dasino râño bhâge aûme.

This was rendered by Burnouf as follows: —

"Dans le temps passé, les rois confirmaient la promenade du plaisir; alors la chasse et d'autres divertissements de ce genre avaient lieu. [Mais] Piyâdasi, le roi chéri des Dévas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la prome-
nade de la loi est ce qu’il faut faire : ce sont la visite et l’aimable faite aux Bràhmanes et aux Samańas, distribution de l’or [en leur faveur], l’inspection du peuple et du pays, l’injonction l’exécuter la loi, les interrogatoires sur la loi; ce sont là les moyens qui causent un extrême plaisir à Piyadasî, le roi chéri des Dêvas, dans cette période de temps, différent [de celle que l’a précédée]."

Professor Kern thus revises and translates it:—

"Atikraña anataram râjâno vihârayâtanâyâ anâsas amatavat atâmañca etârisânâ abhiramakâni antiihû; so Devânâmipiyâ Piyadasî râjâ dasavasâbhîsa samto râkâya sambhodhini. 2 tena sa dhànamayâtâ etâ, yam hoti: bhamapasa samâcchâna dasanañcâ nañcâcha, thairräñc dasanañcâ 

Translation of No. VIII.

"In past times the kings went out on journeys of pleasure [stag-hunting] and other such like recreations were in vogue. 3 But king Devânâmipriya Priyadarśin, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness, 4 which consists in this, that he sees at his house, and bestows gifts upon Brâhmanas and monks, he sees at his house, and presents elders with gold, he receives subjects of town and country, exorts to righteousness and seeks righteousness. Since then this is the greatest pleasure of king Devânâmipriya Priyadarśin in the period after his conversion.

"In this little piece," adds Professor Kern, "there is only one expression which presents any difficulty in interpreting, —tadopâyād aurâkañcâ, and tadopâyañcâ in Dhaull, though the meaning may readily be conjectured. There must be something which is generally expressed in Sanskrit by tadopâyād; tadapâyā and such like upâdyā, which the Buddhist style, both Sanskrit and Pâlî, so often employs, is not to be thought of. Tadupâdyā, or also tadopadaya = tadopâyād, signifying 'thenceforth,' 'since that;' and if tadopâyā was found only in Girnar it might perhaps be attributed to an error, but Kapurdiri also has tadopâyā, which deviates from tadopâyā sufficiently to convince us that the readings support each other, and are therefore genuine. To what Sanskrit form, then, can the Prâkrit correspond? In my opinion, to an ablative, auparyañcâ, on the one hand, and to an adverbial accusative, auparyam, on the other. Auparyañcâ is derived regularly from aupari 'after, later.' Now since auparya becomes aupaya in Prâkrit, just as karya becomes karya, &c., tadopadya corresponds to a Sanskrit tadaupadaya = tras since that;' or, if a form known otherwise be preferred, tadaupairahat. In the Dhaull text there is an entirely different word, a synonym of the foregoing, —peyda, which, after the example of the Lalitavistara, I have rendered in Sanskrit by puydalam. It will be in vain sought for in the dictionaries, though its existence had not escaped the notice of Burnouf in his widely extended investigations. He seems, however, not to have found it otherwise than in the Prâkrit form puyda. After having remarked, in Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 388, that he had met with this puyda in a number of the writings of the Northern Buddhists, he proceeds to say:

"Dans les textes pâli, la formule abrégative comme ci-dessus est exprimée par le monosyllabe pâ qui est le commencement de puydalam: car c'est ainsi qu'est orthographié ce mot en pâli. J'en trouve un exemple dans l'Atadadâsâ sutta, qui est ainsi conçu: stipta purinapadyatena vî tvâthdâsâhî, "il doit être développé avec le précédent puydala." Je n'ai jusqu'à présent trouvé d'autre manière d'expliquer ce mot que de supposer qu'il dérive de pâ, abréviation de pârâd, "précédemment," réuni à aya, "assez," de façon à exprimer cette idée, "la chose a été dite précédemment d'une manière suffisante." Je ne donne cependant encore cette explication que comme une conjecture."

"We can pay no better tribute to the memory of the greatest Indologue of France, who shortly after writing the above words was snatched away from science, than to take up the inquiry at the point where he dropped it. Let it be observed, in the first place, that the brief clause quoted

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5 Dhaull — "There exists for them stag-hunting, &c."

6 The play on the words vihârayâtan and dhànamayâtâ is lost in the translation.

† Dighasamkhya, f. 177a.
above is not quite clear, and may mean ‘with what precedes and what follows,’ equally well as ‘with repetition of the preceding.’ In no case can it mean what Burnouf imagines. Fortunately the expression occurs often enough in the Lalitavistara to enable us to determine its significance. In Lalitavistara 320, 18, we see that the words peydlam yadat are equivalent to the expression pūpadvādya yadat, which occurs four lines previously, that is, ‘as before on to.’ Hence it follows not that peydlam signifies properly the same as pūravat; for if it be once supposed that the word signified ‘repetition,’ it would then be a matter of indifference whether we said ‘repetition (da capo) on to,’ or ‘as before on to,’ without implying thereby that the ideas ‘as before and ‘repetition’ were in themselves allied. To confirm this further, I refer to p. 445, where peydlam has a synonym, or substitute, vidareṇa yadat, i.e. ‘copious (to complete) on to.’ To determine the sense completely, we must avail ourselves of the word preyda, which also occurs more than once in the Lalitavistara, and which plainly is nothing else than the Sanskrit or Sanskritized form of peyda. The circumstance that wherever the Prakrit peyda stood as a technical, almost algebraic term, the compilers of the said book have neglected to translate it into Sanskrit, is an additional proof for the view that Sanskrit is of comparatively late date in the writings of the northern Buddhists. Where peydlam is found fully written, it is not a technical term, but has a meaning which can easily be felt. This peydlam admits of being represented by another Sanskrit word, viz. bhāyas, in the various applications in which the latter can be used. Thus we read, immediately after a song addressed by the good sons of Māra the Wicked, to their father, Lalitavistara 397, 7::

"" Preydam ovam te sarve Mārapuṭrāḥ—Māraṃ pādiṣvaṃ prathakprīhoḥ gūḍhah bhāyaḥ adhyabhāṣanāḥ," i.e. ‘Thus spoke again (Sansk. bhāyas) all those sons of Māra to Māra the Wicked, alternately in songs.’

"The meaning of peydlam comes out less clearly p. 369, 11; because the verse is corrupt, or has been spoiled by the editor.

"When we compare the particulars now adduced with each other, when we remember the opposition so common between pūravaḥ and bhāyas, and keep in view that bhāyas signifies ‘more, ample,’ as much as ‘later, subsequent,’ then there can remain no doubt that peydlam, Prakrit peydlam, is = bhāyas. The Pāli form peydlam might, where it appears as a substantive, correspond to a prādyālam or to bhāyaṣāvam; but that makes no difference in the main idea of the word. The double y in the Pāli is one of the many instances which show clearly that the regulators of that artificial and literary language have been frequently very unfortunate in rendering Magadhi words, which they misunderstood on account of the old spelling, which did not usually express the doubling of consonants.† That we may be convinced of this we shall investigate the etymology of the word. There is, in Sanskrit, a comparative of pūraḥ (from pūraḥ), viz. pūryaḥ, which is used exclusively in the neuter, though the full form masculine pṛṣya, neut. pṛṣya, is still preserved in Baktrian. This pṛṣya is (apparently) regular, irasmuch as it has Vṛddhi instead of Guna,§ but the form is perfectly regular in other Indo-Germanic languages; thus Greek παχνα (mas. παχνος), Latin pulus, from plous (plous), Norse fleir. The superlative is lost in Sanskrit,—it must have been pṛṣṭhaḥ; but as there is an entirely different pṛṣṭha from pṛṣya, it is probable that the form was avoided, and then fell into disuse. On the contrary, the Baktrian still possesses fraeṣha, Greek παχσαρος, Norse flestr (for flestr, fleistr, by the shortening of the vowel on account of the two consonants following). In making acquaintance with the Sanskrit peydlam, Magadhi peyde, we learn at the same time the remarkable circumstance that along with pṛṣya there must also have existed in Sanskrit a form pṛṣyaṣ, the use of which was also avoided, as being a homonym of the comparative of pṛṣya. The suffix aṣa joined to pṛṣya, or rather to pṛṣya = Sans. pṛṣyaḥ, “multitude,” has, on the one hand, an extensive or augmentative force, and, on the other hand, an iterative, and therefore a diminutive force. In peydlas, to judge by the common signification, aṣa is rather augmentative, and, as augmentative and comparative ideas coincide, peydlas is to be compared with the Dutch double comparatives meerder, eerder; in nature and form, though not in meaning, peydlas agrees with the Lat. plusculus. Having

† We meet with the same error in the double y in moneyaṣa, and the absurd double s in acsa. It is perfectly evident to every one who is willing to see it that the manufacturers of the Pāli knew nothing of the pronunciation.

§ This is certainly the reason why so acute a philologist as Foucher did not recognize the word as the comparative of pūraḥ. For the same reason he failed to see that bhāyas is a comparative of bhūrī. Properly, pṛṣya is not irregular; it has originated from an old Indo-German pṛṣiaḥ, which must have been another form of prṣya (compare Lat. praes with Sans. tṛṣa, Indo-Germ. trṣa). The form pura is not identical with Gr. ἄνωθεν, and as little is guru identical with Bopaḥ, or Prakrit gura. Whoever asserts that guru is a corrupt form from pura (instead of from gura) must also show that kṣēpaṃ is a corrupt form from kṣēpaman, dūra from duṣyaṇa, etc. One of the many counterfeits of pṛṣya, from pṛṣiaḥ, is Lat. praesia, from prāśa. It is now high time that the superficial assertion of Bopp, that p and r (r, r) were not old Indo-Germ., should no longer be regarded.
thus considered these particulars as briefly as it was possible, I return to the inscription. The Mag. taddê peyde, in meaning = tadapoyd of Girnâr, Sanskrit tadd(a) or tado)bhayâh, is, therefore, ‘after that, since then’.

“This short inscription,” he adds, “is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavis somewhere observes with so much justice, ‘Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique’.”

“This simple tone of the passage is well calculated to awaken in us the conviction that the atrocities attributed by the later Buddhists to their benefactor rest upon a misunderstanding. The stories of both the Northern and Southern Buddhists, to which it is usual to give the species name of traditions, differ among themselves to such an extent as to be suspicious on that ground alone. The ninety-nine fold fratricide committed, as is stated, by Aśoka, is related with such circumspection that its untruth is palpable. The story of the Northern Buddhists is different, but, if possible, still more inept. According to them, Aśoka, at the beginning of his reign, caused a place of torture to be built in order to torment poor creatures, and so forth. Now the king himself states, in the first tablet, that at the beginning of his reign he permitted the death of innocent creatures, that is, their slaughter for food. Is it not in the highest degree probable that the hell for the torture of poor animals is a misrepresentation, intentional or otherwise, of the slaughter-house? The contrast between the hell built by the prince before his conversion, and the monasteries built by him after that event, was too striking for so splendid a possibility for a display of bigotry to be allowed to pass. In the midst of the conflicting variations which have sprung up under the clumsy hands of monks without humour or imagination, without feeling or love of truth, we can yet distinguish a uniform theme which may thus be expressed:

In his youth Aśoka gave himself up to depraved passions, to vyâsanâ (to which the chase belongs); he had shown no mercy to innocent creatures (i.e. deer, &c.), was cruel, a ā hawk and a Aśoka. But after his conversion he bade farewell to his sinful life, gave himself up exclusively to righteousness, and became a Dharma Aśoka. The only thing we are justified in believing, after comparison of the different accounts, is the change that took place in the king’s mind in the way in which he has himself represented it. He acknowledges his deprivities, and although we cannot from his silence regarding particular misdeeds conclude that he was wholly free from them, we are not so credulous as to believe a single one of them merely on the authority of people whose gross ignorance and tendency to distort and exaggerate shows itself in everything. Still vague is the information given by the non-Buddhist, the Brâhmaṇa Kalhâna Pājûtî. In the few lines which he devotes to Aśoka the historian tells us very little, which is exactly a proof that he says no more than he thought he was able to answer for, since the scantiness of his communications is not the result of contempt for, or a want of appreciation of, the great ruler. The Edjataravâjini, I. 101 ff., we read —

Prapannâ śakunês tasya bhûyate prapâtrîva-yâh |
ârtha vadhâd Aśokâkhyâh satyasamhâro vairakurândun \ ili yaḥ edantarîjino raja pravannâ jina-hâsanâm \ Sûkkhakâhavâm Viśâkâdvarâm tattvâravâs tâmâpândâ-lâh|

i.e. ‘The son of the great-uncle of this prince (Śacchána) and great-grandson of Śakuni, the upright Aśoka, ruled over the land, &c.’”

With the exception of the mention of the merit which Aśoka acquired by the construction of various edifices, we find nothing farther about him in the next five verses of the Edjataravâjini.

The tolerant spirit of Aśoka, which the narrow intellect of Mahâkândâ was incapable of comprehending, manifests itself in a conspicuous manner in No. XII of Girnâr, which has no parallel either in the Dhauli or Kâparâdirâga series.

The XIIth edict is in nine long lines, and reads thus:—

1 Devâsûpâyivo Piyadasi râjâ savâpâsânâmânicâ pavajitânânicâ gharastânânicâ pâjâyati, dananâcâ vividhâyachâ pâjâyâ pâjâyati ne, 2 na tu tathâ dâman vâ pâjâ va Devâsûpâyivo mañjâste yathâ kitiśâravahdi asa savâpâsânâmâsam sâravahdi tu bahurvidhâ; 3 tasa-tasa tu idam mûlaṇa va vacchûti kinti âptâpâsândâpâjâva parâpâsândâgarahâva va no bhava, apakaranâmâh laukâhava sa asa 4 tambi-tambi pakaranâ pâjêta yâ tu eva parâpâsândhâva tena-tena pakaranâ evam kattâm âptâpâsânâmâh vâdha vadhâyati parâpâsânâmâsachâ upakaroti 5 tamâmâtâh karoto âptâpâsândâchâh ehuhati parâpâsândâchâpah apakaroti yei kâci âptâpâ-


* Deal with by Burnouf, Lotus, p. 761.

† Kern, u.s.p. 65.
sanḍan pañjāti parapāsaṇḍan va garahati, 
8 savam āptāpasaṇḍabhatiya kinti āptapasaṇḍanām dipaya me iti socha puna tatha karoto āptapasaṇ- 
ḍan bādhataran upahanati ta samavayo eva sādhā 
7 kinti maññamanśaśa dhanmaṃ sunāyaccha su- 
satnāyaka eva hi Devanāpiṣyā ca ātma kinti 
savapasaṇḍaḥca bahussutāca asa kalāgamāccha asu; 
6 yechā tata-tata pasanām tehi vatavyaḥ: 
Devanāpiṣyā no tathā danaṃ va pūjā va maṁśate 
yathā kītisārabadhī asa savapasaṇḍānan bāhakā 
va etāya 5 athāvata dhanmamahāmātāca 
ītāhajahamahāmatāca vachabhumikāccha aṣṭo- 
ca nīkāya ayanccha etasa phala ya āptapasaṇḍa- 
vaḥdhatca hoti, dhanmasachca dipanaḥ.

Professor Kern revises this as follows:—
1 Devanāpiṣṭiya Piyadasī-rāja savapasaṇḍānica 
parajñānīcchā dharmamātāca pujāyati, dānenaḥca 
vividhiyachā pujāya pujayati ne. 2 Na tu tathā 
danaṃ va pūjām va Devanāpiṣṭiya maṁśate, yathā 
kītisārabadhī asa savapasaṇḍānan. Sāraṇvadhiḥ tu 
bhavvihāḥ; 3 tasa-tasa tu idaṃ mālān ya vacchig- 
iti; kinti 4 āptapasaṇḍapūjāḥ va parapāsaṇḍāgarāḥ 
va no bhava, apakaramaḥ bhāhakā va asu; 4 tambhi- 
tamhi pasarajā pujeta. Ya tu eva parapāsaṇḍa- 
(s) tena tena pakaranena evanikataṃ, āptapasaṇ- 
ḍānāca vaḍāyati parapāsaṇḍāsacca upakaroti; 
5 tadānāṣṭhā karoṇto āptapasaṇḍānāca chhapati 
parapāsaṇḍāsacca apakaroti. Yopi kaci āptā- 
pasaṇḍanām pujayati parapāsaṇḍanā va garahiti, 
4 savam āptapasaṇḍabhatiya; kinti 5 āptapasaṇ- 
ḍanām dipayena iti. Socha puna tathā karoṇto 
āptapasaṇḍanā bādhataran upahanati. Ta samav- 
ayo eva sādhau; 5 kinti maññamanśaśa dhanmaṃ 
śunaµja pasamamnene; evam hi Deva- 
nāpiṣṭiya eva hi; kinti 6 savapasaṇḍāca bahus- 
tāca asu, kalāgamāccha asu; 6 yechā tata-tata 
pasnaḥkā tehi vatavyaḥ; Devanāpiṣṭya no tathā 
danaṃ va pūjām va maṁśate, yathā kītisārabadhī 
asa savapasaṇḍānan bāhakā va. Ētāya 7 athāya 
vacchigā dhanmamahāmatāca ātma ātma mahāmatāc- 
ca vachabhumikāccha anāśeṣa nīkāya. Aya- 
nccha etasa phalaḥ, ya āptapasaṇḍāvaḥdhatca hoti, 
dhanmasacca dipanaḥ.

Before giving translations of this we will con- 
sider some expressions:—The meaning of the 
neuter pāsaṇḍanā, and of the masc. pāsaṇḍo, 
comes out more clearly in this document. The 
first is “sect,” the second “member of a sect.” 
They are both introduced into the Sanskrit, but 
in the modified signification of “heretical sect” 
and “heretic.” The word “sect” shows the same

1 The new readings in the etymology are:—In line 3 
lakkakā for lakakā; in line 6 savastva for armu; in line 7 
kaldāṅgana for kalāgamāca; in line 8 vatavyaḥ for 
vaṭaṃṇaḥ.

2 The spelling pāñcaḥha, which occurs in Sanskrit along 
with the spelling with ṣ, represents a western pronunciation 
which is now widely spread in all Northern India, 
and was also prevalent, though in a less degree, in very 
ancient times. ṣh for sḥ has frequently crept into the 
prevailing dialect—the classical Sanskrit: e.g., such a form 
as dvekṣi, from dveṣa, could not have originated unless 
sh had been pronounced as sḥ. So also viśk, līkā, with 
their derivatives, are only a western pronunciation of rśi, 
līkā, “to tear, to scratch”; so also ukṣā, mayākā.
nimi VII. 3. 44, does indeed mention bahukā without saying whether he regards it as a substantive or an adjective. If the former, it can mean nothing else than bahukā of Girnār, for the adjective bahukā is "placed at a high price, dear." Alokātika has not come down to us, but must have been in use as much as bahukā. In order to proceed with certainty, I shall, in the Sanskrit paraphrase, use laghāvan (taking therefore laghāta, laghāvanā) and bahumāna. Our resources do not enable us to decide whether the reading should not be bahukā and laghāva. None of the terms discussed presents the slightest difficulty, so far as the sense is concerned. It is somewhat more troublesome to determine the sense of vachābhāmai. The only attempt at explanation which deserves the name is that of Burnouf.[] He resolves the combination into vacho (Sansk. vachā, "ordure") and bhāmai, derived from bhāmi, "ground," from which it would follow that the word means "inspectors of the privies." He had neglected to say that the Sanskrit form would then, with Vṛddhi, have been vṛdchabhāmai, but since the Sanskrit vṛdch would give in the Prākrit vachō, (spelled vach) as well as vṛdch, there is no other remark to be made. The same scholar does not fail to refer to No. VI. of Girnār, where vachō also occurs, and certainly in the same meaning as here, though it does not appear more clearly what that meaning is. But No. VI. has been subjected to such treatment that we could not be satisfied with quoting a couple of terms from it; and a proper discussion of the part where mention is made of the appointment of overseers of vachō, &c. would occupy more space than we can afford. We shall, therefore, merely assume here, provisionally, without proof, that vachābhāmai answers to a Sanskrit vrtyabhāmai, derived with Vṛddhi from vṛtyabhāmi, "a place for wandering comrades," i.e. a hospice. The usual name of the royal magistrates or overseers is mahāmātra, Sansk. mahāmātra.[]

In Sanskrit—

Devānāmipriya Priyadasāṁ rājā sarvapāriśadāndicā pravrājāničā gārāchasthānīchā pujayati, dhānenaś ca vrāvāyā pujayā pujayati enā. Na tu tathā dānāṁ iva pujāṁ iva Devānaṁipriya manaye, yathā yena kirtisārvāvridhitāḥ syat sarvapāriśadāndāṁ. Sirvīraddhāṁ tu bahuvihārāḥ; tasya tasya tvam idam yād vāgupratīḥ; kimiti? ātmityapāriśadādāpi iva sarvapāriśadagāraḥ iva no bhaved aprakaraṇa labhūtā vasyāḥ; tasmāntāsmin prakaraṇe pujeta. Yat tvevā parapāriśadāh teṇastra pāramanāvatraṁ, ātmityapāriśadāndāca

vardhayati parapāriśadāsasakapakaroti; tada- nyathā kurvam ātmityapāriśadāndāca kṣanāti parapāriśadāsahāpy apakaroti. Yo'pi kṣaścidi ātmityapāriśhadam pujayati, sarvasvā aprapāriśhadahbhatāte (kuryāt); kimiti? svāprapāriśhadam dipāyemī. Sa punas tathā kurvam aprapāriśhadaṃ bṛdhataṃ upahānti. Tat samavāya eva sūrūḥ (= ārestham); kimiti? aprasāya dharmah śrūnyuṣā ca tuṣāvarṣhānāca. Evamāh Devānāmipriyaṇe yechchhāh; kimiti? sarvapāriśhadāh bahu-sūrātācāḥ syuḥ kalyāṇāgamāsācāḥ syuḥ; yechcha tatra tatra prasannās te hi vaktvyāh: Devānāmipriyā na tathā dānāḥ iva pujāḥ iva manyate, yathā yena kirtisārvāvridhīḥ syat sarvapāriśhadānām bahumānānām iva. Etasmāh arthāya vyāpyatā dharmamahāmātraścāḥ sthānyākhaṃyāhahmahāmātraścāḥ vrāvāvahāmāhābhyātmāya yākāyāḥ. Idaññh chaitya yad ātmityapāriśhadavīddhīścāḥ bhavati, dharmayaccha dipānta.

Translation of No. XII.

King Devānāmipriya Priyadasāṁ honours all sects, and orders of monks, and conditions of heads of families, and honours them with love-gifts and with marks of honour of all kinds! To be sure, Devānāmipriya does not attribute so much value to love-gifts or marks of honour as to this, that the good name and the intrinsic worth of all sects may increase. Now intrinsic worth can grow greater in many ways, but the foundation thereof in all its compass is discretion in speaking; so that no man may praise his own sect, or commend another sect, or despise it on unsuitable occasions; on all manner of occasions let respect be shown. Whatever of good, indeed, a man, from any motive, confers on any one of a different persuasion, tends to the advantage of his own sect and to the benefit of a different persuasion; by acting in an opposite manner a man injures his own sect and offends a different sect, though every one who praises his own persuasion may perhaps do all that from attachment to his own sect, for the purpose of glorifying it; nevertheless be shall by so doing greatly injure his own persuasion. Therefore concord is best, so that all may learn to know and willingly listen to each other's religion. Because it is the wish of Devānāmipriya that the members of all persuasions may be well instructed, and shall adhere to a

[] Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 778.
[] In Anglo-Saxon the steward or overseer of an estate is called servent; the dharmamahāmātra is therefore the scirgereof, the English sheriff. "Sheriff," therefore, would be the best English translation.

* That is, "kinds of laics."
† That is, "to curb the tongue." [Virgil, praemium esse fructum componere lingua is a curious coincidence. - A.M.]
doctrine of benevolence. And to them who are inclined to all that, let the assurance be given that Devānāmpriya does not attach so much value to love-gifts or show of reverence as to this, that all sects may increase in good name and intrinsic worth and be revered.

For this end, sheriffs over legal proceedings, magistrates entrusted with the superintendence of the women, hospice-masters, (?) and other bodies have been appointed. And the result of this is that Devānāmpriya's persuasion has increased in prosperity, and that he causes the Righteousness to come forth in full splendour.‡

The mention, in this place, of the sheriffs is certainly intended to remind the people that it has always been the earnest desire of the king to ensure the impartial administration of justice, without respect to religious belief. He refers to his official acts in order to show that, though he is himself now a sincere Buddhist, yet in nothing does he favour co-religionists above others. The jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the superintendence of the women was certainly not limited merely to the public women. For though the keśvara played as great a part in Indian society as their sisters in ancient Greece, and though it was necessary that such an element of society should be under state control, yet in this place something else must be meant. The mention here of certain magistrates has a specific reason; what that reason is cannot be a matter of doubt, if the beginning of the inscription be compared with the conclusion. As the appointment of high officials is a guarantee for saucopādānāvādi, and that of sthātākāraka mahāmātā has been made in the interest of all ghadāvādi, they serve to watch over the purity of morals and of domestic life. The magistrates referred to must therefore have been a kind of censores morum, whose duty was to restain the luxury and other excesses of the matrons.

No. VI. begins the second column of the edicts (Plate XII), and is in fourteen lines of moderate length; the first, only, of the vertex of the rock, has lost a few letters. It reads thus:

1 Devā...pi...si rája evaḥa atikētāṁ aṁtāraṁ na bhūtāpava sava...la aṁtārāṁ ve paṭivedāna vata maya evam kētaṁ sa vā kela bhūjanmāna sac orodhāna meshes gābhāgāramhi vachāmhi vā vinātambhi uyanjača savata paṭivedakā stitā aṁte janasa ve paṭivedetha iti savataca jana sac aṁte karomi.

‡ Dharmānvasa dīpanā is an ambiguous expression, perhaps selected purposely, as it also signifies "to glorify, to adorn the faith (i.e. Religion)."

Yacha kiṁchi mukhatā 6 añapāyāmi svayaṁ dāpanāṁ vā sāvapākāṁ vā yavā puna maṁhātāmes 7 bhāvyāki aropitam bhavati tāya atāgya vivādāni kothi vaśānam pariṣkām 8 āmantarām paṭivede-
yaman me svatā savā kāle evam maya añānātānā nāstī hi me to så 9 uṣṭānāmhi atā saṃhāraṇāya vata kāryā nāmeh me svākālo hiitānaṁ 10 tascha puna esā mule uṣṭānāmhi atā saṃhāraṇāya nāstī hi kārañcā yā savā loka hiitānaṁ kiṁchi pariṣkāmi ahaṁ kiṁti bhūtanā anan-
nānāmghēyāṁ 11 idadhāc nānī sukhāpāyāmi pa-
ratāca svagānā rādhyayantia ta etāya atāhāṁ 12 ayaṁ dhamaṁlāpi lekhāpātā kiṁti charyā tiṣṭeya iti tathāāca me putā potāca papātāca 13 aumah-
tāraṁ savalaṁ hitāya dukaṁtāu idaṁ saṁta aṁgena parākamena.Ş

Professor Kern corrects the first five lines as follows. — 1 Devānāmpiyadā rāja evaḥa atikētāṁ aṁtāraṁ nā bhūtāpava savā kāla athahāmanaṁ vata paṭivedāna vata maya evam kētaṁ; 2 savā kāla bhūjānam hitānaṁ me orodhānaṁ gābhāgāramhi vachāmhi vā vinātambhi uyanjača savata paṭivedakā stitā atham me janasa vā patīvedaṁ iti, savatāca jana sac atah karomi.

"However clear," he remarks, "the general meaning of this document may be, some terms occur which are not found elsewhere, and others which, though their meaning may be easily guessed, yet deserve a few observations of a grammatical nature."

"The word patīvedaṁ signifies, in virtue of its form, 'care, inspection,' and that is the meaning here, as well as 'communicating, informing, reporting.' We do not need to inquire at all of such forms as vedāna, bodhāna, etc., whether or not they are used in a causative signification. Vedāna is 'notion, feeling, painful feeling;' but is also causative, 'communicating, making known.' As little is the distinction to be observed in such a form as vedaka, and such like; it is only the connection which shows the meaning. Thus saṁvedāna signifies 'feeling, knowledge;' but it signifies also 'to bring to knowledge, to acquaint.' Moreover, verbs of the 10th class also admit of a double conception; e.g. vedagata, in Mund. Upon p. 272, is 'to know, to think.' Prati-
vaisayati is generally a causative with the signification of 'making known, informing;' but pratiṇvaiśayati occurs also as a denominative, 'to obtain knowledge of, to be aware of, to observe.' See, for instance, Lalitas. 147. 11: sukaṁ-
ča daya pratiṇvaiśayati ova. I select this passage from among many others just because we
are able to refer to the parallel passage in the Pāli redaction quoted by Childers, Pāli Dict. sub voce "jhadana." The whole text given there by Childers agrees almost literally with Lalita 147 and 439, and since the Pāli also has sakkāraśca kāyaṇa paṭiśamvedetā, the signification of the nominative is determined not only for the Sanskrit, but for the Pāli as well. It follows now, as a matter of course, that the paṭiśamvedetā of our inscription signifies 'to have care of, to observe, to inspect,' as well as 'to communicate, to inform.' The prativedakas, therefore, were not spies, as others have made them out to be in spite of the plain words of the king, but inspectors, and at the same time, as would be felt in the Indian language, reporters.

"Oroldhana, Sansk. anarodhana, is entirely the same in meaning as antalpura, signifying therefore 'women's chamber.' That antalpura is the Sanskrit word for what we are accustomed to call 'the sex' is unknown to the dictionaries, but is otherwise well enough known from Sanskrit literature. Any one may convince himself of this by reading Varahamihira's Brāhatsarnaka, chaps. 74-78, which together constitute the Antalpurachinta, i.e. 'observations upon the sex.' The text of Dhauli has antaloledhana, which answers to a Sansk. antarodhana."

"The conjecture has been made with regard to vachha that it is = Sansk. vṛddha. Vṛddha is 'wanderer, any one without a fixed residence,' and is accurately rendered by the Latin peregrinae: for it, too, just as the Latin word, took the signification of 'pilgrim, roaming spiritual brother;'* a guest also is sometimes addressed as vṛddha. The singular vachhski can be here taken in a plural signification, just as well as the immediately preceding gahbhagdranahi, 'over sanctuaries, in saecula,' and in the text of Kapurīgiri, ujāna also, 'over the public gardens.' The variant of vachha in the Dhauli redaction is unfortunately only partially legible: vām at the beginning is recognizable, and ei at the end; pī seems to stand before the termination ei, but this might easily be a wrongly written or read ha. One letter, unrecognized in the facsimile, remains still to be filled in, ga as I suppose. From the Sanskrit literature with which I am acquainted I cannot quote any instance of saṅgraha in the sense of lodgings; still it must have been a word in daily use, for it occurs in this sense frequently in the old Javanese.†"

"It is still more troublesome to determine the sense of viṇīta, as Girnār and Kapurīgiri read; and especially because Dhauli has niṇīta. Both are either masculine or neuter. It is a general rule that the neuter of the so-called part. perf. of all intransitive verbs in Sanskrit expresses the same thing as collectives in Dutch with or without the prefix ge: Thus harītām is 'gelach,' rudītam, 'gweven,' &c.; the same form also serves as affirmative sorit; thus aṣṭotakī is tā vardeī, &c. Viṃīta is 'transported,' therefore viṃītām is 'transport, traffic.' Even the masculine viṃītā is, according to the Indian lexicographers, 'trader.' Beyond all doubt, therefore, viṃīta is a synonym of nigama; for this also is both 'traffic,' and 'trader,' and 'market.' However, since viṃītā may signify 'correction,' and viṃīta 'corrected,' &c., we have still to inquire whether the variant niṇīta strengthens or weakens our supposition. Unfortunately it does neither the one nor the other. If it be = Sansk. niṇītām, it may then mean 'importation;' but if it originates from niṇītām it would then be the 'decision, sentence.' Though it were granted, even, that 'inspectors over arbitration' may be thought of, which I doubt, still in that case viṃīta, which occurs in two redactions, could not agree with it. On that ground I think I may postulate it as probable that by viṃīta is meant 'trade,' or 'market,' or 'trader,' according as we regard it as neuter or masculine. As regards niṇīta, it has to be remarked that et, 'to lead,' is nothing else than the causative of gama, 'to go;' † and since nigama signifies 'trade,' niṇītā may signify it just as well. Superintendence of trade is one of the first duties of a well-ordered state, in order to prevent the use of false weights and measures and other evil practices."

He then renders the first five lines into Sanskrit as follows:

"Devānāmpriyā Priyadarśi rājaivam āha: atikrānte 'ntare na bhūtapūrva sarvān kālam artha-karma vā pratiśedanā vā; tan mayāyaṁ kritam; sarvān kālam bhuṛānayanaya varoṭhane gahbhāgāreśu vrītyaśchucha viṇīṭē chodāyenān, sarvātā pratiśedakā sthitāḥ: artham mañjānaya pratiśedayetey; sarvatrāc chanaśāyārthān karomai.""

Professor Kern's translation covers only the first

feṣum, a sersame of Oḍhū (Rubra). Compare Prāṣnep, p. 184.† For instance, in the Agma-Vśēha, v. 278, it is "reception (of a guest);" grāha saṅgraha, v. 201, is "apartment for lodging." ‡ Nī (nyāṣit) must also be a causative of ści (ṣeta, nyāṣit), although the causative force of the w is no longer to be discovered in the state of the language as it is now known to us.

§ Or viṃītēṣu, and in the Dhauli version niṇīte.
half of this inscription, but it is complemented by Lassen’s version. —

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin saith: In past times there has never yet existed care for the (civil) interests, nor official superintendence; therefore have I instituted the same; all the time that I have been reigning, there have been everywhere inspectors over the women, sanctuaries, travelling pilgrims (?), traders (or trade, markets), and parks for walking, in order to attend to the interests of my people, and in all respects I further the interests of my people; and whatever I declare, or whatever the Mahāmatra shall declare, shall be referred to the Council for decision. Thus shall reports be made to me. This have I everywhere and in every place commanded, for to me there is not satisfaction in the pursuit of worldly affairs; the most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world. My whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below, and enable them hereafter to attain Svarga. With this view this moral edict has been written: may it long endure; and may my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me also labour for the universal good; but this is difficult without extreme exertion.†

The Xth edict reads thus: —

Devānāmpiyuryan Piyadasa rēja evān āha nāsti etarasa dānam yārisa dhanmajāna dhanmārasistavo vā dhanmānasvībhāgo vā dhanmānābatho vā tata idānu bhavati dāsabhātakamhi samyapatipati mātāri pitāri sādhuḥ suṣa sātujātaśaśānā ambhānasamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō sadhu eta vatayanaṁ pātanaṁ va putena vā bāhātā vā mitasaṁputaśaśānāṁ bāhān̄asamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō sadhu eta vatayanaṁ pātanaṁ va putena vā bāhātā vā mitasaṁputaśaśānāṁ bāhān̄asamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō sadhu eta vatayanaṁ pātanaṁ va putena vā bāhātā vā mitasaṁputaśaśānāṁ bāhān̄asamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō.

As revised by Dr. Kern, this reads: —

Devānāmpiyuryan Piyadasa rēja evān āha nāsti etarasa dānam yārisa dhanmajāna dhanmārasistavo vā dhanmānasvībhāgo vā dhanmānābatho vā tata idānu bhavati dāsabhātakamhi samyapatipati mātāri pitāri sādhuḥ suṣa sātujātaśaśānā ambhānasamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō sadhu eta vatayanaṁ pātanaṁ va putena vā bāhātā vā mitasaṁputaśaśānāṁ bāhān̄asamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō sadhu eta vatayanaṁ pātanaṁ va putena vā bāhātā vā mitasaṁputaśaśānāṁ bāhān̄asamārānaṁ sādhunānāṁ pātanaṁ anārāmhō.

† Lassen, Ind. Alt. II. p. 268, note 1; and Mrs. Spiers’s Life in Anc. India, p. 266. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 624) translates the last sentence, “mais cela est difficile à faire si ce n’est par un hérosime supérieur.”

1 The Dhanil redaction reads: “All the time that I have been reigning, the inspectors over, &c., have had to communicate to me the interests of the people.”

* Thus far Kern, ut sup. pp. 75, 76.
sadhu banharaasamanaanah sadhuddanaan etocho aache ta etarison dharmamangalaan naana ta vata-vayam pitah " sadhuddanaan iti na tu etarison asti danaan anagaha va yarism dhaarmadanaan dharmamangaha va ta tu kho mitena va suhdayena " flatikaena va sahaya va avadattvaan tamhi-tamhi pakaraa dhaam kaccham idam sadhva imini sake .... " svagama ardheto iti kaccham imini katayayatanath yathva svagardhith.

Professor Kern's amended text and translations are as follows:

1. Devanampiyo Priyadarsi rājā evam aha: asti jano uchchāvačham maṅgaḷaṁ karote ābādheṣa va āvāhāvivahesa va putalaḥbhesa va pavāsaṁhi va; etamhīcā aṁamahicā jano uchchāvačham maṅgaḷaṁ karote. 2. Eta tu mahādāya bahukaścīca bahuvaidhāca chardhāica nīrthaṁciha maṅgaḷaṁ karote. Ta katavayameta tu maṅgaḷa apapalain tu kha etarison maṅgaḷaṁ; ayañ tu mahāpalaṁ ya dharmamangalāṁ; tatete; dāsbhatakhami samyapati-pati, gurūnaṁ apachiti śādhu, pañcema svayamo śādhu, banharaasamanaanudhvamanaan.

Etas aścīca dharmamangalaṁ nāma; ta vata-vayana pitah " putena va bhātā va svāmikena va; idam śāduṁ; idam katavayam maṅgaḷaṁ (yāva tasa athasa nīśānaya. Asthācā pāvataṁ ' sadhuddanaan iti; ma tu etarison asti danaan anagaha va yarism dhaarmadanaan dharmamangahova. Ta tu kha mitena va suhdayena; " śācīcena va, sahaya va avadattva tamhi-tamhi pakarae; idam kaccham, idam śāduṁ iti. Imiṁ saka-(Idam karotha) " svagama ardheto iti kaccham (?) imiṁ katayayatanaṁ yathva svagardhitha.

In Sanskrit:

Devānāmpiyā Priyadarśīn rājauṁ aha: asti jano uchchāvačhaṁ maṅgaḷaṁ karote ābādheṣu vāvāhāvavahesu va putalābhesu va pavāsaṁhi va. Ekamkuṁśaṁ hāvyasamkuṁśa jano uchchāvačhaṁ maṅgaḷaṁ karote. Eta tu mahāmūrdo bahukaścīca bahuvaidhāca kshudrāścīca nīrthāścīca maṅgaḷaṁ karote. Tat katavayam eva tu maṅgaḷaṁ; alapalain tu khālī etariso maṅgaḷaṁ, idam tu mahāpalaṁ maṅgaḷaṁ yad dharmamangalaṁ; tatraitaśa: dāsbhāṭakāsaṁ samyakpratipatī, gurūnaṁ apachitaśa śādhu, jīvesu samyamad sādhuḥ brahmānaśāramanbhāyaḥ dharmadanaṁ. Etas cāyaścātādriśam dharmamangalaṁ nāma; tad vaktavayam pitah " putena va bhātā va svāmikena va: idam śādhuṁ; idam katavayam man-
Savata vijitamhi Devānāmpiyasa Piyaḍasino raño, evamapi pāchāṃtesu yathā Choḍā Pāḍa Satiyaputo Ketalaputo a Tambahā-passant, Antiyako Yonarājā, yevapi tasa Antiyasa samāpaṇa rājāko, savata Devānāmpiyasa Piyaḍasino raño dve chiṅkhihā katā, manuschikhihā; pasuchikhihā; osudhānihā yāni manusupagānihā pasopagānihā yata-yata nāsti, savata hārāpātināhā ropapātināhā mālānihā phālanācihā yata-yata nāsti, savata hārāpātināhā ropapātināhā pasūchikhihā; aṣṭahasū kūpāci khanāpihā, vačcāha ropāpihā paribhogāyaṇa pasumanuṣyāṇa.

Dr. Kern translates this literally into Sanskrit as:

Sarvatra rāṣṭre Devānāmpiyasa Priyaḍarśino rājnas, tathāvai prāṭyayanteshu, yathā Choḍā, Paṇḍyā Satyaputra, Keralaputra a Tāṃraparṇī Amīyakyo Yavanārajo, yechapi tasa svamantia, rājana, sarvatra Devānāmpiyasa Priyadarśino raño dvaya chikisā kriyā, manushyachikisā pasučikhihā; aṣṭahasū aṇvanācihā yāni manusupagānihā pasopagānihā yata-yata na santi, sarvatra hārāpātināhā tadropapātihā kāriyā, mālānihā phālanācihā yata-yata na santi, sarvatra hārāpātināhā tadropapātihā kāriyā, kūpāci pathisū kūhnātia, vriṣṭhāmarṣiṇiḥ ropanān kāriyān paribhogagyāṇa pasumanuṣyāṇa.

Translation.

In the whole dominion of King Devānāmpiyasa Priyadarśin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Paṇḍya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Tāṃraparṇī, the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king and of his neighbour kings,|| the system of caring for the sick, both of men and cattle, followed by King Devānāmpiyasa Priyadarśin, has been everywhere brought into practice, and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads, for the benefit of men and cattle.

No IV. on the Delhi Pillar, reads thus:—

Devānāmpiyase Piyaḍasino lāja hevaṇ āha: duvāḍasavābhiṣitaṁ mana dhāmaṁaśī līkūpiṁ lokasaḥ hitasuṅkhyā. Se taḥ āpahāṭa** te kaṭha

[^2]: The only new readings are: — In line 1 janaj for jand; in line 4, tu kha for tu kha.
[^3]: Kapardīṣa has "without blemish."
[^4]: That is, by self-sacrifice and self-denial in all respects.
[^5]: The corrections supplied here are four: — In lines 2 and 3 Tathamāṇaṇaṇa for a Tambahāṇaṇa; in line 3 rājaj for rājaj and in line 4 rādjano for rādjeno.
[^6]: Dhaavaḥ—pārtibhagya.
[^8]: Variant: oṣṭitaḥ, i.e. oṣṭitaḥ.
dhammavādhī (ṁ) pāpovā. Hevaṁ lokasa hitasukhehi patavekkhāmi; tathā ēvaṁ nātisu, hevaṁ patyāsāsnesu, hevaṁ apakahēsu kāmākāri; sukhaṁ āvahāmī, tathācā āvahāmī. Heminu savanikkāyesu patavekkhāmi; savapaṁsādāpi me pūjitā vividhāyā pājāy; eca ēvaṁ ātana s pachupagarmane, se me mokhyamat. Saṭṭhavāsasābhīsitena me ēvaṁ dhammaṁ pākāpi.

In Sanskrit this is rendered:—

Devanāṃpiyā Priyadarśi rājaivam āha; jvādāsvarahābhīshiktena mayī dhammarāpi lekhitā lokasya hitasukhāya. Yasā tān na prahartā, tāntām dhammāvirdhīm pāpynyat. Ēvaṁ lokasya hitasukhāṁ iti pratyavakse; yathācā prāmānāsi, tathā prāyāyam, tathāpārakrīṣṭeshu kāmākāri sukham āvahāmī, tathācā āvahāmī. Evameva savanikkāyesu pratyavakse; sarvāprāśade ēpi mayā pūjitā vividhāyā pājāy yachehedan ētamo bhuyagamāmane tāt me mukhyamata Shādvijāsvarahābhīshiktena maye yām dhammarāpi lekhitā.

Translation of No. IV. on the Dehi Pillar.

King Devanāṃpiyā Priyadarśi śrīn speaks thus:—Twelve years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct my attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public, and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives, and to (my subjects) who are near, as well as to them who dwell far off. As much do I devote my care to all corporations; also I have honoured members of all sects with every kind of work of honour, although, at the same time, I esteem my own communion the most highly. This righteousness-edict I have caused to be written twenty-six years after my coronation.

No. II. of the Dehi pillar reads:—

Devanāṃpiyā Priyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha; saḍdāvāsvaya-abhisetena me ēvaṁ dhammarāpi lekhitā. Lajukā me bahusesa pānastasaahasasa janasā ēyautā; tās tisu ye abhibālo vā danda vā atapatiye me kate; kinti? lajukā avatārā ahbītā kāmānā pāvatarvāvānā, janasa janapadasa hitasukhaṁ upadhevām, anugahine vachā uṣkhiyane darukhaṁ jānāsanāni dhammāyatana me viyovadisānti janaṁ janapadānā; kinti? hidateccha pālatamaṁ alādhayevāti. Lajukā phalaha; patichalite me pānāsaṁnāpi me chhandanānā phalichaisi. Tepi chakāni viyovadisānti; yena māṁ lajukā chaghaṁ alādhayaye. Athāhi pājāṁ viyovadehi nisijātā asvate hoti "viyovate dhāti chaghati me pājāṁ sukhaṁ palihiyavēti" hevaṁ mama lajukā katā janapaṁ hitasukhāya, yena ote ahbītā avatārā saṃtā avamānā kāmānā pāvatarvēti. Etena me lajukānām abhibālo vā danda vā atapatiye kate; ichhāvaya ēi esa kiti: viyōhālasaṁtācā saṁyā, dandaśāmatācā. Āva itepicha me ēvutā: bārodhanab dhāsānā munisānā tīli tadaṁjanā paṭavadānānā tīni divasāni me yote dihe, nātikāvākāni, nijhapayahāni jivitāyati, nānasāṅgaṁcha nijhāpyatāvē danānā dāhānti, pālatikāṁ upavāsāṁ vā kacchaṁ. Ichhā hi me hevaṁ niḥcatasāpi kīlae palaṁ alādhayevāti, janasaṁcā vadhāti vividhe dhammāchālane, sayame, dānasaṁvēti.

Rendered into Sanskrit this becomes:—

va svatantarah krityah. Esatvayā hy eahā kirtir yada vayavaharasamatācha syād dañjasamatacha. Yāvad ito 'picha madavrīttir yad bandhana-baddhānām manushyaśāāṁ tirthadaññām prāptavadhānāṁ traya divasā mayā yautakaṁ dat-
tam, anyānādhikāh, ksaṣapayishyanti jīvitam iti; nānāsangāchā kshaapayitum dānaṁ dāsyanti pātratrikāṁ upavāsācha karishyanti. Ichchāhi hi madhyavāṁ nirodhasāyāī kalā pārātrayam ārādhayeyur iti, janasaṁccha vārdhate vividhā-
dharmachānāṁ saṁyamo dānasāvibhāga iti.

Translation of No. II. on the Dehti Pillar.

King Devānampriya Priyadarśin speaks thus: Twenty-six years after my coronation I have caused this righteousness-edict to be written. I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land; I have granted to them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment, with intent that the sheriffs undisturbed and undismayed shall discharge their functions; further the interest and the happiness of the inhabitants of town and country; take cognizance, with benevolence in their manner of speaking, of what awakens satisfaction or dissatisfaction; and with justice shall pronounce judgment among the residents in town and country, so that they may receive reward here and hereafter.

And the sheriffs must serve 905, and, at the same time, they shall take cognizance of the wishes of my men.|| They shall also pronounce judgment in the provinces, and therewith shall the sheriffs be pleased to satisfy me. Because, as any one who entrusts his offspring to a nurse is at rest, thinking "an efficient nurse will take care of my offspring diligently and well," so have I appointed sheriffs for the advantage and happiness of the natives, so that they, feeling themselves undisturbed and undismayed, may without reluctance prosecute their business. For this end I have committed to the sole power of the sheriffs both legal prosecution and imposition of punishment. Because it is an enviable renown (for a prince) that there is equality of law and equity of punishment. Up to the present day it has also been a steadfast custom of mine to grant to the prisoners who have been condemned to the utmost punishment, and have reached the time of execution, a respite of three days, no more and no less; out of consideration that they must be deprived of life, and in order to forsake every attachment to other things, shall they give alms, and prepare themselves for the life hereafter. For thus is my wish, that they, even in the time of imprisonment, may secure to themselves the happiness of an hereafter, and the practice of virtue in every kind of respect, self-control, and generous liberality, may increase among the people.

No. I. of the Dhauli rock inscriptions* reads thus:—

(Devā)nām priya (vacha)nena Tosaliyaṁ ma-
hāmātā nagalavi(yo)hālaka (va)āvya vi aṁ kihchī
de(khami) haṁ naṁtaṁ ichchāṁ kūlaṁ
enāṁ paṭivedaye haṁ dūvalatecha ālābe haṁ
esaṁ me mokhyamata duva(le etasi athā)jaṁ aṁ
tupeḥ annasathī tuphehi bahuṁ pānasahasasen
āyuta jaṁne gachchha ca saṁsuṣiṁnaṁ save
sumiṁnaṁ paja maṁ aṁ pajaṁ aṁ ichchāṁ haṁ ka
savaṁna atasukhona ādolaka(ki)ā pālaloniṁna
y(jevāti).

