<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authors' names arranged alphabetically.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NARAYANA AITENAGAR, Shimoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. S. BEALE, Professor of Chinese, University College, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwan Yee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CHONG-LUN SUTRA OF PRAJNYA-ŚASTRITA OF NAGAJOANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIAN TRAVELS OF CHINESE BUDDHISTS from the Kung-fu-shih-chin of I-tsing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIAN TRAVELS OF CHINESE BUDDHISTS (continued) with Chinese Inscriptions from Buddha Gayà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas's Catalogue of Chinese books in the British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. B. R. BRANFILL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Sâvandyoga Rude-Stone Cemetery, Central Mâisur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLD STONE MONUMENTS in Madras and Mâisur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. G. BÜHLEB, Ph.D., C.L.E., Vienna: Sanskrit Manuscripts in Western India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A NEW KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Dohad Inscription of the Chaulluka king Jayaśrīdeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the word Siddhārtha used in Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORGED COPPER-PLATE GRANT of DHARASENA II, of Valabhi, dated Sakas 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J. CAIN: The Bhadrachellam and Rekapalli Teluqas (continued)—The Koi Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. CROOKE, B.C.S., Awaqar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Excursion of Village Ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brahmani Duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. H. DRUVA, B.A., Gujarât College; Dohad Inscription of the CHAULUKA king Jayāśrīdeva, dated Saka 1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. M. FERGUSSON, Jr., Ceylon; Tamil and Maori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. F. FLEET, M.A.S., Bo. C.S.: Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions (continued from vol. IX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 81: Inscription of Mahâgâvâra at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Mahâgâvâra at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Vîjñâyudâya-Satyanâtha at Bâddâm S. 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Tâtrâyâti near Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the temple of Bhâratanâtha, at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Harîrâhâ I., at the shrine of Tâtrâyâti-Maureti, Saka 1261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Sattârâvyâya, at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondârâva, at Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Cave III at Bâddâm, S. 1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 92: Inscription at Arâlkâtî, near Bâddâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Sadhârâvyâya, at Tolaçgud, S. 1456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Vîjñâyudâya, at Mahâkûtyâ, S. 618-655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Mahâsãmanâtha Egrehe, at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Mahâsãmanâtha Baragâvâar, at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Sômêrâva II, at Bâjâpur, S. 993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Sômêrâva III, at Huma-šativâ, S. 1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Lâkshânuhâlâ queen of Vikramadityâ II, at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Vîjñâyudâya and Vikramadityâ II, at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Lâkshânuhâlâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on a pillar of the temple of Virupâksha at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Vikramadityâ II, in the same temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on a pillar of the same temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Râhukrâta king Dhrusva (cir. 740)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on another pillar in the temple of Virupâksha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the south side of the same temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on a pillar in the south side of the nave of the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the queen of Vikramadityâ-Satyanâtha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the temple of Satgâvâra at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the temple of Pâlvanâtha at Patjadhâkâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note in connection with the Western CHAULUKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Vikramadityâ I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anamkâpota Inscription of Radhâvâra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Copper-plate grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEORGE A. GRIESON, B.C.S.: An American puzzle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. A. F. RUDOLPH HOERNLE, Ph.D., Colombo; Readings from the BRHUT SUTRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Sûta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readings from the Aryan Pâli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Sûta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

H. H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.—

CHINGHIS KHAN and His Ancestors (contd. from vol. IX) ... 12, 111, 135, 171, 202, 234, 264, 355

BHAGVÂN LAL INDOJI PANDIT, Bombay—

Inscription from Kima or Kámavaka ... 34
The Inscriptions of Ašoka ... 105
The Kshayišūr Inscription of Skandagupta ... 126
An Inscription at Gaya, dated in the year 1318 of Buddha's Nirvāṇa, with two others of the same period ... 341

PROF. F. KELLMAN, Ph.D., Poona—

On the Jainendra-Vikrama ... 75

ANCIENT INDIA as described by Kṛṣṇa—Introduction ... 296
The Indika of Kṛṣṇa ... 297
Lassen's Review of the reports of Kṛṣṇa ... 314
Appendix: On certain Indian Animals, from Konanada Indikoplenates ... 322

PROF. H. OLDENBERG, Ph.D., Berlin—

On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins ... 213

MAT. P. J. ONDAIRE, London—

The late Rev. P. De Malbo's Summary View of the Customs of the Tamil Nation ... 85


Notes on the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, No. IV ... 352

K. RAGHUNATHI—

Bombay Beggars and Criers (continued from vol. IX) ... 71, 145, 236

T. BĀMAKRISHNA, B.A.—

TRIVĀRAKUNRAM OF PANKHIṬHURU ... 198
LEWIS RICE, M.R.A.S., Director of Public Instruction, Māsīrur—

The Marāvāl Dynasty ... 86
On a Folklore Story ... 238

M. EMILE SENART—

The Inscriptions of Jyepāri (continued from vol. IX) ... 199
6th, 7th and 8th Edicts ... 83
6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Edicts ... 190
10th, 11th and 12th ... 209
13th and 14th ... 259

R. SEWELL, M.R.A.S., M.C.S., Madras—

Notes on the Swantika ... 199

MRS. P. A. STEEL and Lieut. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C.—