This is first corrected by Dr. Kern thus:—

Devānam priya vachanena Tosaliyaṁ ma-
hāmātā nagalavi(yo)hālaka vataviyā: aṁ kihchī
dehāṁ hauṁ naṁtaṁ ichchāṁ, kūlaṁ enāṁ paṭiv-
vedaye haṁ, dūvalatecha ālābe haṁ; esaṁ me
mokhyamata duvadele etasi athasi aṁ tupaḥ
annasatī. Tupaḥ he bahuṁ pānasahasasen ayūtā
ejane me gachchhe ca saṁsuṣiṁnaṁ. Save
sumiṁnaṁ paja maṁ; aṁ pajaṁ ichchāṁ hauṁ te
savaṁna hitasukhona ādolakapālalokikāyē
juvevāti.

And translated into Sanskrit this becomes:—

Devānam priya vachanena Tosaliyaṁ ma-
hāmātā nagaravavahārkā* vaktavāyā: yat kiṁ-
chī paḷāyamy ahaṁ niṁtaṁ ichchāṁ, kūrināṁ
enāṁ paṭivedaye haṁ; etaccha maṁ mu-
khyamata dūrām etasmin arthe sad uṣyam
annasatāḥ; yuvaṁnā bahuṁ jīvasaharesvā
ayuktā majjana gachchhe ca saṁsuṣiṁnaṁ. Sarvaṁ
suvaṁna pṛajā me; yathā pṛajāya ichchāṁ
aṁ te sarvaṁna hitasukhena śālakahāpāra
kāyē juvevāti iti.

Translation of No. I. of the Dhauli Inscriptions.

In the name of DevāNamprīya a be it said to the
magistrates charged with the jurisdiction of the
city of Tosali. Every cause which is

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905 It is not quite certain whether this means subordinate functionaries, or subjects in general. We may remark that the word for "men" in the widest signification is, in the

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* See Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Lot., p. 672.
* Better vādavāhārīkā.
submitted to my judicial decision I wish to have investigated; I convince myself of the guilt of the perpetrators, and I act myself according to a steadfast principle.† The principle on which I place the highest value in these is communicated to you in this instruction. Because ye are placed over many thousands of souls among the people, and over the whole number of the good. Every good man is a child to me; as for a child, I wish that they may be blessed with everything which is useful and pleasant for this world and hereafter.

No. XIV. of Giradr.

The last of the edicts is engraved to the right of the thirteenth, and is in five and a half lines. It reads thus:—

† Ayan dharmaṃlipī Devāmaniptīya Priyadāsaṇī rāṇa lekkhiṭā asti eva saṃkhitiṣṇa asti maṣmamaṇa asti vistatana māna savaṇa savaṭa ghaṭiṭain; māhālakṣepī vijitaḥ bhuhuca likhitam likhāpaṣyāsamāhena astica etakaṃ punapuṇavaṭaiν tasa-tasa athasa mādhūrityaḥ kiṃti jano tathā paṭipaṭijetha; tata ekadā asamātaṃ likhitam asaṁadānaḥ vā and saḥchāhakaśayam vā; alocepāṇāḥ likhāpaśaṅdhenāḥ vā.

Professor Kern's revised reading of the text is as follows:—

† Ayan dharmaṃlipī Devāmaniptīya Priyadāsaṇī rāṇa lekhiṭāḥ; asti eva saṃkhitiṣṇa asti maṣmamāṇa asti vistatana, nocha savaṇa savaṭa ghaṭiṭaiḥ; māhālakṣepī vijitaḥ, bhuhuca likhitam likhāpaṣyaś... Astica etakaṃ punapuṇavaṭaiν tasa-tasa athasa mādhūrityaḥ (or mādhūrāṭaḥ); kiṃti? jano tathā paṭipaṭijetha; Tata ekadā asaṃātaṃ likhitam asaṁadānaḥ vā and saḥchāhakaśayam vā; alocepāṇāḥ likhāpaśaṅdhenāḥ vā.

In Sanskrit:—

Iyan dharmaṃlipī Devāmaniptīya Priyadāsaṇī rāṇa lekkhiṭāḥ; asti eva saṃkhitiṣṇa asti maṣmamāṇa asti vistatana, nocha savaṇa savaṭa ghaṭiṭaiḥ; māhālakṣepī vijitaḥ, bhuhuca likhitam likhāpaṣyam... Astica etakaṃ punapuṇavaṭaiν tasa-tasa athasa mādhūrityaḥ (or mādhūrāṭaḥ); kiṃti? jano tathā paṭipaṭijetha; Tata ekadā asaṃātaṃ likhitam asaṁadānaḥ vā and saḥchāhakaśayam vā; alocepāṇāḥ likhāpaśaṅdhenāḥ vā.

† Devānaṃ, properly "entrance," is not only udāśa abhāyuṇa, as the native lexicographers peremptorily but also nyāya, "principle, fundamental element, axiom, method." Thus (e.g.) when in the Praṇaḥatarana, 105, 17, it is said devānaṃ stutarddvedāntaṃ akṣaraṃ va dehi, that means "give sentence according to the principles pertaining to jurisprudence." It is true that the proper meaning of udāśa itself is also "entrance.""

‡ "They," in the plural, on account of the plural idea in the collective every.

§ The new readings in the estimate are:— in line 2 sauvan for paubata; in line 4 kṣita for asti; in line 3 asaṁadānaḥ for asaṁadānaḥ.

The Translation of No. XIV. of Giradr.

King Devānaṃpriya Priyadāsaṇī has caused this righteousness-edict to be written, here concisely, there in moderate compass, in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (l) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of various points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript, or by the fault of the copyist (i.e. the stone-cutter).

Professor Kern thus concludes:—The edicts introduced into this treatise give an idea of what the king did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behar to Gāndhāra, from the Himalaya to the coast of Coromandel and Pāṇḍya. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. The prince went over to Buddhism in the eleventh year of his reign. He was a zealous Buddhist who concerned himself with the spiritual interest, and even with the catechism, of his co-religionists. At fitting time and place, he makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine which he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his state policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jainas than those of the Buddhists.

Although, then, the inscriptions of Aśoka...
the Humane may be only in part of direct interest for the history of Buddhism, yet the trouble bestowed upon the reading has not been lost. The Aśoka with whom we become acquainted from his own words forms a striking contrast to the caricature which is exhibited to us in the works of Buddhists and others as the image of the noble king.

A GRANT OF CHHITTARĀJADEVA, MAHĀMANḌALEŚVARA OF THE KONKAṆA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

This grant is one of the series of inscriptions from which extracts have been given by Mr. Wathen (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. vol. II. p. 383).

Through the kind offices of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, Collector of Bombay, I obtained the loan of the original from the owner, Mr. Hormasji C. Ashburner, on whose land near Bāhāṇḍa it was found some forty years ago. The plates are three in number, and are connected by a very stout ring with a seal, bearing a Garuḍa, the cognizance of the Śilāhāras. Each plate measures 7½ inches by 4½. The first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both sides. They are well preserved. The characters are ancient Devanāgarī, and closely resemble those of the Maṇḍī inscriptions of Vākapati, Bhōja, and their successors, as well as those of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Yādavas.

The donor of this grant is Chhittarājadeva, of the Śilāhāra or Śilāra dynasty, which derives its descent from the Vidyādhara Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtaketu, and is sometimes called simply the Vidyādhara family.† The Vidyādharaś are a race of demigods frequently mentioned in Buddhist works, and appear as the attendants of Śiva in certain legends, such as those treated in the Vṛihatkathās of Kaheinendra and Somadeva. The progenitor of the family, Jīmūtavāhana, has, of course, no better claim to be considered a historical person than the Chulukas, from whom the Chālukyas are sometimes derived. Lassen‡ thinks that the Śilāhāras are of northern origin, as a Kāśī tribe called Śilār is found in northern Kābulistān.

* Mr. Wathen’s Chhinnarāja is a misreading, and Prof. Lassen’s Chhinmarja a further distortion of Mr. Wathen’s mistake.
† Conf., e.g., Viśvamānakcharita VIII. 2.
‡ Ind. Alt. vol. IV. p. 112.
§ See Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. IV. loc. cit.
|| As. Res. vol. I. p. 357.

But, be that as it may, during the 9th and 10th centuries of our era the Śilāhārās were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyaketa, and later of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and held, besides the Konkaṇa, considerable parts of the Dekhan, between Sattāra and Belgam. § They were probably divided into two or more distinct lines. The vaṃśāvalis are, however, in great confusion, as the inscriptions in which they occur have been deciphered imperfectly. According to our inscription the vaṃśāvali stands as follows:—

1. Kapardi I.
2. Pulasakti.
5. Jhañjha.
7. Vajjadadeva I.
8. Aparājita.
9. Vajjadadeva II.
10. Kesideva (Śaka 939).
11. Chhittarāja (Śaka 946).

The name of the fourth king is certainly wrong. For the metre requires that its first syllable should belong. Probably Vappuvana, the reading of the facsimile of the grant of Kesideva (Arikesari) gives the correct form.
It is also probable that a king has been omitted between Aparajita and Vajjañädavâ II., or at least the real name of Aparajita has been left out; for the verse in which the names of Kesideva and Vajjañädavâ II. occurs is mutilated. It consists of two pâdas only, the second of which offends against the metre. Besides, a comparison with Kesideva’s (Arikessari’s) grant shows that there followed a good deal after v. 8, which is left out in our sâsana. Unfortunately the latter portion of the facsimile given in the Asiatic Researches and the whole of the translation are so untrustworthy as to be useless for the purpose of attempting a restoration. Like nearly all inscriptions read fifty or sixty years ago, Kesideva’s grant requires re-deciphering.

The date of the grant is given as Sunday, Kârtika Sudhâ 15, Saka 248 (i.e. 1026 a.d.), and it is added that an eclipse of the sun took place on that day. It is clear that either the date must be wrong, or that instead of ‘an eclipse of the sun’ an ‘eclipse of the moon’ ought to be read. I suspect that the former is the case, and that, while the grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, it was written on the date mentioned. A similar discrepancy occurs on the Morvi plate, which is dated Śudi 5, when an eclipse of the sun is stated to have taken place!

**Transcript.**

*Plate I.*

(1) ओ अयापायारुपायम् ॥ लमेण सर्वकारणं युध्याय गणानकः॥ वि-निन्धयः तः पायायापः
(2) ड्राणायास् ॥ सवः पात्र सिव्यत युध्याय गणानकः सुतमुस्थि साधुः च वर्जयनः
(3) मा ॥ लोकारुपायाते निर्भयं तदारुणं सर्वतोऽवधानं विन्यायासि ॥ देहन निन्धयः
(4) मित्रमल्ल्यानां यो रात्रिमस गवायणकु लु संस्कृतःकृ तं सवानां नरप्रीं समस्वाय
(5) सीलारांतिरापी लघुपुराण्यः ॥ तस्मात्मुख तानेपु शस्याकिनामा मार्गिणः
(6) ततमातस्यामिनियः जातानावरयुः ॥ त कवयइ सुरुः तक्करितरीयः ॥ यहं
(7) येन सिलाहास्तित्रैर्वायरयं [सम्] निर्माणसमुखः ॥ तस्मात्मुख सवाने भूनेकरी ॥ लोकपुरुषः
(8) इति संगासरसीर ॥ अवर्जिन्ध स्वमनस्ये युध्याय सुकीर्मितात् गायिकुपाय: समस्वाय
(9) भूमिस्तिः ॥ तत्सवित्सारिनिवारिहारिः चरितासामायाः इति सुधाय श्रीमानः
(10) पुनियस्तुर्मुखः ॥ दोहिनकास्य ययस सहताः संपादिनाशस्यः
(11) राज्यश्री: श्वसेन कनिष्ठो वि विरुपिति ॥ जयति यह वृहदः पुरारितः
(12) विन्दुकुमारः ॥ तन: श्रीमानः ॥ कर्णेश्वरसमाय: ॥ कर्णेश्वरसमाय:
(13) आरामश्येन च युधितः ॥ प्रतापाधिकारिनः काल्याणः यो हिन्दः ॥

* Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 238.
† Possibly Râjpur.—En.
‡ Line 2, read सिवयं—सिवयं. L. 4, read जस्व पुरूषं. L. 5, read जस्व पुरूषं.
Plate II.A.

(1) तस्मादभृद्वस्यजलेबनामाः
(2) तत्‌
(3) वस्तुंत्रस्यजाति
(4) श्रीमचित्रार्जुन नृपतिभवेषु
(5) सीमार्गित: 
(6) सिमुना-९

Plate II.B.

(1) क्षुद्रस्यजाति
(2) वस्तुंत्रस्यजाति
(3) श्रीमचित्रार्जुन नृपतिभवेषु
(4) सीमार्गित: 
(5) सिमुना-९
Translation.

1. May that Leader of the Gañas protect you from misfortune who destroys obstacles, and who by means of worship receives consideration in all undertakings.†

2. May that Siva protect you on whose head Gangā glitters, resembling the brilliant crescent of the new moon when it rises over Sumeru’s crest.§

3. The ever-compasionate son of Jimūtaketu, Jimūtavāhana, is famed in the three worlds, who, valuing his own body not more than a straw for another’s sake, saved, indeed, Sānkhačcheda from Garuḍa.||

4. Among his descendants arose Kapardī, an ornament of the Sillāra race, who destroyed the pride of his enemies; and from him sprang a son, called Pulasakti, whose blazing splendour equalled that of the sun.¶

5. Then a son was born to him, that Lagnun

† Line 1, read गान्तधिर्यो. L. 5, read भूपलि. L. 7, read थापयिता. L. 8, read तिता.

‡ The verse contains a वासमन, which obscures its meaning. The syllables वासमनः प्रायत्नः at the end of the first half-verse must be dissolved into वासमनः प्रायत्नः यथा. The latter is the relative pronoun यथा with inflexion यथा, which may be inserted before the terminations of all pronouns. Metre anushthāpah.

§ Metro anushthāpah.

|| The story of Jimūtavāhana, who saved the Nāga Sānkhachcheda from Garuḍa by allowing himself to be torn in the victim’s place, forms the subject of the Nāgānandāśakakah, which see. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 147. Metro vasantatilaka.

¶ Metro vasantatilaka.

Metro svada. ‘Laghun Kapardī’ means ‘Kapardī junior.’

†† Metro vasantatilaka. Regarding the correct form of the name Ghayunvanta see above. Bhuvanaikavira may be taken also as a simple epithet, and be translated by ‘the only hero in the world.’

|| V. 7. Metro adhīśavakrīṭa. Lakshmi (Fortune) is the wife of Vaiṣṇu (Murārī).
9. Who in liberality resembled Karuṣa, in truthfulness Yudhishthira, who, a brilliant sun in valour, (destroyed) like Yama's staff his enemies.§

10. From him sprang one who was called Vajradhāva, and then (followed) the (latter's) elder brother, the illustrious Kesidēva.||

11. Next his nephew, the illustrious Chittarāja, the son of Vajradhāva, became king. When an infant, that great (prince) already raised the Śilāra race to its highest elevation.¶

Therefore, while the great provincial ruler, the illustrious Chittarājadēva, who in reward of his own spiritual merit has obtained all the five great titles, who is the great lord of the Sāmantas, and the ruler of the town of Tagara,§ who is born in (the race of) the Śilāhara kings, the descendants of Jīnuvāhana,—who carries on his banner a golden Garuda,† whose liberality, natural to (him as to) a Vidyādhara, surpasses the world,‡ who is chief among the provincial chiefs, who protects suppliants like an adamant cage, and so forth, and who is made illustrious by the whole succession of kings,—rules over the whole Koṅkaṇa country, containing 1,400 villages, chief of which is Puri, as well as over various provinces conquered by his own arm,—while the chief five officers of the state, the prime minister, the illustrious Nāgaṇaiya; the minister for peace and war, the illustrious Sihapaiya; the minister of peace and war (in) Kānarā, the illustrious Kapard; the (chief) secretary,§§ and others who bore the weight of the cares of that kingdom|| were in existence;—at this time the great provincial chief, the illustrious Chittarājadēva addresses with salutations, worship, and respect all the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of rūṣiras (zillās), the lords of vishayās (tālākās), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials and non-official persons, servants of the king, and rayats, likewise the citizens of the town of Hanumana, belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others, as follows:—

"Be it known to you that knowing prosperity to be uncertain, youth to last for a short time only, life to be lying in the jaws of death, the body to be subject to decay and death that are natural in this world, and health, to be exceedingly unstable like the water-drop that hangs on a wind-moving lotus-leaf, having considered the sayings of ancient munis which are beautiful through their distinguishing between merit and demerit and which affirm the meritoriousness of gifts, such as the text of the divine Vyāsa, "Gold is the firstborn of Fire, from Vishnu sprang the Earth, cows are the children of the Sun; he who gives gold, a cow, and land has given the three worlds," being desirous (to promote) my own and my parents' welfare,—having bathed at an excellent tirtha on a Sunday, the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtika of the Katia year (of the Brahaspati cycle), after nine hundred and forty-eight years of the Śaka king had passed, in figures Śaṅkha 448, Kārtika Suddha 15, on the day of an eclipse of the sun,—having offered an arghya¶¶ commendable on account of various flowers to the divine Savitri the only ruler of the sky and the lover of the day-lotuses, and having worshipped Śiva the guru of the Suras and Asuras, the divine husband of Uma, I have given, in the attitude of a worshipper with the greatest devotion,—confirming the gift

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§ 8, 9. Metre anuvahub. I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many Prakrit forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses to Vajradēva II. mentioned in verse 10, and Aparajita is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a Biruda.
|| Metre upāyatī. The verse consists of two pādas only, and the second pāda is deficient in one syllable and otherwise wrong.
¶ 11. Metre upāyatī.
* I agree with Mr. Waagen in taking Tagara-parāparvā śravaṇa merely for a title.
† According to the seal of our śravaṇa bears a representation of Garuda.
I The meaning attributed here to the root jham is unsupported by analogous passages. The Pet. Dict. gives for jham the meaning 'a swoop, a jump,' and for jham in 'a monkey', i.e. 'the jumper.' The verb jham meant, therefore, 'to jump.' In favour of my rendering, 'to surpass,' it may be urged that other Sanskrit verbs meaning 'to jump,' e.g. 'leap,' have the same secondary significance.
§§ The Petersburg Dictionary gives for sṛkara the meaning 'a pen.' In a great many inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries, e.g. the Girnar and Añāb inscriptions of Vastupāla, it is used to denote an officer or officer. Etymologically it means either 'making or writing the word śrī, or 'a person who makes or writes the word śrī.'
¶¶ An offering of perfumed water into which flowers have been thrown.
with a libation of water,—to the great Brahman Amādevaiya, the son of Viprānājana, who is constantly engaged in the six (lawful) occupations (of a Brahman, viz.) sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching (the Vedas), and so forth; who is versed in the section (of the Vedas) treating of the performance of kṛatas, who belongs to the Pārāṣāragotra and to the Chhandoga-sākhā, for the performance of the six (lawful) works, viz. sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching, and so forth; and for the daily and occasional entertainment of guests who have arrived in or out of season, and for defraying the expenses of bali, churu, vaiśvādeca, agnihotra, kṛatua, and other sacrifices, and for the maintenance of his family, the field of Vedaṇaḥhaṣṭha up to the limits of its boundaries, and together with all its produce, included in the taluk of Shatashaḥthi included in Śrīsthānaka, the boundaries of which are on the east the frontier of Guṇvani, on the south the frontier of Goraṇapavali, on the west the king's highroad, on the north-east the frontier of Guṇvani, (the same field) being not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be assigned (to others), nor to be attached.

"Therefore nobody is to cause any hindrance when he, his descendants and relations enjoy it, cause 'it to be enjoyed, cultivate it, or cause it to be cultivated.*

* * * * *

and as this is, accordingly the giver of the grant makes known his mind. What has been written in this grant, that agrees with my intention, (viz. that) of the great provincial ruler the illustrious Chhitāra ḍa deva, the son of the great provincial ruler the illustrious Vajjadāvarāja. And this has been written by order of the king, by me Bhāndagāraṇa Mahākavi Śrī Nāgalaṇya. Whatever words may be deficient in syllables, or may have syllables in excess, all have authority. May prosperity attend (all)!

BOOK NOTICE.

The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, and the Indian Embassies to Rome from the reign of Augustus to the death of Justinian. By Osmund de Beauvoir Priaulx. (London: Quaritch.)

This book (which has been long in reaching us) is a reprint, with important additions and corrections, of several papers that appeared more than fourteen years ago in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Sixty-two pages, or about a fourth of the book, is devoted to Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean pretender to magical powers, who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, but whose life, as it has come down to us, is founded on a journal said to have been kept by his companion Damis, an Assyrian, which was, upwards of a century after his death, presented by one of his family to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, who worshipped Christ with Orpheus and Apollonius among his penates. The Empress gave this journal "to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to re-write and edit it; and so re-written and edited, he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress," in 217 A.D. This history of the life of Apollonius, then, makes it suspicious whether the journal of Damis, if ever it existed, gives any authority to Philostratus's work, which must be judged of by its contents. Mr. O. de Beauvoir Priaulx examines the statements it contains regarding India, and shows that they are full of the most glaring discrepancies, and mostly, if not all, exaggerations of the most absurd stories previously told by Herodotus, Arrian, Magiasthenes, &c. Reviewing the whole, he considers "that Apollonius either pretended or was believed to have travelled through and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not visit it; and that if he did visit it Damis never accompanied him, but fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of: for it contains some facts from books written upon India, and tales current about India which he easily collected at the great mart for Indian commodities, and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria."

The first Indian embassy is that to Augustus, the account of which is thus given by Strabo:—"Nikolaus Damaskenus states that at Antioch Epiphanes he met with ambassadors from the Indians, who were sent to Augustus Caesar. It appeared from the letter that several persons were mentioned in it, but three only survived, whom he says he saw. The rest had died, chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek upon parchment (δοράθεια); the import of

† Bhāndgāraṇa appears to mean 'treasurer.'

** Geog. lib. XV. c. 1. § 78.
it was that Porus† was the writer; that although he was the sovereign of six hundred kings, yet that he highly esteemed the friendship of Caesar; that he was willing to allow him a pass through his country, in whatever part he pleased, and to assist him in any undertaking that was just.

"Eight naked slaves, with girdles round their waists, and fragrant with perfumes, presented the gifts which were brought. The presents were a youth, a sort of Hermes, born without arms, whom I have seen; large snakes; a serpent ten cubits in length; a river tortoise of three cubits' length; and a partridge (?) somewhat larger than a vulture. They were accompanied by the person, it is said, who burnt himself to death at Athens. This is the practice with persons in distress, who seek escape from existing calamities, and with others in prosperous circumstances, as was the case with this man. For, as everything hitherto had succeeded with him, he thought it necessary to depart, lest some unexpected calamity should happen to him by continuing to live; with a smile, therefore, naked and perfumed, he leaped into the burning pile. On his tomb was his inscription.—Zaramochégas, an Indian of Borsoo, who, according to the ancestral custom of the Indians, gave himself immortality, *i.e.* born."†

This embassy is also noticed by other writers.§ though there are considerable discrepancies in the various accounts; and the author concludes from the presents, the Greek letter and its commercial tone, that it was planned and organized by Greek traders of Alexandria, and more for Greek than Hindu interests, and was probably sent by some petty raja on the west coast at their instigation.

The second embassy is that mentioned by Pliny (Nat. Hist. VI. 24) as arriving about a.d. 44 from Ceylon, and which consisted of Rachi<s>a>s and three others sent by the king of the island to Claudius, in company with Annius Plocamus, who had been driven by a gale of wind across the Arabian Sea to Taprobane. This our author, we think with scarcely sufficient reason, is inclined to regard as sent by a Tamil prince rather than by the Sinhalese king.

The remaining four embassies are barely noticed by historians. The first was to Trajan,|| a.d. 107; the second to Antoninus Pius,¶ a.d. 138-161; the third, to Julian, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,* before it was expected, a.d. 361;

† Elsewhere Strabo (lib. XV. c. i. § 4) calls him "Pandion, or according to others Porus."
¶ Aurelian Victor, Epit. xvi.
* Amm. Marcell. xxii. 7.
+ Makr. p. 477.
†† "The description of India in Ammianus Marcellinus must be excepted from this censure."

and the fourth, to Justinian,++ reached Constantinople in a.d. 530. The discussion of these, and of the notices of India in Greek and Roman authors during this period, occupies the second half of the volume. Much varied reading has been brought to bear on the subject, and the examination of the statements of the various authors is of the most searching character, often tending to throw doubt on the originality of their information: even of Cosmas Indicopleustes the author doubts that he ever was in India.

"On a review of these notices of India," he remarks that "it seems: 1st, That for a century after the fall of Palmyra no important mention of India was made by any Greek or Latin writer whatever. 2ndly, That the accounts of India which then and afterwards appeared, whether in travels, geographies, histories, or poems, those in the Topographia Christiana excepted, were all in the main made up of extracts from the writings of previous ages, and added nothing to our knowledge of India. 3rdly, That of such writings these compilers in general preferred, not those which recorded authenticated facts,+++ but those which worked most upon the imagination; and they indeed heightened their effect by new matter of the same character. 4thly, That these writings gradually took rank with, and even displaced, the more critical studies of Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, &c. Thus the Periegesis of Dionysius,§§ on which Eustathius wrote a commentary, and the Geography of the anonymous writer who, so far as I know, first gave locality to Eden,|| was honoured by Latin translations, and, judging from the currency their fictions obtained, became the textbooks of after-ages. Thus, too, the Bassarrika of Dionysius for Indian countries and towns is more frequently referred to than either Strabo or Arrian by Stephano<s>i>s Byzantius; and thus the Apollonious of Philostratus becomes an authority for Suidas and Cedrenus, who borrow from him their accounts of the Brähmans, to which Cedrenus adds some particulars drawn, partly from the anonymous Geography probably, partly from the Pseudo-Callisthenes, and partly from some other writer whom I am unable to identify. 5thly, That of Eastern travellers in the fourth and fifth centuries many were priests, as we may surmise from the number of Christian churches in India."

++ See Strabo (lib. XV. c. i. § 4) for example.
+++ "The excellent history of Eusebius of Cesarea."
§§ "Dionysius, the historian of Egypt, of whose book in five books the third / is extant, having said that the earlier history of Egypt was / similar to that of India, for that the same deities were / adored there as in the former; and being asked by his / countrymen whether he had written anything on the / subject of India, he replied that he had not seen any "/ which he could understand as being authentic, though / there were many books on the subject by all sorts of / authors, so that it was necessary for the student who / wished to learn anything with regard to it to consult / the works of the philosophers of Egypt, and study the / mythology of Bactria, the mythical history of Babylonia, / and the Egyptian traditions relating to the universe. /""—Eut. Hist. iv. 2."
which were all subject to the Persian metropolitan, and which all received their ecclesiastical ministers from Persia, or sent them there for education and ordination; and as we gather from the frequent mention of priests in the travels of those ages. Thus the author of the Tract inscribed to Palladius, and the Theban Scholasticus, visit India in company, the one of the Bishop of Adula, and the other of a priest. And Cosmas travels on one occasion with Thomas of Edessa, afterwards metropolitan of Persia, and with Patriarch of the Abrahamic order; and in his latter years he becomes a monk, as does also Monas, who assisted him in copying the inscription on the throne of Ptolemy.

Christian Lassen,

Christian Lassen, the eminent Professor of Sanskrit, died at Bonn on the 8th of May, in his 76th year, having been born at Bergen, in Norway, on the 22nd of October 1800. He studied philology at Christians, at Heidelberg, and at Bonn, and at the latter, through Schlegel, he was won over to the study of Sanskrit. From the year 1824 to 1826 he took up his residence in London and Paris, in part at the request of Schlegel, to make collations for his edition of the Rāmāyana, and partly also to gather materials for his own future labours. In Paris, more particularly, he occupied himself with the drama, and systems of philosophy, publishing jointly with Burnouf in 1826 the Essai sur le Pall. In 1827 he graduated at Bonn on the 30th of June, producing his Pentapota Māyika Indica. After this for a few years he became a joint-worker with Schlegel, in whose house he had his home. Their joint production was the Hītapaśa, published in 1829-31, the first model of a truly critical edition of a Sanskrit text. In 1830, in Schlegel's Indische Bibliothek, in an article on Bopp's grammatical system, he pointed out how necessary are Indian original grammars for obtaining a more thorough knowledge of the language studied. He showed the weak points of any grammatical attempt without such previous study. It was in the same year that he was appointed a professor extraordinary, with a stipend of 300 thalers, about £45 per annum, and though he soon attained a wide European reputation, he obtained no more lucrative preferment till 1840. In that year, however, he was appointed Professor of the University, and his stipend raised to 700 thalers, some hundred guineas. As his books, from their nature and probable limited circulation, were necessarily printed at his own cost, notwithstanding their great merit, his Gymnosophista (1832) and his Miśralāmādhava, owing to want of means, were dropped with the publication of the first part of each. It was about this period that he devoted much earnest and careful labour to the Zend—then first opened by Burnouf to the world of scholars—and also, owing to an accidental circumstance, to the Persepolitan Cuneiform Inscriptions, the decipherment of which he published in 1836 simultaneously with Burnouf, and republished in a corrected and enlarged form in 1848 in the 6th volume of the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. The circumstance alluded to was the following. A pupil of Lassen's, who by chance had come across Klaproth's Aposeru and St. Martin's explanation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions contained in it, had deciphered two letters more correctly (in conformity with Mr. Bask, although at the time he was not aware of it himself). He took the book with his corrections to Lassen, in order to obtain his opinion about it. Two days afterwards Lassen returned it to him with an almost complete decipherment.

About the same time M. König, a young and enterprising publisher, made an arrangement with Lassen to issue several of his works, which had long been prepared for press, without any risk to the other. Amongst these were the Ghaṇagovinda in 1836, of which he had as early as 1824 drawn out the plan of publication in London; the Institutione Lingua Praticina in 1837; the Anthologia Sanscrita in 1838; the Geschichte der Griechischen und Indo-Skythischen Könige, also in 1838; and the second edition of Schlegel's Bhagavajāti, which he completed in 1845. Besides he contributed many papers and essays to the pages of the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes during 1837-50, such as Über das Mahabharata, Uber die Sprachen der Belutschen und Brahui, &c., and his dissertation De Toprobanes Insigne, 1843, all preliminary essays leading up to the great work of his life Die Indische Alterstümmerkunde, of which vols. I.-IV. appeared in 1847-80. Failing health caused the work to be discontinued, though he issued revised and greatly enlarged editions of the first two volumes in 1867 and 1874. His lectures were alternately on Sanskrit Grammar, on the elucidation of Indian writers, on Zend (since 1833, and for which purpose he had the first five chapters of the Venditkā printed in

1863) and Modern Persian, on Indian Archaeology (since 1828, and adding since 1839 Iranian antiquity, dividing, however, the subject into two divisions since 1851), and on comparative grammar of the languages connected with Sanskrit. From his announcements in his earlier connexion with the University, he would also appear to have lectured on Old Persian and the Cuneiform Language, also on Ancient Geography, and the history of languages. From 1840 to 1852, as he had spoken the language from childhood, he had to give lessons in English, a pursuit not quite worthy his position as a University Lecturer: in these he took Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and others as his leading subjects. His hearers could always rely upon his unwearying efforts to promote their studies, whilst his courtesy and kindness went far in rendering their difficult study profitable and agreeable. From all pedantry, he was a most untiring scholar, pursuing science for its own sake with unceasing perseverance. The niggard acknowledgment of his merits by Prussia were more than counterbalanced by the high estimation in which he was held by the learned in foreign countries. He was honorary or corresponding fellow of 26 academies and learned societies. He was, in 1841, urgently invited to transfer his services to the University of Copenhagen; but, though the Prussian ministry left this great scholar at his post without prospect of increased emolument, he remained true to his colours and would not forsake Bonn.

In early life Lassen possessed a sound and most healthy constitution, and was a great pedestrian. But in early manhood already he suffered from a serious ophthalmic affection, ascribed to the unwearyed collation of the Parisian Telinga MSS. of the Ramayana written on palm-leaves.

After 1840 the disease, probably owing to physical predisposition, became serious, and he consulted the most distinguished oculists and eye infirmaries in vain. The malady increased to such a degree that latterly he retained but a faint glimmer of light. For many years he might have been seen taking his daily walk on well-known roads, groping his way with a stick. Indigestion and other bodily complaints supervened, till at length the natural organs almost ceased to perform their functions. It became necessary to wheel him about in a chair, but the greater part of the day he passed lying on the sofa. However, in the summer he regularly visited some watering place, from which he always derived benefit. His speech gradually became indistinct, and this circumstance, as well as the necessity, caused by his failing sight, of committing his lecture to memory, led him, since 1860, to reduce or suspend his lectures, till in 1864 he was absolved of that painful duty. Want of sufficient means prevented him from entering the married state till late in life, which took place in 1849, and his wife, who survives him, was Miss Wiggers, from Holstein, who, though not enjoying good health herself, was to his death a most kind and affectionate nurse, and for the last 26 years of his life they were never separated for a single day. It was indeed due to this lady's untiring care and attention that he reached the ripe age of 76. Under his constant sufferings the serenity of his mind never forsook him, and he was always of a cheerful disposition, which made him in earlier days a welcome companion, though of late, being compelled to pass a retired life, he was only visited by a few friends. He took an interest in his studies to the very last, and retained his memory with all his freshness. By one of his colleagues he was regularly made aware of every new publication relating to Indian literature or general Oriental subjects, and for some hours every day he had works read to him on Oriental subjects in German, English, and French. He was no longer able to write; his former clear and distinct handwriting having become all but illegible, but he dictated his thoughts and opinions to an amanuensis. To pursue his especial studies, and to continue his literary pursuits, had long been beyond his reach; but, when a second edition of the first two volumes of the Indische Alterthümer was called for, he succeeded in preparing the first one with the aid of his wife, and in the second part he was assisted by a young student, who read to him the notes previously made, together with other new books on the subject, and by Lassen's dictation the proofs were thoroughly revised and corrected. As early as 1870 he had disposed of his library, giving liberally most of the books to the University of Christiania and to his native town of Bergen, for which he retained his love to the last, whilst the others he presented to the University Library at Bonn, keeping only a few for reference.

His long-expected dissolution took place after a week's illness. He conversed for a quarter of an hour; two days previous to his death, with the colleague who made him conversant with current Indian topics; and, though the expression of his countenance showed the approach of death, he got quite animated in his reminiscences of olden times, though the same evening and the two following days he passed almost in a state of unconsciousness, and on the evening of the 8th of May he quietly fell asleep. His funeral was the last mark of respect paid to him by the University he had so faithfully served.—Trübner's Record.
METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRÂGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from page 67.)

If song resound thy steps before,
And Dekhan lyres behind,
And nymphs with jingling bracelets pour
The chosen’s perfumed wind,
Scorn not this world’s broad easy ways,
And drink of pleasure’s bowl;
If not—then fix thy steadfast gaze
On that undying Soul.

Kind Fortune, seek some other love, I long
not for thy dower;
And what to those whose lusts are dead avail
thy golden shower?
Leave me to beg from day to day my dole of
barley-meal,
The fig’s broad leaf supplies a dish that none
would care to steal.

Once I was thou, and thou wast I,
In perfect union blest;
Say, what hath severed friendship’s tie,
And souls asunder rent?

Why sidelong cast thy languid eye?
Vain is thy hope to tangle mine,
My nature’s changed, no more a child
With every wantson toy beguiled,
To cloistered cell I’d fain withdraw;
This world’s bright naps I count but straw.

’Tis sweet in palaces to dwell,
Where music’s strains voluptuous swell;
’Tis sweet to hear the loved one’s voice;
But wise men, of deliberate choice,
Have run from these to forest glades,
Assured all earthly pleasure fades,
Swift as the moth in heedless game
Puffs out the taper’s feeble flame.

Are roots extinct in mountain caves? have
streams forgot to flow?
Do vestes of bark and woodland fruits on trees no
longer grow?
Else why endure the haughty mien and eye-
brows arched in scorn
Of men who’ve scraped together wealth to
which they were not born?

Say, whither are those slabs of stone
All moist with Ganga’s dew,
And Dryad-haunted thickets flown,
That men can bear to see
For alms and insults at the door of some proud
parvenu?

Mount Meru’s golden mass shall melt at that
last awful day,
The monster-peopled seas dry up, the earth dis-
solve away;
What hope for feeble human frames, whose
breath doth come and go,
As swiftly as the elephant flaps his ear to
and fro?

When, when, O Śiva, shall I be
Lonely and calm, from passion free;
My only robe the liberal air,
My hand the dish that holds my fare;
But able Action to uproot,
The tree that bears Life’s bitter fruit.

Suppose thy fortunes boundless as the main,
Suppose thy years a world’s great age com-
plete,
Suppose thy foes all placed beneath thy feet,
And friends rewarded richly: where’s thy gain?

The hermit’s tattered patchwork robe, or court-
ier’s silken weeds,
One wife to tend thy home, or troops of ele-
phants and steeds,
One simple meal at close of day, or many a
gorgeous feast,
It matters not, be but thy soul from earthly
cares released.

My faith in Śiva wavereth not, I shrink from
future birth,
I care not for my friends or kin, I scorn the
joys of earth,
I love the lonely forest-glades, from worldly
turmoil free,
No greater bliss can fall to man than falleth
unto me.
Think upon that self-developed, everlasting
One Supreme,
Fling aside all vain delusions, all the world-
ing’s baseless dream,
Pity those dull slaves of custom who are caught
with empty toys,
Kingly crowns, and thrones imperial, and a
round of sensual joys.

You mount to heaven, again you sink to hell,
You roam the world around with anxious
breast,
And yet not e’en by chance your thought doth
dwell
On Him who only gives the spirit rest.

Night follows night, and day succeedeth day,
And thoughtless men hurry to work and play,
But sages ought to blush when treading round,
Year after year, the same dull weary round.

Stretched out at ease upon the ground, and
pillowed on his arm,
The houseless hermit sleeps in peace, secure
from nightly harm,
The breeze his fan, his lamp the moon, his
canopy the sky,—
What royal palace of this earth can such
delights supply?

Feasts, flatteries, and idle hours
Make up a prince’s day,
Let not the saint employ his powers
To compass kingly sway:
But quaff the ever-brimming stream
Of pure and holy mirth;
Who that hath tasted bliss supreme
Can sink to joys of earth?

What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends,
Repeated o’er and o’er?
What gain we by our merits?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise.

All these are huckstering methods,—
Give me that perfect way
Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away.

Our life is like th’ unstable wave,
Our bloom of youth decays,
Our joys are brief as lightning-flash
In summer’s cloudy days,
Our riches fleet as swift as thought.

Can all this earth enclouses
Flutter the sage’s breast?
‘Say, can the darting minnow
Trouble the ocean’s rest?

I love the moon’s soft beams, I love the grassy
wood,
I love to talk of verse among the wise and
good,
I love the fair one’s face gleaming with angry
tears,
I think how fleeting all, and pleasure disap-
pears.

Lonely among his kind,
Breaking on alms his fast,
Free as th’ unfettered wind,
The hermit wanders past,
Of tattered rags his dress,
He knows no care nor pride,
He longs for quietness,
And has no want beside.

My mother Earth,
My kinsman Fire,
Water my friend,
And Wind my sire,
My brother Heaven,
A long adieu!
By merit gained
When linked to you
I’ve purchased grace
To break my chains,
And merge in that
Which all sustains.
THE ŠANKARĀVIJAYA OF ĀNANDAGIRI.

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The great Vedāntist philosopher Śaṅkarāchāryā has for centuries exercised such a powerful influence on Hindu society that a satisfactory account of his life and writings would undoubtedly be of the highest use and interest. Unluckily, however, the materials for such an account are not available. The work of Maḍhava on "Śankara's victories," even if it could be regarded as otherwise unexceptionable, is still the work of one who lived too long after the events he describes to permit us to look on it as of much historical value.† If the earlier works to which Maḍhava refers could be laid hold of, we might possibly obtain something that might be more safely treated as historical. But these earlier works are not specified by Maḍhava, and a vague mention of them is all that we can find in his Šankarāvijaya.

There is, however, at least one work which claims to be a biography of Śankaraśaṅkara written by one of his own immediate pupils. We allude to the Šankarāvijaya of Ānanda-giri. Manuscripts of it do not appear to be very numerous, and it is accordingly not much to be wondered at, however much we may regret it, that the only edition of the work which has been printed, namely, the edition published in the Bibliotheca Indica, is one which we cannot help characterizing as unsatisfactory.§ Still we think that, making ample allowance for the condition in which the work appears before us, there is enough in it to enable one to judge with some confidence of the validity of the claims which it puts forward.

In his Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, Professor Wilson, after mentioning this work as the Śankara Dīgviṣaya of Ānanda-giri, "a reputed disciple of Śankara himself," proceeds to remark on it as follows:—"There is but little reason to attach any doubt to the former [i.e. Ānanda-giri's work]. Some of the marvels it records of Śankara, which the author professes to have seen, may be thought to affect its credibility, if not its authenticity, and Ānanda-giri must be an unblushing liar, or the book is not his own: it is, however, of little consequence, as even if the work be not that of Ānanda-giri himself, it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period not far removed from that at which he may be supposed to have flourished, and we may therefore follow it as a very safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago."¶ It is clear from this that Professor Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work as to a certain extent historical, but he leaves open the question as to whether it was really a work of Ānanda-giri himself. We propose in the present paper to draw attention to a few facts which have a bearing upon both these questions.

In the first place, then, there can be no doubt that the work claims for its author Ānanda-giri or Ānanta-giri, one of the pupils of Śankaraśaṅkara himself. This appears not merely from tradition and the colophons to be found in the MSS. of the work, but also from the body of the work itself. For immediately after the invocation, we have the following bold opening:—"I, Ānanta-giri, a pupil of the venerable person whose commands are unobstructed, will describe the purpose of the advent of my preceptor into this world."** And similarly, in the closing section of the work, we read again, "Those who accept this excellent account, composed by Ānanta-giri, of the victories of his Guru, will be finally emancipated, there is no doubt."†† Now it is first to be noted, of these two passages, that the author...
calls himself in both places Anantānandagīrī, not simply Anandagīrī. And in connexion with this it may also be remarked, that when Anandagīrī is mentioned, as he is once, in the course of the work, he is simply mentioned in the third person—as Anandagīrī.† These circumstances combined might, perhaps, suggest a slight suspicion that Anantānandagīrī and Anandagīrī were two distinct persons. But the facts that no other pupil of Śankara’s bearing the former name is anywhere mentioned, that the work is by tradition ascribed to Anandagīrī,§ and that the names are in substance identical,|| must, I think, be held to negative such a suspicion.

Moreover this Anandagīrī is, in all probability, a different person from the Anandagīrī who is known by his commentaries on the principal Bhāṣyas of Śankarāchārya—namely, the Bhāṣya on the Brahmaśāstra, that on the Upaniṣads, and that on the Bhagavadgītā.¶ Professor Aufrecht leaves this question of identity undecided, saying “Utrum igitur Anantānandagīrī noster idem sit cum Anandājānandagīrī, qui Suresvara, Śankarae dis. cipuli, Bṛhadārayakon interpretationes so num esse proficitur, a nomen illud a serie statis homine usurpatum sit, in presentia quidem in medio relinquam.”* But if we are right in identifying Anandagīrī with Anantānandagīrī, Mādāvī may perhaps be cited against us. For in his Śankarāvijaya, XIII. 20, we have the following words in the speech addressed to Śankara by his pupils:—“Or let this Anandagīrī (write a Vṛitti on your commentary on the Brahmaśāstra), since the wife of Brahmā, pleased with his fierce austeritys, gave him as a boon the ability to explain your writings according to their true intent.” Historically

† Vide p. 244. But Anantānandagīrī is similarly mentioned twice (see pp. 19 and 207), so that this circumstance is quite immaterial.
§ The first thirty-two sections of the work close with इति नामानि प्रकाशिताः, &c. Subsequently the form changes to इति नामानि प्रकाशिताः, &c. For the reading of the Oxford copies, which seems to be in the latter form throughout, see Aufrecht’s Catalogus, pp. 247 and 252.
¶ Anandagīrī is probably a mere abbreviation for Anantānandagīrī. Compare, for such abbreviations, Śankara’s Bhāṣya on Brahmaśāstra III. 39, and Patanjali’s Mahābhāṣya on Pānini I. 1. 7 (p. 115).
|| Anandagīrī is probably a mere abbreviation for Anantānandagīrī. Compare, for such abbreviations, Śankara’s Bhāṣya on Brahmaśāstra III. 39, and Patanjali’s Mahābhāṣya on Pānini I. 1. 7 (p. 115).
* Anandagīrī’s comment on the Brahmaśāstra Bhāṣya has not been printed, except on the fourth page of the third chapter in the Bibliotheca Indica edition. The comments on the other two Bhāṣyas have been long in print.
+ Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogus, p. 222,

interpreted, this may be probably taken to signify that, according to Mādhava, Anandagīrī the pupil of Śankarāchārya was identical with Anandagīrī the commentator on Śankara’s Bhāṣyas. I think, however, that the fact is not so. The commentator on Śankara’s Bhāṣyas is described in the colophons to his writings as pupil of Suddhānanda, and not as pupil of Śankarāchārya, which should have been the description if Mādhava’s statement, as we interpret it, had been correct. To this it may also be added that this Anandagīrī, the disciple of Suddhānanda, has written a commentary on the Vṛttika of Suresvaraḥ Prāchārya on the Bhāṣya of Śankara on the Bṛhadārayakopaniṣad.† And in view of the events narrated by Mādhava himself in his Śankarāvijaya, in the 12th chapter,‡ it does not seem very likely that any work of Suresvara’s should have been commented upon by any other of Śankara’s pupils. Some other works by this Anandagīrī—who in the colophons to several of his works is called Anandajānana, and by Prof. Aufrecht also Anandajānānagīrī§—are noticed in Dr. FitzEdward Hall’s Contributions to a Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems and in Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogus. But the literary activity of the author of the Śankarāvijaya—if he is to be distinguished from the Anandagīrī just mentioned—appears, as far as I am aware, to be confined to that work.

But to return to the Śankarāvijaya. It results from what has been pointed out above that the claim which this work sets up for itself amounts to this:—that it contains a narrative written contemporaneously with, or soon after, the occurrence of the events narrated, and that the narrative is composed by one who had the best opportunity of observing what he describes.|| Upon
a perusal of the work itself, however, it appears to the author that we have therein internal evidence mitigating powerfully against any such claim. In the first place, let us compare the style of controversy followed by Śankara as it is exhibited in the Śankaravijaya and as we may gather it from Śankara's extant writings. The comparison, I think, may be fairly made. The controversies of Śankara constitute the principal, if not the sole, subject of Anandagiri's work. And, on the other hand, the Śaṅkara philosophical style, even in written treatises, is so eminently controversial, that an argument in an ordinary work on philosophy reads much like the report of an oral discussion. Now, if we are to put faith in the report we have in the Śankaravijaya, Śankara must have indulged with only too much frequency in abuse of his opponents. The occasions are by no means few on which we find him commencing his reply to an opponent, as reported in the Śankaravijaya, with फुर् ('O fool!') or some other similarly offensive epithet. On the other hand, if any inference is to be drawn from the character of Śankara's writings, no portrait of Śankara can be more utterly incorrect than that which the Śankaravijaya thus exhibits to us. I do not remember more than two instances of what could by any possibility be called even strong language in the whole of Śankara's greatest work, namely, his Commentary on the Brahma-sūtras. And in one of these instances certainly—perhaps I may say in both of them—the language is almost innocent as compared with that which the Śankaravijaya puts into Śankara's mouth. It is difficult to believe that there can be—a case as the present—so much difference between the character of a man as seen in his writings, and his character as seen in his actions in practical life. But, furthermore, there is one point where this contrast comes out in a particularly striking manner. On one occasion, the Śankaravijaya tells us, no less a person than Vyāsā, came to see Śankara-chāryā in the guise of an old Brāhmaṇa, and, after some conversation which is not here relevant, asked Śankara to state his explanation of the first sūtra of the third chapter of the Vedānta Sūtras. Śankara, accordingly, did state his explanation in nearly the same terms as those employed by him in his Bhāṣya, and Vyāsā thereupon raised a difficulty—again in much the same language as the Pāravagākhyā (or the statement of the objector's view) of the Bhāṣya. What, now, is the sequel? Why, the very view which Śankara puts forward as in the Pāravagākhyā—all the while in the best of temper, as far as we are permitted to judge from the language of the Bhāṣya—at once, if we are to believe the Śankaravijaya, makes him forget common decency when stated by the old Brāhmaṇa, and stated too, be it remembered, in much the same words as he himself had employed. According to the Śankaravijaya, as soon as the old man raises the difficulty in question, Śankara at once turns upon him with बुझा मूर्तिर ('O you extremely foolish old man!'), &c. &c. The old man, however, keeps his temper in spite of this outburst, and the discussion proceeds—again in exactly the same manner, and in much the same language as in the Bhāṣya. But whereas in that work Śankara writes calmly, like a philosopher, without using even a single objectionable expression, the end of his discussion with Vyāsā, according to the Śankaravijaya, is a slap in the face to the poor old Brāhmaṇa, and a direction to Padmapāda to turn him out from the place where the discussion was held,—a direction not carried out, because the old Brāhmaṇa retired, gracefully before it could be carried out. It appears to me that the two portraits of Śankara we thus obtain are so extremely different that the portrait given in the Śankaravijaya must be unfaithful.

Now it can be said that strong language

What I say is that we have no Billingsgate in Śankara's works, as we have in the Śankaravijaya. And, see, too, Mādhava's dharmavijaya, VII. 47.

† See the Sūtras, pp. 232-31. Mādhava's account of the same occurrence may be seen at dharmavijaya, ch. VII. We have nothing so outrageous there as Anandagiri.

‡ Compare also dharmavijaya, p. 155, with Śankara's Bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra III. 1. 28; also Śankaravijaya, p. 55, with Bhāṣya on II. 1. 24-26.

* Vide, inter alia, pp. 33, 54, 69, 191, 192, 193, and sundry other places.

* The first occurs at p. 579 (B.B. Ind. ed.), where Śankara says to the imaginary opponent न तत्त्वेऽविद्याय स्वत: विस्मृतिः (Anglicized, "Yes, you have said so, your tongue being unrestrained, but you have not spoken logically"). The second is at p. 1138, where we have नूतन ज्ञाति जानन्ति ("As to what some people talk"). There are, of course, hits at opponents here and there, but these are immaterial here, and scarcely objectionable.
may well be uttered in the heat of oral controversy by one who, if he wrote in cold blood and without having before him a living opponent to vanquish, might preserve a thoroughly judicial calmness; and that there is, therefore, no necessary incompatibility between the account of the Sankaravijaya and what may be fairly inferred from Sankara's works. But this, though correct as far as it goes, does not seem to me to afford an adequate explanation. According to the Sankaravijaya, the objectionable language of which we have given specimen was all but habitual with Sankara. And it must be remembered also that where one feels earnestly, and more especially when one writes in the style in which our philosophical works are written, the imaginary opponent is not much less provoking than the real living one.

From all this it seems to me to follow that the portrait of Sankara presented to our view in the Sankaravijaya cannot have been drawn by one who knew well the author of the Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras. The work, therefore, cannot have been composed by a pupil of Sankara, consequently not by Anandagiri. It may, perhaps, be urged against this, that the portrait may have been drawn by a pupil unable to rise to his master's level, and incapable of understanding the master's true spirit. But such a misunderstanding does not, to my mind, furnish a sufficient explanation of all the facts. It seems to me, rather, that we should attribute the portrait to a writer living some considerable time after Sankara—about that time, probably, when his true personality having been in part forgotten, and fictions and legends having gathered round his name, such a thing as the per-

seuction of the Buddhists, for instance, came to be ascribed to him.]

We may now proceed to apply to this work another, and to some extent, more satisfactory test. Let us examine some of the quotations we find in the Sankaravijaya. Now, in the first place, we have here quotations from the Skandha Purāṇa, the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Purāṇa, the Vishnu Purāṇa, and the Bṛhaddevata Purāṇa, besides some stanzas which are introduced with general expressions like “it is said in the Purāṇa,” &c.* On Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the Purāṇas in general, and of the above-mentioned Purāṇas in particular, it clearly follows that his position as regards the Sankaravijaya is quite untenable. For we find that the dates which he assigns to these Purāṇas range between the ninth and seventeenth centuries.† From this it necessarily follows that the work which quotes from those Purāṇas cannot be placed earlier than the seventeenth century,—cannot, therefore, be “the composition of a period not far removed from that at which” Anandagiri the pupil of Sankarāchārya “may be supposed to have flourished,” and cannot be “a safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago.” These conclusions, however, depend, of course, on the correctness of Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the Purāṇas in question. From that view I have already ventured to express my dissent;‡ and I must take leave to do so again. I am not satisfied with the reasons assigned by Professor Wilson for his view, and I have pointed out some facts which appear to me to militate against it.§ Although, therefore,

| Compare on this point Professor Wilson's Essays on Soudhirī Literature, vol. I. p. 24 and vol. III. p. 19. I am very strongly inclined to agree with Prof. Wilson and Rāja Rammohan Rāi in disbelieving the story of Sankara's persecution of the Buddhists. I have personally very little doubt that a great deal has been in these days fathered upon Sankara for which he really is not answerable.

† See pp. 89, 41, 46, 71, 112, 183, 524. See also pp. 78, 153, 218.

‡ See Preface to Vishnu Purāṇa, passim. The Mārkandeya, according to the Professor, belongs probably to the ninth, and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka to the seventeenth century, Prof. Aufrecht (Catalogus 3526) says, "Atque eos libros omnes, quos Sankara laudans fingitur, tunc jam scriptos esse nobis persuasimus, ut Bṛhadāraṇyaka quidem, quo Vishnu-bhaktus celebratur, Sīvācī, Rudrāyana exceptis." But the dates of those works I take to be still unsettled, and I do not think, therefore, that any such argument can be brought upon the question of them as Professor Aufrecht imagines. I have, consequently, not noticed them in the text. For a similar reason I have not referred to the quotations from the Sāyaṇa-siddhānta (see pp. 210-7, 133) which we can trace in the current recension of that work. As to the date of the Sāyaṇa-siddhānta see An. Researches, vol. VI. p. 621; vol. VIII. p. 206; Colebrooke's Essays (1st ed.), vol. II. pp. 327, 349, 388, 389. Colebrooke's remarks on the subject are, as usual, sober and cautious. I may state, as to the quotations above referred to from the Purāṇas, that I have not cared to look them up in the works to which they are attributed, as it is unnecessary for my present purpose to do so. With regard to the quotation from the Vishnu Purāṇa which is not mentioned by Professor Aufrecht, see a subsequent note.

§ See Introduction to Bhṛtyrāhri's Sātakas (Bombay Sanskrit Cl.), pp. 77, 87, and also Introductory Essay to my translation of the Bhṛtyrāhri, p. 39 and note. And compare also Bābu Rājendrarāi Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Mśś., gaṇitas, especially No. IX.

† Prof. Wilson's argument is based, to some extent, on a notion prevalent among European scholars, namely, that many of the principal dogmas of the present religion of the Hindus are of very late growth, such, for instance, as the
that he did not flourish more than two generations before Mādhavacārya. And it therefore follows that the author of the Sāṅkara-vijaya cannot have lived long, if at all, before the fourteenth century after Christ, and cannot, therefore, be identical with the Anandagiri who was one of the pupils of Sāṅkara-cārya.

In the 47th section of the Sāṅkara-vijaya, containing the refutation of the Pitrināta, we have the following lines, quoted as from the Adhikaraṇaratanamālā:

| पारितानीय आचार्याशोऽवि प्रतिपादननिष्ठताः । श्रीकालिणीकेषस्र- ।
| --- |
| परमादिको न भवेत् ॥ पारितानीयाः ॥

Now the Adhikaraṇaratanamālā is traditionally known as only another name of a celebrated Mimamsā treatise of Mādhavacārya—the Jaiminiyāvyamālavistara, of which a beautiful edition was commenced by the late Professor Goldstöcker under the auspices of the Oriental Text Society, but unfortunately not completed, in consequence of the death of that lamented scholar. The above-mentioned stanza, however, does not occur in that work—either in the portion printed, or in the remaining portion, which I have examined in MS. It is to be found in the work from which the quotation last discussed is taken, namely, the Vyadhisthikaratanamālā. It forms part of the stanzas summarizing Brahma-sūtras III. 4, 23, 24, so that although this passage does not carry us any further than the last, it still strengthens the conclusion based on it—namely, that the Sāṅkara-vijaya cannot have been composed before the fourteenth century A.C.

But now it becomes desirable to inquire about the indisputable evidence upon which Professor Wilson assigned this work to a time not far removed from that of Anandagiri. For myself, I have failed to find any such evidence. One argument, however, on which Professor Wilson would probably have relied is contained in the following passage in his Essay on Hindu Sects:

"The great divisions," he says, "of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda, the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe that neither in this nor in any other portion of the Sāṅkara-vijaya is any allusion made to the separate worship of Kṛṣṇa, either in his own person or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so preeminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of Rāma and Śīlā, of Lalita or Hanumān, once particularized, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration."§ The implication here seems to be that the Sāṅkara-vijaya must be earlier than the 11th century. But, is it necessary to suppose that the Sāṅkara-vijaya was written before Rāmānuja flourished, merely because Rāmānuja is not mentioned in it? Not to mention other possible explanations, it seems to me more likely that our author had before him as his authority some other work, in which no reference was made to the sect of Rāmānuja. Upon the whole, therefore, I think that the circumstances here noted does not affect the conclusions which we have already drawn, namely, that the Sāṅkara-vijaya is in all probability a work of the 14th century, and that consequently it cannot be a work of Anandagiri the pupil of Sāṅkara-cārya.

If this is so, it follows that Professor Aufrecht is not correct in saying that Mādhavacārya, in compiling his Sāṅkara-vijaya, made use of Anandagiri's work, omitting some things, transposing others, abridging here and amplifying there.|| It is true that in the commentary on the fifteenth chapter of Mādhava's Sāṅkara-vijaya we meet with passages, cited as from the "ancient" work to which Mādhava refers, corresponding with passages in our Sāṅkara-vijaya. But, in the first place, the author of that commentary—Dhanapati—lived only at the beginning of this century, and his authority on such a point as the present, though not to be slighted, is not conclusive. And, what is of more importance, the passages, though coinciding in some portions, do not coincide altogether. Thus the comment on Mādhava XVI. 1, expatiating on the word 'pupils' in that stanza, repeats the list to be found in our Sāṅkara-vijaya (p. 19). And then, commenting on the text which says "he first set out for the Setu (the Bridge)," the author writes, "This, in conformity with the old work, should be explained as

† P. 291.
‡ In the Catalogue of MSS. in the Central Provinces (p. 106), Jaiminiyāvyamālavistara and Adhikarānaratnāmālā are mentioned as two distinct Mimamsā treatises. Dr. Bahu Dāji (Journ. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc. vol. IX. p. 220) speaks of two works, Jaiminiyāvyamālavistara.
|| p. 266a, and compare also p. 266b, note.
¶ See Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 266a.
failing the Madhurjuna, he, desirous of conquering all the quarters, set out for the Setu.” Then he quotes with some variants the passage in our Sankaravijaya commencing at p. 19 and ending on p. 20 at the words मदुर्जुनाः नित्यम्. Then follow two stanzas in our Sankaravijaya, which Dhanaipati’s authority apparently did not contain. In the second stanza of the text Madhava says that Sankara had a controversy with the Saktas, and his commentator sets out the arguments on both sides in verse. According to our author, however, the controversy here was with the Saisvas, and his report of it is in prose. The extract in the commentary on this stanza will be found to answer to Secs. 19 to 22 of our Sankaravijaya, and many coincidences between the two accounts are obvious. But although these coincidences are of some interest, it would take us too far afield to discuss them.* I will content myself with saying that it is just possible that our Sankaravijaya is itself based on the work which Dhanaipati quotes; and that in all probability neither was used exclusively, if used at all, by Madhavacharya.† A work on Sankara’s victories is ascribed to another of Sankara’s pupils—Chidvilasa—who, I take it, is identical with Chitsukha. Not having access to the work, I am unable to say whether it was really written by a pupil of Sankara’s, or whether the author was one of the “ancient poets” to whom Madhava refers. Nevertheless, the fact that it is attributed to Chitsukha induces me to express the hope that somebody may undertake to edit and publish it.

One or two other points may be noted concerning the Sankaravijaya, although they have, I think, little bearing on the main question here discussed. At p. 171 we find the verses अनुमति मद्वारः, &c. put into Sankara’s mouth and described as अनुमातिकृति. Now these verses form part of the little poem named Mhambudaga, which is attributed to Sankaracharya himself. If this tradition is correct—and there seems little reason to distrust it—we have here at least a very noteworthy mode of referring to and describing the verses in question. A similar instance occurs at p. 195, where the reference is to Sankara’s Bhasya on the Brahmastra. We may remark that in the passage from the ancient poet cited by the commentator on Madhava’s Sankaravijaya the verses अनुमति मद्वारः may be likewise found cited, though not as अनुमातिकृति; while the reference to the Sankara Bhasya is introduced there, as here, with the words, “The Acharya has said.”§

Furthermore, it is not entirely unworthy of note that the language of the Sankaravijaya is not by any means correct in point of grammar. We have forms in abundance like अनुमति and सन्तति; and sometimes, when we are not given a little frequency, the same remark applies to the word अनुमति.** In one place we have नित्यम् नति in another स्वतः; and again in a third we have a sentence beginning with the word सर्वस्वतः. It is difficult to ascribe all these deviations from grammatical rules to the corruptions of the MSS. And if they are not to be so ascribed, some explanation is necessary as to how they came to find their way into the work. After much consideration I am bound to say that I cannot find any satisfactory explanation.

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* I may mention that some of the quotations in our Sankaravijaya are to be found in the extracts given by Dhanaipati. That from the Vishnu Purana, however, is not to be found there. And it is noteworthy that the Vishnu Purana is not mentioned in Anrich’s list of the works quoted in our Sankaravijaya.
† Madhava’s work is larger than our Sankaravijaya, and cannot, therefore, have been summarised from the latter. It also contains summaries of discussions and reports of discussions for which no materials are furnished by our author.

** pp. 189, p. 185.
†† p. 162.
§§ p. 237.
of a tiger or elephant, it is an omen of good.
If the noise resembles crying or laughing, it is
an ill omen; if the tree falls with its head to
the north or east, it is a good omen. The
Artocarpus integrifolia, the Punnai (Botella
tintoria ?), the Mango, the Bassia longifolia,
the Eugenia Jambolana, the Minurops Elongi, the
Michelia Champaca, the Calatropis gigantea,
the Phansí (P), the Ficus religiosa, the Ficus
indica, the Ficus racemosa, the Punica granatum,
and the Tropis aspera—these are milk-giving
trees, and their timber is soft; the timber of
all other trees is called hard timber.”

On Joining.

“Find the breadth of the beam; let this be
the length of the connecting tie. Next ascertain
the depth of the beam; one-ninth part of
this should be the thickness of the connecting
tie: this tie is called kudumí.”

He gave me a kudumí, and the following is
a sketch of it:

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“The nails used to secure a joint should be
driven through the centre when the work is
for a temple; when the work is intended for
dwelling-houses, &c. &c., to the right of the
centre is the rule to be observed. If the nails
are driven to the left of the centre, the enemies
of the householder will increase, and the house
will be consumed by fire.

“A joint should not fall in a line with the
centre of the door; for loss of life and property
is the consequence of such an arrangement.
The proper place, if there must be a joint, is
half-distance from the centre of the door.

“Hard timbers should be joined with hard
timbers, and soft timbers with soft. When
joining, the greater length should be to the
right hand, and the lesser to the left of the
joiner. The carpenter should be on the outside,
and the stípan on the inner side.

“In joining beams, if the head of one tree is
joined to the head of another tree, a terrible illness
will occur in the house; but if the head of
a tree and the foot of a tree are joined to
form the beam, wealth and happiness will dwell
in that house.”

Concerning Doors.

“The timber of the Návali tree is proper for
doors of temples, the Ním for doors of Bráhm-
ams’ houses, the Teak for Kshatriyas, the
Illappa for Vaisásyas, Cocosnut timber for Veil-
látras.

“A door should be constructed entirely of
one sort of timber. It is improper to construct
it of different kinds; and the door should be
hinged to the left door-post, i.e. the left looking
from the outside.

“Before fixing the door-frame in its place,
find the length of the house, then mark the
exact centre. If the door is for a dwelling-house,
it should be set up to the left of the aforesaid
centre, but if for a temple the centre is the
proper place.”

Another rule:—“Find the length of the
house-wall, divide the sum into nine parts, set
off three parts to the left hand, and five parts to
the right hand: the door should stand in the
remaining part of the wall of the house.”

Concerning Door-posts.

“Stone door-posts are proper for temples.
Door-posts of Margosa are proper for Bráhmans,
of Ebony or Teak for Kshatriyas, Illappa for
Vaisásyas, Cocosnut and Acacia for Veillátras.

“Door-posts should not be placed in the
centre of the wall. According to the rule of the
ancients, find the thickness of the wall by
measure; divide this into six parts. The centre
of the sixth or outer part is the proper place
for the door.”

Concerning setting up Doors.

“If Leo is ascending, set up the south door;
if Taurus, set up the west door; if Kuvera, set
up the north door; if the Moon is passing the
meridian, the east door. When Leo is ascending
is the proper time for placing a door in a temple
of Vishnu. When Taurus is ascending is the
proper time for placing a door in a temple of
Mahádev. When Kuvera is ascending is the
proper time for setting a door in Gañésa’s temple.
When the Moon is passing the meridian, a
door may be set up for any one.

“If one determines to build a house, let him
be careful to attend to the rules of the Divine
ends as clean as possible, and the kudumí mentioned above
is let into them.

* Margosa of the Portuguese, Melia Azadirachta of botanists.—Etr.
Silpa, Men Achari, for measuring length, breadth, and thickness. Also let him enter upon residence on a propitious day, and the blessing of Lakshmi, health, long life, and happiness shall attend him.”

Concerning taking up residence.

“Sunday and Tuesday are unlucky days to take up residence; Saturday, Thursday, Wednesday, and Monday are propitious days. The stars Ashvini, Chitra, Panarvasu, Anuradha, Vishakha, Uttarashadha, Uttar Phalguni, and Revati are propitious. The constellations Kambum (Aquarius) and Virasakam (Scorpio) are unlucky. The fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of the Moon are also unlucky. Attending to these rules, take up your residence in the house.

“The ninth and the fourteenth days of the Moon, Saturdays, Fridays, the months Panguni, Auni, Purattasi, and Margali, are unlucky; if you take up residence you will be bitten by a poisonous animal. If the planet Venus is rising or setting, or if the Trident of Siva is opposite, do not enter upon residence on those days; if you do, you will suffer great loss.”

There is a good deal of this kind of matter, with which we need not trouble our readers. The author next treats of the Mukarthat of the Garbha; but first we shall give his rule for ascertaining the character of the Garbha, and the individuals for whom it is fit.

“Let the yejaman construct a measuring rule in length equal to four of his own hand-spans. With this measure let him measure the house from east to west, and from south to north. Square the sums and divide the product by eight. If the remainder is 5, the Garbha is named Suba-garbha: success in all things will be secured to the yejaman. Should the remainder be 6, it is called Kaka-garbha: it is of a middle character, fit for outcasts to live in. Should the remainder be 1, it is called Garuda-garbha, and is fit for the four castes. Should the remainder be 3, it is called Simah-garbha: this is excellent. Should the remainder be 7, it is called Geja-garbha: great advantages befall the dweller. Should the remainder be 2, it is called Puru-garbha: this is fair, and is fit for hunters. Should the remainder be 4, it is called Swad-garbha: this is fair, but fit for Labhadis and Kowavars. Should the remainder be 8, it is called Kalukhai-garbha: this too is fair, but the house will never be completed, and even should it, it will perish; it is a dwelling fit only for very low castes, wild beasts, peacocks, and antelopes.

Garbha Mukarthat.

“Reject Fridays, Thursdays, Saturdays, Mondays, and Wednesdays. Also reject the eighth of the following constellations:—Uttara Phalguni, Uttarashadha, Magham (Capricornus), Punarvasu, Shatataraka, Mriga, Rohini, Anuradha, and Revati. Reject also the full and the new moon, also the fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of each half-month; all other times are propitious for Garbha Mukarthat.

“If you perform Garbha Mukarthat when Pisces is declining, it will be fortunate; if when Aries and Taurus are declining, sickness will ensue; if when Gemini is declining, sorrow will be the result; if when Cancer is declining, wealth and progress will be the result; if when Virgo is declining, everything you take in hand will prosper; if when Scorpio and Sagittarius are declining, your wife will flourish, deriving excellence from numerous sons.”

The author gives a rule for ascertaining certain matters connected with buildings. He uses two expressions, Ayan and Selam, which, in the connexion he uses them, I cannot translate better than by ‘Profit’ and ‘Loss’.

The Rule.

“Ascertain the length of the house, square it, multiply the sum by 8, and divide the product by 12: the remainder is the Ayan, or profit. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 8, divide the product by 10, the remainder is the Selam, or loss. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 27, and divide the product by 100, the remainder is the age or durability of the house. Again, take the square number, multiply it by 8, and divide the product by 27, the remainder is the star. Again, multiply the square number by 3, and divide the product by 8, the remainder is the Yoni. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 7, the remainder is the day. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 4, the remainder is the caste. Multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 9, the remainder is the Anusam. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 30, the remainder is the Tithi.
If this falls within 15, it belongs to the crescent moon, but if above 15 to the decrescent moon. Again, multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 12, the remainder is the constellation. Multiply the square number by 8, and divide the product by 5, the remainder gives the Śītra. The following are the Yonis:—Garuda, Puli, Siśha, Noy, Pānbut, Ell, Ani, Musul; of these Puli (cat), Ell (rat), and Musul (hare) are bad. The following are the An-
sans:—Arsam, Soram, Patthi, Satthi, Thanium, Rāsiam, Kalbhum, Varuttham, Bokam, and Sābām. The following are the Śītras:—Pālana, Kumāru, Rājan, Klavan, Marasan. We now give an example or two that may serve to illustrate the foregoing:

"Given the length of the house 11 cubits, and the width 5 cubits, to find the age,—that is to say, how many years such a house will stand. By the rule 11 × 5 = 55, and 55 × 27 = 1485, 1485 ÷ 100 = 14, the remainder being 85,—which remainder indicates the number of years the house will stand.

"Given the length of the house 15 cubits, and the width 7 cubits, to find the caste for whom it is suitable. 15 × 7 = 105, 105 × 9 = 945, and 945 ÷ 4 = 236, remainder 1. The remainder 1 indicates the first caste, i.e. Brāhmans.

"Given the length of the house 17 cubits, and the width 7, to ascertain the caste for whom it is suitable. 17 × 7 = 119, 119 × 9 = 1071, and 1071 ÷ 4 = 267, remainder 3. The remainder 3 denotes the third or Vaiśya caste."

The next example exhibits the entire series.

"Given the length of the house 9 cubits, width 3 cubits, to find the Ayam and Selavu, &c. &c. By the rule 9 × 3 = 27, 27 × 8 = 216, and 216 ÷ 12 = 18,—12 = Ayam. 27 × 9 = 243, and 243 ÷ 10 = 24, remainder 3,—which is the Selavu or loss, and so on according to the rule. The Yoni is Garuda, the star Revati, the part of the lunar month the third day, the day of the week Thursday, the constellation Pisces, and the caste Vaiśya."

Strange as all this appears to us Europeans, natives regard these things as matters of great importance, and I have been informed by a well-educated native gentleman that many of these rules are adhered to even now.

The Ayams and Selavus are also used for the purpose of ascertaining whether good or evil will happen to the householder; thus:

"If the Ayam be 0 or 2, it denotes that great pleasure and happiness awaits the householder; if 3 or 4, fame and happiness are indicated; if 5 or 6, increase of wealth; if 7 or 8, beneficence and true wisdom are indicated.

"Multiply the Ayam by 9 and divide it by 10 to find the Selavu or loss. If the remainder is 1, it denotes that great poverty is in store for the householder. If 2 remain, the house will be consumed by fire. If the remainder is 8, Lakshmi will dwell in that house. If 9 remain, the destruction of sons will ensue. If the remainder is 10, it is most excellent."

We have already given the rule for finding the eight Yonis, and as these exert a very considerable influence upon uneducated Hindus, we shall give the instructions concerning them as contained in this book.

The Yoni Garuda (hawk) is in the east.

- Lion
- Serpent
- Elephant
- Cat
- Dog
- Rat
- Hare

This, illustrated by a diagram, will explain what is to follow.

The eight Yonis.

Lion.

Elephant.

Serpent.

Dog.

Cat.

Hare.

Garuda.

The reader will observe that the animals are placed antagonistically, e.g. the dog is the natural enemy of the hare, the cat of the rat, &c. &c. The rule accordingly is:—A person dwelling in Garuda’s position should not undertake anything that would oblige him to journey toward the position of the Serpent, and vice
versed, because Garuḍa will come forth in search of food, and meeting the Serpent on the same errand mischief is likely to befall the person journeying between them; and so of the other Yonis. It is dangerous for a person living in a Yoni to travel in the direction of its opponent. Accordingly the author advises his readers to consult an almanac before setting out on a journey.

The width of the house appears to be a matter of very considerable importance in the śilpas’s art. Our author in 26 ślokas sings of the width of houses. He gives forty-four examples, and of these seventeen are fraught with mischief to the householder: we give a few as examples:

“If the width of the house is six feet, the blessing of Lakṣmī and all happiness will be here.

“If the width of the house is ten feet, sheep and oxen will increase, imperishable wealth and flourishing fields will be the possession of the householder. If the width of the house is twenty feet, the wife will flourish, sons will increase, and wealth of all kinds will ensue to the householder. If the width of the house is nineteen feet, the servants will die, business will fail, terrible mischief will befall the housekeeper, and his wife will be kept by another man.

“If the width of the house is twenty-eight feet, sickness and the death of sons, the loss of wealth, and untold poverty will ensue. Therefore a man should flee from such a house.”

These are sufficient to serve as examples, but it is observable that there is no distinct rule in the book, beyond what may be found in these examples, for defining the proper width of a house.

Concerning Days.

“Sunday is a good day for transacting business, Monday for sowing grain, Tuesday for fighting; Wednesday for commencing studies, Thursday for getting married, Friday for getting shaved, and Saturday for performing penance.”

Tank-digging.

“If one digs a tank in the point of Agni, besides losing his wife by death, he himself will meet with an accident, and his wealth will vanish. If one digs it in Yama’s point, it will be a useless tank, besides which the man who digs it will become a beggar. If, however, one digs a tank in Isanī’s point (north-east), he will obtain wealth.”

Concerning Wells.

“If one digs a well in the north-east or west points of the house, auspicious events will ensue. If one digs a well in the north-west, the death of sons will follow. If one digs a well in the south-west, sickness will be the result. If one digs a well in the south, death will follow. If one digs a well in the south-east, he will be childless. And if one digs a well in the centre of his house, his wealth will perish.

“If one digs a well in Varuṇa’s point (west), the blessing of the Supreme One, and all happiness, will be the result.

“If one digs a well centre to south-east, south-west, and north-west, his relations and his sons will die of sickness, he shall lose all his wealth, and will afterwards live by begging.”

NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRĀVIDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.


(Continued from p. 153.)

No. II.—On the “Harmonic Sequence of Vowels.”

On the subject of this paper Mr. Whitney, in his work entitled The Life and Growth of Language, p. 234, says: “In the phonetic structure of the Scythian languages the most striking trait is the so-called ‘harmonic sequence of vowels.’ There are, namely, two classes of vowels, light and heavy, or palatal (ε, i, u, o) and other (a, o, u); and it is the general law that the vowels of the various endings shall be of the class of that in the root, or in its last syllable—thus marking the appurtenance and dependency of the endings in their relation to the root in a manner which, though undoubtedly at first euphonious only (like the German unlaub), has lent itself usefully to the purposes of formal distinction. Every suffix, then, has two forms, a light and a heavy: we have al-mak, but see-mek; es-ler, but agha-ler, and so on.”
Mr. Whitney goes on (in p. 245) to say that
"the Dravidian languages show no trace of this
harmonic sequence of vowels." And this con-
clusion I came to many years ago. Some rea-
sons for this I purpose to give here.

In regard to the affiliation of these languages
in general I may quote Mr. Whitney's words,
which I had not seen when I began these Notes,
but which exactly express my views on the whole
subject:—"The Dravidian languages are not in
their structure so different from the Scythian that
they might not belong to one family with them, if
only sufficient correspondences of material were
found between the two groups. And some have
been ready, though on grounds not to be accepted
as sufficient, to declare them related."

The most complete exposition of the whole
subject of Harmonic sequence of vowels is
given in the Revue de Philologie et d'Ethno-
graphie, edited by Ch. E. de Ujfalvy (Jan.-
March 1875).

This is the summary:
"1°. Les voyelles dans les langues Ougro-
finnoises se subdivisent en trois classes, en
dures, douces et neutres;
"2°. Jamais les voyelles des deux premières
classes ne peuvent se rencontrer dans un radic-
al; les radicaux sont donc durs et doux;
"3°. Les voyelles des suffixes s'assimilent à
celles des radicaux; c'est-à-dire les suffixes à
voyelles dures s'accollent aux radicaux doux;
"4°. Cette loi découle du génie organique de
ces langues même, elle s'est développée et rév-
élée plus ou moins dans tous les idiomes du
groupe Ougro-finnois (à l'exception du Vépce,
du Livonien, de l'Estonien et du Tchéreo-
missi), et c'est l'influence des langues Arvéennes
qui seule a pu altérer son application;
"5°. Cette loi se manifeste même dans les
mots que ces langues ont empruntés aux
idiomes Hmitrophes."

We may inquire, then—
I. Is there in the Dravidian languages any
division, actual or possible, into the three classes
of hard, soft, and neutral? The answer must be
a decided negative.

The hard in the Ougro-Finnish dialects are
a, o, u; the soft are more or less the same as the
German ä, ö, ü; the middle (which do not admit of
umlaut) e, i.

In the Dravidian languages there are only four
recognized cases where the vowel changes its
sound:—4 before a lingual is pronounced nearly
as ü; a in a final syllable becomes occasionally e;
final u, in certain cases, is sounded much as a
French u; and the diphthong ai is pronounced
variously, according to its position in a word.

The Dravidian vowels in the grundsprache
were a, ä; i, ë; e, é; u, ü; o, õ; with the
diphthongs ai and au.

Those correspond exactly to those of the
Sanskrit. The marks by which a long vowel is
distinguished from a short one are probably
all of them of comparatively recent origin.

These vowels have no effect upon the
pronunciation of the consonants.

Nor have the Dravidian languages any trace
of the numerous diphthongs which exist in the
Ougro-Finnish.

II. Is any division of Dravidian radicals into
hard and soft possible? Are the vowels in
each radical of one kind or class? Most evi-
dently not.

In Finnish kala = fish, and its ablative is
kalalta; iä = father, and its ablative is iäälä.
Here the harmonic sequence is seen.

"Jamais un radical Finnois ne peut contenir
des voyelles dures et douces à la fois," says De
Ujfalvy.

In Tamil (of which I chiefly speak) every
variation is possible:—kādal, kāda, kādai, kāṟṟ,
kōdal, kūṭṭam, kēṟta, kēḻvi, kōṟan, vīḻṭam.
No trace of any such limitation—of any law
—is to be discovered in any Dravidian dialect.

Euphonic changes, such as are traceable in
Latin,—in similis compared with simulata; in
cssilium (cssil); bene (bone); secordia (secordia),
—are rare in Dravidian languages.

Cē = 'die,' makes ce-tt.
Kētā = 'perish,' makes kētā, 'destruction.'
If any stress is to be laid upon this in the
affiliation of languages, the very wide applica-
tion of the principle, under the name of 'umlaut,'
would tend to exclude German from the
family of Aryan languages.

III. I proceed to the question, Do the
vowels of the suffixes in the Dravidian lan-
guages assimilate themselves to those of the
stem to which they are appended?

Of this there is no real trace.

In Latin we find tubiōna making tubiōna-,
cana makes cana-ci-; but here the stem is rather
affected by the suffix, than the suffix by the
stem. Neighbouring sounds affect one another.
NOTES ON A TIBET TEAPOT.

In the Dravidian languages I can see nothing more than this:—

In Tamil we have—

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ēn} & \rightarrow \text{I give}, \\
\text{ān} & \rightarrow \text{he gives}, \\
\text{ōm} & \rightarrow \text{we give}, \\
\text{ār} & \rightarrow \text{ye give}.
\end{align*}\]

And the same pronominal endings, \text{ēn}, \text{ān}, \text{ōm}, and \text{ār}, are added to every verbal stem, whatever its vowels may be, without any change.

In the Telugu and in Kanarese, and in colloquial Tamil, \text{u} and \text{i} are occasionally interchanged, or, more strictly, \text{u} is fined down to \text{ā}, and even to \text{i}. The inflectional particle used for the fourth or ‘dative’ case in the Dravidian languages is \text{ā}; this is added a vowel which hovers between \text{u}, \text{ā}, and \text{i}. This reminds me of Homer’s “\text{ἀλὼγεῖ μι τῶν}.”

In certain cases where a connecting vowel is used, that vowel is determined by the vowel of the suffix.

But I deny that in any Dravidian dialect there is a systematic change of the vowel of a suffix, or inflectional increment, in order to adapt it to the vowels of the stem to which it is appended.

IV. I make the final inquiry, Do the Dravidian languages alter the vowels of foreign words which they adopt according to any supposed law of harmonic sequence?

Most elaborate rules are given by the Jain grammarians for the spelling of Sanskrit words received into Tamil and Kanarese; but these affect the consonants almost entirely. I know of no case where the vowels are changed in obedience to any principle.

In Tamil a Sanskrit word which ended in \text{ā} will end in \text{ā}\. The Sanskrit \text{ā} often becomes optionally \text{ē}.

So Persian, Arabic, and English words suffer as to consonants, but vowels remain nearly intact.

I conclude, then, that the law of “harmonic sequence” has not been shown to hold good in the Dravidian languages, and that their euphonic changes are rather in harmony with those which take place in the Aryan family.

But this latter subject would require another paper. These changes will, I think, show the Dravidian languages more in harmony with Schleicher’s “\text{Ārio-graceto-italo-keltisch}” subdivision of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, than with the Ugro-Finnish dialects of M. de Ujfalvy.—(To be continued.)

NOTES ON A TIBET TEAPOT AND ON THE TEA USED THEREIN.

BY CHARLES HORNE, LATE B.C.S.; F.R.A.S., F.L.S., &C.

This grand old teapot was in family use in a Tibetan household near Lhahou, and was given, as a most valuable parting present, by the old lady who owned it, to Captain Hay, then in political employ in the Kulu country, in the Himalaya. It is said to have been made about a hundred years since in China, and its ornamentation is decidedly Chinese. The body represents a lotus-flower with five petals curved in at the summit. On each petal are engraved mountains, trees, and clouds. The grateful steam ascends from the mountains, nourishes trees, and then forms clouds, which descending within provides the cheering beverage. The cover, which is handsomely ornamented and finished off with a pine-apple knob, is fastened to a dragon’s neck by a brass chain. The said dragon, which is horned and of the true Chinese type, forms the handle. He has landsome scroll epaulettes and a most singular tail. He has his open mouth placed on the rim of the opening, in the hopes of getting a little of the overflow, should there be any. The condensed steam is discharged by the spout, which represents the trunk and head of a small-eared elephant, and is attached at the upper part to the teapot by a small dragon’s head.

Perhaps this is allegorical, and may represent the Ganges flowing from its source in the mountains. But whether or no, the whole affair is in excellent keeping, and may fairly be rendered as I have put it.

The metal of which it is composed seems to be a mixture of brass with some harder metal. The colour is somewhat duller than brass, and, although it has been made so long, it bears no trace of copperas or rust of any kind.

Its height is eight and a half inches, and across from the exterior of the handle to that of the spout it measures nearly nine inches. The design is quite worthy of imitation by our artists, in silver or other metal, and this has been beautifully rendered by the artist; although from its colour it was very difficult to photograph.
In the country from whence it was derived almost every house has a teapot as hereinafter described, but not in general so handsome as that now under notice. Tea is drunk more and more, and our Himalayan tea-planters, if they can manufacture it to meet the taste of these people, have an unlimited field for their enterprise. The brick-tea, of which more anon, appears to me very coarse and bad, besides being very dear; but it takes a long time to induce a people to change their habits. Attempts are, however, being made to manufacture brick-tea, and this will doubtless be very successful, as we are daily learning more of the details of the manufacture.

But my readers will like to know how the tea was made which was served in this remarkable teapot. Here is the recipe, for any one to try:—Take a very small quantity of tea, brick-tea, say two ounces for ten people, and put it into a large iron or mica-schist pot and boil with a little water for an hour. Next, mix in about an equal quantity of soda. This soda is an efflorescence found upon the surface of the ground at Kyán, beyond the Panging Lake. Then add a little salt and some half-rancid butter. This butter has salt put in when made, so that often additional salt can be dispensed with. Lastly, add a little of the broken bark of the yew (Taxus baccata), called by the natives Buriné, which imparts great astrageneity, and gives the mixture a reddish colour. About ten pints of water are added, and the whole is churned up with a churning-stick until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate. When ready it is poured into the teapot, called by the natives chibriül, the only straining commonly in use being by the placing of a spoon before it when running, to stop the coarser particles.

In Lahou! coarse china cups are used without handles or saucers or covers. These come from Yarkand. Turned cups of serpentine are also much esteemed, as they stand heat very well, and tea can be kept hot in them by the fire. They are made near Lé.

The mica-schist pots are hollowed out with a tool at Zanzibar. They are sometimes two feet in diameter, without any covers, and are cut from the solid. They are shaped like an Indian lotié, or a round saucepan with a lip all round.

The tea thus made is pressed upon the visitor, who is expected, like themselves, to drink from five to ten cups, if they can make him.

Moorcroft, in his Travels (vol. I, pp. 231-2), thus describes his visit to the Raja of Ladakh, when tea was served:—“A moderately large teapot of gilt copper, and of beautiful workmanship, was brought in, and salted and buttered tea without milk handed to the company. The Raja took out of a breast-pocket or pouch his own tea-cup, of yellow china. The Khaga Tanzin also produced his, of chestnut wood mounted with silver. We had come provided with our own cups. The tea was not very strong, and tasted like weak broth.”

The use of tea in Lahou! appears to be restricted to the higher classes, the poorer using substitutes for it, such as the leaves of a dwarf kind of willow, &c., but the practice of teadrinking is daily becoming more general.

The following extract from Moorcroft (vol. I, pp. 229, 230) will show how general its use had become some forty years since:

“The diet of the Ladakhs, and of the Tibetans generally, is nutritious and wholesome, and is remarkable for the prominent share which is taken in it by tea. All classes of Tibetans eat three meals a day. The first consists of tea; the second of tea—or of meal porridge if that cannot be afforded; the third of meat, rice, vegetables, and bread by the upper, and soup, porridge, and bread by the lower classes. For a breakfast of ten persons this would be the preparation:—About an ounce of black tea, called here zangcha (or zangja), broken brick-tea (from zeng, black, and chia, chha, or ja, tea of Major Hay?), and a like quantity of soda are boiled in a quart of water for an hour, or until the leaves of the tea are sufficiently steeped. It is then strained and mixed with tea quarts of boiling water in which an ounce and a half of fossil salt has been previously dissolved. The whole is then put into a narrow cylindrical churn, along with some butter, and well churned with a churning-stick till it becomes a smooth, oily, and brown liquid of the colour and consistency of chocolate, in which form it is transferred to a teapot of silver or silvered copper or brass, for the richer classes ornamented with flowers and foliage, and grotesque figures of leopards, crocodiles, dragons,
or heads of elephants, and the like, in embossed or filagree work. The poorer people have plain brass or tinned copper teapots. Each man has his own cup, either of china, porcelain, or, what is more common, made out of the knot of the horse chestnut, edged or lined with silver, or plain. About five thousand of these, in the rough, are annually exported from Bisahir to Gartokh, and sold at the rate of six for a rupee (1s. 10d.).

“They are finished and ornamented in China. The latter kind of cup contains about one-third of a pint, the china cup something less. Each person drinks from five to ten cups of tea, and when the last is half finished he mixes with the remainder as much barley meal as makes a paste with it, which he eats. . . . . . . . The poorer people, instead of tea, boil two parts of barley flour with one of water or meat broth seasoned with salt, until it becomes of the thickness of porridge.”

Major Hay tells me that in 1849 there were three kinds of brick-tea sold in Jahlou, which came from China via Ladakh,—(1) kopinzi, a green tea; (2) chung-ching, a black tea; and (3) sungja, also black. The last named sold for about 3s. 6d. per lb., being the cheapest. Moorcroft in 1820 names 3s. per lb. for green brick-tea, and 2s. for black brick-tea, which he says, come via Llassa or Yarkan.

It will thus be seen that it must be quite an article of luxury. Enormous quantities of spurious tea of kinds used to be manufactured from the leaves of various shrubs in Bisahir, and exported thence to Ladakh; but this trade of late seems to have fallen off, and when there I heard but little of it.

Jacquemont, who travelled some thirty years since in Ladakh and adjacent countries, writes from the frontier the following quaint account (vol. II. pp. 141-142):—“Tea comes to Kasmir by caravans across Chinese Tartary and Tibet. I know not why this caravan tea has any reputation with us; it is absolutely destitute of fragrance, and is prepared for drinking with milk, butter, salt, and an alkaline salt of a bitter taste. All these produce a turbid reddish liquor of extraordinary flavour, execrable according to some, and decidedly agreeable according to others. I am of the latter opinion.

“In Kunawar* it is made in another way:—after the tea has been boiled for an hour or two, the water is thrown away, and the leaves are dressed with rancid butter, flour, and minced goat’s-flesh. This makes a detestable ragoof, they call it tea.”

But I have quoted sufficient to show what kind of brews of tea used to flow through the trunk of our teapot.

THE BHADRÁCHALLAM AND RÉKAPALLI TÁLUKÁS, GODÁVARÍ DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUDEM.

The Bbdhráchallam and Rékapalli tálukás, Godávari district, South India, were handed over to the British Government by the Nizám in 1860, and transferred from the Central Provinces to the Madras Presidency in 1874. For many years previous these two tálukás were the scene of plunder and petty fighting among the many petty zamindars in the Nizám’s dominions and those in the neighbouring territory, and resembled in many respects the ‘debatable land’ of England and Scotland. These quarrels evidently depopulated the country to a large extent, so that no old temples remain to remind one of the various events in Ráma and Sítá’s exile near the village of Parnasala. There are, it is true, remains of a few old temples in other parts of the tálukás, but these have to be examined before any satisfactory decision can be arrived at respecting their age. Near Dumagé a large number of roughly carved idols have been dug up at different times, but they give no evidence as to the date of their first being set up.

In this paper I will give the principal legends connected with these tálukás, and in future papers the castes,—with special reference to the Kolas.

Parnasala, on the banks of the Godávari, is said to have been the scene of Sítá’s abduction. As Ráma, Sítá, and Lakshmana were living there, Rávaṇa drew away Ráma in pursuit of a phantom antelope, which cleverly eluded him and led him far away from his wife and brother. After a time Sítá persuaded

* He here refers to spurious tea.
Lakshmana to go in search of Rama, and Ravana appeared before her and cannily tempted her to prepare to follow him, by asserting that her husband had caught the antelope and was on his way back with his brother. Stooping down, Ravana, with his trident (shulam), lifted up Sitâ and the ground on which she was standing, and placing both her and the mass of the earth on his chariot began to fly away. At that time in the little village of Etapaka, a few miles beyond Bhradrachalam, lived the famous bird Jetayudu. On hearing Sitâ’s cries of distress he immediately hastened to the rescue, and met the chariot on the site of the present Dumaugudem. A terrible battle ensued, and in the conflict so much dust arose that the place was ever afterwards called Dumaugudem—dumma (Telugu) = dust, gudem = a village or hamlet. In the struggle Ravana’s chariot-wheels grazed the top of the hill on the opposite side of the river, and the hill has ever since been called Radhapu-Gutta:—radhapu, the adjective formed from radham, a ‘chariot,’ and gutta, a hill. This scarped hill attracts the attention of all visitors to Dumarudem, and presents an exceedingly pretty sight when the rays of the rising sun in the rainy season fall on the summit.

Ravana, despairing of victory by fair means, asked wherein the secret of the bird’s immense strength lay, promising faithfully to reveal wherein his own lay. Becoming possessed of the required information and declining to act up to his promise, he soon conquered Jetayudu, and the latter fell down mortally wounded. The bird’s two wings fell down in the village now called Rēkappaḷi, which is said to be a modification of the word Rēkkappaḷi, according to a well-known rule in Telugu grammar whereby the cutting off a consonant necessitates the lengthening of the preceding vowel: rēka (from rekka) = a wing, palli = a village. The village where Jetayudu lived is called Yetapaka or Etpaka, i.e. Jetaya’s paka:—paka = a hut. Before long, Rama returned, and, not finding Sitâ, followed up the tracks of Lakshmana, coming at last upon the dead body of his faithful bird. Intensely grieved, he piled up a heap of sticks in the palm of his left hand, and placing the corpse of Jetayudu thereon he burned it. Hence the left hand is called the kāṭi bhami,—kāṭi the inflected form of kāṭu, a func-

ral pile, a burning-ground; bhami = the earth, ground. As one result of this, the placing of the left hand on the heart at night will cause the slumberer to dream most horrible dreams. Rama then came and dwelt at the present Bhradrachalam, building a temple there (which is not supposed to be in existence now), and calling the temple Bhradrāṇa, and the village Bhradrāpuram. After a time he met with Anjaneyudu and Sugrivadh, and learning that Ravana was living on a certain well-known hill in the gorge some distance below Rēkappaḷi, he proceeded there and rescued his wife.

At Parasala they profess to show to visitors in a certain evgu (nallu) a stone upon which Sitâ sat. Certain marks on a rock resemble footprints, and are therefore called ‘Sitâ’s footprints;’ and on one rock especially there are yellow stains, attributed to the yellow dye of Sitâ’s clothes, laid out there to dry after she had washed them. A small hollow in the village is said to be the spot where she was standing when Ravana lifted her up.

On the opposite side of the river, close to the foot of the Radhapu-Gutta, is a small hill called NāluguGutta, which is supposed to have been formed by the accumulation of nālugu (i.e. a kind of soap paste) left by Sitâ after her daily baths.

Some years after this, the people of the district, having learned that Rama had lived for some time at Bhradrachalam, began to regard that town as sacred, and a certain bairagī took up his abode there and built a small temple, carving a stone, and having placed it in the temple worshipped it as the image of Rama.

Thus far the legendary history.

About 150 years ago Rama Dās, an official of the Nizām’s government, was sent to collect the revenue of this tâlukā, but instead of transmitting the money he spent it in building a temple and gopuram. His superiors at last objected to this, and sent a number of Rohillās and carried him to Haidarābād, where he died after an imprisonment of twelve years.

A certain Thirumalakshmi Narasimha Rau then came, and, being much wiser than his predecessor, annually despatched part of the tribute, and devoted the rest to finishing the work commenced by Rama Dās and beginning another temple. Whilst he was thus engaged, a wealthy man of Madras, named Varadarāmadāsu, with
his mother and his wife, brought two lakhs of rupees to Bhadrachalam and agreed to help Narasimha Rau to complete his work. Before this could be done, the Nizam's government, dissatisfied with the small amount of revenue received, sent a number of sawars to take Narasimha Rau to Haidarabad. He immediately gave these sawars a large sum of money, and promised to follow them in a few days to Haidarabad. Before many days had elapsed, the Madras man died, and Narasimha Rau, taking the corpse, the widow, the deceased man's mother, and his own mother, with a large number of servants, embarked on a number of sangalis (rafts) to cross the Godavari. When about halfway across the river, he threw the corpse into the stream and jumped in himself, followed by the widow, her mother-in-law, and most of the followers. His own wife and two servants were rescued, and one of the servants died in Bhadrachalam not many years ago.

These taluks formed part of the Hasanabad Sangagiri Zamindari held by the Ashwa Rau family, under a grant from the representative of the Emperor of Delhi to one Anapaha Ashwa Rau in the beginning of the 14th century. All that is known of the political history of this district is to be found in the Central Provinces Gazetteer and Captain Glasfurd's Revenue Settlement Report.

Until the taluks were handed over to British rule the Bhadrachalam Zamindar always kept up a troop of Rohillahs, who received very little pay for their services, and lived chiefly by looting the country around. In attendance upon them were one hundred Kois and one hundred Madigas (Chaklars). Twenty-five Koi villages form a samudta, and in the Bhadrachalam taluka there are ten samudtas; in the territory on the opposite side of the river, which also belonged to the Ashwa Rau family, there were ten samudtas. Each samudta was bound in turn to furnish for a month a hundred Kois to carry burdens, fetch supplies, &c. for the above-mentioned Rohillahs, and a hundred Madigas to act as horsekeepers. During the month they were thus employed they had to provide their own batta.

The petty zamindars of Albaka, Cherla, Nagur, Beiji, and Chintalanada likewise had their forces of Nayahs and Kois, and were continually robbing and plundering. All was 'grist' which came to their 'mill,' even the clothes of the poor Koi women, who were frequently stripped and then regarded as objects of ridicule. The Kois have frequently told me that they could never lie down to rest at night without feeling that before morning their slumbers might be rudely disturbed, their houses burnt, and their property all carried off. As a rule, they hid their grain in caves and holes of large trees.

The Cherla Raja (who is still alive) had a great antipathy to supposed wizards and sorcerers, and it was an easy method of revenge for one enemy to accuse another to this petty zamindar of being an adept in the black art. The accused was immediately seized and hanged.

The last great plundering took place in 1859, not far from Parnassala. Since the taluks have been under British rule, the Bastar petty zamindars have found it prudent to avoid open violence, as much as the petty zamindars in British territory.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

LINES BY WARREN HASTINGS.

Lord Macaulay, in the celebrated Essay on Warren Hastings, says of the great Governor-General, "He had always loved books. Though not a poet in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent." Indian readers may not be displeased to have a specimen laid before them. The following spirited lines seem to have been written in India, and were printed in a Calcutta newspaper of the year 1810. They are, of course, imitated from Horace's "Oitum dies," &c., and, as a relic of a great Indian worthy of days that now seem very distant, may not be out of place in the pages of the Indian Antiquary.—M. J. W.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—I shall be much obliged if you, or any of your correspondents, will kindly give me the Sanskrit text from the first adhyaga of the Shatapatha Brhadymama, translated as below in the footnote to p. 57 of India Three Thousand Years Ago, by Dr. John Wilson, (late) of Bombay. The translation is:—"If the sacrificer be a Brahman, it is said, Ehi, Come! if he is a Vaisya, then it is Agah, Come hither! with a Rajabandhu it is Adrava, Run hither! with a Sudra it is Adrava, Run hither!" W. J. Richards.

Cottayam, Travancore, June 14th, 1876.

W. J. Richards.
For ease the harass'd Fowjdar prays
When crowded Courts and sultry days
Exhale the noxious fume,
While poring o'er the case he hears
The lengthened lie, and doubts and fears
The culprit's final doom.

For case, for case, he constant sighs,
Invokes the moon and starry skies
'T afford their friendly light,
That no dacoit his peace invade,
Nor burglar ply his boring trade
Secured by gloomy night.

But all his care and toils can ne'er
Fulfil his hopes, his wishes dear;
For ever and anon
The daring crime, th' affray, the theft,
The wail of these of all bereft,
Keep pouring ceaseless on.

Yet, all the numerous ills among
That fail his plans, his purpose strong
Remains unshaken still;
The consciousness of faith and zeal,
And labour for the public weal,
A solace sweet instil.

Then why uneasy should he be,
Or hope o'er perfect peace to see
Unmixed with vice or crime?
For evil passions shall prevail,
And with their train Man's race assail,
Till Heaven's eternal time.

PAHLAVI.

Mr. E. W. West, of the I.C.S., the well-known Pahlavi scholar, is about to return to Europe with fresh materials for the study of Pahlavi literature, of which he gives the following account in a letter to Prof. Max Müller: "I have obtained complete copies of the Dēnḵard, Nīrangīstān, Vajarkard-i Dīdār, and many shorter works hardly known by name in Europe, and hope to finish the Dēštīn-i Dīdār. . . . I have also collated Spiegel's Pahlavi text of the Jomā and Vendīd in with some very old MSS., and am sorry to say I find the printed text lamentably defective. The Denḵard is the longest Pahlavi work in existence, and originally contained nine books, of which the first two are missing; a MS. of the remaining seven books was brought from Persia about ninety years ago, and this MS. traces its own descent from an old MS. copied by a writer about 877 years ago; all existing copies in India are derived from this MS. brought from Persia, but before they were made about one-sixth of the folios of the original MS. had been abstracted by various individuals, and still remain in other hands. I have been able to collate all these scattered folios excepting five, which are still missing; but excepting myself I believe Dastur Pashotan is the only person who has a copy of the whole. The eighth and ninth books contain a long account of the Naskā, or twenty-one books of the Zoroastrian literature, which seems likely to be of considerable interest. Inquiries have been made in Persia for some other copy of this work, but hitherto without success. The Nīrangīstān is probably the third largest work in Pahlavi (if it be longer than the Pahlavi Vendīdād); it consists of minute directions with regard to ceremonies very difficult to understand fully, and seems to contain many quotations from the Avesta not found elsewhere, and likely to be important additions to the Zend Dictionary. . . . The Dēštīn-i Dīdār is the second longest Pahlavi work, and contains a great variety of religious information, more interesting and less technical than that in the Nīrangīstān. It consists of three parts, of which the first and last are said to have been additions to the middle part, which latter is all that has reached Europe, and is about one-half of the whole work. The Vajarkard-i Dīdār is a somewhat similar but shorter work. The copy I have had given me was printed in Bombay in 1848. Several minor works I have copied from a MS. 554 years old, said to be unique. . . . Another volume of this MS. is said to be at Teheran, in a library which was purchased in Bombay some twenty years ago. With regard to Avesta texts, I have not learned that any MSS. exist which can be traced to other sources than those used by Westergaard, so it is doubtful if his edition can be improved upon materially. But the Pahlavi text of Spiegel's edition is simply untrustworthy, owing, probably, to his following the Paris MS. of the Vendīdād in preference to its prototypes at London and Copenhagen."—Academy.

THE UNWILLING GUEST.

By Behd īlī Zehir.

Ye are all alike and base;
God diminish such a brood!
Why, good Lord! in all the race
There is not a man that's good.

Back your suitors bootless go;
Nay, what should they hope to find?
Goodness?—gracious goodness! no.
Kindness?—nothing of the kind.

Would I had been spared the shock
When your faces met my eye!
Or that there had been a block
On the road I travelled by.

Oh! to leave your town, at last!—
When may I such bliss expect?—
On a pony sleek and fast,
Or a camel limber-necked.

Prof. E. H. Palmer's Transl.
METRICAL TRANSLATION OF BHARTRIHARI’S VAIRAGYA Satakam.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(WHILE the Soul’s temple still stands firm,
And Ekal bid remains afar,
While sense is keen, and Life with Death still wages equal war.
The wise to gain the spirit’s peace should strive
With strong desire.
What boots to dig a well when all the house is wrapped in fire?

I have not learnt the wrangler’s art, or less pretentious lore,
Nor cleft in fight the war-beasts’ skulls on Fame’s broad wings to soar,
Nor sipped the fair one’s honeyed lip while soft the moonbeam falls;
My youth is wasted like a lamp in vast unpeopled halls.

Knowledge abates the wise man’s pride,
But kindles it in all beside;
That loneliness which shields the saint
Lets sinners sin without restraint.

The youthful freshness of my heart is worn with old decay,
The beauty of my limbs hath passed unrecognized away,
Grim Fate brings nigh with giant strides the unrelenting hour,
What hope but in the feet of him who smote
Love’s wanton power?

If parching thirst dries up the throat,
How sweet the brimming stream;
If hunger pinches, rice and herbs
Imperial dainties seem.
We hug this fond belief—that we
A solid pleasure gain,
When all we’ve done is to remove
The momentary pain.

When shall I bathe in Ganga’s stream and please Thee, Lord, with fruits and flowers,
Thinking of that one worthy theme, on beds of stone through midnight hours
Honouring my Father in the faith, striving to
Lift my heart above?
When shall I fling my woes aside? Help me,
Thou enemy of Love.

The man whose bed is made of rock, whose mansion’s but a cave,
Who’s clothed in bark and fed on fruits, who drinks the crystal wave,
Whose friends are deer, alone can boast of splendour on this earth;
For he alone no’er bows the head to power, or wealth, or birth.

While flows the triple stream from Siva’s head,
While the boon earth yields garments, food, and bed,
Who’d face the porter at the rich man’s gate
If not through pity for his children’s fate?
Out of Banaras who can live that boasts the sage’s name,
Where rags are counted splendid clothes, and begging held no blame,
Where gardens yield to all who need their bounteous supplies,
Where saints subdue the flesh, where Death’s the gate of Paradise?
Leave those proud doors where servile slaves growl out “Our lord’s asleep,
“We cannot wake him; if we do, his wrath no bounds will keep;”
But haunt the temple of that god who rules this mighty whole,
Whose gate no ill-bred porter keeps, who fills with bliss the soul.

Our mind is but a lump of clay
Which Fate, grim potter, holds
On Sorrow’s wheel that rolls alway,
And, as he pleases, moulds.
Siva controls earth, heav’n, and hell,
Vishnu pervades each part,
Their rank in being who can tell?
But Siva has my heart.

Why, Cupid, wound thy hand with twangling still the bow?
Why, cuckoo, sound for nought thy soft love-moring strain?
Why, bashful maiden, still thy sidelong glances throw?
My soul the nectarous wine of Siva’s love doth drain.

* i.e. Siva.
† Siva.
What though the hermit's cloak be torn with many a rent,
What though he sleep in tombs or under forest trees,
Heeding not friend or foe, on self-communion bent,
From pride and anger free, his mind is still at ease.

Enjoyments quickly lose their zest; of them our life is made;
Then why extend the hand to grasp these flowers that bloom to fade?
If for my words you care at all, then fix your constant soul
On that eternal Fount of light whose beams can Love control.

Happy who dwell in mountain-caves, praising the One Supreme,
Upon whose breasts sleep fearless birds that drink their tears of joy,
While we are sporting in the groves, and wandering by the stream
Of some aerial pleasure-ground, our wayward fancy's toy.

Death swallows Birth, and Youth's brief flash the jaws of Age devour,
Desire of wealth cuts up Content, and Love the peaceful hour,
Fell Envy's tooth gnaws Virtue's bud, and snakes infest the wood,
Kings' courts are overrun with knaves: thus bad things feed on good.

Hundreds of various pains and griefs uproot the health of man,
Where Fortune takes up her abode mishaps soon crowd the gate,
Nothing is born which Death makes not a subject of his state,
How full of faults is Destiny! how ill-conceived her plan!

Hard is our lot within th' imprisoning womb;
Our youth beset with separation's doom,
Loathsome our age, the theme of woman's mirth;
Say then, ye men, what joy ye find on earth?

A hundred years complete our span, half that is passed in night:
Childhood and age devour the half of what belongs to light:
The rest is torn with parting pangs, of ceaseless toil the slave;
What profit in our human life, unstable as the wave?

Those who distinguish that which is from fleeting outward shows,
Do well to give up wealth and joys to gain secure repose;
What therefore must be said of us who cannot bear to part
From that which never can be ours, on which we've set our heart?

Eld like a tiger threatens our careless bliss,
Diseases wound our frame like angry foes,
As water from a broken pitcher, flows our life away; and yet men do amiss.

Once in a way Dame Nature makes a perfect crystal free from stain,
And then, like careless workman, breaks the piece which cost her so much pain.

The limbs contract, the gait's infirm, the teeth drop from the gums,
The eyesight dims, the hearing fails, and senile drivelling comes;
No more relations heed our words, our wife e'en disobeys,
Our son becomes a foe: alas! what ills in length of days!

Man is an actor who plays various parts:—
First comes a boy, then out a lover starts,
His garb is changed for, lo! the beggar's rags!
Then he's a merchant with full money-bags;
Anon an aged sire, wrinkled and lean;
At last Death drops his curtain on the scene.

Night, day, friend, foe, dross, gems, are all the same to me,
'Twixt stones and rose-strewn beds no difference I see;
In some lone hermitage I let the hours glide by,
And loud on Siva call with thrice-repeated cry.
Miscellaneous Stanzae.

The man of firm and constant soul,
Who, nought possessing, nought desires,
Nor burns with passion's raging fires,
Finds happiness from pole to pole.

Time passes never to recede,
But careless mortals take no heed;
The woe that in past years we bore
Leave us no wiser than before;
What folly do we lay aside?
Though sorely by our errors tried,
We learn not prudence, but begin
Once more a fresh career of sin.

The belly clamours for its rights, and will not be denied,
Its keen-set longings cut the purse that holds our human pride,
It withers virtue as the moon the lotus of the day,§
The mastic vine of modesty it lops and shreds away.

Let's live on offerings, sleeping on the ground,
Clothed with the air, and not in courts be found.

"Rise up and bear one second's space
"Grim penury's awful load;
"Let me o'erwearied take thy place
"In Pluto's dark abode."
A poor man thus a corpse bespoke;
The corpse, preferring death
To want, would not its silence break
For all his waste of breath.

Śiva is chief of those who fleshly lusts despise,
Though linked to Uma's form by everlasting ties;
We, racked with venom-pangs which Cupid's arrow brings,
Can neither leave nor yet enjoy these worldly things.

They smile and weep to gain their end,
Cajole, but never trust, a friend,
So wise men keep from women far,
Shunning them like the funeral jar.‖

§ The moon patronizes the kusa, but is an enemy to the lotus which comes out in the day.

Here sounds the tuneful lyre, and there loud shrieks appal,
Here is a sage discourse, and there a drunken brawl,
Here maids in prime of youth, there wrinkled forms you meet;
Of what consists our life, of bitter or of sweet?

With gestures forced, cracked voice, and smiling face,
Your part is now to sue for rich men's grace,
Half fool, half knave; but when your hair is grey
What part in life's great force remains to play?

Breath, fortune, life, and youth are swiftly ebbing tides,
In this unstable world virtue alone abides.

Śiva's a guiding lamp, that burns in hermits' hearts,
Dispels delusion's gloom and light and heat imparts,
He shrivelled like a moth the frivolous god of Love,
His flame's the moon's white streak that gleams his crest above.

My soul, for Fortune sigh no more, that blind capricious fair,
That dwells in princes' folds and frowns, unstable as the air;
Rags are the wise man's "coat of proof,"‖ in these from door to door
We beg through wide Banaras' streets, and one hand holds our store.

That tortoise really lives its life which bears the world on high,
We bless the pole-star's birth, round which revolves the starry sky,
But all those buzzing summer flies, that serve not others' gain,
Dead to all useful purposes e'en from their birth remain.

"My house is high, my sons renowned, my wealth beyond compare,"
"My wife is lovely, young my age"—thus thoughtless men declare,

‖ Used in cemeteries, and therefore impure.
‖ Henry VI, Pt. II. Act IV. Sc. 2.
Thinking this world will last for aye, they don
delusion's chains;
The sage knows all will pass away, and straight
this world disdains.

Revile, revilers! I, 'tis true,
Cannot return your scorn:
We give but what we know, for who
E'er gave a rabbit's horn?

Alms are not difficult to gain, great Ráma showed the way;
The earth yields roots, the deerskin keeps the winter's cold away;
Whether we joy or grieve, we're still of destiny
the slaves;
Why should I leave the three-eyed god, to
court blind purse-prov'd knaves?

Why wander without end? Find rest at last, my
soul:
What will be must be; none can Fate's decree control,
Leave thinking of the past and let the future be,
Reap joys which come by chance and unexpect-ed flee.

Their hand their only dish,
Begging their wants supplies,
They sleep where Fate may wish,
The world as straw they prize,
Such is the hermit's life:
For souls, by Siva's might,
Can win though toil and strife
To that supreme delight.

Bali you've not released from hell nor Death the
monster slain,
Nor cleansed from spots the moon's fair disk,
or put an end to pain,
Nor bearing up the earth awhile eased Sesa from the load,
Do you not blush to wear the wreath to match-less heroes owed?

What folly 'tis o'er musty texts to brood,
Or charm with plays and songs the idle mood!
All fancies vain my soul hath flung aside,
Resolved in Siva only to confide.

The forest trees yield fruit which men may
pluck at will,
The wave runs pure and cold in many a holy rill,
Soft is the bed of leaves which wind-swept creepers pour,
And yet mean spirits court scorn at the rich man's door.

Begging supplies my wants,
My rags keep out the cold,
My faith in Siva's firm,—
What need have I of gold?

The chief of saints declare no joy can vie with theirs
Who fling on Siva's breast the burden of their cares,
Taking no thought for wealth, by daily bounty fed,
Blessed and pure, exempt from envy, pain, and dread.

Our joys are like the wave in foam-flakes hurled,
Youth, life, and love like lightning come and go.
Learn this, ye wise, and teach the people so,
That all may know how hollow is this world.

Say, hast thou gained this bliss by long ascetic pain
Deer, that thou flatter'st not the rich nor feel'st their scorn,
Nor runnest here and there some trifling boon
to gain,
But feed'st en tender grass, and sleep'st from
eve till morn?

When maidens see a tinge of white
Streak a man's hair, they shun his sight,—
'Tis like the white bone* on the brink
Of wells whence only outcasts drink.

Thou fool, how oft thy schemes have missed their aim!
And yet this gold-mirage thy soul allureth;
That still thou hop'st, and still thy heart endures,
Shows it is wrought of adamantine frame.

* The bit of bone suspended over a well belonging to Châpyâla. — K. T. T.
They bewilder, enchant, and deceive,
Plunge in anger, delight, and despair;
Woe to those who in pity receive
To their credulous bosoms the fair!

A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with
deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside
the stream,

Are helps to those who long for Siva's guidance here;
But be the mind devout our homes will forests seem.

Sweeter than honey are the nectar'd strains
The goddess Speech sends forth to cheer our souls;
Content with these and charitable doles,
We will not purchase wealth with servile pains.

NOTES ON SOME CAVES IN THE KARJAT TALUKA
OF THE THANĀ COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, B.A., C.S.

In the late Dr. Wilson's paper upon the Ancient Remains of Western India* he inserts a description by his native correspondent Vishnu Sastri of some caves at Mouje Kondane, Taluk Karjat, and adds that "Mr. Law (then Collector of Thanā) has lately been able to visit these excavations, and to procure illustrative drawings of their front and principal figures. They appear to be more modern than those of Salsette. The account above given of them by Vishnu Sastri has been found to be correct." I do not know what has become of Mr. Law's notes and drawings; but, from a visit recently paid to the caves, I am in a position to say that, so far from being later than those of Salsette, these caves are probably among the most ancient known.

They are situated at the base of the hillfort of Rajmahal (which forms the northern side of the valley known to travellers on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as the "Bor Ghat Ravine"), about seven miles by road from Karjat railway station. The approach is so easy that I rode a stout hack up to the very door of the caves, a folly for which I might have paid with the loss of my horse, as the cliff was tenanted by several swarms of rock-bees.

The following is a detailed description of the caves, from notes taken on the spot.

No. 1. A Chaitya hall opening to the northwest, twenty yards long by eight wide over all. There are remains of seven plain octagonal raking pillars on the north side, and six on the south of the nave, but it cannot be made out whether there ever were any round behind the dahgoba, which, as well as the pillars, is much injured. There does not seem ever to have been a stone screen or music-gallery, but part of the original wooden screen remains. It is of the same construction as that at Karil. There have been wooden horse-shoe rafters within it, but they are gone. The façade so closely resembles that of the chaitya hall at Bhaje, near Karil, that the best idea of it can be formed from the engraving of that cave given by Mr. Fergusson.† Two bold cornices, one on each side of the archway, have been supported by flying brackets of the Bhaje pattern, but those of the north side are broken.

At about fifteen feet from the ground, upon a sort of string course, there are small reliefs in compartments, four to the north of the archway and three to the south, the fourth here having perished. Five represent each a man and woman, the other two single figures, apparently male. There is nothing very characteristic about them except a sort of cowl worn by the man, and a decent sufficiency of vesture not always observable in Eastern sculpture. North of the archway, close to the ground, there has been a group of sculptures in high relief, of which nothing remains but part of the head of a single figure, twice life-size. The face is almost all gone; but there remains the head-dress, which was either a great roll of hair, or a turban in very fine strands: a fleur-de-lis aigrette in front rises no higher than the crown of the head-dress. I am inclined

† Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, fig. 46, p. 111.
to think that this is the head of a female, but it is impossible to be sure. It is certainly not that of a Buddha. Over the place of the left shoulder is an inscription of fourteen letters of which I made a copy, and which Dr. H. Kern of Leiden reads:

Kapāhasa amtevāśān Balukaṇa kata(n).

‘Made by Ballaka the pupil of Kaṇha (Skr. Kṛṣṇa).’

Cave No. 2 is a vihāra in one story, immediately north of No. 1. It has a verandah twenty-one feet long and eight deep, in a niche at the south end of which is a dāgobā in relief of half its diameter, three feet high. The ceiling has been painted with circles within squares. The wall behind is ruined, but was apparently pierced by three doors 5½ feet high by 5½ feet wide.

These led to a hall ten yards deep and nine wide, surrounded by eighteen cells, six on a side. All except the four next to the two inner corners have the chaitya arch over the door. There have been six slender pillars down each side, and three at the back of the cave, standing 3½ feet from the walls. They are octagonal, with plain square head (hardly to be called a capital), and support false architraves of stone eleven inches deep by eight thick, above which are false rafters one inch deep by five wide.

No. 3 is a plain vihāra six yards square, with nine cells. The front is ruined, but shows traces of three doors.

No. 4 is a row of nine cells with an unsupported verandah or cave of the natural rock. These cells are indeed a mere improvement of a natural hollow under the cliff; of a kind common in the trap formation—an unusual style of art among Buddhist excavators. There are a few mortice-holes here for woodwork.

No. 5 is a tank constructed on similar principles, now filled up with mud.

No. 6—two cells, with a deep verandah of the same arrangement; and the seventh cave is a small cistern.

Considering the great resemblance of these caves to those at Bāhāje—the raking pillars, the archway closed only by a wooden screen, the wooden-looking brackets of the façade and pillars of the chief vihāra, and the absence of any figure of Buddhā— I think I am justified in assuming that these are among the very oldest caves known; and that the remaining fragment of the screen not only turns that at Kārī out of its post of honour as “a sole survivor,” but considerably exceeds it in age, and is in fact the oldest piece of carpentry in India except the few rafters remaining at Bāhāje.

In a scarp over the village of Hāl Kharī, eight miles south of Karjat, there is a small and very plain vihāra consisting of a hall twelve feet by eleven, surrounded—as well as I remember—by six cells, two of them double-bedded. One on the left of the entrance has been converted into a shrine for Bhairava, for whose further convenience, or that of his worshippers, the front wall of the vihāra has been demolished within living memory. It is said to have borne an inscription, for which I sought in vain among the débris, and the cave is so plain that I cannot even conjecture its date. I visited also this year some caves at Gaūr Kānāṭ, four miles east of Karjat, which turned out to be the water-cisterns of a small hill-fort. They were ancient enough, however: for the masonry of the fort was ‘Hemādpantī,’ and so were the ruins of an old temple below. I heard also of a cave upon the spur which the Bor Ghat Incline ascends, in the village of Jāmbuṛg. It is now sacred to Gāmbhirnāṭh, and the description suggested the idea of a cave of the Loṃas Rishi type; but it may be only a Hindu hole in the rock. It is said to be accessible to a horseman from Kondāne. A small rock-hewn shrine was also reported as existing in Mūṭa Dongar (Landerab Mountain), a high hill which terminates the spur of Matherān known as Garbar Point. It is occupied by Sonda Deva, the titular and eponymous grām devata of the village of Sondervāḍī, in the limits of which it is. There are also excavations, as yet unvisited by any competent explorer, in the fort of Kothalgaḍh or Peṭh, in the north of this tālukā. I have a plan of them by a native surveyor, but it is too small to form any idea from, except that they are important from their size. A cave at Ambivili, near the last-named, was known to Dr. Wilson as the cave of Jamburgr; I have not seen it, but it is certainly, from the description given, a large vihāra.

† There are two Jambrugs. The one mentioned above is distinguished as “Mouje Jambrug, Peta Khālīpur.”
KRISHNA'S OPINION OF UNFAIR FIGHTING.
BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., P.H.D., EDINBURGH.

In a paper which I contributed to the Indian Antiquary (vol. III., pp. 235-237) I have quoted (in p. 239) a passage from the Rājadharmottara of the Mahābhārata in which fair fighting is enjoined upon warriors. In the Sālīya Parvan, however, it is related that Bhīmasena shattered the thighs of Duryodhana with his club (v. 3292). This was regarded as contrary to the laws of war; and in verses 3346 ff. we are told that Balarāma, the brother of Krishna, expressed his indignation at the conduct of Bhīmasena in these terms:—

"Shame that Vrikadara (another name of Bhīma) should have smitten his antagonist below the naval in a lawful conflict! He has done what has never been witnessed in a fight with clubs. It is a rule of the Śāstra that a blow should not be struck below the naval." The speaker then rushed at Bhīma, but was held back by Kṛṣṇa (v. 3350), who goes on to say that the Pāṇḍavas were their friends, and that Bhīma was only very properly fulfilling a threat which he had made that he would break Duryodhana's thighs with his club, and that this fate had been foretold to the last by the sage Maitreya: Bhīma therefore, Kṛṣṇa concludes, was not in fault (vv. 3355 ff.). In vv. 3366 f. Balarāma repeats his condemnation of Bhīma's act:—"Having unrighteously smitten the righteous king Su-yodhana (Duryodhana) the Pāṇḍava (Bhīma) will be reputed in the world as an unfair fighter (jihmayodha), while the righteous king Duryodhana, son of Dhritarāshtra, a fair fighter, being slain, will attain to eternal felicity . . . . . ."

Having said this, Balarāma departed to Dvārakā. Further on (vv. 3442 ff.) we are informed that in honour of Duryodhana a shower of fragrant flowers fell from the sky, accompanied by music from the Gandharvas, songs from the Apsaras, and acclamations from the Siddhas, &c. The narrative then proceeds (v. 4445):—

"Perceiving these wonders, and the homage paid to Duryodhana, Vasudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and the rest became ashamed (vriḍām upāgamom) and sorrowful, hearing that Bhīma, Droṇa, Karna, and Bhūriśrava had been unfairly killed. But seeing the Pāṇḍavas anxious and downcast, Kṛṣṇa said to them, in a voice like a drum of the clouds: This man, rapid in handling his weapons, and all these valorous warriors, could not be slain by you through fair fighting. This prince could never be slain by righteous means. These great bowmen and charioteers, Bhīma and the rest, have all on different occasions been slain by me in battle by many devices, and the application of guile (or illusion, udā), from a desire to benefit you. If I did not practise this sort of guile (jihma) in battle, how could you any longer conquer, or obtain dominion and wealth? None of these four great warriors could be slain by fair means, even by the gods who guard the different regions themselves. So, too, this wielder of a club, the energetic son of Dhritarāshtra (Duryodhana), could not have been slain even by Death (Kāla) himself, the wielder of the rod (danda). Nor should you (sadly) reflect that this enemy has been slain, (for) in the same way many more enemies must be killed by false devices. (This) path has been trodden by the former gods, the slayers of the Asuras; and the path which has been trodden by the good is followed by all."

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MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.
BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., P.H.D., EDINBURGH.

(Continued from p. 154)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22. The path of salvation. Mahābh. i. 8176.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That man with Brahmā union wins—</td>
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<tr>
<td>The highest good by sages sought—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ne'er in deed, or word, or thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Gainst any living creature sins.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>23. What makes a man a Brāhmaṇ. iii. 17329.</th>
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<tr>
<td>A spirit (Yaksha) asks:</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is it makes a Brāhmaṇ? birth,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deep study, sacred lore, or worth?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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King Yudhishthira answers:
- Nor study, sacred lore, nor birth
- The Brāhmaṇ makes; 'tis only worth.
- All men—a Brāhmaṇ most of all—
- Should virtue guard with care and pains:
- Who virtue rescues, all retains;
- But all is gone with virtue's fall.
- The men in books who take delight;
- Frequenters all of learning's schools.

* Compare No. 7, p. 155.
Are nothing more than zealous fools;  
The learn'd are those who act aright.
More viles than one of Sudra race  
That Brahma, deem, whose learned store
Embraces all the Vedic lore,  
If evil deeds his life disgrace.
That man deserves the Brahma's name  
Who offerings throws on Agni's flame,
And knows his senses how to tame.

24. The true Brahma.  iii. 14075.
No better than a Sudra deem  
The Brahma wise in sin, the slave
Of low degrading vice, the knife  
Who slays a holy man would seem.
But rank with men of priestly birth,  
The Sudra truthful, self-restrained,
By constant acts in virtue trained:—  
A twice-born man is he by worth.

25. The value of rites depends on the inward  
purity of the performers.  Vayu Purana, viii. 190.
No sacred lore, how 'er profound,  
Nor all the long and varied round
Of sacred rites, can bliss procure  
For worthless men, in heart impure.
Although a man with zeal and skill  
Should all external rites fulfill,
He reaps no fruit of all his toil,  
If sin his inner soul should sell.
Ev'n he his all in alms who spends  
With heart defiled, secures no need:
The disposition, not the deed,  
Has value,—all on it depends.

26. Virtue of more value than high birth.  
Mahabharata, v. 1492.
The man of high or humble birth,  
Whose life with virtue's laws accords,—
The righteous, modest man, is worth  
A hundred merely high-born lords.
27. The real ascetics.  iii. 13448 ff.
The high-souled men who never sin  
In thought, or word, or action—they,  
They are the true ascetics: pray,
What virtue's in a shrivelled skin?

28. The recluses less meritorious than virtuous  
men who live in the world.  xii. 12196.
From every vicious taint though pure,  
A hermit's virtue cannot vie

With theirs who ne'er from trials fly,  
But face and conquer every lure.
29. Generous impartiality.  xii. 8752.
With equal eye the truly wise  
View learned Brahmans, nobly born,
Cows, dogs, and outcast men forlorn,  
Whom thoughtless fools as vile despise.
For both in objects fixed, and things  
Which inward motive force impels,—
In all,—the one great Spirit dwells,  
From whom this frame of nature springs.

30. Final beatitude; and the self-evidencing power of the doctrine regarding it.  xii. 8950 ff.
Let men all worldly longings quell,  
And sunk in contemplation dwell
On th' inmost, deepest truth of things,  
From which the spirit's freedom springs.
Composed and calm, ascetics feel  
No longer outward woe and weal:
Within themselves enlosed they rest,  
And, self-sufficing, live most blest.
Their state resembles placid sleep,  
'Mid men who troubled vigils keep.
'Tis as, when winds by night repose,  
A lamp's clear flame undickering glows.
And thus, as seasons onward roll,  
The saint, with meagre fare content,  
On deep self-contemplation bent,  
Within himself beholds the Soul.
Now see in this most wholesome lore  
The Vedas' deep esoteric core.
On no tradition old it rests:  
Its truth at once itself attests.
Whatever precious gems you find  
In sacred tales, are here combined.
Extracted here, you taste distilled  
The nectar thousand verses yield.

31. Final beatitude attainable even by low caste  
men, and women.  xiv. 392.
Know this, the highest good, the final rest,  
To gain with Brahma union;—this the goal:  
Then freed from hard corporeal bonds, the soul  
Enjoys immortal life supremely blest.
This end pursuing, 'en the lowest men,  
With women, reach that blissful state; much more
Shall Brahma, Kshatriyas, versed in sacred lore,  
Who Brahma seek, this good transcendent gain.

† Although in subsequent verses (896 ff.), systems founded on reasoning, and ignorance of the Vedas, are condemned, we seem to have in the passage before us a recogni-
32. An Indian Free-thinker's Fate. xii. 6736ff.
While yet a human form I bore,
I loved profane and useless lore;
Contemned the Scriptures, steeped in pride,
And took poor reason for my guide.
In halls where reverend scholars met
To talk, and questions deep debate,
I liked to argue, plied the rules
Of logic, called the Brâhmanas fools.
Oft battering hard with impious knocks
My grave opponents orthodox.
Untaught in sacred wisdom's school,
A doubter, unbeliever, fool,
In every point the truth I missed,
A vain, pretentious sciolist,
Who others viewed with scornful eyes,
And deemed myself most learned and wise.
Now see the retribution meet
Of this my doubt and self-conceit!
Behold me here a jackal born,
Who once the Vedas dared to scorn!
But now my hope is this; perhaps,
When many, many days elapse,
From this brute form I shall escape,
And gain once more my human shape.
Devoutly then, with right good-will,
Shall I religious rites fulfil,
With liberal gifts the priests delight,
And 'gainst my lawless senses fight,
Will real knowledge seek, and shun
Whate'er I sought to leave undone.*

33. Means do not always lead to desired ends.†
Mahâbh. v. 1430.
The clever do not always wealth command;‡
Nor stupid fools from lack of fortune pine.
The wise the course of mundane things divine;
No other men the secret understand.

34. Union is strength. v. 1318.§
Long threads, if all alike they be,
And many, ev'n if thin, sustain,
Unbroken, many a heavy strain:
Of good men here an emblem see.

35. A guide through the gloom. xii. 12064.
The night approaches now; hold fast
The lamp of holy knowledge, bright
With ever slowly-kindled light,
To guide thee, till the gloom is passed.

36. The cure for grief. iii. 14079
(= xi. 768, l.; xii. 12494).
With drugs the body's pains are healed;
But wisdom mental anguish quells;
Such wholesome power in knowledge dwells.
To grief, then, never weakly yield.

37. Marks of a good man. ii. 2439.
The good kind actions recollect,
But base, injurious deeds forget:
On doing good to others set,
They never recompense expect.

38. The same. i. 6254 and iii. 18322.
Kind deeds are never thrown away
On men of real goodness,—such,
As not content to give as much
As they have got, far more repay,
Nay, ev'n a hundredfold bestow;
For here the gods no measure know.

39. The requiter not equal to the doer of good acts. xii. 4493.
The man who manifold hath paid
A kindness on himself conferred
Does less than he who, only stirred
By generous impulse, lent him aid.
(To be continued.)

* It will be seen from the preceding verses that the requirements of Indian orthodox are no less stringent than those of some other religions. The words are part of an address of the god Indra, who had taken the form of a jackal, to the sage Kâyapa, in which various topics, not all very closely connected with each other, are touched upon, and which concludes with a jackal giving the account of himself which I quote. At the end of the address the sage is struck with the wisdom of the speaker, and by supernatural intuition discovers that it is Indra who has been talking to him. According to the intention of the story, however, it is not the god, but a man, who has undergone the fate described. This introduction of Indra, therefore, makes no difference as to the lesson sought to be conveyed, which is meant as a warning to men.

† I add a literal translation of the original lines, in which the slightly jocund turn which I have here and there given to them in the metrical version will not be found:

"I was a would-be pujât, a rationalist, a contener of the Vedas, fond of logic, the useless science of reasoning, an utterer of reasoned propositions, a propounder of arguments in assemblies, a reviler and abuser of Brâhmans in theological discussions, an unbeliever, a universal doubter, a fool, who plunged myself on being a pujât (learned man)."

The recompense which I have earned by this career is that I have been born as a jackal. But perhaps it may yet happen that, hundreds of days and nights hence, I shall be born again as a man; and then, contented and alert, devoted to the practice of sacrifice, of liberality, and of self-restraint, I shall seek to know (only) what is to be known, and avoid all that is to be avoided.

† See also No. 14, p. 156.

‡ Compare Ecclesiastes xiii. 11—"I returned, and saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to man of understanding, nor yet favour to man of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

§ See also No. 1, p. 123.
HASTAKAVAPRA—ASTAKAPRA.

Col. H. Yule writes to the Academy of 15th August as follows:—

"As takapra is the name of a city in the region about modern Gujarát which appears both in Ptolemy's tables and in the Periplo of the Erythraean Sea, and the identification of which is of some importance in the adjustment of the classical geography of India. In the preparation of the map of India for Dr. Smith's Historical and Classical Atlas, the present writer, after a good deal of consideration, placed it on the west coast of the Gulf of Cambay, not far below Bhanaagar, where a very ancient site, described by Mr. Burgess in his Notes on Gujarát, afforded a fair provisional identification. But I was unable to recover any trace of the Greek name. This is now afforded in a paper on Valaibhi Inscriptions by Dr. G. Bühler, in the Indian Antiquary for July (vol. V. p. 204), which I have just seen.

"One of these inscriptions, a copper grant by Dhrusasena I. of Valaibhi, confers a certain well and pasture 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, situated in the Hastakavapra Abharaṇi' (the last word supposed to be some territorial subdivision), on a Brāhmana residing at Hastakavapra.

"Kukkaṭa is identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Kākaṭ in the Gogha Tāluka, and Hastakavapra probably 'with Hathāb in the Bhanaagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Bhanaagar Brāhmans on account of its temple of Nikanta,' and which is a few miles from Kukkaṭa.*

"The identification of Hathāb with Hastakavapra may be accepted on Dr. Bühler's judgment: and that which I put forward of Hastakavapra with the Greek Astakapra will hardly be disputed, and I am glad to have made in the Atlas map so near an approximation to the true site."

Major J. W. Watson, the owner of the Dhrusasena plates, writes us as follows:—"I suggested to Dr. Bühler both Kukkaṭa being put for Kukkaṭ, and Hastakavapra for Hathāb, and so far agree with the identification. Col. Yule's identification also seems a good one, for the following reasons:—Hathāb is situated at the mouth of a small tidal creek, the embouchure of a small river which flows past Gundi-Koliak. Gundi, formerly Gundigagh, was a town of some importance in ancient times, and was one of the resting-places of the Nāgar Brāhmans (vade Nagara Khandha of the Skanda Purāṇa) before they settled at Gogha and Bhāvanagar. In the time of Akbar, Gundi-Koliak was one of the ports of Saurāshṭra. In Gladwin's very incorrect translation of the Asta he calls it (vol. II, p. 67) "Bandar Goodylucky." But the whole of this passage is incorrect: vide Blochmann's edition of the original text. This "Maabitchee," which has puzzled so many, as referring to the temples on Gūrār, is simply a place of worship of the Jainas. The passage ought to run:—'And near this, on the summit of Mount Gūrār, there is a fortress abounding in flowing springs. It is a celebrated place of worship of the Jainas, and Bandar Gundi-Koliak is near it.' Though the geography is incorrect, Gundi-Koliak being a long way from Mount Gūrār, it shows that in Akbar's time, i.e. from the middle of the 16th to the commencement of the 17th century, Gundi-Koliak was a port.

"In the time of the author of the Mirut-i-Ahmedi (vol. III., not translated by Bird), Gundi is down among the bardāh or roadsteads; now (1876) Gundi-Koliak is about two miles distant from the sea, and Hathāb (said to have been the port) is situated at the mouth of the creek. Gundi lying on the eastern bank, and Koliak on the western. Hathāb is the only ancient port along the coast anywhere near Kukkaṭ, where the Dhrusasena plate was found, and I should think Colonel Yule's guess is probably correct.

"And, since this creek and river have been sitting up for the last three hundred years, Hathāb may, in still more ancient times, have been really an important port."

LITERARY WORK IN JAVA.

During a recent visit to Java I was surprised to find how much has been done to elucidate the Hindu and Buddhist remains there, and as it appears to me that a study of the antiquities of that splendid island will do much to help Indianists, I shall venture to give you a brief account of what I observed.

The Batavian Society is by far the oldest in the East (it was founded some years before that at Calcutta), and the long series of its Transactions (Verhandelingen) contains, especially of late years, most valuable treatises on the archaeology and philology of the islands which constitute Dutch India; the Society has also published some splendid separate works. The chief contributor is, unhappily, no more; on landing at Batavia I was grieved to hear of the recent death of Dr. Cohen-Stuart. This most amiable and distinguished Orientalist was born in Holland in 1825, and, as a

* Kukkaṭ is in Lat. 21° 29′ N. Long. 72° 13′ E., or twenty miles south of Bhanaagar and six north-east of Trāpa.
civil servant, arrived in Java in 1846. His remarkable aptitude for Oriental studies at once attracted the attention of the Government, and he was sent to Solo (Soerakarta) to devote himself to those pursuits, which he did with the greatest singleness of mind and consequent success.

His chief works (among many of lasting value) are a critical edition and translation of the Javanese Brata Jorda (i.e. Mahabharata) composed after a Kawi poem of 1997 a.d., and his collection of Kawi (or Old Javanese) inscriptions. Both were published by the Batavian Society. The first is especially important, as it is the only critical edition and translation that we have of a great Indian epic in a language foreign to North India. The parallel versions in Tamil and Telugu have been neglected, or nearly so, for Mr. C. P. Brown's unfinished edition of the Telugu Mahabharata is all that India can show. The difficulty of such a work as this few can understand, but the value of it is evident. Such versions, in fact, enable us to partly control the matter of the uncertain Sanskrit recensions. His collection of Kawi inscriptions extends to two parts—a folio volume of facsimiles (to the accuracy of which I can testify, as I have compared parts with the originals), and an introduction and complete transcript in Roman letters. Most of the documents are of the ninth and tenth centuries a.d., and are chiefly in Old Javanese, with a large admixture of Sanskrit. The author's untimely death has prevented an explanation of these most difficult texts, but he has left an invaluable aid in the shape of a complete index to the whole, which, with many other MSS., his widow has generously deposited in the library of the Batavian Society.

The Society has an admirable museum, rich in Hindu and Buddhist relics of an early period, of which we hardly any remains in India. The excellent laws of Java have greatly contributed to this. In India ancient statues or inscriptions that may be discovered are invariably destroyed for the metal—they are usually of copper; so are coins. In Java it is penal to destroy such, but the finder is entitled to claim the full value. Thus I saw a gold image which, though very small, had been bought for about 20rs., and is one of the greatest treasures of the museum.

The preparation of a catalogue is in the hands of Mr. Groeneweld, and it will be of the greatest value to Indian archaeologists. The library of the Society is rich, for the East. The Catalogue of Arabic MSS. (chiefly on law), by Dr. van den Berg, is sufficient proof. A scientific Oriental Jurisprudence has long been recognized in Java, though not as yet in India.

Even in the country towns there is much scientific zeal. At Solo, Mr. Wilkes showed me his MS. Javanese Dictionary, in about thirty folio volumes. It comprises proverbs, traditions, customs, and everything of interest connected with the Javanese people. Dr. van der Tunk has resided for some years on Bali in order to study the remaining Polynesian Hindus. Dr. Kern, the very eminent Leyden Professor, has explained several Old Javanese texts; in his hands Kawi (or Old Javanese) studies are now left. I must omit particular mention of several important treatises on numismatics, &c. Dutch powers of work and the national sincerity of character have thus done far more for Oriental research in Java than has been done in any presidency of India, or even in the whole of India, in the same space of time.

During my stay in Java I was able—thanks to the unrivalled facilities for travelling—to visit the chief Hindu and Buddhist remains in the central provinces of the island. The chief Hindu temple is at Bambahan, or the 'place of Brähmâyas.' To give an intelligible account of this and of the Buddhist temples would need a volume; I must confine myself, therefore, to the chief facts I have noticed, especially as Mr. Fergusson's great work affords a ready means of finding plans and views to those to whom the Dutch works are inaccessible. The Śiva temple at Bambahan is of the (for India) unusual form termed chaturmukha; in one of the four faces the old Javanese custodian opened a make-shift wicket door, and I saw, to my surprise, an image of Durgā, evidently worshipped still, just as it would be in a modern Indian village. There was a streak of red paint on the forehead, and around were offerings of messes of carry and rice, and the like. For more than four centuries Buddhism and Hinduism have been supplanted in Java by Muhammadanism, but bigotry and fanaticism seem to have found no place. The temples are in ruins, but from natural causes. Originally built of small blocks of stone without mortar, the upper courses have been thrown down to a great extent, but the lower are only partly dislocated. The cause is evident; the ruins are on the slopes or in the valleys around the stupendous volcanic cones of Merapi and Merbabu, and occasional earthquakes have done the mischief.

Brambahan is in the native state of Jogjakarta; but it is to be hoped that the Dutch Government will some time have a clearance made round the bases of the great and subordinate Hindu temples, for enough is left standing to enable one, by the rules of Indian architecture, to make a satisfactory restoration of the whole, and these ruins are of the highest archaeological interest. The Śaivism of Java was evidently of the old school, and before Vedic influences had begun to work. Śiva was then the supreme being
(in Java, Bhadra Guru, who has been satisfactorily identified by Cohen-Stuart with Śiva), but Narayana or Vishnu (as an emanation of Śiva) was also an object of worship. In India very few temples of this period are left—perhaps not more than two or three near Madras, and of these one (at Seven Pagodas) is of much the same style. The museum at Batavia also possesses much to illustrate this system, which is that of the Vedic and Brahmanical (or ‘the real old’) purāṇas. The architecture is evidently South-Indian in style, and Dr. Cohen-Stuart’s palaeographical researches point to South India as the source of the former Hindu civilization of Java. I have other evidence of this, but it would take too much space to give it here.

Mandoet is a very interesting Buddhist temple, with splendid statues of Buddha (in the middle) and of Sangha and Dharma (on either side).

Boro-Boedoer is the largest ruin by far, and though it does not cover nearly so much space as one of the great South-Indian temples, it is, as a whole, larger than any single shrine or gorupu in any Indian temple. It was evidently a dagaba, and it being on a hill, there are terraces on the slopes instead of the usual enclosures. The bas-reliefs here and at Mandoet are very remarkable, and I was delighted to find that they illustrate the āṭṭakas. I believe that this has not been as yet noticed. One example must suffice: on the left side of the steps of Mandoet there is a bas-relief with (at the upper part) two birds carrying a stick in their claws by the ends, the middle of which a tortoise has hold of by its mouth. In the left corner below, two men are looking up and pointing at it; in the right, the tortoise is on the ground, and the men have thrown themselves on it. This obviously is a representation of the āṭṭaka published by Fansböl in Five Āṭṭakas, p. 6, and the story has found its way into the Panchatantra.

There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A.D., and these took with them a Nāgari alphabet, which is a great contrast to the Old Javanese character. It is worthy of notice that we find some inscriptions in the same character at Seven Pagodas (near Madras), which was once a great port. These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism.

The care taken of Boro-Boedoer by the Dutch Government is beyond all praise. The magnificent volumes by Leemans and Van Kinsbergen will show that these ruins well deserve it, for the bas-reliefs there are infinitely more valuable than anything of the kind in India; the Old Javanese civilization is represented in them down to the most minute details.

The number of statues to be seen everywhere, the inscriptions and endless ruins, show that Central Java must once have been a wonderfully successful Indian colony. The richness of the soil may have helped, but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Brahmins and Buddhists were more successful, in every way, with the Polynesian Javanees than they have been with the low-type Drāvīḍians of Southern India. Where these last have benefited much, there has been a large admixture of North-Indian blood, and for a long period Javanees art, once equal to Indian, has (as Mr. Groeneweldt pointed out to me) sunk again to the old Polynesian level, but there are yet undeniable traces of the great success of the old Indian missionaries. Their work was ended abruptly more than 400 years ago, but there is the more reason that it should not now be forgotten. They raised what was probably a cannibal population to a comparatively high and permanent civilization, and made Java what Marco Polo found it, “une yale de mont grant richece” — a character that it still has.

Tanjore, July 30, 1876.

A. BURNELL.

THE LATE PROFESSOR ROBT. C. CHILDERS.

In the death of Professor R. C. Childers, in the prime of life, at Weymouth on the 25th July last—the study of Pali has suffered an incalculable loss. Robt. C. Childers was the son of the Rev. Charles Childers, English Chaplain at Nice; he was appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service about the end of 1850, and for three years acted as Private Secretary to Sir C. MacClay, then Governor, and had become Assistant Government Agent in Kandy when, in 1864, he was forced by ill health to return to Europe. While in the island, however, he had studied the language, literature, and modes of thought of the people with the diligence of a thorough student, spending one of his vacations at the Bentota Rest-house in the study of Pali under Yairamulle Umanne, a Buddhist priest of great learning. After his return to England his health improved, and in the autumn of 1869 he was induced by Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office Library, to resume the study of Pali. In Nov. 1869 he published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society the Pali text of the Khuddaka Pāṭha with an English translation and notes. In 1870 he published his views on Nirvāṇa, first in Trübner’s Literary Record, and afterwards in his Notes on the Dhammapada in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, May 1871, which he further expanded in a long note at the close of vol. I of his Pali Dictionary, published in 1872. In the latter half of 1872 he was appointed Sub-Librarian.
at the India Office, where his readiness to assist all engaged in Oriental research, and his pleasing manner, made his services invaluable. In 1873 he contributed a paper on Buddhist Metaphysics to Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's Essays, and began a series of papers in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Siamese language, with the object of proving its Sanskritic, and not Dravidian, origin; in the same year he was appointed Professor of Pāli and Buddhist Literature in University College, London. In 1874 appeared the first, and in 1875 the second part of his edition of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta—that portion of the Sutta Pitaka which relates the history of the closing scenes of Buddha's life. The great work of his life, however, was the Pāli Dictionary, of which the second volume appeared last year—a monument of patient and honest work, but which came far short of its author's aim, and which would have been vastly extended and improved had he only lived until a second edition was called for: it is to be hoped the further collections he had made for it have been left in such a form as to be available for incorporation at no distant date. He was labouring to complete his long announced Pāli Grammar and other works when laid aside by illness. Among other things, he had on hand for this journal a translation of Kern's monograph on the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the Asoka inscriptions, which a cold contracted in the early part of the year developed into consumption, and carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age, shortly after the Institute of France had adjudged to him his Dictionary the Volney prize of 1876, as the best philosophical work of the year.

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN SARGAS
OF BILHANA'S VIKRĀMĀNKĀYYA.

(From Dr. Bührer's Introduction to the Vikramān-
kadevaparvata.)

In order to enable the reader to form an exact estimate of the work, I shall closely follow the text, and separate the notes all my own interpretations, and such additions to the poet's statements as can be supplied from the inscriptions of this dynasty which have been published by Sir W. Elliot, and from other sources.

Bilhana's narrative is, unfortunately, very uneven. He first gives some notices regarding the origin of the Chālukya race and the earlier kings of the restored dynasty, which begins with Tailapa. But these are very fragmentary. Next he gives a little fuller account of the deeds of Vikramāditya's father, but does not attempt a connected narrative of his reign. After that, the events immediately preceding his hero's birth, and the history of the latter's youth are given in the style of a chronicle. When he comes to the wars fought by Vikrama before his accession to the throne, he relapses into the rhapsodic treatment of his subject. The following portion, which treats of Āharāmalā's death, Vikrama's exploits during the reign of his brother Somavara II., of his accession to the throne, and of the two first years of his reign, is again a kind of chronicle, though it is unduly lengthened by the introduction of irrelevant poetical descriptions of the seasons and of court amusements. In the last and concluding part Bilhara gives more fragmentary notes on events which occurred in the latter career of his hero.

Brahma, Bilhana says, was once engaged in his Śaṅhāya devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his chulaka, or water-vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hārīta is reckoned as first progenitor, and Mānava arase, who humbled the kings of the earth. The original seat of the Chālukyas was Ayodhya. Some of them, desirous of victory, extended their conquests thence to the reign of the betel-palms in the south, "where the tasks of their elephants wrote the record of their victories on the sands of the ocean-shore that witnesses the secrets of the Cholaś. Narrow was the realm of Vibhishana to them, and their horses roam as far as the snowy mountains."†

In course of time, Tailapa (973-997) became the ornament of the Chālukya race, a mighty warrior, who utterly destroyed 'those thorns of the earth,' the Hāshtrakūtas.§

After him ruled Satyāśraya (927-1008), who surpassed Bilhara in the skilful use of his bow.] He was succeeded by Jayasimha

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* Sarga I. ver. 31-56; compare Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 8, extract from the Handarkar inscription.
‡ I 63-67; compare Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV, pp. 6, 12, where Sir W. Elliot states, according to his inscriptions, that fifty-nine princes of this dynasty reigned at Ayodhya and other places.
§ I 69-73; compare Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 6; Lassen, Ind. Alt. IV. 101. Bilhara has left out this king's expedition against Mālīva, which is mentioned in his inscriptions and admitted in the Bhojakacharitra. According to the latter, Munja was captured and killed by Tailapa, but avenged by his successor.
|| I 74-78; compare Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 18; Lassen, loc. cit. He is also called Satyāśrī.
(1018-1040), who, after a long career, glorious through numerous victories, received a garland, called from the Pārījata tree, from Indra's own hands. "

After him came his son Āhavamalla-deva* (1040-69), called also Traiokyamalla, who in songs, tales, and dramas was celebrated as the second Kāma. He conquered the Chola; he stormed Dāhār, the capital of the Pārārjas in Mālavā, from which king Bhūja had to flee. He caused countless sacrifices to be offered, and by his liberality he surpassed the chintāmani, the wish-granting philosopher's stone. He utterly destroyed the power of Kārṇa, king of Dāhalā. He erected a pillar of victory on the shore of the ocean. He personally vanquished the king of Dravidā, who had run to encounter him, and stormed Kānci, the capital of the Cholas, driving its ruler into the jungles. He beautified Kāliyāna so that it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth.

But in the midst of his victories and his prosperity, Āhavamalla was tormented by a deep sorrow. For he had no heir. At last he formed the resolution to lay aside for a while all princely pomp, and to perform, together with his queen, severe penance in order to obtain a son through Siva's favour. He therefore made over the kingdom to the care of his ministers, and retired to a temple of Siva. There the royal couple slept on the bare ground, and entirely gave themselves up to devotional practices and to the service of the temple. The king gathered flowers for the worship of his guardian deity with his own hands, and the queen swept the floor of the temple and scrubbed it with cowdung. After they had spent some time in this manner, the king, one morning when engaged in his prayers, heard a heavenly voice, which announced to him that Siva, pleased

with his faith and penance, was willing to grant him three sons, the second of whom would surpass in valour and virtues all the princes of the olden times. "Two sons, the voice added, will be born to thee by virtue of the merit acquired by thy works, but the second will come to thee by my favour alone." The king, highly rejoicing, acquainted his wife with this auspicious news, performed the ceremonies required to complete his vow, gave rich presents to the Brāhmaṇas, and resolved the government.

In due time the queen bore a beautiful son, who "since he fed the eyes of the king, just as Soma, the moon, feeds the ēkākoras," received the name Soma (Someśvara). The king was, however, not satisfied. Remembering the predictions of the heavenly voice, he anxiously longed for the birth of his second son. At last he saw the cheek of the queen again become pale. He testified his joy by showering gold on the Brāhmaṇas and by making other thank-offerings. During this second pregnancy the queen had wonderful cravings, which presaged the future greatness of the child she carried. Sometimes she desired to place her feet on the elephants that guard the points of the horizon; sometimes she called on the nympha that are the guardian deities of the quarters of the universe to shavepoo her feet, and at other times she eyed the swords as if desirous to drink 'the water of their steel.'

Great precautions were taken to ensure the safety of her precious burden. The lying-in chamber was secured by powerful spells and efficacious herbs, and carefully guarded by learned Brāhmaṇas. At last, in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of the planets, the eagerly desired son was born. Flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and as the gods rejoiced in heaven, so a festive tumult,

the Chihāyās. Regarding the wars of Āhavamalla compare Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV, p. 13, and Lassen, Ind. Ant. IV, 105. The inscriptions support Bihāra's statement that Āhavamalla conquered the Chola king, who had made an inroad into Kuntala, but they assert that the latter was slain. From Bihāra's statement it would appear that there was more than one Chola war. The defeat of Bhūja is mentioned in the inscriptions. But Bihāra does not occur in the list of conquests, though it includes many countries of Central, Eastern, and Northern India.

** Sarga II, vv. 1-25. The word न्यायम्, 'he made,' might be also taken to indicate that he founded Kāliyāna. But this was not the case, as the town existed long before his time: compare, e.g., Ind. Ant. vol. I, p. 290.

† II. 25-58. The king's performing penance for the sake of a son is in harmony with Hindu customs, and in itself not in the least incredible. But in this and subsequent portions of Bihāra's narrative there is an evident design of representing Vikrama as the special favourite of the gods, and as such entitled to outstrip his elder brother from the throne. This circumstance ought to be taken into account in considering the credibility of the facts related regarding the internal history of Āhavamalla's family.

† II. 57-58.
the recitations of the bards, and the songs of the dancers, filled Āhavamalā's palace.

The child's marvellous lustre, which announced its future greatness, induced the king to call him Vikramādiya.|| He threw and grew up a handsome and strong boy, the favourite of his father. Early he showed in his plays that he was destined to be a mighty warrior and conqueror. He loved to chase the royal swans, the ṛṣiṣkjharīsas, and to tease the lion-welphs in their cages. Later he acquired the various ṛṣipāś, or alphabets, and the art of using the bow. "Sarasvati also, the giver of poetry and eloquence, kissed his lotus-mouth."¶ Not long after Vikrama, the third promised son was born. He received the name Jayasimha.*

After a while, when Āhavamalā saw that Vikramādiya, who had grown up to manhood, had acquired all ‘sciences’ and was anxious for the battle-feast, he conceived the plan of making him guwardja, and thus to designate him as his successor. But, as soon as he opened his mind to the prince, the latter respectfully but firmly refused the offered favour, alleging that the dignity of guwardja belonged by right to his elder brother. In this refusal, he persisted, when his father represented to him that both Siva's word and the decree of the sages pronounced him to be destined for the succession. Finding that Vikrama was not to be moved, the king raised Somaśvara to the rank of guwardja. Royal fortune and the love of the father, however, clung to Vikrama alone. He bore also the burden of the duties of the king and of the guwardja, "just as the primeval tortoise carries the serpent Śeṣa and the earth."†

With the permission of Āhavamalā, Vikrama then set out on a series of warlike expeditions.‡ He repeatedly defeated the Cholas (S. III. 61, 63, 65, 66; IV. 22-28) and plundered Kanchi. He lent his assistance to the king Mālva, who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom (III. 67), and carried his arms as far north as Gaḍa and Kāmarūpa. He attacked also the king of Simhala or Ceylon, who fled before him to the hermitage of the husband of Lopamudra (III. 77, IV. 20). He destroyed the sandalwood forests of the Mālāya hills, and slew the Lord of Keralam (IV. 1-18). He finally conquered Gāṅgakūṇḍa (IV. 21), Vengi (IV. 29), and Chakrakoṭa (IV. 30).§§ Having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards. He had come as far as the Kṛishṇā, when he suddenly was disquieted by the appearance of unfavourable omens which announced some great impending misfortune. He stopped his march and performed on the banks of the river Śatīs, or propitiatory ceremonies intended to avert the threatened evil. Whilst he was still engaged in these rites, he saw the chief messenger of his father coming from the capital, with a face that clearly announced him to be the bearer of bad news. The prince asked the Halkār at once for news of Āhavamalā, since already on the appearance of the omens he had been anxious about the welfare of the latter. Reluctantly and with many tears the messenger told the dismal story of Āhavamalā’s sudden illness and death.|| The king, he said, had been supremely happy on learning his son's success against the Chola, Pāṇiya, and Simhala.¶ In the midst of his rejoicing he had been attacked by a malignant fever. Finding that all remedies were of no avail, he had resolved to finish his life in the Tungabhadrā, the Gangā of the south.* With the consent of his ministers he had travelled to the sacred stream, and had died in its waves, meditating on Śiva.†

On the receipt of these news Vikramādiya was deeply affected, and loudly manifested his grief. At first he refused to be consoled, and had to be disarmed lest he should attempt his own

§ II. 59-31. || Bilhana uses the following vicarious forms for this name — Āhavamalā, Viṅkasimha, and Viṅkamalāchana. Elsewhere the forms Viṅkasītikṣādeva and Viṅkamakārca occur. His Birudas are Tribhuvanamalā (Bilhana, inscr.) Parmāli (Kālam, inscr. and Inscripulach), Kalivikrama (inscr.).
¶ Sarga III. vv. 1-34.
III. 25. The existence of the third son of Āhavanalla is not mentioned in the published inscriptions.
† III. 30-59. This part of the narrative of Vikrama's life also, which strongly puts forward his fitness for the throne and his generosity to the less able Someśvara, looks as if it had been touched up in order to whitewash V. C's character and to blacken that of his enemy.
‡ III. 60—IV. 30.
§ Bilhana's rhapodie treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain, that his last exploits were performed in the south, as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇā. The assertion that Vikrama defeated the kings of Gaḍa and Kāmarūpa sounds very strange. It is, however, possible that he made with his cavalry a raid into their territories. Vengi (not Čengi, as the text reads) is the coast-country between the Godavari and the Kṛishṇā, and belonged about this time to the Cholas (see below). Gāṅgakūṇḍa, or Gāṅdakūṇḍa as the MS. has printed, must have been another Chola dependency: compare below.
VI. 31.
¶ IV. 31-43. ¶ It is to be noted that the expeditions to Central and Eastern India are not mentioned again, and that the order of the wars differs from that above.
* The same epithet is applied to the Tungabhadrā in the inscriptions.
† IV. 44-69. Verse 69 contains a regular confession of Āhavanalla's faith in Śiva. Lassen's conjecture (Ind. Alt. IV. 106) that he became a Jaina appears without foundation. Indian princes will build temples for many strange gods, without forsaking their kvldvedantā or śiśvedantā. The kvldvedantā of the Čakrāyanas of Kaliyana appears to have been Viṣṇu, as they use the boar as their emblem.
life. After a while he recovered, and performed the funeral ceremonies on the banks of the Krihârâ. After that he set out for Kâlyâna in order to console his brother. Someśvara came out to meet him, and received him affectionately. The two brothers lived for some time after in concord and friendship. Vikrama, though superior to Someśvara by his talents, honoured the latter as the chief of his house and his king. He also presented him with the booti which he had made in his wars. After a while, however, Someśvara fell into evil courses. Pride obscured his judgment, he became suspicious, cruel, and avaricious, so that he tarnished the glory of the Châlukya race, and all right-minded persons fell away from him. He even tried to do harm to his brother. When the latter saw that he was unable to restrain the king from evil, and had to fear for his life and good name, he left Kâlyâna together with all his followers. He also took with him the youngest son of Āhavamalla, Jayâsinihâ, as he did not think him safe while living near the king. Someśvara, on learning that his brothers had fled, sent an army in pursuit of them. Vikramâdityâ, unwilling to make war against his brother, avoided it for a time. But, when finally compelled to fight, he destroyed it ‘like one mouthful.’ Other forces which were despatched after him in succession suffered the same fate until these repeated losses forced Someśvara to desist from persecuting his more talented brother.

Vikrama, on being left to himself, marched towards the Tungabhâdrâ, on whose bank he rested his army for some time. Then he became anxious to fight the Chola, and spent some time in the province of Vanavâsa.

When he resumed his march, the trumpets of his army reminded the kings of Malâyadeśâ of his former great deeds. Jayâkesâ, the king of the Kônâga, came to him and brought presents. The lord of Ālupa had made his submission, and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Kerrâla wept when they thought of Vikrama’s former deeds. The Chola king, finally, feeling that he was unable to withstand Vikrama’s approaching army, sent an ambassador to meet the Châlukyâs prince and to ask for his friendship, to cement which he offered his daughter’s hand. Vikrama agreed to stop his expedition, and to retire to the Tunga-bhadra, where the Chola king promised to meet him. The retreat to the river was arranged in order to save appearances, lest it should be said that the Chola had professed his friendship through fear. Accordingly the king and the prince met; the former was humble, and the latter generous to his former foe. They were pleased with each other, and Vikrama’s marriage with the Chola princess was duly celebrated. The king then departed. Shortly afterwards, while Vikrama was still tarrying on the Tungabhâdrâ, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He at once started for the south, in order to place his wife’s brother on the throne. He entered Kânchâli, and put the rebels there under his heel. Next he visited Gângakûnda, destroyed the armies of the enemy, and finally secured the throne to Chola prince. After a month’s further stay in Kânchâli he returned to the Tungabhâdrâ.

But his expedition was not to have any lasting effects. A few days after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Râjiga, the lord of Kâdambo inscriptions published by Mr. Fleet, as well as the fact that Jayâkesâ II. married Vikrama’s daughter Malala; compare Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. IX. pp. 231, 273. His daughter Mâinâdevî (Malala?) became the wife of the king Karna of Anhâría, and mother of the famous Jayâpatîha Sûdhrâja; see Kundrapakcharita, I. 66, and Forbes’s Ed. Mâlî, vol. IV. p. 107.

† Apparently a town on the coast. Mr. Fleet’s inscription No. II. (Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. IX. pp. 278 and 283) states that Jayâkesâ I. conquered Ālupa. At the time of Vikrama’s visit it may have been in the possession of a side branch of the Kâdanbas.

§ Bilhana refers to the defeat of the Kâlâma king, mentioned IV. 18.

* It would seem that, after leaving Vanavâsa, Vikrama descended into the country below the Ghâdra, and first marched northwards, returning later to the south.

† This Jayâkesâ was the second prince of the name, who, belonging to the Kâdambo race, ruled over Gosa (Gopaka-pura). The friendship which he formed with Parmâdi or Vikramâditya-Trimânuvamala is mentioned in the
Vengi, had taken possession of the throne of Kācchi.†

Vikrama at once prepared himself to march against the usurper; but the latter, in order to save his newly acquired throne, asked Somadeva of Kalyāna to make an alliance with him against their common enemy. Somesvara, thinking that a favourable opportunity to destroy his hated brother had been found, eagerly accepted Rājiga’s offer, though the hereditary enmity between the Cholas and the Chālukyas ought—at least in Bihana’s opinion—to have prevented such a step.‡ He watched Vikrama’s movements, and followed him as closely on his march to the south, that when Rājiga’s army had at last been reached by Vikrama, Somesvara’s forces were encamped not far off in his rear. When Vikrama became aware of the hostile intentions of his brother, he was deeply distressed, being averse to a fratricidal war. He sent friendly messages to Somesvara and made attempts to reconcile. Somesvara apparently accepted his brother’s advances; but in reality he meditated treachery, seeing the fair name of his race. He only temporized, in order to find a favourable moment for striking a deadly blow. Even when Vikrama became aware of this, he was still unwilling to encounter his brother on the battle-field. It was not at the express command of Śiva, who, appearing to him in a dream, ordered him to fulfill his destiny and to become a greater ruler, that he consented to an appeal to arms. On the morning after the vision had appeared, a hard-contested battle was fought, in which the victory finally remained with Vikrama. Rājiga fled, and Somesvara was taken prisoner.

Immediately after the battle Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadra. He at first intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne. But Śiva interposed a second time, and angrily commanded him to assume the sovereignty. Then Vikrama obeyed the order of the god, and allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhan.§

To his youngest brother, Jayasimha, Vikrama gave the office of viceroy of Vayanaśa.† Shortly afterwards he made further expeditions, by which he subdued everybody and everything in the four quarters of the universe, excepting only the elephants that guarded the points of the horizon. Against whom these wars were waged is not stated. But ‘when the multitude of the kings had been exhausted,’ Vikrama once more had to ‘extinguish’ the Chola.¶ Then only he entered his capital of Kalyāna.

The time of Vikrama’s arrival in Kalyāna fell in spring, the season of pleasure and love. The king also was destined to undergo its influence, and to become a slave to the gentle passion. He learnt that the Śiłaḥāra prince, ruling over Karaḥāra, possessed a daughter, Chaudralekhā or Chandaladevi by name, who, being endowed with marvellous beauty, was by the order of Pārvati to hold a vagrasvara. The minute inventory of the princess’ charms, beginning with her toenails

† The mistake in the text (v. 26) for वेंगिस is caused by my consulting Prof. H. H. Wilson’s Cist. Maclean’s Coll. before my attention was drawn to Sir W. Elliott’s second article on the Chālukyas in the Jour. Madras L. 3rd Soc. vol. VII. That paper not only shows that Vengi is the correct reading, but affords also the key to this portion of Bihana’s narrative. Sir W. Elliott shows that a branch of the Cholas had established itself in Vengisdesa, the eastern coast between the Krishnā and the Godāvari, and had extended its conquests thence to the frontiers of Kafak (Cuttack). This kingdom passed by marriage to Rājendra Chola. He was succeeded by his son Vikramadeva, Kulottunga Chola. On the death of his uncle Viṣṇūditya, who had been viceroy of Vengisdesa, the king deputed his son Rājaraja to assume the office; but, after holding it for one year, A.D. 1678 he resigned it in favour of his younger brother Viradeva Chola, who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola. His grants are found in great numbers from A.D. 1672 up to the beginning of 1182, when a partial restoration of the Chālukya line appears to have taken place.” I think there can be no doubt that Bihana’s Rājiga is the Rājaraja of the inscriptions, as the former name appears to be only a popular corruption of the latter, and as the time when they are said to have ruled over Vengi is nearly the same. If this identification is correct, it follows that the Chola king whose daughter Vikramadeva married was Vikramadeva-Kulottunga and that the Chola prince whom Vikramadeva established on the throne was a brother of Rājaraja-Rājiga. Probably the interference of the Chālukyas prince was the cause of his predecessor losing his throne and his life.

† Bihana, in uttering this sentiment, forgets that a short time previous his hero had formed a matrimonial alliance with the same Chola race.

§ VI. 26-39.—According to the inscriptions (Jour. R. A. Soc. vol. IV. p. 14) this battle was fought in 1676. The inscriptions contain also the same statements regarding Somesvara-Bhuvanakamall’s character, though no mention is made of the circumstance that the Chola king in the battle which cost him the throne. It is, however, doubtful if Vikrama, in acquiring the throne of Kalyāna, was merely a victim of destiny, as Bihana wishes to make out. It looks very suspicious that the poet finds himself obliged to bring in Śiva three times in order to vindicate the course of action taken by his hero. Vikrama’s alliances with the Kāilmās Japadevi and the Chola seem also to indicate that he, on his side, was preparing himself for coming events, or had far-reaching designs. Lastly, what one sees and hears now of Rajput life makes one cautious in believing that one brother should have deterred the other merely through the latter’s fault. There are, no doubt, touching instances of strong family affection in Rajput families. But in general a great amount of jealousy and dissension prevails, caused partly by the system of polygamy, which among the Rajputs is de rigueur as a matter of etiquette, and partly by the unbridled ambition of these races. Considering all these points, I am inclined to give the verdict against Vikrama and Bihana and to assume that the former designedly used his superior talents to outwit his weaker brother.

¶ VI. 99; compare also XIV. 4.

† Possibly, by the “multitude of kings” (nandhaka-mahāraja) whom Vikrama subdued, rebellion was caused by the feudal chiefs may have to be understood. The statement that he had again to fight the Chola detracts from the magnitude of his former victory.

* VII. 1-3
and ending with her raven tresses, which was to be given to Vikrama, set his heart on fire. A spy was despatched to Karahata in order to see what his chances might be. During the time of this person's absence Vikrama's passion grew to such an extent that his limbs wasted away, and pallor overspread his face. But his torment was quickly allayed when the messenger returned with excellent news. He reported that Chandralekhha, on hearing of Vikrama, had fallen in love with him, that she wished to elect him for her husband, and that her father's wishes coincided with her own. He concluded his speech by exhorting Vikrama to set out at once for Karahata, as the veiyaimavara was to take place immediately.

The king hastened on the wings of love to that "capital of Cupid," where many other princes had already assembled. The chief of Karahata received him respectfully and affectionately. After the rites of hospitality had been performed, Vikrama entered the hall where the veiyaimavara was to be held, and sat down among his rivals. In due time the princess also arrived, attended by her maidens and an elderly matron of the harem. The latter pointed out and described the great qualities of the assembled chiefs. Chandralekhha heard unmoved the praises of the lord of Ayodhyaa, a descendant of Rama, of the kings of Chedi and Kanyakubja, of the ruler of the country watered by the Charmanvarati (Chambal), of the princes of Kakinjara, Gopadha, Malva, Gurjara, Paudya, and Chola. One by one they rejected them, signifying her displeasure by various contemptuous gestures. Her eyes sought the Chalukya, and remained fixed on his face. When the other princes saw this, they lost all hope of success with the Pativrata, and plainly manifested their disappointment and anger. But the pratihratravakha, the attending matron, loudly approved the choice of the princess, who had selected a husband so noble, handsome, rich and brave, the conqueror of the allied Cholas and Chalukyas. She exhorted him to throw the Garland over his neck. Chandralekhha obeyed, the acclamations of the assembled multitude approved her act, and the happy pair at once proceeded to the nuptial mandapa.

After the wedding had been celebrated, the rejected suitors departed. Many of them would have liked to give vent to their anger by deeds, but fear of the great Chalukya restrained them. Vikrama and his bride, happy in each other's company, enjoyed their newly found bliss and the pleasures of spring. In the morning they took walks in the garden. Vikrama pointed out to Chandralekhha the beauties of the season. He seated her in a swing and swung her with his own hands. Later the whole harem was called out, and the women amused themselves and the king with gathering flowers from the trees and creepers. Then, covered with the pollen of the blossoms, they went to a tank to bathe and to sport in the water. Finally, in the evening, after enjoying the bright moonlight and after making a fresh toilet, the whole party sat down to a banquet at which sarodi or madhu, a highly intoxicating liquor, flowed in streams. The women were soon flushed by this drink, and their odd behaviour and speeches served to amuse the king.

At the beginning of the hot season Vikrama proceeded to Kalyana. His entry caused a great commotion, especially among the fair sex. The women, one and all, fell in love with him and manifested their passion in various extravagant ways. Arrived at his palace, the prince held a darbaar and then retired to the inner apartments, where, anointed with sandal ointment, he sought, in the company of his wives, refuge from the heat in bathrooms cooled by flowing water.

† VII. 3—IX. 152.—By giving in the seventh saroda a lengthy description of the effects of spring on the passions, and of its amusements, and by introducing a detailed description of Chandralakhha's charms in the eighth saroda, Bilhana has managed to fill nearly three cantos with the narrative of Vikrama's marriage. He has also succeeded in giving the story a very natural appearance by imitating the Ratnavali in the description of the veiyaimavara. Nevertheless the main facts related by him may be taken to be historical. For the name of Vikrama's wife, Chandralakha, is preserved in the inscriptions, vide Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 13. From the inscriptions of the Shahasra it is also certain that this family ruled in Karahata, the modern Ghati, and that the Shahasra is, in fact, the same Shahasra, but he calls Chandralekhha twice (VII. 3 and IX. 27) a Vidhyakshara. The Shahasra bore this appellation by virtue of their descent from Janmatavaha.

Tod's Annals of Kachchha and other works show that veiyaimavara occurred among the Rajputs until a very late period. From the great length and minuteness of the descriptions of Chandralakha's beauty, of her veiyaimavara, and of Vikrama's passion for her, it may be concluded that she was still the favourite when Bilhana wrote.

† IX. 1—XI. 96. The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhana, treating them apparently as amours, alludes nearly three whole sargas, may be considered a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramaditya's son, Somesvara III., surmounted Bhillankanna, wrote a curious handbook of amusements for kings, entitled Manasoldana or Abhrishakincchana. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (vinoda) and twenty amusements (krida), the latter of which appear distinctly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhana. The exciting elements in them are mostly romancing, equivocation, debauchery, and drinking. Drink has always been a favourite passion of the Rajputs. The abstaining classes among the Hindus—the Brahmins and the Jains and Bandla Vihans—have constantly struggled against this propensity. The first strongly condemn it in their works on Dharmas and Niyas (see, e.g., Mahat, VII. 50, and Kamanadi, XIV. 90), and both Jains and Bandhas whenever they gained power over a Rajput king tell us that they made him renounce the use of spirituous liquors. Their efforts have not had any great success. For the Rajputs of our day, even those who are not debauchees, use various kinds of hard water, which in strength surpass anything ever manufactured in Europe. I must, however, confess that the use of spirituous liquors by Rajput females was unknown to me until I rode it in Bilhana's and Somesvara's works.
He again gave himself up to the pastime of the jalakrida. During the remainder of the hot season and the ensuing rainy season Vikrama stopped in the capital, entirely devoting himself to pleasure. He composed also a poem, describing the breaking of the monsoon, which he addressed to Chandaladevi.

But when the end of the rainy season came he received news which rudely aroused him from his luxurious repose. A confidential adviser informed him that his brother Jayasimha, whom he had made viceroy of Vanavasa after the victory over Somaśvara and Rājaga, was meditating treason. In proof of this assertion the informer stated that Jayasimha amassed treasures by oppressing his subjects, that he increased his army, that he had subjected to himself the forest tribes, that he was seeking the friendship of the Dravida king, and that, worst of all, he tried to seduce Vikrama’s soldiers from their allegiance.

In conclusion he added that the prince would shortly advance with hostile intentions to the Krishnaveni.

Vikrama was greatly distressed by this news, which opened the prospect of another fratricidal war. Unwilling to act without fuller information, he sent out spies to inquire into the truth of the accusations against Jayasimha. The report which they brought back confirmed it. Even then the king was averse to harsh measures. He addressed friendly exhortations to his brother, representing to him that, as he possessed already regal power in the provinces assigned to him, a rebellion would profit him but little. But all was in vain.

In the mean time autumn came. The beauty of this season (of which a lengthy description is given) did not allay Vikrama’s anxiety and distress. He again made repeated attempts to be reconciled to Jayasimha. But the latter would no longer receive his messages. He advanced to the Krishnaveni, where many Mandhalkas joined his camp. Filled with the hope of victory, and proud of his army, he allowed his soldiers to commit all possible excesses. Villages were plundered and burnt, and their inhabitants dragged into captivity. He also sent insulting messages to the king, his brother. Vikrama patiently bore these outrages for some time, but finally was compelled to take the field in self-defence. Collecting a large army, he also advanced to the Krishnaveni. On arriving there he once more tried negotiations. When these failed, a battle was fought, in which Jayasimha at first gained some advantages by means of his elephants. But Vikramakdytia’s personal bravery restored the fortune of the day. Jayasimha’s army was routed, and its leader was captured on his flight, in the jungles. Though Vikrama would have had reason enough to deal harshly with the captive, he spoke kindly to him and consoled him.

After this victory Vikrama returned to Kalyana, and enjoyed the pleasures of the cold season, which in the mean while had come on. These consisted in hunting-parties, at which he slew tigers and other large game, hunted boars with hounds, and shot deer with arrows.

After Vikrama had subdued all his enemies, his dominions enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elements even showed themselves propitious; neither famine nor pestilence visited his kingdom. In course of time sons were born to him, who resembled him and gladdened his heart. His liberality, to the poor of all countries was unbounded. He erected also buildings for pious purposes, to commemorate his name. He built a temple of Vishnu-Kamalavishal, in front of it he dug a splendid tank. Near it he built a city with splendid temples and palaces.

Once more, however, after a long period of peace, he had to draw his sword. The Chola again became proud and insolent. But Vikrama’s army marched on Kanchi; a battle was fought, in which the Chola, fled as usual. Kanchi was taken. Vikrama amused himself there for some time, and finally returned to his capital.

The description of the passionate behaviour of the women at the entry of the king is merely conventional. It is repeated on several occasions. Bathrooms (diklyayashas) of the kind mentioned by Bihana are now in existence and in use. They are sometimes attached to edas (edas) or wells, and underground.

I will not decide if we have really to recognize in Vikramakdytia a royal author, or if Bihana merely puts the poem into his mouth to give a complete description of the seasons.

Vikrama’s war with Jayasimha is not mentioned in the inscriptions made known by Sir W. Elliot. The reason is, no doubt, that Vikrama did not care to proclaim the fact that he had fought with both his brothers. According to Bihana’s account the battle falls at the end of the year 1677, and the statement of the Kalamala inscriptions that Tilapya Kalamala became governor of Vanavasa is Saka 599, or A.D. 1677-78, agrees with it. The latter event probably took place after the deposition of Jayasimha.

This expedition must have been the last important event which occurred before Bihana wrote. Perhaps it is the war against the Pala (read Pallava) king mentioned in the inscriptions as having taken place in 1681 (loc. cit. p. 15). For a branch of the Kerala Pallava was established in the Chola country, and ruled it for some time in the seventh century. During Vikrama’s time the Cholas fell very low indeed, and it is just possible that the Pallava regained some of their old influence in the east of the peninsula (compare Burnell, Event. & Ind. Palæog., p. 29). But this point, as indeed all Sir W. Elliot’s inscriptions, requires re-examination.
BOOK NOTICES.


Sanskrit scholars are frequently reproached with spending their lives in the study of fiction. We are told that there is no history in Sanskrit except the somewhat unhistorical Rājasthānīya; nothing but idle legends and cloudy metaphysics. It is supposed that Sanskrit scholars never touch the solid ground of fact until they abandon their favourite language for the study of Comparative Grammar, and even this study is, we fear, looked upon by some as little less delusive than the literature which originally gave rise to it. Abhuhnt studia in moris, and, if our memory does not deceive us, a distinguished German novelist makes one of his characters, who is represented as a great reader of Tacitus, taunt another with having so thoroughly imbibed the subjective spirit of Indian literature as to be incapable of distinguishing between fact and fiction in the most ordinary relations of life.

But of late years this reproach has been to a certain extent wiped away. Sanskrit need no longer be considered synonymous with unhistorical. The numerous inscriptions discovered throughout India that language contain, as the readers of the Indian Antiquary are well aware, the clearest references to historical facts. And there is every reason to believe in the existence of numerous biographies of Indian princes, written by panditas who subsisted on their favour, though as yet only two of any importance have been unearthed,—the life of Śrīhārsha by Bāna, and the work which Dr. Bühler lately discovered in Kātyāna, the history of the exploits of a king of the Chālukya dynasty named Vikramādiya, who reigned in Kātyāna from 1073 to 1127, by the poet Bihāna, known already to students of Sanskrit literature as the author of the Panchādīka.*

An account of the discovery of the Vikramādīta Charita was read by Dr. Bühler before the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1874. It was found in a Jain library, carefully concealed in an inner chamber, the entrance to which was closed by a revolving stone. After a tedious negotiation, Dr. Bühler and his friend were admitted into this inner shrine of Sarasvatī, and proceeded to examine its contents. In the course of their researches they came on the palm-leaf manuscript on which alone is based the present edition of the poem. “As soon as I recognized the great importance of the MS.,” says Dr. Bühler, “I resolved to copy it. My time at Jesalmir was limited. But with the help of my friend Dr. H. Jacob, of Bonn, who kindly lent me his assistance during the whole of my tour in Rājputana, the task was accomplished in about seven days.” It is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm of these two German scholars, who managed in so short a time to copy a work consisting of eighteen cantos, the shortest of which contains 53, and the largest 151 slokas, written in ancient Jaina Devanāgarī.

Dr. Bühler’s summary of the historical residuum of the poem, given in his Introduction, is very carefully and judiciously done, and few who have the patience to read the work itself will feel inclined to add to it or diminish aught from it. The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Chālukya race, and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa; he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramādiya’s father, and describes, with all the customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramādiya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somesvara II., his defeat and capture of his younger brother, and his numerous wars with the faithless Chōlas. Dr. Bühler compares this account with the data furnished by inscriptions, and his conclusions must be of great interest to all engaged in the study of mediaeval India. Like most Sanskrit poets, Bihāna deals not only with the public life of his hero, but also with his private recreations and amusements. There is considerable sameness in the domestic life of kings and heroes in Sanskrit literature. Possibly the love of rhetorical commonplaces, which leads Bihāna to insert tedious descriptions of the seasons in his history, may occasionally induce him to ascribe to his hero follies which seem to us Western people alien from the character of a great statesman and warrior. But it is undeniable that there is much truth in Dr. Bühler’s remarks:—

“The description of the king’s amusements, to which Bihāna, treating them apparently con amore, allots nearly three whole Sargas, may be considered as a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramādiya’s son Somesvara III., surnamed Bihānakāla, wrote a kind of handbook of amusements for kings, entitled Manasollasa or Abhijñābhamahākaviyam. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (vinoda) and twenty amusements (śrīkāla), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bihāna. The exciting

* For a short notice of the discovery of this work, vide Ind. Ast. vol. III. p. 89. — Ed.
elements in them are mostly romping, equivocal, and drinking.” (Note, p. 41, and ante, p. 322.)

In the public life of Bilhana’s hero we meet with much obvious distortion of the truth. The royal historiographer had to represent his patron as uniformly successful. Accordingly we find that the Chālukya monarch extirpated his principal enemies the Chōlas pretty nearly as frequently as the Roman levies annihilated the nation of the Volsci. The absurdity of this is clearly brought out by Dr. Bühler. Moreover there is reason to believe that the jealousy between near relations, so characteristic of Eastern royal families, was found even in “the virtuous Chālukya race,” that never deviated from the good old custom. Even Bilhana admits that Vikrama was unlucky enough to have differences with his two brothers, one older and one younger than himself. Dr. Bühler seems to be of opinion that he ousted his less talented elder brother Somēśvara II. from the throne. But the Hindu poet knows better. He tells us that the title of heir-apparent was offered to Vikrama, but refused by him out of regard for the honour of the family. But after the death of Vikrama’s father, Somēśvara I., called Āhavamalla by Bilhana, the elder brother intrigued against the younger. He repeatedly sent armies to attack him, which Vikrama easily repulsed. He even allied himself with the Chōlas, the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas, which Bilhana—forgetting, as Dr. Bühler remarks, that his hero had married a Chōla princess—stigmatizes as a most shameless action. At last, at the express command of Śiva, Vikramāditya consented to meet his brother in the field, and vanquished him after an obstinate struggle. Siva again appeared, and forbade him to restore his brother to liberty and the throne, as he had intended. Whether Somēśvara II. perished by the scissors, or the “post,” so much in favour in the days of Bernier, is not stated. Bilhana makes no further mention of him. The circumstance that Śiva found it necessary to appear twice is, as Dr. Bühler remarks, somewhat suspicious. The fact of the battle having taken place in 1076 is proved by inscriptions; but there is no doubt that Bilhana does his utmost “to whitewash his hero’s character, and to blacken that of all his enemies,” and we need not look upon Vikrama as more blameless than Aurangzeb, who many hundred years afterwards was compelled, by the force of circumstances and the imperious call of duty, to supplant his three brothers.

The second fratricidal war ended in the complete defeat of Vikrama’s younger brother, Jayasīha, who, if Bilhana is to be believed, was treated be-
before, or, as Bilhana puts it, "Fortunate or unfortunate events, advancing to meet mortals, are previously reflected in their souls." Soon he sees the chief messenger of his father coming with "faded cheek, announcing, so to speak, calamity with his profound sighs." The affectionate Vikrama immediately asks the messenger about his father's health. "Slowly by his side he seats him, then in fall'ring accents speaks,
One by one the teardrops rolling chase each other down his cheeks.
Arra thy breast, my prince, with patience, let thy constancy appear,
Black the cloud of evil tidings which must burst upon thy ear;
Joyed the king to hear thy conquest, which made Chola's monarch quake,
Pāṇiṣṭhas pale with coward trembling, and Ceylon with terror shake.
Then came Fate, relentless hangman, and with fever smote his frame;
Well thou knowest, bliss unshaken can no earthly sovereign claim.
When he found even sandal ungents failed to cool his burning breast,
Oft he longed for thy embraces, in thy arms to sink to rest.
Wisefully he looked around him, as if straining half-closed eyes,
Towards the messengers of Indra, sent to call him to the skies.
Thinking then his might departing, flaming forth in fever heat,
He bespeak his faithful nobles, gathered weeping at his feet:
'Never can my glory perish, for 'tis written with my sword
On the crowns of vanquished monarchs that have owned me for their lord;
Heaven's vault still shows the breaches where my flaming arrows came.
Like a cage in which imprisoned dwells the phoenix of my fame;
To the realms my sceptre governs wealth flows in from every side,
In my virtuous subjects' mansions Fortune dwells a princely bride;
I can boast a son like Rāma, mighty with the sword and bow,
Vikramāndaka famed for conquest o'er himself and o'er the foe,
Who has freely to his brother yielded up Kaliyāna's throne,
Now Somesvar bears the burden which my feeble hands disown.
Thus my labours here are finished, and I gladly hail their end;

Having fixed my faith on Śiva, to his heaven I ascend.
Oft, alas! deluded monarchs think the warders at their gate,
Bold to hustle trembling subjects, can arrest the hand of Fate.
Born by Heaven's special favour in Chālukya's royal line,
I have heard some words of wisdom, nor is that delusion mine.
All my hopes are placed on Śiva, life is changeful, as we know,
Like the ear of some great war-beast, ever swaying to and fro;
Thinking on the Lord of Umā, in the Tungabhādrā's stream,
I desire to leave my body and break off life's painful dream;
Since by great Śrīkanttha's blessing it has proved a means of grace,
Thankless should I be to leave it in some undistinguished place.'
'Well resolved,' exclaim the nobles, and their loud applause raise;
Pious souls to pious actions never grudge the meed of praise.
By a few short easy stages thy loved father reached the strand
Of the holy Tungabhādrā, Ganges of the southern land;
There the river's dancing billows, like white hands reared up on high,
Seemed to point to Indra's heaven, and uplift him to the sky.
And the lines of pious offerings, piled amid the creaming foam,
Showed like swans of Brahmā's chariot sent to bear him to his home.
Glittering o'er with liquid diamonds flung in spray showers from afar,
Shone thy sire like full-orbed Luna round begirt with many a star.
Firm of purpose then the hero, bathing in the raging flood,
Fixed in pious meditation on the lord of Chāndi stood.
Vast the heap of gold he lavished ere he drew his latest breath.
Liberal souls, intent on giving, find the passion strong in death.
Whelmed at last beneath the wave, the billows booming in his ear
Seemed great Śiva's drums of welcome as his soul to heaven drew near.'"

It only remains for us to say that Dr. Bühler's edition of the Vikramāndaka Charita, though made from a single manuscript copied by himself
and his friend in seven days, is wonderfully free from unintelligible readings. There may be, perhaps, one or two passages where the addition of a visarga, or the change of a letter, would improve the sense; but we could mention one or more Sanskrit texts, carefully edited from a comparison of various MSS., which present many more stumbling-blocks to the reader. We believe that Dr. Bühlcr's confidence in the correctness of his text is certain, if future MSS. should be discovered, to be amply justified.


The above work of a distinguished Orientalist, who has lately been elected President of the Société Asiatique, and also Corresponding Member of the Society of Berlin, is the latest product of his literary activity. The publication is to be welcomed as a collection of pieces formerly scattered, gradually falling out of print and becoming inaccessible, but now again made available to the lovers of Oriental literature. These pieces fill a volume of 640 pages, and are as follows:

Translations from the Arabic:—"The Allegories of Mokadi,", published under the titles of "Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs;"—"The Animals in discussion with Man," extracted from the Dheân-agaâfâ.

Translations from the Persian:—Two tales from the Amurâ-i Sukdâli; a Persian version of the Fables of Pidpat; the Pendanah of Sa'di.

Translations from the Hindustani:—"The Adventures of Kamrup;"" The Rose of Bakawali;" "Gul o Sanâeb, or "The Rose and the Cypress;" "Hir and Ranjan," a legend of the Panjab; "Bakunâdâ according to the Hindi version of the Mahâbâhârâta;" "The Popular Songs of India."

Translations from the Turkish:—"The Taking of Abydos;"" The battle of Varna;" "The Taking of Constantinople;" "The Description of Constantinople;" "The Adventures of Prince Jem."

This collection is clothed in beautiful language, and may serve as a model for elegant translation from one idiom into another without doing violence to either, which is a task not very easy to accomplish in translations from any, but particularly difficult in Oriental languages, dealing largely in figures of speech strange to Occidental ones. The great talents, long experience, and world-wide reputation of the distinguished author are sufficient guarantees of how he has accomplished his task at various periods of his long career. E. R.


Mr. Pincott has been fortunate in getting hold of a capital modern version of this famous old tale, done into Hindi by a native Deputy Collector, Kunwar Lachen Singh. This gentleman writes his mother-tongue with elegance and good taste. Seldom has it been my lot, in all my weary plodding through modern vernacular literature, to come across anything so fresh and sparkling. There is just enough sprinkling of learned itilimâs to gratify the taste of those who must have a spice of Sanskrit in everything, but the work is chiefly remarkable for a peculiarly hi-therto almost confined to Bengal. The bold Deputy, with a reckless disregard of the opinions of pauplits, has dared to write as he and his countrymen speak, and the result, to Europeans at least, is an extremely valuable book. The student who has mastered this work with Mr. Pincott's notes will have only himself to blame if he does not find himself betterable to understand the natives around him than he would have been after many years' study of the Prâm Dâgar or similar unrealisms. So true to the actual speech of the people is this work, that even the idiomatic phrases, which grammarians strive in vain to reconcile with their rules, are freely used, and the careful notes fully explain, but wisely do not often attempt to account for them. The notes also give evidence of careful study of the original, and a fine perception of the shades of meaning of which this most delicate and flexible of languages is capable. I cannot too highly praise this most admirable work, and hope that it may be widely known and used. There is no text-book of Hindi now in existence which can be for an instant compared with it.

Obstach, 26th June 1876. JOHN BEAMES.


The Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, a native of Kinduvely, in Bengal, who flourished, Lassen supposes, about the middle of the twelfth century, early attracted the attention of Sir W. Jones, who rendered it into English, whence it was translated into German by Dr. F. Majer and published at Weimar in 1802, and in the same year by F. H. von Dalberg at Erfurt. In 1818, Riemscheider published a metrical German version, and in 1836 Lassen issued his careful edition of the original text with scholia, notes, and a Latin version. Hippolyte Fauche also, in 1850, issued a French translation of the whole of the Gita along with the Râta Sâhâra. Mr. F. Arnold now follows these labourers with a versified rendering into English, "although," as he allows, "much has had to be

modified, and the last Sarga omitted, in order to comply with the canons of Western propriety."

The Uta Gvinda sings the loves of Krishiña and Radhā, and is very popular in India, "but more so, doubtless," to use Mr. Arnold's own words, "because of its melodious versification and its ardent love-pictures, than the profound and earnest meanings" which Western scholars have supposed to lie under its glowing sensuous pictures, and "for the sake of which this attempt has been hazarded." With Jones, Lassen regards Krishiña as "the divinely-given soul manifested in humanity... The recollection of this celestial origin abides deep in the mind, and even when it seems to slumber—drugged as it were by the fair shows of the world, the pleasures of visible things, and the intoxication of the senses—it now and again awakens... full of yearning to recover the sweet serenity of its pristine condition. Then the soul begins to discriminate, and perceive that the love, which was its inmost principle, has been disfigured on empty and futile objects; it grows a-weary of things sensual, false, and unenduring; it longs to fix its affections on that which shall be stable, and the source of true and eternal delight. Krishna—to use the imagery of this poem—thrones Radhā in his heart, as the sole and only one who can really satisfy his aspirations." But for this recondite significance, even Lassen allows that "the imagery is but too luxuriant. The Indian poet seems, indeed, to have spent rather more labour in depicting the phases of earthly passion, than of that intellectual yearning by which the mind is lifted to the contemplation of divine things." And it is just these glowing pictures of earthly passion that has made it such a favourite among Hindus. That the European reader, then, may understand it as the Hindu does, and realize the grounds of his appreciation of it, he must know what it is in its entirety, unmodified to suit tastes purified by Christian influences; and as perforce from such a poem much must be modified or altogether omitted, such an effort as Mr. Arnold's must not be taken as a full representation of the original,—it is only an imitation or a partial paraphrase in easy flowing verse of the better portions of the poem, by a man of refined tastes, made not so much directly from the Sanskrit as from the scholarly Latin version of the late Professor Lassen, but omitting what in its native soil are favourite passages, and otherwise, "not without occasional difficulty," following the esoteric interpretation of Lassen. To indicate this interpretation too, he calls it the Indian "Song of Songs," a title that Hindus will scarcely understand, and that is otherwise unwarranted and not in the best taste. The author has indicated the variety of measure in the original by the varying metres of his paraphrase, "without meanwhile attempting to imitate the many very fanciful alliterations, assonances, and recurring choruses." His versification is generally smooth and well sustained.

The smaller poems are four:—'The Rajput Wife,' 'King Saladin' (based on a story of Boccaccio), 'The Rāja's Ride,' and 'The Caliph's Draught,'—all well-written and stirring little pieces.


Of the Sanskrit text and character of Dāndin's Dasakumāra-Charitam* a somewhat full critical notice has already been given (ante, vol. IV. pp. 157-190), so that we need scarcely again revert to it. Mr. Jacob says of his translation that as a close translation of such parts of the work as are written in a turgid style "would be quite unsuitable to the English reader, such passages have therefore been much condensed; others, which are hardly decent—or, as in the speech of the parasite in the last story, tedious and uninteresting, have been omitted; but in general the original has been pretty closely adhered to, and nothing has been added to it." In an appendix the author has given a very close literal translation of a longer and two short extracts, occupying in all about 13 pages, to enable the reader "to form some idea of the nature and style of the original, and to see how far it has been departed from" in his free version. The tales in their English dress are well told, and, as the able translator remarks, "give a lively picture of Hindu manners and morals. Unscrupulous deception, ready invention, extreme credulity and superstition, and disregard of human life are strongly illustrated." This character, we believe, will prevent such a book, however well written, from becoming popular in England or repaying the publication, but it suggests a regret that one so well qualified as Mr. P. W. Jacob should not devote a portion of his leisure in retirement to translating, at least in outline, some of the many interesting works in Sanskrit that are as yet inaccessible except to Sanskrit scholars. Recent search has brought to light Charitas, Mahāmyas, Sīstras, Purānas, &c., in scores, and outlines of them on the plan of Weber's Caturvangya Mahāmyas are greatly desiderated, and can only be supplied by scholars with some leisure at their command.

* The Sanskrit text of the Dasakumāra-Charitam was published by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson in 1856, and a

NOTES TO ARRIAN'S INDICA.*

BY J. W. MCCRINDLE, M.A., PATNÁ COLLEGE.

ARRIAN, distinguished as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nicomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He was a pupil of the philosopher Epictetus, whose lectures he published. His talents recommended him to the favour of Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for accuracy, and the Xenophonic ease and clearness of its style. His work on India (Ἰνδιακός or यात्रा इंडिया) may be regarded as a continuation of his Anabasis. It is not written, however, like the Anabasis, in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesias of Knidos.

The Indica consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (Chaps. i.—xvi.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearcclus the Cretan from the Indus to the Parthia, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearcclus himself (Chaps. xviii.—xlii.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (Chap. xlii. to the end).

Chap. I. The river Kopheus.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, Pliny, &c., is Kopheus, et cetera. It is now the Kábul river.

In Chap. iv. Arrian gives the names of its tributaries as the Malamontos (Malamontos), Soasost, and Garrois. In the 6th book of the Mahábhárata three rivers are named which probably correspond to them—the Suvástu, Gauri, and Kampana. The Soasost is no doubt the Suvástu, and the Gauri the Gauri. Curtius and Strabo call the Suvástu the Chóasos. According to Mannert the Suvástu and the Gauri or Gurus were identical. Lessert would, however, identify the Suvástu with the modern Suwad or Svát, and the Gauri with its tributary the Panjkorá; and this is the view adopted by General Cunningham. The Malamontos some would identify with the Chóasos (mentioned by Arrian, Anabasis IV. 25), which is probably represented by the modern Kamel or Khonár, the largest of the tributaries of the Kábul; others, however, with the Panjkorá. General Cunningham, on the other hand, takes it to be the Bár, a tributary which joins the Kábul from the south. With regard to the name Kopheus he remarks:—"The name of Kopheus is as old as the time of the Vedas in which the Kábul river is mentioned as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Aryan word, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kábul river before the Aryan occupation, or at least as early as B.C. 2500. In the classical writers we find the Chóasos, Kopheus, and Chóasos rivers to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kuna, the Kura, and the Gomá rivers to the west, and the Kunihar river to the east of the Indus,—all of which are derived from the Scythian ku, 'water.' It is the guttural form of the Assyrian ku in 'Euphrates,' and 'Eulasus,' and of the Turki and the Tibetan chu, all of which mean 'water' or 'river.'" Ptolemy the Geographer mentions a city called Kaburah situated on the banks of the Kopheus, and a people called Kaboláte.

Astakenoi and Assakénoi.—It is doubtful whether these were the same or different tribes. It has been conjectured, from some slight resemblance in the name, that they may have been the ancestors of the Afghans. Their territory lay between the Indus and the Kopheus, extending from their junction as far westward as the valley of the Gurais or Panj...
kora. Other tribes in these parts were the Masiani, Nyssa, and Hippasi.

Nyssa, being the birth-place of Bacchus, was, as is well known, bestowed as a name on various places noted for the cultivation of the vine. General Cunningham refers its site to a point on the Kophes above its junction with the Chois. The city may, however, have existed only in fable.

Massaka (other forms are Massaga, Massaga, and Mazaga)—The Sanskrit Maśakā, near the Gauri, already mentioned. Curtius states that it was defended by a rapid river or its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.

Peukolaitis (other forms—Peukolaitis, Peukolaitan, Peukolaitis).—"The Greek name," says General Cunningham, "of Peukolaitis or Peukolaitis was immediately derived from Pukkaloti, which is the Pali or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalavatī. It is also called Peukolas by Arrian, and the people are named Peukoloi by Dionysius Periegetes, which are both close transcripts of the Pali Pukkala, the form of Prokloes, which is found in Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea and also in Ptolemy's Geography, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pukhar, instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara." The same authority fixes its position at "the two large towns Parang and Charsada, which form part of the well-known Hāshtnagār, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swat river." The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshāwar. Pushkala, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Peckhali or Pakhāli, in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. The distance of Peukolaitis from Taxila (now represented by the vast ruins of Mānikylā) is given by Pliny at sixty miles.

Chap. II.—Paropamisus (other forms—Paropamisus, Paropamisos, Paropamisos, Paropamisus). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindū Kush, supposed to be a corrupted form of "Indicus Caucasus," the name given to the range by the Macedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Caucasus. Arrian, however, and others held it to be a continuation of Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kābul river are called Nishādhā, a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropamisus, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Pliny, the Scythians called Mount Caucasus Grausas, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisus, Gravakshas, which Ritter translates "splendentes ripuum montes." According to General Cunningham, the Mount Paresh or Aparasins of the Zendaestate corresponds with the Paropamisus of the Greeks. In modern maps Hindū Kush generally designates the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisos the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindū Kush is unknown to the Afghans, but there is a particular peak and also a pass bearing that name between Afghanistān and Turkestan.

Emodus (other forms—Emoda, Emodon, Hmodes).—The name generally designated that part of the Himalayan range which extended along Nepāl and Bhūtan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit Kaimavata, in Pāṇḍit Kaimata, 'snowy.' If this be so, 'Hemodos' is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "hēmidri" (hema, gold, and adri, mountain), 'the golden mountains,'—so called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.

Imaus.—Related to the Sanskrit Hīmavatā, 'snowy.' The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindū Kush and the Himalayas, but was in course of time transferred to the Bolor range. This chain, which runs north and south, was regarded by the ancients as dividing Northern Asia into "Scythia intra Imaun" and "Scythia extra Imaun," and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan. Pliny calls Imaus a 'promontorium' of the Montes Emodi, stating at the same time that in the language of the inhabitants the name means 'snowy.'

Pattala.—The name of the Delta was properly Pātāla, and Pātala was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. That a has generally been regarded

§ Lassen, ii. p. 141, 681.
as its modern representative, but General Cunning ham would "almost certainly" identify it with Nirankol or Haidarabd, of which Patalpur and Patašila ("flat rock") were old appellations. With regard to the name Patala he suggests that "it may have been derived from Patala, the trumpet flower" (Bignonia suaveolens), in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says: "Patala is the designation bestowed by the Brahmans on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasika (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land: for Patala is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.

Chap. III. 1300 stadia.—The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 500 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or 606 English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadia, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. Not a few of the measurements given by Arrian are excessive, and it has therefore been conjectured that he may have used some standard different from the Olympic,—which, however, is hardly probable. With regard to the dimensions of India as stated in this chapter, General Cunningham observes that their close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

Schombr. —The scheoms was = 2 Persian parasangs = 69 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.

Chap. IV. Tributaries of the Ganges.—Seventeen are here enumerated, the Jamnâ being omitted, which, however, is afterwards mentioned (chap. vii.) as the Jobares. Pliny calls it the Jomannes, and Polyechnus the Damninas. In Sanskrit it is the Jamnâ (sister of Yama).

Kainas.—Some would identify this with the Kan or Kane, a tributary of the Jamnâ. Kan is, however, in Sanskrit Sena, and of this Kainas cannot be the Greek representative.

Erannoaboas.—As Arrian informs us (chap. x.) that Palimbothra (Pataliputra, Pitâni) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Son, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Pitta, where traces of its old channel are still discernible. The word no doubt represents the Sanskrit Hiranyavah ("carrying gold") or Hiranyabayh ("having golden arms"), which are both poetical names of the Son. It is said to be still called Hiranyavah by the people on its banks. Megasthenes, however, and Arrian, both make the Erannoaboas and the Son to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gandak (Sanskrit Gandakî), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhists Hiranyavati, or "the golden." It is, however, too small a stream to suit the description of the Erannoaboas, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Son may perhaps in the time of Megasthenes have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.

Kosonos.—Cosonos is the form of the name in Pliny, and hence it has been taken to be the representative of the Sanskrit Kausikii, the river now called the Kosi. Schwanbeck, however, thinks it represents the Sanskrit Kosavah ("treasure-bearing"), and that it is therefore an epithet of the Son, like Hiranyavaha, which has the same meaning. It seems somewhat to favour this view that Arrian in his enumeration places the Kosonos between the Erannoaboas and the Son.

Sones.—The Son, which now joins the Ganges ten miles above Dinapur. The word is considered to be a contraction of the Sanskrit Suvarna (Suvarna), "golden," and may have been given as a name to the river either because its sands were yellow, or because they contained gold dust.

Sittokatis and Solomatis.—It has not been ascertained what rivers were denoted by these names. General Cunningham in one of his maps gives the Solomatis as a name of the Saranja or Sarju, a tributary of the Ghagrah, while Beney would identify it with the famous Sarasvati or Sarsuti, which ac-
cording to the legends, after disappearing underground, joined the Ganges at Allahabad.

Kondohates.—Now the Gunda, in Sanskrit, Gandaki or Gandakavati (ज्योक्षेपीत),—because of its abounding in a kind of alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose.

Sambo.—Probably the Sarabas of Ptolemy. It may be the Sambal, a tributary of the Jamna.

Magon.—According to Mannert the Rāngāṅgā.

Agoranis.—According to Rennel the Ghrārā—a word derived from the Sanskrit Gharārā (‘of gurgling sound’).

Omalis has not been identified, but Schwanbeck remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit Vimala (‘stainless’), a common epithet of rivers.

Commenses.—Rennel and Lassen identify this with the Karmanāsā (bosorum operum destructrix), a small river which joins the Ganges above Bāxār. According to a Hindu legend, whoever touches the water of this river loses all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nymph of the stream.

Kakothis.—Mannert takes this to be the Gumi.

Andomatis.—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit Andhamati (tenebricosa) which he would identify, therefore, with the Tāmasā, the two names being identical in meaning.

Madyandina may represent, Lassen thinks, the Sanskrit Madhyandina (meridionalis).

Aymatis has not been identified, nor Kataupa, the city which it passes. The latter part of this word, dupa, may stand, Schwanbeck suggests, for the Sanskrit deipa, ‘an island’.

Oxymagis.—The Pala or Passala, called in Sanskrit Pankala, inhabited the Doāb, through which, or the region adjacent to it, flowed the Ikshumati (‘abounding in sugar-cane’). Oxymagis was very probably represented this name.

Erreynax closely corresponds to Vārānasī, the name of Bānāras in Sanskrit,—so called from the rivers Varana and Asī, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The Mathaw may be the people of Magadhā. V. de Saint-Martin would fix their position in the country between the lower part of the Gumti and the Ganges, adding that ‘the Journal of Hioseen Thoang places their capital, Mātipura, at a little distance to the east of the upper Ganges near Gaṅgādvāra, now Hardwar.’

Tributaries of the Indus :—Hydranotes.—Other forms are Rhouadis and Hyaratos. It is now called the Rawī, the name being a contraction of the Sanskrit Iravātī, which means ‘abounding in water,’ or ‘the daughter of Irāvatī,’ the elephant of Indra, who is said to have generated the river by striking his task against the rock whence it issues. His name has reference to his ‘ocean’ origin.

The name of the Kambistholē does not occur elsewhere. Schwanbeck conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit Kapishtholā, ‘ape-land,’ the letter m being inserted, as in ‘Palimbothra.’ Arrian errs in making the Hyphasis a tributary of the Hydranotes, for it falls into the Akesines below its junction with that river.

Hyphasis (other forms are Bibasis, Hyphasis, and Hypasis).—In Sanskrit the Vipāsa, and now the Byasa or Bias. It lost its name on being joined by the Satadhra, ‘the hundred-channeled,’ the Zaradros of Ptolemy, now the Satlāj. The Astrobē are not mentioned by any writer except Arrian.

Sarangas.—According to Schwanbeck, this word represents the Sanskrit Sarangā, ‘six-limbed.’ It is not known what river it designated. The Kekians, through whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, Sekaya.

Neudros is not known. The Attakeni are likewise unknown, unless their name is another form of Assakeni.

Hydaspe.—Bidaspes is the form in Ptolemy. In Sanskrit Vitasta, now the Behat or Jhelām; called also by the inhabitants on its banks the Bodasta, ‘widely spread.’ It is the ‘fabulous Hydaspe’ of Horace, and the ‘Medus Hydaspe’ of Virgil. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of Porus.

Oxydrakāi. This name represents, according to Lassen, the Sanskrit Kasudraka. It is variously written, —Sydrakē, Syrakosē (probably a corrupt reading for Sadrakē), Sabagria, and Sygambri. According to some accounts, this was the people among whom Alexander was
severely wounded when his life was saved by Polemy, who in consequence received the name of Soter. Arrian, however, refers this incident to the country of the Malii.

**Akesines.**—Now the Chenib in Sanskrit Asikni, ‘dark-coloured,’—called afterwards Chandrabhâga. “This would have been hellenized into Sandrophagos,—a word so like to Androphagos or Alexandrophagos that the followers of Alexander changed the name to avoid the evil omen,—the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hydaspes.”—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.*

**Malii.**—They occupied the country between the Akesines and the Hydroses or Iravati. The name represents the Sanskrit Malvâ, Mulvân being its modern representative.

**Toutapos.**—Probably the lower part of the Satadru or Satlej.

**Parenos.**—Probably the modern Burindu.

**Saparnos.**—Probably the Abbasin.

Soanes represents the Sanskrit Suvarna, ‘the sun,’ or ‘fire’—now the Swarn.

**The Abissareans.**—The name may represent the Sanskrit Abisara.|| A king called Abises is mentioned by Arrian in his *Anabasis* (iv. 7). It may be here remarked that the names of the Indian kings, as given by the Greek writers, were in general the names slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.

**Taurum.**—The modern Srinin.

**CHAP. V. Megasthenes.**—The date of his mission to India is uncertain. Clinton assigns it to the year 308 B.C. since about that time an alliance was formed between Seleucus and Sandrakottus (Chandragupta). It is also a disputed point whether he was sent on more than one embassy, as the words of Arrian (Anab. V. 6.), 

σολλικεδε ή λεγεν άφικτασιν παρα Σανδράκουτον τον Ισδων Βαρδία, may mean either that he went on several missions to Sandrakottus, or merely that he had frequent interviews with him. From Arrian we further learn regarding Megasthenes that he lived with Tyburtius the satrap of Arachosia, who obtained the satrapies of Arachosia and Gedrosia 323 B.C. Sandrakottus died about B.C. 288. Sesostrias has been identified with Ramesses, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty as given in the History of Manetho.

**Idanthrysos.**—Strabo mentions an irruption of Skythians into Asia under a leader of this name, and Herodotos mentions an invasion which was led by Madyas. As Idanthrysos may have been a common appellative of all the Skythian kings, it may be one and the same invasion to which both writers refer. It was made when Kyaxares reigned in Media and Psmymichus in Egypt.

**Mount Merus.**—Mount Meru, the Olympus of Indian mythology. As a geographical term it designated the highland of Tartary north of the Himalaya. Siva was the Indian deity whom the Greeks identified with Bacchus, as they identified Krishna with Hercules.

**The rock Aornos.**—The much-vaunted question of the position of this celebrated rock has been settled by General Cunningham, who has identified it with the ruined fortress of Rângat, situated immediately above the small village of Nôgrâm, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from O'hînd, which he takes to be the Emboloma of the ancients. “Rângat,” he says, “or the Queen’s rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Râja Vara’s seat is said to have seated himself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Râja Vara, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Râja Vara’s stables... I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Râja Vara, and that the ruined fortress of Rângat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahâban hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Râja Hodi proposed by General Court and Mr. Loevenenthal.”

**The Cave of Prometheus.**—Probably one of the vast caves in the neighbourhood of Bamiyan.

**Sibai.**—A fierce mountain tribe called Sippul or Siapush still exists, inhabiting the Hindû Kush, who use to this day the club, and wear the skins of goats for clothing. According to Curtius, however, the Siva, whom he calls Sobbi, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and Akesines. They may have derived their name from the god Siva. In the neighbourhood of Hardwar there is a district called Sibai.

**CHAP. VI. The Silas.**—Other forms are
Sillas and Silias. Demokritos and Aristotle doubted the story told of this river, but Lassen states that mention is made in Indian writings of a river in the northern part of India whose waters have the power of turning everything cast into them into stone, the Sanskrit word for which is sila.

Tala.—The fan-palm, the Borassus flabelliformis of botany.

C H A P. VIII.—Spatembas and his successors were the kings of Magadha, which in these early times was the most powerful kingdom in India: Pali bothra was its capital.

Boudyas.—This is, no doubt, the name of Buddh ha hellenized.

Souraseni.—This name represents the Sanskrit Sûrasena, which designated the country about Methora, now Mathura, famous as the birthplace and scene of the adventures of Krishna, whom the Greeks identified with Hercules. Methora is mentioned by Pliny, who says, "Ammis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothesis decurrir inter oppida Methora et Charisoscura." Chrysobothra and Kyrisobota are various readings for Charisosora, which is doubtless another form of Arrian’s Kleisosora. This word may represent, perhaps, the Sanskrit Krîshna-putra. Jaboris is the Jamuna. The Pali bothra, in the passage quoted, must be taken to denote the subjects of the realm of which Pali bothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as some have supposed.

Pandæa.—Pliny mentions a tribe called Pandæa, who alone of the Indians were in the habit of having female sovereigns. The name undoubtedly points to the famous dynasty of the Pâñjanas, which extended so widely over India. In the south there was a district called Pandæa regio, while another of the same name is placed by Ptolemy in the Panjab on the Bidaspae (Bis). Mârgarita.—This word cannot be traced to Sânskrit. Murvarid is said to be a name in Persian for the pearl.

Palimbothra.—The Sanskrit Pataliputra, now Patna, sometimes still called Pataliputra. The name means "the son of the Patali, or trumpet flower (Bignonia suaveolea)." Its earliest name was Kausambi, so called as having been founded by Kuśa, the father of the celebrated sage Viśvamitra. It was subsequently called also Pushpapuram or Kusumapura, the city of flowers." Megasthenes and Eratosthenes give its distance from the mouth of the Ganges at 6000 stadia.

The Prasians.—"Strabo and Pliny," says General Cunningham, "agree with Arrian in calling the people of Palibothra by the name of Prasia, which modern writers have unanimously referred to the Sanskrit Prâchya or eastern." But it seems to me that Prasia is only the Greek form of Palasa or Parasa, which is an actual and well-known name of Magadha, of which Palibothra was the capital. It obtained this name from the Palida, or Beta frondosa, which still grows as luxuriantly in the province as in the time of Hiuen Thsiang. The common form of the name is Paras, or when quickly prononced Pras, which I take to be the true original of the Greek Prasia. This derivation is supported by the spelling of the name given by Curtius, who calls the people Pharrasia, which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name Parasiya. The Praxiakos of Ælian is only the derivative from Palasaka.

C H A P. XXI.—According to Vincent, the expedition started on the 23rd of October 327 B.C.; the text indicates the year 326, but the correct date is 325. The lacuna marked by the asterisks has been supplied by inserting the name of the Macedonian month Dios. The Ephesians adopted the names of the months used by the Macedonians, and so began their year with the month Dios, the first day of which corresponds to the 24th of September. The harbour from which the expedition sailed was distant from the sea 150 stadia. It was probably in the island called by Arrian, in the Analect (vi. 19) Killata, in the western arm of the Indus.—that now called the Páthi mouth.

Kaumaras may perhaps be represented by the modern Kháu, the name of one of the mouths of the Indus in the part through which the expedition passed.

Koressias.—This name does not occur elsewhere. Regarding the sunken reef encountered by the fleet after leaving this place, Sir Alexander Burnes says: "Near the mouth of the river we passed a rock stretching across the stream, which is particularly mentioned by Nearshus, who calls it a dangerous rock, and is the more remarkable since there is not even a stone below Tatta in any other part of the Indus." The rock, he adds, is at a distance of
NOTES TO ARRIAN'S INDICA.

six miles up the Piti. "It is vain," says Captain Wood in the narrative of his *Journey to the Source of the Osus*, "in the delta of such a river (as the Indus), to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great.... (but) Burnes has, I think, shown that the mouth by which the Grecian fleet left the Indus was the modern Piti. The 'dangerous rock' of Near- chus completely identifies the spot, and as it is still in existence, without other within a circle of many miles, we can wish for no stronger evidence." With regard to the canal dug through this rock, Burnes remarks: "The Greek admiral only availed himself of the experience of the people, for it is yet customary among the natives of Sind to dig shallow canals and leave the tides or river to deepen them; and a distance of five stadia, or half a mile, would call for not great labour. It is not to be supposed that sandbanks will continue unaltered for centuries, but I may observe that there was a large bank contiguous to the island, between it and which a passage like that of Nearchus might have been dug with the greatest advantage." The same author thus describes the mouth of the Piti: "Beginning from the westward we have the Piti mouth, an embouchure of the Buggaur, that falls into what may be called the Bay of Karachi. It has no bar, but a large sandbank together with an island outside prevent a direct passage into it from the sea, and narrow the channel to about half a mile at its mouth."

*Krokala.*—"Karachi," says General Cunningham, "must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabiæ,—a deduction which is admitted by the common consent of all inquirers, who have agreed in identifying the Kolaka of Ptolemy, and the sandy island of Krokola where Nearchus tarried with his fleet for one day, with a small island in the bay of Karachi. Krokola is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabiæ. It was 130 stadia, or 17½ miles, from the western mouth of the Indus,—which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karachi and the mouth of the Ghâra river, if, as we may fairly assume, the present coast-line has advanced five or six miles during the twenty-one centuries that have elapsed since the death of Alexander. The identification is confirmed by the fact that the district in which Karachi is situated is called Karakalla to this day. On leaving Krokola, Near- chus had Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left,—which is a very accurate description of the entrance to Karachi harbour."

*Arabii.*—The name is variously written,—Arabite, Arabi, Arabies, Arbies, Arbies, Arabbi. The name of their river has also several forms,—Arabis, Arabius, Artabis, Artabius. It is now called the Purâli, the river which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiyâni.

*Oritra.*—The name in Curtius is Hóritae. General Cunningham identifies them with the people on the Aghor river, whom he says the Greeks would have named Agoritae or Horitae, by the suppression of the guttural, of which a trace still remains in the initial aspirate of 'Horitae.' Some would connect the name with Hanr, a town which lay on the route to Fir-baz, in Mekrân.

*Bibakta.*—The form of the name is Bibaga in Pliny, who gives its distance from Krokola at twelve miles. Vincent would refer it to the island now called Chîne-y, —which, however, is too distant.

*Sangada.*—This name D'Anville thought survived in that of a race of noted pirates who infested the shores of the gulf of Kachh, called the Sangadians or Sangarians.

*Chap. XXII.*—The coast from Karachi to the Purâli has undergone considerable changes, so that the position of the places mentioned in this chapter cannot be precisely determined. "From Cape Monze to Sonmiyâni," says Blair, "the coast bears evident marks of having suffered considerable alterations from the encroachments of the sea. We found trees which had been washed down, and which afforded us a supply of fuel. In some parts I saw imperfect creeks in a parallel direction with the coast. These might probably be the vestiges of that narrow channel through which the Greek galley passed."

*Domu.*—This island is not known, but it probably lay near the rocky headland of Irus, now called Manorâ, which protects the port of Karachi from the sea and bad weather.

*Morontobari.*—"The name of Moronto- baria," says General Cunningham, "I would identify with Muâri, which is now applied to the headland of Ras Muâri or Cape Monze, the last
point of the Pab range of mountains. Bāra, or Bārī, means a roadstead or haven; and Morania is evidently connected with the Persian Pard, a man, of which the feminine is still preserved in Kāshmir, as Mahrīn, a woman. From the distances given by Arrian, I am inclined to fix it at the mouth of the Bahar rivulet, a small stream which falls into the sea about midway between Cape Monze and Sonniyā. Women’s Haven is mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus. There is in the neighbourhood a mountain now called Mor, which may be a remnant of the name Morontobari. The channel through which the fleet passed after leaving this place no longer exists, and the island has of course disappeared.

Haven at the mouth of the Arabis.—The Purāli discharges its waters into the bay of Sonniyā, as has been already mentioned. “Sonniyā,” says Kempthorne, “is a small town or fishing village situated at the mouth of a creek which runs up some distance inland. It is governed by a sheikh, and the inhabitants appear to be very poor, chiefly subsisting on dried fish and rice. A very extensive salt or sandbank runs across the mouth of this inlet, and none but vessels of small burden can get over it even at high water, but inside the water is deep.” The inhabitants of the present day are as badly off for water as their predecessors of old. “Everything,” says one who visited the place, “is scarce, even water, which is procured by digging a hole five or six feet deep, and as many in diameter, in a place which was formerly a swamp; and if the water oozes, which sometimes it does not, it serves them that day, and perhaps the next, when it turns quite brackish, owing to the nitrous quality of the earth.”

Chap. XXIII. Pagali.—Another form is Pageda, met with in Philostratus, who wrote a work on India.

Kabana.—To judge from the distances given, this place should be near the stream now called Aghbor, on which is situated Harhānā. It is probably the Keamba of Ptolemy.

Kokala must have been situated near the headland now called Ras Katchari.

Chap. XXIV. Thomas.—From the distances given, this must be identified with the Maklow or Hingal river; some would, however, make it the Bhushul. The form of the name in Pliny is Tomberus, and in Mela—Tubero. These authors mention another river in connection with the Tomeros,—the Aras and Arusaces.

XXV. Malana.—Its modern representative is doubtless Ras Malin or Malen.

The Length of the Voyage, 1600 stadia.—In reality the length is only between 1000 and 1100 stadia, even when allowance is made for the winding of the coast. Probably the difficulty of the navigation made the distances appear much greater than the reality.

Chap. XXVI. The Gedrosians.—Their country, which corresponds generally to Mekran, was called Gedrosia, Kedrosia, Gadrosia, or Gadrusia. The people were an Arian race akin to the Arachosi, Ari, and Drangiani.

Bagisara.—“This place,” says Kempthorne, “is now known by the name of Arabah or Hormah, and is deep and commodious with good anchorage, sheltered from all winds but those from the southward and eastward. The point which forms this bay is very high and precipitous, and runs out some distance into the sea . . . . . .” Rather a large fishing village is situated on a low sandy isthmus about one mile across, which divides the bay from another.

The only articles of provision we could obtain from the inhabitants were a few fowls, some dried fish, and goats. They grow no kind of vegetable or corn, a few water-melons being the only thing these desolate regions bring forth. Sandy deserts extend into the interior as far as the eye can reach, and at the back of these rise high mountains.”

The Rhaps of Ptolemy corresponds to the Bagisara or Pasira of Arrian, and evidently survives in the present name of the bay and the headland of Araba.

Kolta.—A place unknown. It was situated on the other side of the isthmus which connects Ras Araba with the mainland.

Kalybi.—A different form is Kalami or Kalam. Situated on the river now called Kalami, or Kumara, or Kurnat.

Karinkle other forms Karbine, Karmin.—The coast was probably called Karmin, if Karmin is represented in Kurnat. The island lying twelve miles off the mouth of the Kalami is now called Astolia or Sanga-dip, which Kempthorne thus describes:—“Astolia is a small desolate island about four or five miles in circumference, situated twelve miles from the coast...
of Mekrân. Its cliffs rise rather abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet, and it is inaccessible except in one place, which is a sandy beach about one mile in extent on the northern side. Great quantities of turtle frequent this island for the purpose of depositing their eggs. Neæarchus anchored off it and called it Karrin. He says also that he received hospitable entertainment from its inhabitants, their presents being cattle and fish; but not a vestige of any habitation now remains. The Arabs come to this island and kill immense numbers of these turtles—not for the purpose of food, but they traffic with the shell to China, where it is made into a kind of paste and then into combs, ornaments, &c., in imitation of tortoise-shell. The carcases caused a stench almost unbearable. The only land animals we could see on the island were rails, and they were swarming. They feed chiefly on the dead turtle. The island was once famous as the rendezvous of the Jewassine pirates." Vincent quotes Blair to this effect regarding the island:—"We were warned by the natives at Passara that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Asthola, as it was enchanted, and that a ship had been turned into a rock. The superstitious story did not deter us; we visited the island, found plenty of excellent turtle, and saw the rock alluded to, which at a distance had the appearance of a ship under sail. The story was probably told to prevent our disturbing the turtle. It has, however, some affinity to the tale of Neæarchus's transport."

As the enchanted island mentioned afterwards (chap. xxxi.), under the name of Noeala, was 100 stadia distant from the coast, it was probably the same as Karrin.

Kissa.—Another form is Kysa.

Mosarna.—The place according to Ptolemy is 900 stadia distant from the Kalami river, but according to Marcianus 1300 stadia. It must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Cape Passence. The distances here are so greatly exaggerated that the text is suspected to be corrupt or disturbed. From Mosarna to Kophas the distance is represented as 1750 stadia, and yet the distance from Cape Passence to Râs Koppa (the Kophas of the text) is barely 500 stadia.

Chap. XXVII. Balomon.—The name does not occur elsewhere.

Bara.—This place is called in Ptolemy and Marcianus Badera or Boderah, and may have been situated near the cape now called Chenam Bunder.

Dendrobosa.—In Ptolemy a place is mentioned called Derenobila, which may be the same as this. The old name perhaps survives in the modern Daram or Duram, the name of a highland on part of the coast between Cape Passence and Guadel.

Kyiza.—According to Ptolemy and Marcianus this place lay 400 stadia to the west of the promontory of Alambata (now Ras Guadel). Some trace of the word may be recognized in Ras Ghanse, which now designates a point of land situated about those parts.

The little town attacked by Neæarchus.—The promontory in its neighbourhood called Bagia is mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcianus, the latter of whom gives its distance from Kyiza at 250 stadia, which is but half the distance as given by Arrian. To the west of this was the river Kaudryaces or Hydraces, the modern Baghwar Dasti or Muhani river, which falls into the Bay of Gwattar.

Chap. XXIX. Talmena.—A name not found elsewhere. To judge by the distance assigned, it must be placed on what is now called Chaubat Bay, on the shores of which are three towns, one being called Tiz, perhaps the modern representative of Tis, a place in those parts mentioned by Ptolemy, and which may have been the Talmena of Arrian.

Kanas.—The name is not found elsewhere. It must have been situated on a bay enclosed within the two headlands Ras Fuggem and Ras Godem.

Kanate probably stood on the site of the modern Kungoun, which is near Ras Kalat, and not far from the river Buntah.

Treos.—Ernstat for Troi; another form is Tae.

 Dagâsira.—The place in Ptolemy is called Agris polis, in Marcianus—Agrisa. The modern name is Girishk.

10,000 stadia.—The length of the coast line of the Icthyophagi is given by Strabo at 7300 stadia only. "This description of the natives, with that of their mode of living and the country they inhabit, is strictly correct even to the present day." (Kemthorne.)

Chap. XXX.—In illustration of the state-
ments in the text regarding whales may be compared Strabo, XV, ii. 12, 13.

Chap. XXXII. — Karmania extended from Cape Jask to Rās Nabend, and comprehend the districts now called Moghostan, Kirman, and Lāristan. Its metropolis, according to Ptolemy, was Karmania, now Kirman, which gives its name to the whole province. The first port in Karmania reached by the expedition was in the neighbourhood of Cape Jask, where the coast is described as being very rocky, and dangerous to mariners on account of shoals and rocks under water. Kemphorne says: “The cliffs along this part of the coast are very high, and in many places almost perpendicular. Some have a singular appearance, one near Jask being exactly of the shape of a quoin or wedge; and another is a very remarkable peak, being formed by three stones, as if placed by human hands, one on the top of the other. It is very high, and has the resemblance of a chimney.”

Bados.—Erratum for Badis. It is near Jask, beyond which was the promontory now called Rāj Kerai or Cape Bombarak, which marks the entrance to the Straits of Ormuz.

Maketa.—Now Rās Mussendam, in Omân—about fifty miles, according to Pliny, from the opposite coast of Karmania. It figures in Lalla Roskā as “Solama’s sainted cape.”

Chap. XXXIII. Neoptana.—This place is not mentioned elsewhere, but must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village of Karun.

The Anamis (other forms—Ananis, Andanis, Andanis).—It is now called the Nārāb.

Harmonia (other forms—Hormazia, Armizia regio).—The name was transferred from the mainland to the island now called Ormuz when the inhabitants fled thither to escape from the Moghals. It is called by Arrian Ormūn (chap. xxxvii.). The Arabians called it Djerun, a name which it continued to bear up to the 12th century. Pliny mentions an island called Ogoria, of which perhaps Djerun is a corruption. He ascribes to it the honour of having been the birthplace of Erythres. The description, however, which he gives of it is more applicable to the island called by Arrian (chap. xxxvii.) Otrakta (now Kishm) than to Ormūn. Arrian’s description of Harmonia is still applicable to the region adjacent to the Mināb. “It is termed,” says Kemphorne, “the Paradise of Persia. It is certainly most beautifully fertile, and abounds in orange groves, orchards containing apples, pears, peaches, and apricots, with vineyards producing a delicious grape, from which was made at one time a wine called Amber rosolia, generally considered the white wine of Kishm; but no wine is made here now.” The old name of Kishm—Otrakta—is preserved in one of its modern names, Vrokt or Brokt.

Chap. XXXVII. The island sacred to Poseidon.—The island now called Angar, or Hanjam, to the south of Kishm. It is described as being nearly destitute of vegetation and uninhabited. Its hills, of volcanic origin, rise to a height of 300 feet. The other island, distant from the mainland about 300 stadia, is now called the Great Tombo, near which is a smaller island called Little Tombo. They are low, flat, and uninhabited. They are 25 miles distant from the western extremity of Kishm.

Pylora.—Now Polior.

Sisidone (other forms—Prosidone, pros Sidone, pros Dodone). Kemphorne thought this was the small fishing village now called Mogos, situated in a bay of the same name. The name may perhaps be preserved in the name of a village in the same neighbourhood, called Duan Tarsia—now Rās el-Djard—described as high and rugged, and of a reddish colour.

Kataka.—Now the island called Kaes or Ken. Its character has altered, as it is now covered with dwarf trees, and grows wheat and tobacco. It supplies ships with refreshment, chiefly goats and sheep and a few vegetables.

Chap. XXXVIII.—The boundary between Karmania and Persia was formed by a range of mountains opposite the island of Kataka. Ptolemy, however, makes Karmania extend much further, to the river Bagradas, now called the Naban or Nabend.

Kokander (other forms—Kekander, Kikkander, Kaskandrus, Karandrus, Karaskandrus, Sasekander). This island, which is now called Inderaria or Andaravia, is about four or five miles from the mainland, having a small town on the north side, where is a safe and commodious harbour. The other island mentioned immediately after is probably that now called Busheab. It is, according to Kemphorne, a low, flat island about eleven miles
from the mainland, containing a small town principally inhabited by Arabs, who live on fish and dates. The harbour has good anchorage even for large vessels.

Apostana.—Near a place now called Schevar. It is thought that the name may be traced in Dahr Asban, an adjacent mountain ridge of which Ochus was probably the southern extremity.

The bay with numerous villages on its shores is that on which Naban or Nabend is now situated. It is not far from the river called by Ptolemy the Bagradas. The place abounds with palm-trees, as of old.

Cogana.—Now Konkan or Konaun. The bay lacks depth of water, still a stream falls into it—the Areon of the Text. To the north-west of this place in the interior lay Pasargadae, the ancient capital of Persia and the burial-place of Cyrus.

Sitakus.—The Sitiogagus of Pliny, who states that from its mouth an ascent could be made to Pasargadae in seven days; but this is manifestly an error. It is now represented by a stream called Sita-Khegian.

Chap. XXXIX. Hieratia.—The changes which have taken place along the coast have been so considerable that it is difficult to explain this part of the narrative consistently with the now existing state of things.

Mesambria.—The peninsula lies so low that at times of high tide it is all but submerged. The modern Abu-Shahr or Bushir is situated on it.

Taoke, on the river Granis.—Near Chus, it is probable, put into the mouth of the river now called the Kish. A town exists in the neighbourhood called Gra or Gran, which may have received its name from the Granis. The royal city (or rather palace) 200 stadia distant from this river is mentioned by Strabo, XV. 3, 3, as being situated on the coast.

Rogonis.—It is written Rhogononis by Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions it as one of the four largest rivers in Persia, the other three being the Vatrachitis, Briscana, and Bagrada.

Brizana.—Its position cannot be fixed with certainty.

Oroatis.—Another form is Arasis. It answers to the Zaratia of Pliny, who states that the navigation at its mouth was difficult, except to those well acquainted with it. It formed the boundary between Persis and Susiana. The form Oroatis corresponds to the Zend word aurwat, 'swift.' It is now called the Tab.

Chap. XL. Uxii.—They are mentioned by the author in the Anabasis, bk. vii. 15, 3.

Persis has three different climates.—On this point compare Strabo, bk. xv. 3, 1.

Ambassadors from the Euxine Sea.—It has been conjectured that the text here is imperfect; Schmieder opines that the story about the ambassadors is a fiction.

Chap. XLI. Katarberbis.—This is the bay which receives the streams of the Mesureh and Dorak; at its entrance lie two islands, Bunah and Dero, one of which is the Margastana of Arrian.

Diridotis.—This is called by other writers Tereden, and is said to have been founded by Nabuchodonosor. Mannert places it on the island now called Bubia; Colonel Chesney, however, fixes its position at Jebel Sanam, a gigantic mound near the Pallacopas branch of the Euphrates, considerably to the north of the embouchure of the present Euphrates. Nearchus had evidently passed unawares the main stream formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris (called by some the Pastigris), and sailed too far westward. Hence he had to retrace his course, as mentioned in the next chapter.

Chap. XLII. Pastigrisa.—The Eulcus, now called the Karan, one arm of which united with the Tigris, while the other fell into the sea by an independent mouth. It is the Ulai of the prophet Daniel. Pas is said to be an old Persian word meaning small. By some writers the name Pastigris was applied to the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates, now called the Shat el Arab.

The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia.—A reconsideration of this passage has led me to adopt the view of those who place Agins on the Tigris, and not on the Pastigris. I would therefore now translate thus:—"The ascent from the southern (end of the) lake to where the river Tigris falls into it is 600 stadia." The fleet, therefore, could not have visited Agins. The courses of the rivers and the conformation of the country have all undergone great changes, and hence the identification of localities is a matter of dif-
difficulty and uncertainty. The distance from Aginis to Susa appears to me to be much under-estimated.

The following extract from Strabo will illustrate this part of the narrative:

"Polycaotes says that the Chospes, and the Eutheus, and the Tigris also enter a lake, and thence discharge themselves into the sea; that on the side of the lake is a mart, as the rivers do not receive the merchandize from the sea, nor convey it down to the sea, on account of dams in the river, purposely constructed; and that the goods are transported by land, a distance of 800 stadia, to Susa; according to others, the rivers which flow through Susis discharge themselves by the intermediate canals of the Euphrates into the single stream of the Tigris, which on this account has at its mouth the name of Pasitigris. According to Nearchus, the sea-coast of Susis is swampy and terminates at the river Euphrates; at its mouth is a village which receives the merchandize from Arabia, for the coast of Arabia approaches close to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Pasitigris; the whole intermediate space is occupied by a lake which receives the Tigris. On sailing up the Pasitigris 150 stadia is a bridge of rafts leading to Susa from Persis, and is distant from Susa 60 (600?) stadia; the Pasitigris is distant from the Ocatis about 2000 stadia; the ascent through the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is 600 stadia; near the mouth stands the Susian village Aginis, distant from Susa 600 stadia; the journey by water from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, through a well-inhabited tract of country, is a distance of more than 3000 stadia."—Book xv. 3, Bohn's translation.

The Bridge.—This, according to Ritter and Rawlinson, was formed at a point near the modern village of Ahwaz. Arrowsmith places Agin in at Ahwaz.

Chap. XLIII.—The 3rd part of the Indica, the purport of which is to prove that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable, begins with this chapter.

The troops, sent by Ptolemy.—It is not known when or wherefore Ptolemy sent troops on this expedition.

MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.
BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., L.L.D., Ph.D., EDINBURGH.
(Continued from p. 313.)

40. Benevolence a duty. Mahābhārata iii. 13745.
A man should do with all his might
The good his heart has once designed.
Ne'er let him wrong with wrong requite,
But be to others ever kind.

41. The humble are wise. v. 1010.
Those men who far 'bove others rise
In learning, wealth, or royal state,
And yet with pride are ne'er elate,
By all are justly reckoned wise.

42. Selfishness. v. 1011.
Who more inhuman lives than he,
Of dainty food who eats the best,
In rich attire is always drest,
And stints his helpless family?

43. Marks of a virtuous man. v. 1088.
No ill the thoughtful man disturbs,
His hungry appetite who curbs,
In comfort all his household keeps,
Who toils immensely, little sleeps,
Who, not content to help his friends,
When asked, his help to foes extends.

44. Mutability of human things. xi. 48.
In scatterings and collections all;
High towering piles at last must fall;
In parting every meeting ends;
To death all life of creatures tends.

45. All sins known to the gods. xii. 7058.
Poor un instructed mortals try
Their wilful sins from view to screen;
But though by human eyes unseen,
The gods their guilty deeds descry.

46. Evils of wealth; praise of contentment. iii. 84.
As fire consumes the wood from which it springs,
So inborn greed to mortals ruin brings.
The rich in constant dread of rulers live,
Of water, fire, thieves, kinsmen crying "Give."
Ev'n wealth itself to some men proves a bane;
Who doses on it, no lasting bliss can gain.
As flesh by denizens of earth, sea, air,—
Beasts, fishes, birds,—is seized as dainty fare,
So, too, the rich are preyed on everywhere.
Increasing wealth to greed and folly leads,
And meanness, pride, and fear and sorrow breeds.
In getting, keeping, losing wealth, what pain
Do men endure! They others kill for gain.
The vain desires of mortals never rest;
Contentment only makes them truly blest.
Life, beauty, youth, gold, power, we cannot keep;
The loss of those we love we soon must weep;
On such-like things, from which he soon must part,
The thoughtful man will never set his heart.
In hoarding gold no more thy days expend;
Or else endure the ills that wealth attend.
Ev'n men who wealth for pious uses win
Would better act if none they sought to gain:
'Tis wiser not with mud to soil the skin
Than first to soil, and then wash off the stain.

47. Fools mistake evil for good. v. 1155.
Esteeming real loss as gain,
And real gain as evil, fools,
Whom lawless passion ever rules,
For bliss mistake their greatest bane.

48. Men risk their lives for money. iii. 15938.
On seas, in forests wild, the bold
Will risk their precious lives for gold.

49. Consequences of rejecting honest advice. x. 234.
Whene'er a man wise counsel scorns
Which friends impress, but he dislikes,
And such a man misfortune strikes,
He then, too late, his folly mourns.

50. Boldness necessary for success. i. 5613.
No man gains good who is not bold,
And ready danger to confront:
But if he dares, and bears its brunt,
And lives, he then shall good behold.

51. Action at the right time. xi. 36.
While yet the hours for action last,
A man should strive his ends to gain;
That so he may not mourn in vain,
The chance away for ever past.

52. No perfect happiness in the world. xii. 6712.*
Some men by circumstance of birth
Are happier, others more distrest;
But any man completely blest
I nowhere yet have seen on earth.

53. Good advice not to be wasted on fools. v. 3290.
When good advice is not more prized than ill,
What man of sense has any words to spare.
For thoughtless fools? Does any minstrel care
On deaf men's ears to waste his tuneful skill?

54. The wise corrected by advice; the bad only checked by punishment. v. 1252.
Their teachers' words correct the wise,
And rulers stern the bad chastise:
The Judge who dwells 'mid Hades' gloom
Awards the secret sinner's doom.

55. Bad men pleased to hear ill, not good, of others. v. 1382.
Of others' ill to hear makes bad men glad;
To hear of others' virtues makes them sad.

56. The bad like, the good dislike, to censure others. i. 3079.
In censuring others wicked men delight:
With all good men 'tis just the opposite.

All men are very quick to spy
Their neighbours' faults, but very slow
To note their own; when these they know,
With self-deluding art they eye.

58. Men of merit only can appreciate merit. viii. 1817.
No man can others' merits know
If he himself has none to show.

59. A man's aims vary with his time of life. x. 115.
In youth a man is led away
By other thoughts, ideas, aims,
Than those his middle life which sway;
In age yet other schemes he frames.

60. Virtue lies in the thought, not in the act. xii. 7063.
The real seat of virtue's in the mind,
And not in outward act; so say the wise;
Let therefore every man in thought devise,
In act promote, the weal of all mankind.

* This verse in the original immediately precedes No. 21, p. 154.
61. **None can share another's virtue.**

In virtue's practice men must act alone;
No friends can e'er their moral efforts share:
Wise guides may well the rule of life declare,
But not the wills of other men command.*

62. **Weak foes not to be despised.**

(Compare i. 5627.)

Let none a feeble foe despise:
If but a little fire should seize
One out of many forest trees,
Soon low the wood in ashes lies.

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**SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.**

**BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S.**

(Continued from p. 177.)

No. XIX.

The accompanying inscription is from Plate 39 of Major Dixon's Collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 5' 4'' high by 2' 51'' broad, at Balagamve. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga; on its right, a seated man, bearded and turbaned, with the sun above him and a boar beyond him; and on its left, a curved sword, with the moon above it and a cow and calf beyond it. A facsimile of the photograph accompanies.

The inscription is full of curious technical expressions, some of which I am not in a position to explain. It records grants made by certain persons and guilds of Balligrama to Somaśarapandita-deva, the priest of the god Nakharśvaradēva of Tāvaregere, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Chālukya king Viṅgamaṇḍita, the Great, i.e. in the Śaka year 1015 (A.D. 1093-4), being the Śrīmukha saṅvatāra.

**Transcription.**


*† The original words of these last two lines translated literally run thus: "Having got the rule only, what can an ally do?" The sense is thus not very clear.

* By mistake this plate is titled "Stone Inscription of the Kalachuri dynasty" for page 46. It is of the Western Chalukya dynasty.—No.

† The vowel, 'au', and the asvameta are distinct; the consonant only is illegible. As 'asvameta' follows, the word here must be 'ghanda.'
Reverence to Śam bhāt, who is made beautiful by a chaauri which is the moon that rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the elevation of the city of the three worlds! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Viṣṇu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvana malla deśās, the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Sātyārāyaśa; the ornament of the Chālukyaśa, was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:

Hail! The entire guild of the Nagara muraśa, which was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with "That which... and has for its pure origin the perfect lineage karaṇa muraśa-daṇḍaṇaśa, which, being in the plural, seems to mean the entire guild (tandla) called the Nakara-tanda and the Muraśa-tanda" (see Jour. B. R. As. Soc., vol. X. No. xiv, p. 253, note 40). But here the expression is in the singular, and denotes, apparently, only one guild, called Nagara muraśa-tanda. The present is the only instance in which I have found the first component of the name spell 'muraśa'; elsewhere it is always 'mukhara.' I cannot explain to what guild or guilds reference is made.

† Dektr śenjata of Himaraṇaśa, meaning unknown. The same expression occurs in line 6 of an Old Canarese inscription of the Śiṅhara family, on a stone tablet set into the wall of the north gateway of the fort at Miraś, in the Southern Māratha Country.
chief of saints, the ornament of the offspring of........; within the limits of the mountains, which was resplendent on the earth, and who was esteemed decidedly the foremost at the inquiry into the Saktia. How much more glorious on the earth was Srikaraśtrapāṇjadi, the chief disciple of that saint, a very thunderbolt to........, the performer of the rites that confer omniscience (?)! The disciple of that saint was—Hail!—Śōmēśvarapāṇjadi, the priest of the god Nakharēśvaradēva of Tāvaregere of the south, who was endowed with the characteristics of the performance of the greater and minor religious observances, private study, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, meditation, immovable abstraction of the mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound contemplation, and who was well versed in the demonstration of arguments and logic and grammar and poetry and the drama and the science of the many writings on rhetoric of Bharata and others; to whom—

Hail! On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-month of the month Phālguna of the Śrīmukha samvatsara which was the 18th of the years of the glorious Chālukya Vikrama, after his feet had been laved, there was given with libations of water, for the āngabhogā of the god, and for the purpose of (repairing) any thing that might have become broken or torn, and to provide food for the students and ascetics of that place, one sacred shop.

Glorious was Kēdaśaṅkṣtri, who was

* In lines 4-5 of the Miraj inscription, the reading is ‘śraddhavā kha’ i.e., śrīśadhaśvāṅbhaavāṅthavāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvāṅthvां

** Tyāngakārya—meaning not apparent. Mystica means three persons, and ‘kārya’ is the generative singular of ‘kārya’, private room, corner, or, perhaps, for ‘kārya’, from ‘kāra’, the earth.

** ‘Śākta’, the energy or active power of a deity, personified and worshipped as his wife.

See note to line 22 of the text.

** Šākta—meaning not apparent. ‘Bali’ is an old form of the Canarese ‘bala’, a faction, a branch of a family of hereditary officials, and, in inscriptions, the portion of the hereditary service lands allotted to such a branch or to any member of it; but this meaning does not seem to suit the context here.
and one pana* on (all) the shops, and one pana on the sellers of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and one pana on the dealers in oil, and one pana on the palaquins-bearers of the world, and ten viša† on their tenants, and ten višas on the sixty Kotāliṣ, and ten višas on the Bīnānuṣūṣ who were the Vaiśāvatas of the city, and one pana on all the rent-free lands, and one pana on the shop of the guild of the Mummi. And fifty cultivators, headed by the Mekhri, gave one ladleful of oil on the oil-mills, for the perpetual lamp of the god and the lamp of the Mauha.

This much did the whole city, assembling together, bestow. The family of Cāvanyāchāvala shall assist this act of religion. To him who excellently preserves it in the same manner in which it has been given there shall befall the attainment of his desires; but (as) to him who destroys it, he shall sink into the hell called Mahāghora, with all his lineage, being (as guilty as) one who negligently slays Brāhmaṇas, or tawny-coloured cows, or women, or children, or those who wear the linga, at Gauge or Gaye or Kēdāra or KūrΚeśtra.

Āchārya, the friend of the student, and the relations between the three Āchāryas.

By Prof. E. G. Bhāndārkar, Elphinstone College.

When I closed my controversy with Prof. Weber on some points connected with the Mahābhāṣya, I said I reserved one question for discussion on a future occasion, and stated my belief that the Vaiśyapadīya and the Rējtarangini did not afford evidence of the Mahābhāṣya having been tampered with by Chandrāchārya and others.* I am very glad to see that Prof. Kielhorn has taken up this question, and discussed it in a very able and thorough manner, in the last number of this journal. I agree with all that he has said, though I should translate the passage in the Vaiśyapadīya somewhat differently, but as the differences are unimportant, and have no bearing on the main point, it is not necessary to state them.

There are, however, some points alluded to by Prof. Kielhorn on which I have been thinking for some time. He has shown that the word āchārya occurring in the first 240 pages of the Banaras edition of the Mahābhāṣya, when it is used to denote a specific individual, refers to Paṇini or, Kātyāyana, but never to Patanjali, except in one instance pointed out by Nāgojiḥaṭṭa. Prof. Kielhorn expresses his doubts as regards the correctness of Nāgojiḥaṭṭa, and I also think Nāgojiḥaṭṭa is wrong. In a case of this kind, the great grammarian, who flourished only about a hundred and fifty years ago, can be no great authority if we can advance cogent reasons for differing from him. And I believe there are such reasons in the present case. The passage in which the word occurs is this:—

1. Chap. I. p. 10a, Banaras lith. ed.:—

2. I. 4. p. 271, Banaras lith. ed.:—

3. III. 1. p. 316ab:—

4. IV. 4. p. 401:—

5. III. 3. p. 93:—

6. III. 3. p. 97a:—

7. IV. 3. p. 76:—

8. IV. 3. p. 86:—

* "Pana" — a particular coin, measure, or weight.
† "Vaiśyapadīya Bṛṇa" — the technical meaning is not apparent.
ś "Vaiśyapadīya" — to the fourth part of an anna. In Sanderson's Dictionary we have "vaiśa", a share, portion, one-sixteenth, and "vaiśa", five scars.
ś "Bīnānuṣūṣ" — meaning not known.
ś "Mekri" — meaning not known, but possibly it is connected with "mṛṣis", to grouch, "mṛṣa", pathways.
ś e, e, shall ensure the preservation of.
* Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 240.
9. V. 1. p. 12:—स्वयं विज्ञानीयार्थेश्वरे उद्धरणे इति

10. V. 1. p. 19:—देवस्वरूप विज्ञानीयार्थेश्वरे उद्धरणे इति

11. V. 3. p. 55a:—देवस्वरूप विज्ञानीयार्थेश्वरे उद्धरणे

Now we see that in all these instances the sentence indicated by इति, which stands in the place of an object to the verb अवलोकने, is a वार्तिक, for it is explained just before by Patanjali, as all वार्तिक are.† Hence the expression अवलोकने: सुधूरवनस्ताश्रये refers unquestionably to Kātyāyana. Are we then to understand that in the first only out of these eleven passages it refers to Patanjali? Surely the evidence afforded by the other ten, occurring as they do in different parts of the Mahābhāṣya, is sufficient to warrant us in declaring that in No. 1 also the expression refers to Kātyāyana. The reason why Nāgōjībhāṣṭa understands Patanjali by the term देवस्वरूप here is this:—The author of the Mahābhāṣya tells us in his comments on the वार्तिक ‘सिद्धो सावदर्था’ &c. that the word सिद्धा has been used at the beginning for the sake of maingala, i.e. because it is an auspicious term, and such a term used at the beginning of a सांस्कृत concedes to the success of that सांस्कृत. The beginning, then, of the सांस्कृत composed by Kātyāyana, i.e. the first of his वार्तिक, is सिद्धो सावदर्था &c. If so, all that precedes this वार्तिक, including the aphorisms in which the uses of grammar are given, is not the work of Kātyāyana. These aphorisms, therefore, are to be ascribed to Patanjali himself, and hence the Ācārya who sets forth the uses of grammar is the author of the Mahābhāṣya. To this it may be replied that these aphorisms are simply introductory, while the regular सांस्कृत begins with सिद्धो सावदर्था &c. The provision for maingala is therefore made in this, and not in the preceding ones, just as Pāṇini secures maingala in the first of his regular सांस्कृत, viz. ērīd-dhīrādaich, and not in the pratyāhāra सांस्कृत. There is, therefore, no impropriety in ascribing these introductory aphorisms to Kātyāyana. And the whole manner in which they are stated and explained by Patanjali, and the evidence of the ten passages containing the expression अहस्य: सहृद्यो; &c., require that we should so ascribe them to him.

If, then, Kātyāyana is the Ācārya alluded to in passage No. 1, this passage and the few lines that precede it enable us to determine the character, nature, and object of Kātyāyana's work. Patanjali tells us that in the times preceding his own, after a Brāhmaṇ boy's upanayana ceremony was performed, grammar was the first thing taught to him, and the study of the Veda followed. In his (or rather Kātyāyana's) time, however, Veda was first taught; and after that was gone over, they said, "the Vedic words we have learnt from the Vedas, and the words current in popular usage we know from that usage. Grammar, therefore, is useless." "For these students," we are told, "whose feeling is thus opposed, the Ācārya (Kātyāyana) expounds the śāstra,"† (saying) 'These are the uses, grammar should be studied.'" In the comment on सिद्धो सावदर्था, &c. we are also told, as remarked above, that Kātyāyana uses the word सिद्धा at the beginning, that it may augur well for the "great stream of the śāstra." We thus see that what Kātyāyana proposes to himself is the composition or edition of a śāstra, and to attract students to it he explains its uses. And it appears to me that the opening words of the Mahābhāṣya अर हस्तमुन्नतम are Kātyāyana's words, and form a वार्तिक, notwithstanding what Kātyāyana says about them. For they are explained by Patanjali, just as all वार्तिक are; and to suppose that
THE THREE ĀCHĀRYAS.

this alone of similar aphorisms was composed by him, and commented on with all the formality of a scholar, is, I think, unreasonable. There appears no reason why in this particular case Patanjali should have resorted to this plan. If he wanted to say that he now began the Śoldā

niśāsaṇāsastra, he might have done so more directly than by composing an aphorism and commenting on it.§

From the passages quoted above, it seems that the verb avāchithā is used by Patanjali as characteristic of the work of Kātyāyana, as describing specifically what he did. His own work Patanjali calls avāchithā, and frequently uses the verb avāchithāmah. There is another word that is used in controversial writing, and occurs in the Mahābhāṣya also, which is derived from the same root, viz. pratyākhyāta. The difference in the senses of these words must be due to the prepositions or upasārvas that are used in each case. Pratyākhyāna is speaking against or refuting a thing; avākhyāna is speaking about a thing, or away, in varied ways, in detail, of a thing, i.e., writing a commentary on it, and avākhyāna must mean speaking in accordance with, agreeable to, or to the same purpose as a thing. The word is used with reference to Kātyāyana in other forms in two other places, where it is contrasted with teaching something new.¶ If, then, it properly denotes what Kātyāyana did most, if not altogether, with reference to Pāṇini’s sūtras, his work must be in accordance, in keeping, in harmony with Pāṇini’s, i.e., explain, develop, or support the latter. That the word avākhyāna is peculiarly applicable to Kātyāyana’s work is also confirmed by the fact that this is called avākhyāna in the Vākyapādaśastra. For these reasons it is clear that Kātyāyana’s object in composing his work was to teach grammar, first, by developing and explaining Pāṇini, and then supplementing him, and not “to find fault with him,” as the late Prof. Goldstücker thought. The avākhyāna of the work of this author directly, and that of Pāṇini indirectly, was what Patanjali proposed to himself. He himself explains what the duties of one who undertakes this task are. “Not only,” says he, “does the division of a sūtra into the individual words which compose it constitute avākhyāna, but example, counter-example, and the words to be understood or supplied, all these taken together make up avākhyāna.” To explain the vārtikas thus in detail, to discuss the sūtras, and occasionally to give supplementary rules (ādhyānta) where necessary, was Patanjali’s main object, and not to refute Kātyāyana.

Now, if we look into the Mahābhāṣya, we shall find this view of the relations of the three Munis amply confirmed. In fact, the instances in which there is no refutation of one by another, but simply an explanation of the words, or the bearing of the words, of the earlier sage by the later one, are so many that it is difficult to see how any other view can be maintained. Not to go very far for the present, none of the eleven passages quoted above contains or is followed by a refutation, while they all give some explanation. No. 1 explains why Kātyāyana gives the uses of grammar; in No. 2 Kātyāyana is spoken of as making a rule calculated to restrict the operation of another laid down by himself. In the vārtika in No. 3, Kātyāyana tells us that another vārtika of his, which is likely to supersede Pāṇ. VIII. 1. 24, ought not to do so; in the one in No. 4 he explains the word avādeśa used in Pāṇ. II. 4. 32; in that in No. 5 he tells us in what relation the words kartṛi and karmam occurring in Pāṇ. III. 6. 127 are to be taken; in the one in No. 6 he explains Pāṇ. III. 3. 141, and clears a doubt that naturally arises; in that in No. 7 he says that a vārtika of his should not supersede Pāṇ. IV. 3. 6; in the one in No. 8 he explains the word sthayoh occurring in Pāṇ. IV. 3. 140; in that in No. 9 he tells us that the words devi and tri occurring in Pāṇ. V. 1. 30 are to be taken on to the next sūtra only, i.e., they apply to

§ It is only modern authors that say that the vārtikas begin with anūbhāva, etc. || Mahābhāṣya, I. p. 134, I. p. 42, I. p. 40, III. 67a, and many other places.
¶ I. p. 223 & b.; anūbhāva, etc. || Mahābhāṣya, I. p. 183. 

† Prof. Kilburn’s article, Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 247, notes.
these two śūtrās alone; in that in No. 16, that the termination given in the last śūtra is to be brought on to this, and not the one in the previous śūtra; and in No. 11 the vārtika explains what the pronomē etaya occurring in V, 3, 20 refers.

But let us examine the Bhāṣya more closely. In the vārtikas on I, 2, 1 Kātyāyana explains what Pāṇini means by saying that certain terminations are निर्धर्यम् and निर्धार्यम्, that before those terminations, those rules are to be applied to the preceding roots that are laid down with reference to such terminations as have actually got an indicatory ह or क in them, i.e. Pāṇini attributes the properties निर्धर्यम् or निर्धर्यम् to those terminations, though they have not got ह or क in them. Before coming to this conclusion, however, the author of the vārtikas refutes three other ways of taking this and the following śūtras that may be suggested. Kātyāyana then gives reasons why निर्धर्यम् is attributed to some terminations, and निर्धार्यम् to others, and why one same property निर्धर्यम् or निर्धार्यम् is not mentioned with regard to all. In all this Patanjali confines himself to a detailed explanation of the vārtikas, and there is no refutation of any one of them.

On I, 4, 14 there is only one vārtika in which Kātyāyana explains why the word eṇa is used in the śūtra, and infers that in other śūtras in which technical terms are defined, those terms signify only the terminations that may have been mentioned, and not the words ending with those terminations, i.e. for instance, गोष्ठिन गोष्ठिन सत्ता and सत्ता, and not गौर्तम or गौर्तम. Patanjali does not make any adverse remark, but explains the vārtika.

On III, 1, 134, Kātyāyana remarks that the last termination न्हू. must be stated generally as applicable to all roots, because there are such forms as भावो and स्वरु. Why, then, does Pāṇini lay down the गुप्तā पाठ and गौर्तम, and teach the addition of the termination to those roots? Kātyāyana himself tells us, it is because in this way he may be able to add some indicative letter or anubandhās to some of the roots, and to prevent the application of special rules to others. On the next śūtra the author of the vārtikas remarks that the termination न्हू. should be taught as applicable to the roots indicated in the śūtra, only when they have a preposition prefixed; for when without a preposition, the roots have forms made up by the addition of another, which necessitates the change of the vowel to its गुप्ताः. Then he himself answers this by saying, "No, it should not be so taught, because our such forms as भवित्तa and others," i.e. forms made up by the addition of भा. On III, 2, 123, the first two vārtikas require that the use of the present tense (भावेना) should be taught in cases which the śūtra is supposed not to include; in the last three we are told that the śūtra does extend to these cases also, and reasons are given to show how it does.

Patanjali has no adverse remark.

In all these instances, Kātyāyana simply gives an anuvādā in explanation of the śūtras, and Patanjali agrees with him; and such instances may be multiplied to any extent. Of course, it is not to be denied that often there are adverse criticisms on Pāṇini, and that Patanjali defends him and refutes Kātyāyana, i.e. makes pratīyāśā as well as avyādhyā of the vārtikas. But Patanjali not seldom refutes Pāṇini also, i.e. makes pratīyāśā of the śūtra, the expression अयस् कौन्ते as भावेना occurring pretty often. On the other hand, he often says with regard to the vārtikas, महाभाष्यप्रथमां &c. To show the nature of the Great Commentary generally as regards this subject, I will here give a short analysis of a portion of the Bhāṣya on the aṇyādhikāra in the order in which the śūtras occur there, not here selecting my instances.

1. अद्यन म् VI, 4, 1. K. settles the meaning of the gen. अद्यनम्; Pat. does not refute. K. gives the object of the aṇyādhikāra, and says that they may be attained otherwise than by having such an aṇikāra. Pat. agrees, while Kātyāyana establishes that adhikāra.

2. In स. VI, 4, 2. K. raises an objection and answers it. Pat. accepts this explanation, but proposes also another.

3. In नामम् VI, 4, 3. K. justifies the use of नामम् for आदिम्; Pat. does not refute.

4. एवेत &c. VI, 4, 12. K. in the vārtikas explains this śūtra in a manner to avoid the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of एवत् necessitated by the śūtra अनुग्रन्तवत् &c. VI, 4, 15.

5. अद्यनम् &c. VI, 4, 14. K. finds fault; Pat. agrees.

6. अद्यनम् &c. VI, 4, 16. K. finds fault, not explicitly but tacitly. Pat. avoids the objection
by re-arranging the śūtra. A vārtika on another point is refuted by Pat. 7. चूँकि VI. 4. 19. K. shows that if comes down to this śūtra, त्य must be inserted in the śūtra श्रवणस्य &c. VIII. 2. 86, and it must have त्य, i.e., त्य, prefixed to it. This is done in that śūtra. The vārtikas therefore explain that त्य does come down. Pat. does not refute.

8. अनावर्तम् &c. VI. 4. 22. K. refers to his explanation of the objects of considering a grammatical operation to be अविषेध given under VI. 1. 86, explains the sense of त्य, and gives the objects of the अविषेधक. These last, Pat. shows, may be attained in other ways, and thus makes नेतृत्व of them. Then objections to this adhikāra are raised by K., and answered by Pat. explaining त्य as equivalent to समानस्यस्त. Then follows a vārtika stating cases in which, when we take this adhikāra to extend to the beginning of bhūdhikāra, we arrive at incorrect forms; and another giving other cases when the same result ensues, if we take it to extend to the end of that adhikāra. Pat. refutes these vārtikas by showing that the correct forms are arrived at, whether we take the one or the other as the limit of the adhikāra.


10. अनिद्धिता &c. VI. 4. 24. There are five supplementary or corrective vārtikas, two of which are refuted by Pat.

11. यथा त्य &c. VI. 4. 34. The vārtika is refuted by re-casting the śūtra.

12. अनुवादान्ती &c. VI. 4. 37. VI. 4-38, as it is, would lead to wrong forms. K. therefore proposes to re-cast these two; Pat. does not object.

13. नपुनी, VI. 4. 40. Two supplementary vārtikas: neither refuted by Pat.

14. जन्यन &c. VI. 4. 42. Pat. discusses the connection of जन्य, and in the end divides the śūtra into two, so as to render the use of जन्य unnecessary. Then follows an explanatory vārtika, which is discussed and defended by Pat. at great length.

15. समानस्यस्त &c. VI. 4. 45. Pat. says the word अविषेधक might well have been omitted in this śūtra, as unnecessary. "Another" says that even the word त्यस्य might be omitted. There is no vārtika.

16. अनावर्तम् VI. 4. 46. A kārikā, very likely by Pat. himself, gives the purport of this adhikāra; and they are discussed in detail afterwards. No vārtikas.

17. अनोऽधिक VI. 4. 47. Some explanation by Pat. Then follow three vārtikas on a certain point, which are refuted by Pat.

18. अनोऽधिक VI. 4. 48. Vārtika refuted by taking य as equivalent to त्य.

19. समस्य है VI. 4. 49. K. gives the undesirable effects of taking य as two letters y and a, and of taking it as y only. Pat. says one may take it either way; and the faults pointed out by K. are explained away.

20. अनावर्तम् VI. 4. 51. Pat. decides that the word अविषेध in this śūtra is unnecessary, and explains the next śūtra in a manner to avoid the objections that may arise. He also recasts VI. 4. 55. There is no vārtika.

21. अनोऽधिक VI. 4. 52. K. discusses, and explains the reason of using the word त्यस्य here. Pat. says this word, and even the whole śūtra might be omitted, and recasts VII. 2. 26 in a manner to include the sense of this. A vārtika follows, which is refuted.

22. अनावर्तम् &c. VI. 4. 55. There are three vārtikas showing what rules should be laid down if we should have त्य as an उदात्त termination, and what if त्य. These last are actually laid down by Pāṇini, says Pat.

23. स्त्रावरीत त्यस्य &c. VI. 4. 56. K. brings objections to the reading त्यस्य, and settles that it should be त्यस्य; Pat. does not object.

24. विनिविश्वास VI. 4. 57. अन्त should have its indicatory sign त्य here, observes K., to prevent the application of this rule to अन्तापि. Pat. applies the paribhāshā त्यस्यसाधितपदार्था &c. and refutes the vārtika.

25. स्त्राविति &c. VI. 4. 62. Pat. discusses at great length the relations of the words भाग, जन्य, य, and जन्य. Then, in a kārikā which must be attributed to him, are set forth the purposes of attributing विनिविश्वास to these terminations after these roots. This is followed by vārtikās, in the first of which the reason for the use of the word जन्य is given, and in the second we are told that विनिविश्वास prevails over the śūtra which lays down य as a substitute for त्य, in the predicative. The next two provide that the substitutes for त्य, य to go, and य to study, which are used before चेष्टा in the noris, should not be used here. This, we are told, follows from the context of this śūtra. No adverse remarks from Pat.
We thus see (1) that Kātyāyana explains and supports the śūtras, sometimes by raising questions about them and answering them, sometimes without resorting to this procedure; (2) that he amends them, and thus must be understood to criticize them, or find fault with them; and (3) that he supplements them. Patanjali (1) comments on the vārtikas in accordance with his own definition of vyākhyāna; (2) agrees with Kātyāyana; (3) refutes him; (4) recasts Pāṇini’s śūtras; (5) affirms that they, or a word or words in them, are not wanted, even in cases when Kātyāyana justifies them or defends Pāṇini; (6) discusses and explains śūtras or words in them, notwithstanding that there is no vārtika; and (7) gives supplementary rules called āshīs, which, however, occur very rarely, very little being left for him to do in this respect, by his predecessors. It will thus appear that in writing the vārtikas, Kātyāyana did “mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini” also, and that a vārtika is often “a commentary which explains,” and that the Mahābhāskara contains such varied matter, arguments of such length, so consistent, so well connected, and so subtle, that it by no means deserves the title of “a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini’s critics and of their refutation by Patanjali,” or of a “mere refutation of Kātyāyana,” or of a “synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini’s system, or a controversial manual.”

The only tenable theory is that Kātyāyana’s work is an edition of Pāṇini with notes, explanatory, critical, and supplementary; and that Patanjali’s is a commentary on this edition, explaining in detail the notes of Kātyāyana, but discussing at length all points connected with the system of Pāṇini and with grammar generally, whether Kātyāyana notices them or not, in a manner favourable or otherwise to his author. The object of both was the same, viz. to teach grammar by following and explaining the system of Pāṇini, endeavouring to perfect it, even though this sometimes required a remodelling of his śūtras or their entire refutation, and to complete it by supplying the omissions and bringing up the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar conveyed therein to their own times.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPAL CHĀVADĀ SETTLEMENTS IN GUJARĀT.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

After the accession of Mulrāj Solāṅkī to the throne of Pātna, and the subsequent expulsion of the Chāvadās, in about A.D. 942, one of the queens of Sāmantsingh Chāvadā, by tribe a Bhāṣāṇī, fled to her father’s house at J等级mer with her infant son, then a child of a year old. This boy was named Ahipat, and when he grew to man’s estate he became a formidable outlaw, and used to ravage the Pātna dominions. He conquered nine hundred villages in Kachh, and built Morgha, which he made the seat of his government, and here, consolidating his rule, he reigned for many years. He was succeeded by his son Vikramśi, whose son was named Vibhurāja. Vibhurāja was succeeded by his son Tākulal, whose son and successor was Seshkaranji. Seshkaranji was succeeded by his son Waghji, who was succeeded by his son Akherāja, and Akherāja by his son Tejsi, Tejsi by Karamsigh, Karamsigh by Tākhansingh, Tākhansingh by Aṣkaranji, Aṣkaranji by Mokansingh, and Mokansingh by Punjāji. Punjāji lived in the reign of Sultan 'Alāu’d-dīn Khilji (1295-1315), whose viceroy ruled at Pātna.

The Kolīs of the Vīsalnagar districts were at this time very troublesome to the Muhammadian viceroy, and were continually plundering the Pātna district. When the Jāhrdejas extended their sway in Kachh they drove out Punjāji Chāvadā, who went to the village of Dhāρpur, near Baroda, and there acquired a chordai or holding of eighty-four villages. But in Alagh Khān’s conquest of Gujarāt, in about A.D. 1306, Dhārparura was conquered and made part of the crown dominions; and Punjāji now attached himself to the viceroy at Pātna, and served him faithfully in the hope of obtaining a grant of land. The viceroy, a foreigner, was only too glad to avail himself of Punjāji’s services and local knowledge, which were invaluable to him, and sent him against the Vīsalnagar Kolīs at the head of 18,000 men. Punjāji marched with this force to Āhāsan, where he consulted the local astrologers (jushīk) and other Brāhmaṇas as to the success of his enterprise. They advised him
unanimously to attack the Kolis next day, and prophesied that he would infallibly be victorious, and deputed one of the number to accompany him. Punjaji promised to accept the Brâhman as his spiritual adviser and family priest (gor), and next morning, starting at daybreak, marched suddenly on Dâbâ, where he surprised and slew the Koli chief Visaldeva; from Dâbâ he marched to Goj pâriu and there slew Gopál: from thence he advanced to Lodrá, where he killed Lâl; and from Lodrá to Wârsodâ, where he killed Wachràj. By these successive defeats he entirely subdued the Kolis, and reduced the district between Visalnagar and Kâdi (then called Vîsalvâdá) to order.

On his return to Pâtân the viceroy bestowed on him 248 villages under Visalnagar, and 52 other villages, in all 300 villages. Punjaji now established his gâddi at Ambasan (or Ambásan)* and resided there. He granted the villages of Devrasan and Subhasan† to Chârans, and gave twelve villages to his half-brother Viramdeva. He gave also twelve villages to one of his followers called Râna Bhim. These were situated in the Meû (?) district. On another follower, called Vijal Dîbhi, he bestowed fourteen villages, while to Jetî Parmâr he gave the village of Gakha-Delwâr. He gave also the village of Hîlwa to his Solañi followers, and bestowed many fields on other men of less repute.

Râjâ Punjaji reigned for forty-six years at Ambasan; he had two sons, Mesâjî and Vanvirji. Mesâjî built the town of Mesânâ, and his mother Padmâvati constructed the large tank called the Padam sâgar at that place. Mesâjî had no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother Vanvirji, who also had no son until he consulted a Brâhman whose surname was Râval. The Brâhman told him he was sonless through Mahâdeva’s anger, whom he had offended, but that he would intercede for him on condition that if he obtained a son through his intercession he should call him Râval. Vanvirji agreed to this, and about a year afterwards a son was born to him, whom he named Narbâsingh Râval, and from that day the Châvadâ Râvals have continued the title.

Narbâsingh granted to Bhîts the two villages

* Ambasan is a village of Kâdi under H. H. the Gâlvâjî.

of Beru and Derru. He was succeeded by his son Jayasîng Râval, who had three sons,—Isârâs, Sarajmâjî, and Sâmantsîng,—who divided the paternal estate, and set up their gâddis at Ambod, Warso, and Mânâ respectively, and for a few years the two elder sons made Jotanâ and Lech their chief seats. Lech is a village of the Kadi parganâ, but the gâddi was soon moved to Warso. The Châvadâ chiefs of Mânâ and Wârsodî, however, to this day hold restdas in Lech and Ambasan.

In the Ambod house, Isârâs was succeeded by his son Varânâ, who was succeeded by his son Singhjoji. Singhjoji had seven sons, who divided his choras among them, each taking twelve villages. Thus Jayamâjî, Karmâjî, and Advâjî took Ambod and thirty-six villages among them; Jesâjî received twelve villages and took up his residence at Vasâji; Sujjî received twelve villages and resided at Bhotanâ; Hansâjî received twelve villages and resided at Karâ; and Sângjoji received twelve villages and resided at Kamânâ. The above are the principal divisions of the Châvadâs of Ambod.

Surajmâjî, of the Wârsodî branch, had a son named Punjaji, who dug the Rawali Talâo at Mesanâ. Punjaji had two sons, Sâvâjî and Sisâjî, of whom the latter succeeded him. Sisâjî was succeeded by his son Sâdul Râval, whose son was Gangâjî. Gangâjî was a devotee of the goddess Umâ, who told him to ask for a boon, on which he asked for a son. The goddess replied that he would obtain a son if he moved his seat from Mesanâ to Wârsodî, and bathed daily in the Sâbarmati river for one month. Gangâjî accordingly left Mesanâ and established his seat at Wârsodî, and there in Satrâvat 1565 (A. d. 1509) two sons were born to him, whom he named Askaranji and Jagtoji, of whom Askaranji succeeded him. Jagtoji’s descendants are now in the village of Pothâ. Askaranji had four sons, viz. Râmâs, Kaloy, Ratansingh, and Wachrâj. In Kaloy’s branch one Khumânsingh, who settled at Mânikpur, was a famous man in his time. The descendants of Ratansingh are to be found at Wadu, and those of Wachrâj at Ahâjî. Râmâs had three sons, viz. Mânâsinghji, Parmâmath, and Keshwâji. Two of these had no issue, and the estate fell to Keshwâji, who adopted

† Devrasan and Subhasan are villages of the Kadi parganâ, and are still held by Chârans.
Bālmankund Puri as his religious preceptor, and
granted him the village of Gūnmā, which his
successors on the gaddī still hold.
Kashavji was succeeded by his son Dayāl-
dāji, who had eight sons, viz. Girdharājāji,
Haribrahmājī, and Ajabāsingh by one mother,
and Rupsīsingh, Nārandās, Gumānsimgh, Prathir-
ājī, and Hamirijī by another. The descendants
of Haribrahmājī settled in Rāngpur. Two of
them, Harijī and Jagōji, were famous men in
their time. Ajabāsingh’s descendants settled in
Gaitahali. The descendants of Rupsīsingh are
still in Warsōgā; though not on the gaddī,
which fell to Girdharājāji, the eldest son. The
descendants of Nārandās and Gumānsimgh are
nevertheless to be found at Lākhāgāh, Prathirājī and
Hamirijī left no issue. Girdharājāji had four
sons, viz. Apājī, Jasiōji, Kirtājī, and Amarsimgh;
of whom Apājī and Jasiōji had no male issue,
and Amarsimgh succeeded his father. Amarsimgh
was succeeded by Bhimāsingh, usually called
Badsingh, and on his death, in Satvat 1836 (a.d.
1789) his wife Mālpuri became a satī. He was
succeeded by his son Ratansimgh, and he by his
son Motisingh, whose two sons, Kisor Singh and
Jālsingh, are the present chiefs of Warsōgā.

Of the Mānsā branch the most celebrated
chieftains were Indarsimgh and Nārsinghji; the
former was a contemporary of Dāmājī Gāikwād,
who on one occasion unsuccessfully besieged
Mānsā. The following couplet records Indar-
simgh’s triumph:

[[Translation of the couplet]]

“Dāmā, raise the siege, or Indarsimgh will
kill you;
Let Mānsā alone, or he will burn your tents.”

The following poem commemorates the taking
of Lābul by Nārsinghji of Mānsā:

[[Translation of the poem]]

These petty chieftains of Mānsā and Warsōgā
are thus lineally descended from Vānraj
Chāvādā, who is said to have founded Pātan
in a.d. 746, and their alliance is eagerly sought
even at the present day; and these petty hold-
ings represent almost the only trace of the royal
line of the Chāvādās, once so famous. Yet
their successors, the Chālukyās, though they
held the throne for nearly four centuries, have
left but few of their descendants in the pro-
vince over which they once ruled. Indeed the
chieftainships of Lūvāvādā, Sāmānā,
Bhādawā, and Tārād are the only ones of
any note in Gujārāt at the present day which
boast the Solānki blood.
Correspondence and Miscellanea.

The Right-Hand and the Left-Hand Castes.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

I venture to place at your disposal such information as I have been able to obtain respecting right-hand and left-hand castes.

In a village named Sathur Periil, in the zillah of Chittar (Madras Presidency) there reside a large number of Panchalars, or five classes of mechanics, styling themselves Vivasva Brahmanas, having the title 'Acharya' affixed to their names, and they wear the thread. They not only set up these claims for themselves, but they assert them to be the natural rights of the five classes of mechanics throughout the south. Those commonly called Brahmanas they regard as impure, and they style them foreigners. They further assert that originally there were five Vedas, but that Vedas-Vyasan and other Rishis made of them but four; and in a similar manner they corrupted, interpolated, or abridged other sacred writings.

It would appear that the community of Panchalars at Sathur Periil were in the habit of performing their own sacred rites, marriages, &c., by one of their number who acted as gurud. The purohita Brahman of the place, however, determined to put an end to this, and accordingly, when a marriage was about to take place, with a strong party, he pulled down the marriage yagya and entailed much loss upon the family of the Panchalars, who insisted on his right as a Vivasva Brahman to solemnize the marriage. It was subsequently arranged to inquire into the respective rights of the contending parties before a panchayat, which was accordingly done, and the panchayat decided in favour of the Panchalars. The Brahmanas would not submit to this decision, whereon the other side appealed to the magistrate, who directed them to seek redress in the civil court at Chittar, which they accordingly did, and a day was fixed for hearing the case. Both parties were required to deposit such documents as they intended to cite in support of their claim. The Panchalars deposited some, but the Brahmanas none. The court decided in favour of the Panchalars, and granted them damages.

The Panchalars at Madras decided on publishing the case from beginning to end, for the information of their people throughout the country. The book has gone through a second edition (in Tamil), and from it I have extracted the foregoing. The book is in the shape of a dialogue between a champion of the Panchalars and a champion of the Brahmanas, and the discussion is carried on with the bitterest acrimony. Many subjects are discussed, and some with considerable ability. At length the Brahman puts the following question:—

"O Panchalars (he mentions the name), how comes it that you range yourself on the side of the left-hand caste?" (I abridge the reply.) "In the time of the Soren Raja Paramalan, Veda-Vyasan endeavoured to induce the king to allow his family to perform the sacred offices for the royal family; but the Raja declined, saying, 'The Panchalars (Vivasva Brahmanas) perform them very well,' and he desired Vyasan to take his leave.

"The Raja died shortly afterwards, and his brother succeeded him, whereupon Vyasan made another attempt to have his family appointed, but the new king repelled him rudely. Vyasan then went to the illegitimate son of the late Raja, and by false stories stirred him up against the Raja and the Panchalars, and obtained from him a promise that he should be made priest of the royal family on condition of his depositing the Raja, and raising him to the throne. Accordingly the king was murdered while out hunting, and the illegitimate son was raised to the throne. Once established on the throne, he endeavoured to fulfil his promise to Veda-Vyasan without offending the Panchalars; so he tried a compromise by dividing the sacred offices between them,—an arrangement that the Panchalars refused to submit to; whereon they were dismissed, and Veda-Vyasan and his friends were duly installed in office. This led to unpleasant consequences, as the people refused to cultivate because the religious ceremonies were no longer performed by the Panchalars. Vyasan; therefore, to secure access to his plans, got the king to declare that all people who supported him should be designated the right-hand caste, and that those who sided with the Panchalars should be called the left-hand caste.

"A neighbouring Raja, hearing of this, assembled his forces and marched against Kalinngar Raja and captured him. The conqueror is described as executing the Raja, for dismissing the Panchalars and appointing Vyasan and his friends to perform sacred offices, and for dividing the people into right and left hand castes.

"Vyasan and his party fled to Kasr and consulted the Brahman Rishi, who are represented as upbraiding him for his misconduct toward the Panchalars, for his literary forgeries, and for his opposition to Vishnu. Vyasan denied this latter, apparently from fear, but on being pressed with the charge, he raised his right hand toward heaven and swore that Vishnu was the only true god. The Rishi, disgusted with his duplicity, drew his scimitar and cut off the extended right
hand of Vyāsan, and from that day a right hand is the crest on the Rishi's banner." Such is the story of the origin of right and left hand castes as given in this book.

There is a book* in German, not so well known as it deserves to be, from which I translate a passage in propos to this subject, viz. "The castes of the right and of the left hand in Śrīrāmāpata m deserve notice. The left hand consists of the following nine castes: (1) The Panchālār, which includes the five classes of mechanics or artificers; (2) the Cheṭṭis or merchants, who say they belong to the Vaiśya caste; (3) Weavers; (4) Oil-millers who drive their mills with two bullocks; (5) the Gollār caste,—people who are employed to carry money; (6) the Paliwālu caste; (7) the Pala-vaṇṭu caste, both cultivators but not belonging to the Karmāṭaka; (8) Hunters; (9) Tanners and Shoemakers. The Panchālar command the entire body, but the Tanners are their warmest supporters in all difficulties, because in matters of dispute they are very adroit. The right-hand division consists of eighteen castes, viz.:—(1) The Bāmgaru caste. This embraces many occupations and many Hindu sects. They are mostly traders or shopkeepers. (2) The Wodi-garu caste, Sudra cultivators; (3) Oil-millers who drive their mill with but one ox; (4) the Tailors; (5) the Sandar caste: these are Muhammadan artizans; (6) the Gujarāti caste,—merchants from that district; (7) the Kamaṭi-garu caste = people of the Vaiśya caste; (8) the joiner or Jaina; (9) Shepherds and Sheavers, especially weavers of woollen blankets; (10) Potters; (11) Washermen; (12) Palace-keepers, bearers; (13) the Padma = Shala-yaṇḍa caste, a class of weavers; (14) the Barber caste; (15) the Tank-diggers; (16) Painters; (17) the Gullār caste,—people who herd cows and buffaloes; (18) the Wali-yaṇḍa caste,—these are the warriors of this division; they commonly speak of themselves (in the Tamil country) as Vaiḷangais; but are the well-known Pariahs.

The origin of the division of the Hindus into right and left hand is overlaid with fable. The oldest Hindu accounts attribute it to the goddess Kail at the founding of Kancheveram; and it is said that the pagoda there contains a copper plate having upon it an inscription that accounts for this division of castes. Both sides refer to this plate, but neither side has ever produced it, and therefore its existence may be doubted.

The castes of which both sides are composed are in no way bound by any mutual obligation of religion or of relationship. The great idea that keeps them together appears to be to attain more dignity.

The right-hand claim exclusive right to have a panaṭṭi, under which to perform their marriage ceremonies; and they maintain that the left-hand have no right, in their marriage processions, to ride a horse, or to carry a flag upon which there is an image of Hānumaṇ. The left-hand assert a right to all these, and appeal to the copper plate already mentioned, and they further assert that to them belongs the higher rank, because the goddess placed them on her left side, which in India is the place of honour." Thus far I quote from our German author.

It is difficult to say what the origin of the division was, but it does appear to have been caused by some person or persons who were strangers to Southern India: and from the fact that Muhammadan artizans form a portion of the right-hand division, we may conclude that it cannot boast of very great antiquity. These Muhammadans were a necessity to the right-hand, because in time of fighting no Panchālar would work for them.

JAMES F. KLEAMS,
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THE PHRASE 'PANCHA-MAHAŚABDA.'
(See Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 251.)

It may be of some interest to Sir Walter Elliot to know that although samadhipata-pancha-mahāśabda is obsolete as a royal title, the term panchaśabda is still in use, and is of frequent occurrence in the modern literature of Brāj. Thus in the Rāmānya of Tulsi Dās, Book I, immediately after the 324th dohd, in the passage describing the festivities connected with Rāma's wedding, occurs the line

Panch-sab-dhuni mangu yānd,
which is literally 'the noise of the five kinds of music and auspicious songs.' A very useful commentary on the poem, published under the auspices of the Mahārāja of Banāras, gives the following explanatory complent:

Tantri, tāl, sujahānjh, puni jāno nagāra cehār;
Pancham phāṇke se bāje panch-sab prakār,
in which the five kinds of music are specified as the tantri, or sitāra, the tāl, the jhānjh, the naktra, and finally the trumpet, fife, or other wind instrument. This enumeration, or one differing from it in no essential respect, is popularly known; and I do not think that any panṭīṭa in this part of India would hesitate about the meaning of the title

samadhipata-pancha-mahāśabda,
but would at once explain it as denoting that the king had a brilliant and auspicious court, in which all kinds of music were constantly being played. It may also be as well to observe that the Hindi text of Chand is by no means so explicit as to the custom of having a royal band play five times a day as would appear

* Ostindien seine Geschichte, Cultur, und seine Bewohner, von Philipp van Mokern.
from the English translation quoted by Sir Walter Elliot. That stands thus:—

"With many standards very splendid,
Song and music playing five times a day;
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings."

But the text, as given by the translator himself, is as follows:—

Chân nisán bahu sadd,  
Nād sur panč bajat din.  
Daš hazár hay charhat  
Hem nag jaṣṭ sāj tin.*

of which a literal rendering would be—

"Many instruments of various note,
A noise of the five kinds of music playing every day.
Mounting ten thousand horses,
Their trappings broderied with gold and jewels,"

which, it will be seen, is something very different.

Further I would observe that naubat, corresponding precisely to the Hindi pahra, certainly means originally 'a turn,' i.e. the time for changing guard, when the drums were beat; and it is only secondarily that it comes to mean the drum itself. As its primary signification has thus no connection with music of any kind, it is highly improbable that its final syllable should be the same with the but in saubut and barbut. The latter is probably the Greek Σαύρος; though Dājā Śivā Prasād tells me that the frame of the instrument is shaped like a goose (safoa), and that this is the origin of the name.

F. S. Growse.

THE BENDUR CEREMONIES IN SĀNGLI.

In a former Part of this journal (vol. II. p. 335) I made a note of a custom prevailing in the Dhrāwāl districts, the most prominent features of which were certain observances connected with cattle on a particular date, and an attempt to divine the prospects of the coming crops by means of the animals. I have remarked a similar practice here (Sāngli), but there are points of difference which seem sufficiently interesting to make the Bendur custom, as it is called in these parts, worthy of being noted.

The first point of difference is in the time. The Kari takes place on Jesht Purnima, while the Bendur is celebrated on Ashād Purnima,† just a month later. The practice here is as follows:—

On the previous evening the legs of the cattle are washed with water, and they are given for the nonce the names of certain propitious stars, such as Pusha, Ashlesha, and so on. Their necks are then rubbed with oil, or butter, and turmeric, which operation is more important than would appear at first sight, as while it is going on the important question of the prospects of the crops is solved in the following way:—If the bullock, while its neck is being rubbed, passes dung, the crops are sure to be good; if it passes urine, they will be moderate; and if it does neither, only the most scanty crops can be expected.

On the morning of purnima the cattle are washed, their horns and often their bodies are coloured with kdo (a kind of red earth), and they are decked with bells, silver and brass chains, and garlands of flowers. They are then worshipped and fed with cakes, and 'amrit,'—a kind of gruel mixed with turmeric, oil, and salt. The implements of husbandry are also besmeared with oil and kdo, and worshipped. It should also be noted that the cattle are taken in procession to the river and bathed.

In the evening the bullocks belonging to the chief pāt are decked out in all sorts of ornaments, and taken round the old town to the spot near the temple of Māruti, where a gate formerly stood. Over the road at this place a towan is erected made of plantain stems and mango and pēpat leaves. As the bullocks approach it they are urged on to full speed, and their driver as he passes under the towan breaks it with his whip or a rope, after which the bullocks are taken home.

The final ceremony resembles the "French and English" game of one's childhood. The pāt procures from a Māṅg a leather rope some thirty or forty feet long, the ends of which are laid hold of by the assembled crowd, who divide themselves into two parties, and tug against one another till the rope breaks. It is then divided into numerous pieces, which are eagerly sought after: for happy is the man who is able to throw one of these pieces into his granary, as his store is sure not to fail.

E. W. West.

A SOBERER'S PUNISHMENT.

Sir,—I send a note of a curious case which occurred lately in this (Krishnā) district.

A Māla (or Parīdh) weaver called Chinmadāsāri settled in the village of Pētārāpe in about a year ago. Soon after his arrival he began to be suspected of practising sorcery; and it was rumoured that he had the power of destroying men by causing devils to enter into them, and of bringing cholera and other diseases upon them. At length a woman died after a prolonged and painful delivery, and Chinmadāsāri was believed to have been the cause of (which, by the way, means not 'a hoof,' but 'a nail' or 'claw'), but is a name for 'a precious stone.'

† I find Benduri Purnima often used as a synonym for Ashād Purnima.
her death. Thereupon the villagers resolved to deprive him of his power of pronouncing incantations; and with that end in view he was taken one day to another village by one of the accused. On their way home they were met by five others, of whom one proposed to Chinnadjasari to go a-hunting; and another asked him for a bit of tobacco. While he stopped to get the tobacco out, he was suddenly seized by both arms and thrown on the ground. His hands were tied behind his back, and his legs bound fast with his waistcloth. One of the accused sat on his legs, another on his waist, while a third held his head down by the top-knot. His mouth was forced open with a large pincer, and a piece of stick was thrust between the teeth to prevent the mouth closing. One of the assailants got a stone as big as a man's fist, and with it struck Chinnadjasari's upper and lower teeth several times, till they were loosened, thereby causing acute suffering. Then nine teeth—four incisors and one canine from the lower jaw, and four incisors from the upper—were pulled out one by one with the pincers. A quantity of milk-hedge (Euphorbia) juice was poured on the bleeding gums, and the unfortunate man was left lying on his back, to free himself from his bonds as well as he could.

The prisoners bore no individual personal grudge to the complainant, and, I do not doubt, thought that they were acting from laudable motives of public spirit when they thus undertook to free their village from a scourge. The theory on which they acted was that after all his front teeth had been extracted it would be impossible for the sorcerer to pronounce his spells in an effectual way, and so his power for mischief would be gone. That such is the result of this treatment is currently believed in this part of the country; and it would be interesting to know if the same belief in the necessity of distinct articulation to make charms efficacious is found to prevail in other parts of India.

H. J. Stokes.

Krishna District, 18th November 1876.

WAK-WAK.

In the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, given by Mr. Lane in his translation of the Arabian Nights, chap. xxv. (vol. iii. pp. 384-518), frequent mention is made of the islands of Wāk or Wāk-Wāk, represented as lying in the remotest eastern regions. In his carefully digested note (No. 52, page 523), Mr. Lane gives it as his own opinion that the Arab geographers applied the name to all the islands with which they were acquainted on the east and south-east of Borneo; and this conclusion is more probable than that which supposes them to be either Japan or the Sunda Islands. In an extract from the works of Ibn El-Wardi, an explanation of the origin of the name Wāk-Wāk is given as follows:—

"Here, too, is a tree that bears fruits like women, with bodies, eyes, limbs, &c., like those of women; they have beautiful faces, and are suspended by their hair. They come forth from integuments like large leather bags, and when they feel the air and the sun they cry out Wāk ! Wāk ! until their hair is cut; and when it is cut they die. The people of these islands understand this cry, and augur ill from it." This account sufficiently shows the ignorance of this writer of the regions he was describing, and their products; but it indicates, at least, that the name Wāk-Wāk comes from trees. I think that it is an imitation of the abrupt caw of the common Bird of Paradise (Paradisea apoda), which is one of the productions of those remote islands. This sound is uttered in a short, snappish manner, very loud and distinct, as I have heard hundreds of times. The bird is found in the Aru Islands, Wigion, and other islands near New Guinea, where it is most common; and when dried their bodies now form a common article of trade throughout the Archipelago, as they have done for a long time. It is not improbable, moreover, that the live bird was often sold, and its peculiar note has given this name found in the Arab writers of a thousand years ago.—S. W. Williams, in Trübner's Lit. Record.

EPIGRAM ON AN ATHLETE.

By Bödhe ed-ti Zehir.

A foolish atheist, whom I lately found,
Alleged Philosophy in his defence;
Says he, "The arguments I use are sound."
"Just so," said I, "all sound and little sense!
"You talk of matters far beyond your reach,"
"You're knocking at a closed-up door," said I;
"I'm not King Solomon!*" I was my reply.

Prof. E. H. Palmer's Transl.

INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY OF BALAGÄMEVE.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon's photograph, of No. 11. of Mr. Fleet's series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A Canarese transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at vol. IV. p. 208. The characters and language are Old Canarese.

* Solomon is said to have understood the language of birds and beasts.
STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE
THE BHADRÁCHALLAM TÁLUKÁ, GODÁVARÍ DISTRICT, S. INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMMAGUDEM.

(Continued from p. 303.)

IN describing the people and castes of this táluká, I propose to notice first the Koís, a tribe already partially described in Captain Glasford's Reports, and Colonel Haig's Report of his visit to Jagdalpur, and also in the Census Report for 1871 of the Madras Presidency. These people are to be found in the country extending from the banks of the Indrāvati, Bastar, down to the neighbourhood of Kamāmnet, in the Nizm's country. All those in the plains have a tradition that about two hundred years ago they were driven down from the plateau in the Bastar country by famine and disputes, and this relationship is also acknowledged by the Guttâ Koís, i.e. the hill Koís, who live in the highlands of Bastar. Up to the present time I have had but little intercourse with the Guttâ Koís, and the manners and customs described in this paper will be those of the Koís dwelling in the Bhaḍrāchallaám táluká.

The Koís generally marry when of fair age, but infant marriages are not unknown. If the would-be bridegroom is comparatively wealthy, he can easily secure a bride by a peaceable arrangement with her parents; but if too poor to do this, he consults with his parents and friends, and, having fixed upon a suitable young girl, he sends his father and friends to take counsel with the head-man of the village where his future partner resides. A judicious and liberal bestowal of a few rupees and arak obtain the consent of the guardian of the village to the proposed marriage. This done, the party watch for a favourable opportunity to carry off the bride, which is sure to occur when she comes outside her village to fetch water or wood, or it may be when her parents and friends are away and she is left alone in her house. (The head-man is generally consulted, but not always, as only a few weeks ago a wealthy widow was forcibly carried off from the house of the chief Koí of a village near Dummagudem, and when the master of the house opposed the proceedings he was knocked down by the invading party.) The bridegroom generally anxiously awaits the return home of his friends with their captive, and the ceremony is proceeded with that event;

* These guards are used by the Koís as bottles, in which they carry drinking-water when on a journey. Very few

ing, due notice having been sent to the bereaved parents. Some of the Koís are polygamists, and it not unfrequently happens that a widow is chosen and carried off, it may be, a day or two after the death of her husband, whilst she is still grieving on account of her loss. The bride and bridegroom are not always married in the same way. The more simple ceremony is that of causing the woman to bend her head down, and then having made the man lean over her, the friends pour water on his head, and when the water has run off his head to that of the woman they are regarded as man and wife. The water is generally poured out of a bottle-gourd. But generally on this all-important occasion the two are brought together, and, having promised to be faithful to each other, drink some milk. Some rice is then placed before them, and, having again renewed their promises, they eat the rice. They then go outside the house, and march round a low heap of earth which has been thrown up under a small panyall erected for the occasion, singing a simple song as they proceed. Afterwards they pay their respects to the elders present, and beg for their blessing, which is generally bestowed in the form of "May you be happy! May you not fight and quarrel!" &c. &c. This over, all present fall to the task of devouring the quantity of provisions provided for the occasion, and, having well eaten and drunk, the ceremony is concluded. If the happy couple and their friends are comparatively wealthy, the festivities last several days.

Some do not object to run away with the wife of another man, and in former years a husband has been known to have been murdered for the sake of his wife. Even at present more disputes arise from bride-stealing than from any other cause, especially as up to the present time the Government officials have not been able to stop this practice.

Funeral ceremonies.—The bodies of children and young men and young women are buried. If a child dies within a month of its birth, it is usually buried close to the house, so that the rain dropping from the eaves may fall upon the grave, and thereby cause the parents to be blessed with another child in due course.

Koís stir far from their homes without one of these filled with water.
of time. With the exception of the above-
mentioned, corpses are usually burnt. A cow
or a bullock is slain, and the tail cut off and
put in the dead person's hand, after the cot
on which the corpse is carried has been placed
upon the funeral pile. If a pujärī or Koi priest
is present, he not unfrequently claims a cloth
or two belonging to the dead person. The
cot is then removed and the body burnt. Mr.
Vanstavern reports having seen part of the liver
of the slain animal placed in the mouth of the
corpse. The friends of the deceased then retire,
and proceed to feast upon the animal slain for
the occasion. Three days afterwards they gene-
 rally return bringing contributions of cholam,
and having slain one or more animals have a
second feast. They are not very nice in their
tastes, as they by no means object to the pre-
sence of blood in the flesh used at their feasts.

The general idea of the Koís is that the spirits
of the dead wander about the forest in the form of pishūkis.

They do not believe that any one dies what
is commonly called a natural death, but always
assert that the death of every one is caused by
the machinations of a sorcerer, instigated thereto
by an enemy of the deceased or of the
deceased's friends. So, in former years, in-
quiry was always made as to the person likely
to have been at such enmity with the deceased
as to wish for his death; and having settled
upon a suspicious individual, the friends of
the deceased used to carry the corpse to the
accused, and call upon him to clear himself by
undergoing the ordeal of dipping his hands in
boiling oil or water. Within the last two years
I have known of people running away from
their village because of their having been ac-
used of having procured, by means of a wizard,
the death of some one with whom they were at
enmity about a plot of land.

Blood revenge has scarcely yet died out in
British territory, and in the Bastar country it
is said to be in full exercise.

Reputed wizards and witches are held in
great abhorrence, and at times the British rule
is complained of as unjust in not allowing these
people to be put to death.†

Birth ceremonies.—The Koi women are very
hardy and careless about themselves. After the

† Three months ago a Koi living in the Bejji tālkā,
Bastar, not far from the border, was compelled by his

birth of a child they do not indulge in the
luxury of a cot, but, according to their usual
custom, continue to lie upon the ground, bathe
in cold water, and eat their accustomed food.
Directly the child is born, it is placed upon a
cot, and the mother resumes her ordinary work
of fetching water, wood, leaves, &c., cooking
for the family, &c. On the seventh day the
child is well washed, and all the neighbours
and near relations assemble together to name
the child. Having placed the child on a cot,
they put a leaf of the mahowa tree in the child's
hand, and pronounce some name which they
think suitable to the child. If the child cry,
it is taken as a sign that they must choose
another name, and so they throw away the leaf
and substitute another leaf and another name,
until the child shows its approbation by ceasing
to cry. Any public-spirited person in the vil-

lage or neighbourhood who is honoured by
having his name bestowed upon it, ever after-
wards regards the child with some amount of
interest. Most Kois now name their children
without all the elaborate ceremonial mentioned
above. A feast is always held at the end of the
days of ceremonial uncleanness.

Formerly on a certain day in the year the
Koi men of each village were driven into the
jungle by the women to hunt, and were not al-
lowed to return unless they brought home some
game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough
to give them the right to be welcomed back.
This practice is still carried on by the Koís in
the Bastar country, and also by many in the
Nizām's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst bor-
ing for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that
day by all the Koi women of the village, dress-
ed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him
that they had that morning driven their husbands
to the forest to bring home game of some kind
or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the
Koís round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat
annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but
leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

The Koís say that the following gods and
goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by
the Śūdras:—Muttelamma, Maridimahālakshmi, Potura
su, and Korravulu, and the following were to receive adoration from the
Koís:—Kommalamma, Kātūrādu,
A damarquizu. The goddess Māmili or Lèle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims. There is strong reason to think that two men were murdered this year, near a village not far from Dum-magudem, as offerings to this devata, and there is no reason to doubt that every year strangers are quietly put out of the way in the Bastar country to ensure the favour of this bloodthirsty goddess.

The Kois regard themselves as being divided into five classes or tribes, the Perumboydu gotra, the Madagatta gotra, the Perēgatta gotra, the Matamappayo gotra, and the Vidagatta gotra. The Dōlīs, another class, are a kind of priests, and have charge of the ēḷpu— objects of worship amongst the Kois. They carry about a large banner which moves round a pole, and, having planted the pole in the ground, one of them seizes hold of the lower end of the banner, and runs or dances round the pole, whilst his companions are most busily engaged in beating small drums, about the size of the drums usually carried about by the jugglers of this country.

All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the Pāṇḍava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhi-ma. The wild dogs or dhōlos are regarded as the dātas or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the Pāṇḍava flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a dhōlo, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these dātas when they wish to feed upon their cattle.

At Gangulu, a village about three miles from Dum-magudem, live several families who call themselves Bāṣava Gollavandlu, but on inquiry I found that they are really Kois whose grandparents had a quarrel with some of their neighbours, and separated themselves from their old friends. Some of the present members of the families are anxious to be re-admitted to the society and privileges of the neighbouring Kois. The word Bāṣava is commonly said to be derived from bhāsha, a language, and the Gollas of that class are said to have been so called in consequence of their speaking a different language from the rest of the Gollas.

The Kois are exceedingly restless and suspicious, but probably the juster rule of the British Government will allay their fears and tend to make them more settled in their habits. It has already been done in the villages in the part of the Lower Godavari district which lies to the east of the Eastern Ghāts. The misrule which formerly was so prevalent here (see Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 303) was not at all calculated to encourage indusions, saving habits on the part of any one who had the misfortune to live in this neighbourhood. Before the Godavari navigation works were set on foot, the Kois were not accustomed to see Europeans or many well-dressed natives, and have been known to take refuge in the jungle at the appearance of a Hindu wearing clean white clothes. Great difficulty was at first experienced in paying them for articles brought or for labour done, as they objected to take any coin but the old dab, three of which went to the anna. A silver coin they had a great aversion to. One amusing tale has been told me more than once, and I see no reason to doubt its general truth. It is as follows:—About thirty years ago a Koi was sent with a basket of mangoes from Pālavantsa to Bhadrachallam. He was warned not to meddle with the fruit, as if he did his dishonesty would come to light, since a note in the basket would tell the people at Bhadrachallam how many fruits were to be delivered. On the way the Koi and a companion were so tempted by the sight of the fruit as to determine to taste one, but how to overcome the danger of being seen by the note they could not at first conceive. However, a bright thought struck the messenger, and he exclaimed to his companion, "Oh, if we take the note out of the basket and bury it while we eat the fruit, it will not see anything, and so will not be likely to bear witness to our theft." Accordingly they buried the note until they had enjoyed the taste of some of the fruit, and then, having dug up the note again, and placed it in the basket, resumed their journey. When they were accused at Bhadrachallam of having purloined some of the fruits, and the note was shown them as evidence, they were utterly at a loss to understand how the note could have known anything about the matter, seeing that it was in the ground out of sight when the theft occurred.\footnote{A Brähman in Manlipatam (Machilipatnam) to whom I once related the above tale replied that he had heard a similar story, and that it was often used as an illustration of the ignorance of the inhabitants of the forest.}
No. III.

1. Words which are undoubtedly identical in origin with Sanskrit words are often so changed in the Dravidian languages, by the operation of well-ascertained phonetic laws, that they would assuredly fail to be recognized by any one not well acquainted with the tendencies of the Dravidian phonetic system.

Thus in Sanskrit we have the stem *srup*, which is from *SRP*; and these are from *SARP*, and ultimately from *SAR*. (See Fick.)

The verbal roots *chari*, *char*, *charru* are found in all the Dravidian dialects, in both ancient and modern forms, with the same original notion of 'gliding' and 'slipping.'

But the equivalents of the Sanskrit noun *SARPA* (Lat. *serpens*, Gr. *iop eros*) in Tamil are curious. These are *charypam*, *charubam*, *aravam*, *aravu*, *ar*ā, *ara*, and *ar*ī.

The following principles are here illustrated:

1. Tamil cannot tolerate, as a general rule, the sound of mute and liquid together. It rejects consonantal diphthongs: *ρρ* must become *rr* or *rrp*.

2. When *k*, *l*, or *p* (any tenuis) begins any syllable of a word except the first, it becomes, in order, *g*, *th* (as in 'this'), or *b* (is changed into its corresponding *medius*): thus *charupam* becomes *charubam*.

3. The Tamil has neither sibilant nor aspirate: thus *charupam* becomes *aravam*; and through the influence of *u* we have *v* for *b* (so Sanskrit *sanā* is in Tamil *avai*).

(An Kanarese for 'serpent' we have *kāvu*; this is in Telugu *pānu*, in Tamil *pānu*, and in Tuḍu *pāru*.)

4. Final *m* is constantly dropped in Tamil, and the remaining vowel is written *u*, but is pronounced very faintly. This brings the former nearer to the Sanskrit: thus *aravam* is now *aravu*.

5. By syncope and erasion *aravu* becomes *arā*, and final *ā* is often changed into *di* or *a*. Thus *arai* is the Dravidian form of *sarpava*.

II. It may be of interest, in this place, to give a summary of the rules laid down by the great classical grammarian of the Tamil language, *Pāvanāthi*, in the *Nāmāil*, for the spelling of Sanskrit words in Tamil—

1. "To an Āryan word beginning with *r*, prefix *a*, *i*, or *u*; to one beginning with *l* prefix *i* or *u*; to one beginning with *y* prefix *i." No Tamil word begins with *r*, *l*, or *y*.

2. "In each of the five classes of gutturals, palatales, linguals, dentalis, and labiales, the first of the class (*k*, *ch*, *t*, *p*) is to be written for the second, third, and fourth of the class:

   K for *K*, *KH*, G, and *GH*;  
   CH for *CH*, *CHH*, J, and *JH*;  
   T for *T*, *TH*, D, and *DH*;  
   T for *T*, *TH*, D, and *DH*;  
   P for *P*, *PH*, B, and *BH*.

(The Tamil has no separate characters for aspirates and flat mutes.)

3. "*J* is sometimes *Y*."

4. "Of the sibilants *S* is expressed in the beginning of the word by the palatal *CH*, and in the middle of a word by *Y*; *SH* is to be transliterated by *CH* or *T*; *S* is to be replaced by *CH* or *T*; *H* is to be written *A* or *G*; *KSH* is to be written *KK*.

5. "Final *ā* is to be written *AI*, and final *i* becomes short."†

It will thus be seen that multitudes of Dravidian words are by the native grammarians supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit, according to recognized laws of euphonic change.

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*N.B.—*Tamil has a strong palatal *r* (really = double *r*) and a lingual *t* not in Sanskrit.
It does not follow that in all cases they were so deduced. The Dravidian forms may well be older than the Sanskrit.

These rules of the Jain grammarians assist us, however, in comparing the languages.

It may be added, as a most remarkable and suggestive fact, that, although the Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam languages have adopted the Sanskrit alphabet almost entirely, and can thus transliterate any word they receive from Sanskrit with perfect exactness, nevertheless words which represent the same Sanskrit forms are found in these languages changed according to laws similar to those existing in Tamil.

This, and what has gone before, may be illustrated by derivations in the Dravidian from Sanskrit √ RIJ, RAJ, RAJ, or ARJ, which last seems its primitive form.

The Sanskrit noun rāja = ‘royal, appears in Tamil under the following forms:—(1) ṛadcha, (2) ṛdchā, (3) ṛdya, (4) ṛyai, (5) ṛrai-yam, (6) ṛarachai, (7) ṛarachu, (8) ṛarayan, (9) ṛrai, (10) ṛrai-yam.

In Telugu we have, side by side with rāja, the forms aracchu and rágy-du.

In Kanarese are found aracha and ereya.

In Malayalam also appears aracha.

If Fick is right in giving √ ARJ as the primitive, the Dravidian forms are in this case nearer to the original pre-Sanskrit mother of the Indo-Germanic languages than Sanskrit is, and this affords some indication of an ancient and most intimate relation between the ‘ur-sprache’ of the Dravidian and that of the Sanskrit.

III. It is an interesting question, I conceive, whether any radical connection exists between the Sanskrit √ RI or √ AR, and ar, or ir, or, which enter into the composition of so many Dravidian words, with the same ideas of ‘strength,’ ‘excellence,’ and ‘goodness.’

I take it for granted (Bopp, Eng. ed. vol. i. p. 1) that rī is a more modern form, and that ar, or, and ur are the older in Sanskrit.

In Tamil and in Telugu ar is in most extensive use as the first member of compounds. The abstract noun aru-mādi (mādi = ‘ness’) signifies ‘rarity,’ ‘excellence;’ as an adjective it takes the shapes of aru, arum, ar-isya, and ar.

In the same way we have iru-mādi, iru, irvum, = ‘strength,’ iru-m-du = ‘iron,’ ‘the strong substance.’

What connexion there is between these forms and Sanskrit arya, arha, dṛgya, or Gr. ἀρχα, ἀρχεῖ, I leave others to inquire.

It is, however, noteworthy that the very stem which in the ‘ur-sprache’ must have meant ‘noble,’ ‘excellent,’ should exist in the Dravidian languages, and in such a way as to show that it is, if any, a genuine root of these languages, one of the oldest and most honoured.

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**THE DESPONDENCY OF ARJUNA.**

From the 1st Canto of the Bhagavat-gītā.

When I behold my valiant kin all thirsting for the fight,

My knees are loosed, my mouth is dry, and tears

drops dim my sight;

My hair all upright stands from fear, slips from

my hand the bow,*

My stalwart limbs with horror quake, my skin is

all aglow.

Oh! Kēśava,† I scarce can stand, for giddy

whirls my brain,

And strange ill-boding sights I see, and monstrous

shapes of pain;

No heavenly bliss can be my lot, the slayer of my

kin;

How can I long for victory or empire, dashed

with sin?

* Gāṇḍiva is the miraculous bow given by Indra to
Arjuna.—Ed.

† The slayer of Kesān—the ‘hairy one’—a Dāitya in the
form of a horse slain by Kṛishṇa.—Ed.

Those for whom kingly power we prize, and joys

of wealth and life,

Leaving their wealth and happy lives, stand ranged

for mortal strife.

Preceptors, fathers, grandfathers, sons, though foes,

I could not slay

To gain three worlds—much less for this, the em-

pire of a day.

If we slay Dhrītarāṣṭra’s sons, though dead to

sense of right,

Shall we not lose these blissful worlds, and sink

in endless night?

Though these, with minds obscured with lust of

gold and kingly state,

Shrink not from slaughter of their tribe, fear not

the awful fate

Of those whose hands are red with blood of kins-

man and of friend,

---
SHALL we not dread their fearful crime—their still more fearful end?
When falls the tribe, then long-revered primeval custom fails;
When law is broken and o'erthrown, the lawless will prevail;
When lawlessness infects a tribe, then women are made base;
When women sin, then springs to light a mixed unhallowed race.
Then sink to hell, alike defiled, the slayers and the slain,
Nor longer can departed sires their blessed world maintain,
Cut off from holy offerings they fall and curse their sons;
Thus upward, downward, through the race the soul infection runs.
Then awful is our sin, who, drunk with blind ambition's wine,
Can long to shed the sacred blood of our own royal line;
Ah! better far if standing here with undefended head,
Unshielded breast, unsworded hand, some foe should strike one dead.

C. TAWNEE.  

INDIAN ARROW-HEADS.

Mr. WALKHOUSE has exhibited before the Anthropological Institute a collection of iron arrow-heads from Southern India, on which he made the following remarks:

"A diagram of forms of arrow-heads used in Africa, exhibited by Lieut. Cameron at his lecture on African Ethnology, delivered before the Institute at the School of Mines, induced me to bring forward the selection of Indian arrow-heads now on the table for the purpose of comparison. Most of the larger and broader arrow-heads are used to-day by jungle tribes in the wilder forest tracts under the principal mountain ranges of Southern India, the Nilgiri and Palani Hills, and the Western Ghâts. Four or five of the shapes closely resemble those used in Africa. The larger and heavier leaf-shaped heads, whether broad or narrow, are mostly used by the Indian jungle-hunters for killing deer. These men shoot very dexterously and with great force, but do not attempt long shots, for which, indeed, their large and heavy arrows are unsuited. Their arrows are formed from strong reeds, generally over a cloth-yard long, and to us would seem very top-heavy, from the size and weight of the head. Perhaps to remedy this the two feathers are large and clumsily tied on. Their bows are of bamboo, of much the same shape and quite as long as the bows of the famous English archers of old, to judge from one or two specimens of the latter preserved in the Tower. The cords are long strips of rattan. Scott says of an archer of the days of the Edwards—"

Well could he hit a fallow-deer
Five hundred feet or more.

The jungle bowmen attempt no such flights, but shoot from behind trees, rocks, and bushes, lying in wait by narrow deer-paths, by water, and where they know the deer will pass close by—in fact, taking pot-shots as closely as they can. They do not draw their bowstrings to the ear, nor hardly to the breast, nor take long aim, but twang off the arrow with extraordinary force, holding the bow rather low. Though small and meagre, the force with which the arrows strike would satisfy one of Robin Hood’s men, the shafts going almost through the bodies of the animals. Deer are their principal quarry. I have heard of their killing tigers. I do not know of their using poison.

"The smaller arrow-heads exhibited are principally ancient forms, not now in use, but employed formerly in war. These grooved along the sides, or roughened under the point, were charged with a viscus poison. There are many varieties of the form with open centres, which are said to have been peculiarly dangerous, the flesh closing into the head as badly as round a barb. The crescent shape is common both to India and Africa, and we hear of it in Roman times; the blunt, pointless heads are said to have been used for killing birds without drawing blood or injuring the plumage. In the days of the Râjas, when bows and arrows were in common use, the Hindus gave full play to their fancy in devising endless shapes of arrow-heads, some very elegant, and some fantastic, probably more formidable in appearance than execution."

INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT ERIHAR.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon’s photograph, of No. VII. of Mr. Fleet’s series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at p. 390 of the Ind. Ant., vol. IV. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are those of the Canarese alphabet, in its last stage before the full development of the modern forms.

From the Calcutta Review.
STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT HARIHAR.
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Á'ayashah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ábásan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayapála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhiramanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhiravagupta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abhishekapujya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abisaraeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áchárya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áchideva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áchugideva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áchuyatārāya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adal Shāh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adamaranu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adiśvara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adetus</td>
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<td>Ágá Khán</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ágarlyā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ágás</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agastyā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agastyêśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agorāns r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahñōl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Áhanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áhavanalla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Áhers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ahibyalal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadnagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aibole</td>
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<tr>
<td>Airavāta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ajāns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akarnania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akeshins r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akrūresvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣhritiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Álantār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Álā'u din Khilji</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali-Adal Shāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali Ben Mahammad</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Ali Mūsā-er-Risa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali Naqī</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Ali Zī Qāder</td>
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<tr>
<td>Álupa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ámrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambarnáth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambivli cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambhāvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánagáñanandini Śikha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amýastis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anahilapāthaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áñamis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánandagiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánanda Tirtha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánantánandagiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ándhra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ándomatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áŋga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áŋkolé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áŋkaṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anamalvaṃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánterō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ántisthenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ántyēśṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ántiśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ánṛkādhapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ácronos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áparājita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ápiṣṭat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Apolinicius of Tyana' by Pri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ápolophasés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áqua Marina Gems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arābitī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Árabis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áranyā Śikhabā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Árati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aripa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjuna's despondency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrian's Judica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowheads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áśaśvarā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áśat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásha ṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ástakapra, Astakampuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áśoka inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásakātri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásakāṣn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásakāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ásārēśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Âyājpjā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áśvalkāyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheist, Epigram on an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Átho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Átma Bādha Prakāṭika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Átman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attakenoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audichas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avadhūtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avantivarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avinaitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayādhāyāpura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayāvālē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bābhira inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bālamā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bālāvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bagia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bagisara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bagosas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāhubali</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baierlein's Land of the Taum-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ītana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bālādītya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bālipura</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bālōchās</td>
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<td>Bālēmon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāmna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāmur</td>
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<td>Bānāras</td>
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<td>Bānāsāntkar</td>
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<td>Bāmānāntkar</td>
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<td>Bāmānāntkar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bālaurovada</td>
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<td>Bānāvaśā</td>
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<td>Bāng</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bānjarās</td>
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<td>Bāphoara</td>
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<td>Bārōkhās</td>
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<td>baruo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāsīkās</td>
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<td>Bārūkās</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bārūkās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāsāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāsava Gollavandú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāsāvā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāsāvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bātāty Tāko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāuddha Jātaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāuddha MSS</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bāva</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>364</td>
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<td>358</td>
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<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Duddā ........................................ 206
Duergar ...................................... 23, 24
Dummagādem ................................. 301, 357
Durgagana .................................... 180, 182
Durviuṭtara .................................. 133, 138, 140
Dvānavadra .................................. 179
Dvāravati ..................................... 89
Dvāravatī ...................................... 116

Edenā .......................................... 135
Editor's Notes: 34, 36, 33, 40, 55, 59, 69, 64, 72, 93, 123, 159, 160, 167-73, 180, 204, 210, 233, 237, 256, 257, 259, 266, 270, 271, 275, 276, 287, 291, 294, 314, 324, 329, 342

Ekklā ........................................... 46, 49
Elephant ....................................... 93, 94, 253
Emānas .......................................... 225
Emudos m ...................................... 86, 88, 330
Epigran on an Atheist ........................ 356
Eraha ............................................ 46, 49
Kannobonos r .................................. 87, 90, 331
Erikelavindu ................................... 188
Erreyis .......................................... 87, 332
Erythrean Sea ................................ 96, 103, 105, 108
Etapaka ........................................ 901
Etesian wind ................................... 88
Enagoras ....................................... 95
Eulaius r ....................................... 340
Euphrates r .................................... 107
 Euripides ..................................... 154
Exuine Sea .................................... 107

Fairy ............................................ 23-4
Fašemah ....................................... 225
Funeral ceremonies .......................... 26, 357

Gagudās ....................................... 170
Gāḥās ............................................ 170
Gaajas .......................................... 170
Gajabahu ...................................... 190
Gajapatī ........................................ 75
Galavanātha ................................... 51
Gambrānātha cave ............................ 310
Gandik r ........................................ 331-2
Gangavāndha .................................. 29
Gandhār ........................................ 112
Gandhāras ..................................... 298, 275
Gāndhiva ....................................... 361
Gangavamsās .................................. 59, 135
Gangākumārī .................................. 319-20, 325
Gangākṣara .................................... 109
Gaṅgāsthari .................................... 4
Ganges .......................................... 87
Gārāpurī ........................................ 277
Garbhā .......................................... 295

Gargāchārya ................................... 196
Garhwāl ........................................ 161-7
Garraios r ...................................... 37, 329
Gauḍiyā Deśa .................................. 25, 180, 319
Gaula ............................................ 48
Gayā ............................................. 200
Gedrosians .................................... 99, 102, 336
Ghāyavanta ................................. 276, 279
Ghāsās ......................................... 170
Girījā ............................................ 213-21
Gśnrās .......................................... 170
Gśnrā inscr ..................................... 257-8, 314
Gṛdha ................................. 329, 330
Gṛdha unknown ................................ 124
Gogana ........................................ 106, 339
Goggi rāja ..................................... 276, 279
Gohels .......................................... 170
Gokarna ........................................ 54
Goldschmidt, Dr .............................. 189
Goldstücker, Prof ............................ 245-7
Goez ............................................. 112
Golias ........................................... 339
Gomateśvara .................................. 37-8
Gouvanī ........................................ 277
Gōpura ......................................... 277
Govinda Āpāyika ............................. 72
Govindarāja 109, 113, 144-5, 148-30, 132
Grain ........................................... 106
Gravakshaśa m ............................... 330
Guhaśena ...................................... 296
Gusau ........................................... 130
Gundi Koliāk ................................... 314
Guptas ......................................... 55, 57, 59
Gūjaras .......................................... 109
Guita Koś ................................. 357, 358

Hadināl ........................................ 135
Hālas ........................................... 170
Halkotē ........................................ 178
Hālepotrās .................................... 170
Hāḷas ........................................... 167
Hal-Khurd caves ............................ 310
Hampi .......................................... 73
Hanayama ...................................... 280
Hānavai ....................................... 177
Hasmant Nāyak ............................... 8
Hasno ......................................... 108
Hasman ........................................ 354
Hānuujaysa .................................... 29
Harigandāriṇīs ............................... 7, 10
Harilhara ...................................... 33, 75
Hari Varmma .................................. 136-9
Har’sma ........................................ 103, 338
Harsha ......................................... 72
Hāshachārya .................................. 29
Hāsan ......................................... 225-6
Hāsan-al’Askari ............................... 225, 299
Hasifikavapra, Hāthab ........................ 204, 314
Hāthā of Devi .................................. 79
Hāthī, Dr M ..................................... 141, 143
Heath, Mr ..................................... 323-7
Heināl Pant .................................... 6
Hemākāśa ....................................... 75
Hetaklēs ....................................... 88-90
Hentemis ....................................... 106
Herculis ........................................ 106, 339
Hindalayas ..................................... 161-7
Hindu Tales, by P. W. Jacob .............. 328
Hingani ........................................ 4, 6
Hingorās ....................................... 170
Hiranyagarbha ................................ 291
Hiranyakaśipu ................................. 214
Hirya-Angāli .................................. 40
Hīwen Thang .................................. 332
Hiyamālā ....................................... 31
Hōhās ........................................... 170
Hōysala ........................................ 175
Hōysala Bejala .................................. 239
Hubal[i .......................................... 35
Hurdaspes r .................................... 86-7, 96-5, 332
Hudrotopes r .................................. 86-7, 332
Hūlī .............................................. 34
Huphasus ..................................... 85-6, 332
Hussain ........................................ 225-6
Hyrana ......................................... 235
Ibarīm Adal Śāh ................................ 34
Ichthyoplagi ................................... 90-102, 337
Idanthyrsoś ................................. 88, 333
Ila ................................................. 105
Iλa ................................................. 68
Imaas m ........................................ 330
India ........................................... 26
Indica of Arrian ...................... 85ff, 329ff
Indian tribes .................................. 89, 91
Indra .......................................... 144-5, 149-50
Indus .......................................... 87, 93-6
Inscriptions 15, 39, 45, 55, 67, 109, 133, 144, 150, 154, 174, 180, 190, 204, 276, 310, 342, 356, 362
Iobares .......................................... 89
Icos .............................................. 97
Irod ............................................. 126
Jādās ........................................... 170
Jādeīs ........................................... 167, 170, 350
Ja’far-e-Sādeq ................... 295-5
Jagdalpur ...................................... 357
Jaina caves .................................... 77
— status and pillar ........................... 37, 39
Jakhs ........................................... 173
Jākkanāchārya ................................ 38
Jālāpāthāhin inscr ......................... 180
| Jambrug | 310 |
| Jambuvariká | 145 |
| Jamuna r. | 331 |
| Janamejaya | 58 |
| Jákí | 230 |
| Jatí | 170 |
| Java, Literary Work in | 314 |
| Jayabhaśa | 109-15 |
| Jayadeva | 327 |
| Jayāditya | 151 |
| Jayakott | 175, 320 |
| Jayapala | 30, 242-3 |
| Jayāśekhara | 33-4 |
| Jayasimha | 320-21, 325, 325 |
| Jayasinhavallabha | 71 |
| Jayasinhadeva | 15, 17 |
| Jayavān | 28 |
| Jēśalnīr | 82 |
| Jesara | 171 |
| Jēnyu | 302 |
| Jhādejā (see Jādejā) | 350 |
| Jhālas | 171 |
| Jhantiharāja | 276, 279 |
| Jīkedindūya | 68 |
| Jimitāvahana | 276, 279-80 |
| Jinendrabuddhi | 39, 245 |
| Jītā | 129, 129, 131 |
| Jhānakāpi | 81 |
| Jodhpur | 82 |
| Jogis | 240 |
| Jñanāraja | 99 |
| Julia Titi | 238 |
| Kā-theory | 119 |
| Kābana | 98, 336 |
| Kabir Panj | 7 |
| Kabura | 329 |
| Kacheri-kol | 169 |
| Kachēśvara | 4 |
| Kach | 4.5 |
| Kachhī | 167, 350 |
| Kadamba inscriptions | 50, 14, 140 |
| Kādambas | 50, 68-71, 14, 320 |
| Kahaon | 39 |
| Kaikand r. | 105, 338 |
| Kānas r. | 87, 331 |
| Kakouthish r. | 87, 332 |
| Kalachuri | 45, 251 |
| Kālaiyarapuru | 48 |
| Kālharā | 28 |
| Kālidāsa | 68, 73 |
| Kālīgas | 55, 59, 72, 75 |
| Kāliyuga | 68, 152 |
| Kalkatti | 38 |
| Kālāya | 30 |
| Kālyāna | 276, 318, 322 |
| Kālybi | 99, 336 |
| Kāmadeva | 216 |
| Kāmarāpa | 319 |
| Kambisthola | 87, 333 |
| Kanadesa | 171 |
| Kaḷākārurudige | 33 |
| Kanās | 101, 337 |
| Kanaste | 101, 337 |
| Kanaj | 171 |
| Kaṭāchipūr or Kanchivaram | 50-1, 73, 75, 318-19, 354 |
| Kaḷālāgarā | 171 |
| Kaḷāḍāgāra | 42 |
| Kāṭhār | 24 |
| Kaḷāśvara | 55, 59 |
| Kāṭikā | 145, 151 |
| Kaṭālā | 109 |
| Kapardī Rāja | 276, 279 |
| Kapurārī | 760ff |
| Kāṭhāśvara | 121-2 |
| Kāṭāśhīra | 25 |
| Kāṭhīra | 100 |
| Kāṭhādā Brāhmaṇa | 25 |
| Kāṭhīra | 144-5, 145-51 |
| Kāṭhīra | 355 |
| Kāṭhīra | 309 |
| Kāṭhīrāla | 36, 39 |
| Kāṭhākāṭha | 109 |
| Kāṭhākāṭha | 129 |
| Kāṭhāman | 100, 102, 105, 108, 338 |
| Kāṭhāman | 352 |
| Kāṭhāman | 96, 386 |
| Kāṭhāman | 239 |
| Kāṭhāman | 68, 71 |
| Kāṭhāman | 68, 71 |
| Kāṭhāman | 107, 339 |
| Kāṭhāman | 87, 332 |
| Kāṭhāman | 105 |
| Kāṭhāman | 57, 69, 338 |
| Kāṭhāman | 29, 50 |
| Kāṭhāman | 171 |
| Kāṭhāman | 339 |
| Kāṭhāman | 246-50, 345 ff |
| Kāṭhāman | 196 |
| Kāṭhāman | 97, 334 |
| Kāṭhāman | 69 |
| Kāṭhāman | 109, 113, 114-5 |
| Kāṭhāman | 49 |
| Kāṭhāman | 344 |
| Kāṭhāman | 87 |
| Kāṭhāman | 133 |
| Kāṭhāman | 112, 115 |
| Kāṭhāman | 272 |
| Kāṭhāman | 73 |
| Kāṭhāman | 296 |
| Kāṭhāman | 171 |
| Kāṭhāman | 361 |
| Kāṭhāman | 193 |
| Kāṭhāman | 276 |
| Kāṭhāman | 24 |
| Kāṭhāman | 171 |
| Kāṭhāman | 171 |
| Kāṭhāman | 334 |
| Kāṭtivānā | 67, 71 |
| Kāṭhāman | 100, 337 |
| Kāṭhāman | 89 |
| Kāṭhāman | 301, 303, 337-9 |
| Kāṭhāman | 98, 336 |
| Kāṭhāman | 5, 6 |
| Kāṭhāman | 185 |
| Kāṭhāman | 8, 171, 350 |
| Kāṭhāman | 99, 336 |
| Kāṭhāman | 359 |
| Kāṭhāman | 87, 332 |
| Kāṭhāman | 85, 87, 329 |
| Kāṭhāman | 295 |
| Kāṭhāman | 97, 334 |
| Kāṭhāman | 359 |
| Kāṭhāman | 112 |
| Kāṭhāman | 128 |
| Kāṭhāman | 57, 59, 72 |
| Kāṭhāman | 87, 331 |
| Kāṭhāman | 107 |
| Kāṭhāman | 310 |
| Kāṭhāman | 89 |
| Kāṭhāman | 322 |
| Kāṭhāman | 311, 328 |
| Kāṭhāman | 187 |
| Kāṭhāman | 33, 145, 149, 151 |
| Kāṭhāman | 73, 75-6 |
| Kāṭhāman | 140 |
| Kāṭhāman | 97, 335 |
| Kāṭhām | 126 |
| Kāṭhām | 171 |
| Kāṭhām | 30 |
| Kāṭhām | 29 |
| Kāṭhām | 329 |
| Kāṭhām | 241, 294 |
| Kāṭhām | 27 |
| Kāṭhām | 100-1, 337 |
| Kāṭhām | 204 |
**INDEX.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Mahābhārata Maxims —</th>
<th>Mahābhārata —</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇa</td>
<td>Maitreyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Kukkaśakāni</td>
<td>Maitreya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>Kuṇika</td>
<td>Maketa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Kuṭalotunga Chola</td>
<td>Makavāsas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Kumaon</td>
<td>Makavāsas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Kumbhāiri</td>
<td>Malaka Nāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Kumbhās</td>
<td>Malaka Nāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Kundama</td>
<td>Malakana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 18</td>
<td>Kuṭal Māwalli</td>
<td>Malanțos r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kurākša</td>
<td>Mālava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Kūrīgī</td>
<td>Mālavidhāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Kūrīgī</td>
<td>Mālaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Ladakhīs</td>
<td>Mālayanāsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Lākāna</td>
<td>Mālayanāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Lākāʒa�a</td>
<td>Male and female trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lākṣmiṣāra</td>
<td>Malegān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Lāṣū</td>
<td>Mālharīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Lālā</td>
<td>Māndoēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Lalitādītiya</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Lalitakṛtī</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Lallā</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Lama custom</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Lāmbalās</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Land of the Tamuliya</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Larike</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Lassen</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>Lātās</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Lātēśvaramayāhāla, Lātēśvāsa majāra</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145, 150</td>
<td>Lāṭikē</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Lāṭikē</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183, 187</td>
<td>Legends</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95, 98</td>
<td>Leonnatus</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Leukadiya</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183-7</td>
<td>Lūtigāya legeni</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Lōbha</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Lōbha</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Lōkhāyās</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Lōkapālas</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>Lōkaprakāsha</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196, 199</td>
<td>Lomāśī Śīkaḥāh</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134, 136-40</td>
<td>Mādāhava</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287-9</td>
<td>Mādāhavākārya</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Mādīgas</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Mādīgattā gotra</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67, 322</td>
<td>Mādīyaṇdī</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Mādīyaṇdī Śīkaḥāh</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Mācenas</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Māgadhā</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 334</td>
<td>Māgadhī</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258f</td>
<td>Māgāha</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Magon r</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 332</td>
<td>Mahābhārata</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68, 162</td>
<td>Mahābhārata Maxims</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mahābhārata Rāma</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Mahābhārata Sūryavija</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Mahābhārata Guptā Deva</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-8</td>
<td>Mahāghāra</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Mahājāna</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471</td>
<td>Mahākali m.</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668</td>
<td>Mahākoti</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>mahāmāṇḍ_idsēvāra</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268, 270</td>
<td>Mahāmānḍēla</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mahāpadma</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mahāśivāla</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Mahēśvāra</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Mahēśpur</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218-19</td>
<td>Mainā</td>
<td>Māṇḍūkaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Index</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meguti inscr.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meldr.</td>
<td>133, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memans</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merkara plates</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merēo</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meros</td>
<td>85, 88, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mesambria</td>
<td>106, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mesasnā</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mesopotamia</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Methora</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mihintale</td>
<td>190-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minā</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mir Babar-i-Alî Anis</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miyārda</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moa'vieh</td>
<td>225-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mōda</td>
<td>169-70, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohr Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modhs</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohā</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohōi</td>
<td>225, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mokas</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moksha</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mommās</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morang</td>
<td>162-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morentobarī</td>
<td>97, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mosarā</td>
<td>100, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrīgēśa</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mudgala</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mādubidri</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mūnammad Bāqer</td>
<td>225-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Śāh</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Taqi</td>
<td>225, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mukti-kaheṭra</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mulōrtōha</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mūlīga-Sīvala-kapōḷīdāva</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulrāja Solanki</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munī</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munji or Mānj</td>
<td>109, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munōli</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māraśaya</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māsa el-Kāzem</td>
<td>225, 227-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mushkara</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muttelemma</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Myen</td>
<td>330, 324, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nākā</td>
<td>14, 29, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nāka</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nākulēvāra</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nālas</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nānā Ghōṭ</td>
<td>7, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nāndvānās</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nāñosi caves</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nārāda</td>
<td>54, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nārāpottīs</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nārasa</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nārasingīa</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nārāsingīra</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nayaκarakarāna</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nearchus</td>
<td>95, 96, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neoptana</td>
<td>103, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neurā</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeśa</td>
<td>87, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nīlangurośa</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nīrāda</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nishadhā</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nissanka Malla</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nīraṇajanī</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nōdesa</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nosala</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notiyāra</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noulāt</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noura</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nūrmulijālī</td>
<td>17, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nūya</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nūya</td>
<td>88, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oārakta</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ocmus</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omalī r.</td>
<td>87, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omēna</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omāra Māṇḍhātā</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oneśikritos</td>
<td>89, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oṭārā</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organa</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oritā</td>
<td>97-9, 102, 108, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ormuś</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orōtīśa</td>
<td>106-7, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oṭhāmān</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oxūdrakāi</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oxumāgīs</td>
<td>87, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padagron</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padīr</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padmāvasī</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padyārś</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peēra</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pagali</td>
<td>98, 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paharāvavasōrga</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pahavī</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paippaladakākha</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paō</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palāchi</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palakakada</td>
<td>50, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pālani Hills</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāḷghāṭ</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pālimbothra</td>
<td>86, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paliṣava</td>
<td>50-2, 73, 135, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palhī</td>
<td>13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panchālar</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭhika Mahākāḍa</td>
<td>251, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panchāsār</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panchāšikī</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panchāśarana</td>
<td>126-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panaśa</td>
<td>89, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PāḌaḷava</td>
<td>179, 256, 334, 359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāḍyayar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāḍēhariṇa</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāḍōṇagāra</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇḍu Kuśī</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇḍuvāram Dēval</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇḍyas</td>
<td>73, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇini</td>
<td>49, 245ff, 345 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇīraḥ Ṛiṣiṇyā Śikhaḍ</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṇīnādē</td>
<td>135, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parapamisōs</td>
<td>86, 88, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paraporal</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pārāṣāraṇavatā</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pārenōs</td>
<td>87, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parībāhāśa</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parīkṣhit</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parimalan</td>
<td>333-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāraṇaṣa</td>
<td>301-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pārīner</td>
<td>7, 12-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parvatā</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pasīδīya</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pasīra</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pasītigra r.</td>
<td>107, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭāliputra</td>
<td>331, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭanjali</td>
<td>224ff, 345ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭgadī</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭṣādkāl inscr.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭtalā</td>
<td>86, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāṭṭālī</td>
<td>297-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Poundways’ or ‘Pandēva’</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāzalō</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pehās</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pehārā</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perēgāṭṭa gotra</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pēṃmādīdevā</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian Gulf</td>
<td>96, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persis</td>
<td>105-6, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perumal</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perumbōyuda</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perūr</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petūrālām</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peukelātīs</td>
<td>86-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phālāndī</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phīlostratōs</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phōla</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pīsāda</td>
<td>27, 82, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pīsāchā</td>
<td>201, 358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Petenikānam</th>
<th>275</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pīṣṭapura</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīti</td>
<td>334-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pītyny</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pōrs</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokhān</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polyandry</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porus</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottarasu</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhudādeva</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhudāravartha</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pradōpa</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pradynumapīṭha</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasīka</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasīl</td>
<td>90, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prātīśākiyagū 142, 197, 200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prāvāra r.</td>
<td>7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prīthivirāja</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prīthivirāllabha</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemi</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prometheus</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulikōī 51, 67-8, 71-2, 152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjājī Chāvādā</td>
<td>350-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punnādī Rājā</td>
<td>135, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punyārājā</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purāli r.</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purī</td>
<td>277, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvapakāhi</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkalavatī</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkārghā</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūvallī</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pylōra</td>
<td>105, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qorān queries</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qūṭī Qūṭ Shāh</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachias</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāḍāh</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagnāmūṭh Bhāo Bhāt</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banbān</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājja</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājada</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāmanḍri</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājāpur</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājṭalāranginī 27-9, 242</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājṭalalī</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājgars</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājīga</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājīmchī</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bājīmahāl songs</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāmadēva</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāmadūrga</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāndyanā of Tulsi Dāś</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramabarage</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdepotrās</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmarāja</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāparāga</td>
<td>67, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranjangān</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṛāṭrāktās, 68, 109, 144-5, 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāti</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rātnākara</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rātnāratva</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṭṭās</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvāra</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravikrtīti</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravīvarmā</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāyamās</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razn</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebārīs</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renagad’s Stances de Bhartri-hari</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēkāpallī Taluka</td>
<td>301-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relādyās</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revatīdūpā</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R̄hāpuā</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Excavations</td>
<td>76, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger (Abraham)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogonis</td>
<td>106, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrāta</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākohkiddīman</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādāśīva</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāchdārēs</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajodra</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakalii</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šakra</td>
<td>229-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šāktas</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šākunā</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šabadatalā in Hindi, by F. Pin-coct</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šākya</td>
<td>297-8, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šālānkyānas</td>
<td>175-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šālānkhōh</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaḷānium</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šāmanīgadh plate 112, 144-6, 145-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šāmanīgadh Chāvādā</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šambhū Šīkōhā</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambos, r.</td>
<td>87, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samejās</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šanēkātta</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sānyetsar</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmakkās</td>
<td>167, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāndrokkottos</td>
<td>87, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangādīa</td>
<td>97, 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāngamner</td>
<td>6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāṅghārā</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sānlo̞ or Sanga</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāṅkamādeva</td>
<td>45, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šāṅkara Ācārya</td>
<td>125, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šūṅkaravijayā</td>
<td>257ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit MSS.</td>
<td>27, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāṅtevāra</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāntīśvara</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāparnos</td>
<td>87, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāradā character</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarangā</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saranges, r.</td>
<td>87, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārāsavatās</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārīras</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārvasamamātā Šīkōhā</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātu</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šātakrato</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sathīr Perīli</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satiarj, r.</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šattīganaĉaṭṭā</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyaputra</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyārāya 17, 67, 71, 73, 317, 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāunda</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāunīa</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāyānāchārya</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sējās</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēḍīliot, A.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēmīramis</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēsostrīs</td>
<td>88, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šētu</td>
<td>292-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhadārhadavana</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhatasahāthī</td>
<td>277, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhelārvādi Caves</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šherifffs</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhiraupur</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhivara</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šholandarahan</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šibivā</td>
<td>88, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šiddhārta Šīkōhā</td>
<td>198-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīgām</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīkhōndra Šāh</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīkōhā 141-4, 193, 253-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīkōhā-Samuchchāyā</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīkādītya</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīlāhāra</td>
<td>276, 321-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīlār</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīlēs</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šilas, r.</td>
<td>88, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šilpan</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīlpa Šāstra</td>
<td>230ff, 239ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhāla</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhālase</td>
<td>191-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhavārā              53, 154, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhālase</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhānārīs</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhānādeva</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhāchās</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone</td>
<td>106, 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone            302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone            166, 339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone            331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone            57-60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šīṅhādīone            156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ERRATA IN VOL. V.

p. 15. Transcription. l. 14; for नलक न्द्राण read नलक न्द्राण.

p. 16, Transcription. l. 25; for नलक न्द्राण read नलक न्द्राण.

p. 15. Transcription, l. 37; for नलक न्द्राण read नलक न्द्राण.

p. 17a, l. 40; for The kings of the Chalukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones, with श्री, read The kings of the Chalukya family, numbering fifty-nine thrones, governed the earth with श्री. And as the corresponding footnote in col. b, substitute

* i.e., 'fifty-nine kings in succession in ancient days.' Conf. the same statement in Sir W. Elliot's translation of the Yewár Inscription.

p. 18, col. a, note §; for at page 206, read at vol. IV., page 206.

p. 20, Translation, l. 15; for नलक न्द्राण read नलक न्द्राण.

p. 20, Translation, col. b, l. 9; for nayaka read nayaka.

p. 236, l. 20, for places read palaces.

p. 495, Translation, l. 26; for present read present.

p. 586, l. 40, for BABUS read BABU.

p. 698, note 4; after page 71 insert col. b.

p. 698, note 4; for 'गुरान्तक कंती', read गुरान्तक कंती.

p. 70, Transcription, ll. 10-11; for गुरान्तक कंती read गुरान्तक कंती.

p. 79 deo note §.

On plate facing p. 80 for Undille read Undápalli.

p. 156, Translation, l. 26; for नवनाम read नवनाम.

p. 1756, ll. 9-10; for समच्छेदकुल्यका read समच्छेदकुल्यका.

p. 1763, note 11; for 'nega' read 'nega.'

p. 177, Translation, ll. 10-11; for नवनाम read गुरान्तक कंती.

p. 1776, Translation, ll. 9-10; for The command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues on the principal grantees, read The specification of the principal grantees in that matter is:—The Bhājaka priest Kulakara.

p. 177a; cancel the footnote, 1 and substitute

The first part of the compound letter at the beginning of l. 11 is the Jīva full syllable, and consequently the consonant compounded with it must be 'क' or 'क्ष', the vowel below the line is 'a.' The consonant appears to be 'क,' not 'क्ष,' on the analogy of the form of the 'क' in 'क्रिया,' l. 10 of the original. A precisely similar expression to the present occurs in an old Kālsamba copper-plate that I have, viz. 'त्रिक्रिया देवी तत्त्वाति भजयं तद्वी तत्त्वाति सार्वभूताति श्रद्धान' and explains the present passage, which is doubtful enough by itself.

p. 189a, l. 31, for rendered read rendered.

p. 200a, line 4 of note, for any read my.
p. 239b, l. 14, for lie read lies.
   240b, foot note, 1, 6, read a universal wearing of wigs. In Old Egypt all classes seem &c.
   p. 254a, l. 21, for 209 read 269.
   1, 50, χαξώρα, χαξώρα.
   255a, l. 35, for near the mouth of the Euphrates read at Jerablus, on the upper course of the Euphrates.
   p. 255b, l. 22 for "Let us," he says, "in" &c.
   read "Let us in" &c.
   267a, l. 41, for is mahāndra, Sansk. mahāndra, read is mahāndita, Sansk. mahāndra; and in footnote read—dhammanahāndita.
   p. 272b, at the top, insert No. II, reads thus:—
   1, 28, after Translation add of No. II.
   294a, II, 20, 21, remove these two lines and the woodcut to end of note* at the bottom.
   306a, l. 27, for cuts read cats.
   307b, l. 13, for force read farce.
   308a, l. 29, for For read Few.
   1, 30, for though read through.
   1, 32, insert a comma after hell.
   309b, l. 2, read But, be the mind devout, our homes &c.
   311a, l. 7, for Salya read Śalya.
   1, 33, for jīmamatḥa read jīmamatḥa.
   1, 8, from bottom, for Brahmā read Brahma.
   311b, l. 6, for v. 4445 read v. 3445.
   1, 29, Dhūrītarśṣṭra read Dhūrītarśṣṭra.
   312a, II, 3, 11, and 16, for Śudra read Śūdra.
   p. 312b, II, 1 and 9 from bottom, for Brahmā read Brahma.
   312b, l. 7 from bottom, insert a comma after life.
   313a, l. 4, for Scriptures read scriptures.
   1, 9, for the period at the end of the line substitute a comma.
   1, 18, for see read mark.
   1, 4 from bottom, add a comma at the end.
   331a, l. 19, and 332a, l. 4, for Gandaki and Gandakavatī read Gandhaki and Gandhakavati.
   1, 30, for Kaushiki read Kaūśiki.
   1, 32, Kośavaka read Kośavaka.
   1, 39, Sōn read Sonā.
   332a, l. 20, Karmanāsā read Karmānāsā.
   1, 42, Pankala read Panchalā.
   332b, l. 18, Kapisthola read Kāpiṣṭhala.
   334a, l. 17, Sūrāsena read Sūrāsena.
   342b, note, for anuvādra read anuvādra.

Heading of the plate (in Part LIX, Oct.), for Kalachuri read Western Chālukya, and for p. 40 read p. 342.

p. 343a, note ||, l. 3-4; for Nakara-taṇḍa read Nakara-taṇḍa.
   344a, * for vāmādbhavāram read vāmādbhavāram.
   344a, † for bānīja read bānīja.
   344b, l. 7, for saint, read saint.
   345b, note §, for Bāmāṅgu read Bāmāṅgu.
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