FOLKLORE in the Panjāb (continued from vol. IX) ... 40
Sir Bumble ... 40
Princess Pepperina ... 40
The Son of Seven Mothers ... 147
Prince Lomhert and his three friends ... 228
Opheobious Names ... 311
The Wonderful Ring ... 347

PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., Calcutta—

A Folklore Parallel ... 190
A Folklore Parallel ... 270

LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., &c.—(See Mrs. Steel).
Note on some Coin Legends ... 30
Malikul-Maut ... 29
Muhammadan belief in Hindu superstition ... 271

M. J. WALKHOUSE, late M.C.S., London—

Archaeological Notes, No. 27—Scrapes of Legends and Folklore ... 363

E. W. WEST, Ph.D., München—

SASSANIAN INSCRIPTION OF NAQSH-枣庄 ... 29
Notice of Des Origines du Zoroastrisme, par M. C. de Harles ... 274
On a Folklore story, by L. Rice ... 370
On Exorcism of Village Ghosts, by W. Crooke, B.C.S. ... 274
Curious Customs in Kandia ... 273
Malikul-Maut, by Lieut. R. C. Temple, B.S.C. ... 259
Coins of Kharibāl ... 250
Ancient remains in Central Asia ... 150

SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Vestiges of Alexander the Great in Central Asia ... 20
Ghazni ... 21
The Thāleśa Martyrs ... 22
Tamil and Maori, by A. M. Ferguson ... 46
Marriage Customs in the Rākal Pindi district ... 47
The Origin of the Gypsies ... 50
The India Museum, South Kensington ... 53
An American Passele, by G. A. Grierson, C.S. ... 89
Note on some Coin Legends, by Lieut. R. C. Temple, B.S.C. ... 90
Metrical Translations from the Mahābhārata, by J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D. ... 90
Chinese Translations of Sanskrit Texts, by Prof. F. Max Müller ... 121
Buddhist Chronology, by O. Frankfurter ... 158
Buddhagāsa and the Miśrānāgās, by Dr. Richard Morris ... 153
Curious Cave at Kandahar ... 153
Arakanooed Inscription of Budradv, by J. P. Flett, B.C.S. ... 211

Tis, the old capital of the north of Persia ... 212
New Copperplate grants, by J. F. Fleet, Boc. C. S. ... 243
Awnas and Jods ... 244
Note on the word Siddhāḥ used in inscriptions, by Prof. G. Bühler, C.I.E., Vienna ... 273
Damašp, Buddhist inscription of S. 101, by the Editor ... 273
On a Folklore story, by L. Rice ... 278
On Exorcism of Village Ghosts, by W. Crooke, B.C.S. ... 278
Curious Customs in Kandia ... 273
Malikul-Maut, by Lieut. R. C. Temple, B.S.C. ... 259
Coins of Kharibāl ... 250
Ancient remains in Central Asia ... 150

The Myth of the Sirens—Jātaka Stories, by W. E. A.
Axon, and Dr. Richard Morris ... 291
A Chinese inscription found at Buddhagāšy ... 328
The Fifth Congress of Orientalists ... 340
A Folklore Parallel, by Prof. C. H. Tawney, M.A. ... 370
M. de Harles and the Origin of Zoroastrism, by Dr.
E. W. West ... 370
Muhammadan belief in Hindu superstitions ... 371
## CONTENTS

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. Proper Names, by T. Vasanavaran, ........................ 35
2. Guru Gugga, by Lieut. R. C. Temple ................. 39

### ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Royal Asiatic Society</th>
<th>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>..........................</td>
<td>55, 94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BOOK NOTICES.

1. Dr. Burnell's Classified Index of the Sanskrit MSs. in the Palace at Tanjore .................. 23
2. Dr. J. Legge's Religions of China .................... 24
3. Capt. A. H. Markham's Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator, by W. F. S. ............ 55
4. Duncan's Geography of India .......................... 56
5. Sewell's Report on the Amaravati Tope ................ 56
6. Growse's District Memoir on Mathurá, by R. H. ... 90
8. Selections from the Calcutta Review ................... 124
9. The Bombay Gazetteer—Khandesh ....................... 155
12. Talboys Wheeler's History of India: Mogul Empire .................. 184
13. M. de Harlès's Origines du Zoroastrisme, by Dr. E. W. West .................. 274
14. Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasa ...................... 275
16. Behler's Hindu Sacred Laws, by Prof. J. Jolly .......... 294
17. Prof. Max Müller's Dhammapada, and Faouell's Sutta Nipata, by R. A. Neil .......... 373

### ILLUSTRATIONS.

| 1. 2. Kistnaema at Sāvandurga and excavated pottery, to face pp. 6, 7
| 3, 4. Pottery and Weapons from Sāvandurga Kistnaema, .................. 10, 11
| 5, 6. Nasib-I-Rastan inscription (2 pp.), 39, 31
| 7. Khama or Kamsana Inscription ..................... 34
| 8, 9. Two Inscriptions of Mahāvīra Bārāṇa, 35, 30
| 10, 11. Two Inscriptions of Mañigallā, from Bādāmi, 58, 50
| 12, 13. Inscriptions on the rock at Tāṭjakotī near Bādāmi, and on the temple of Bhutanātha, 62, 63
| 14, 15. Inscriptions from the temples of Mālegitti and Arākṣaṇī, from Bādāmi, 69, 63
| 16, 17. Slabstone Monument at Tīralanda-Bāñanatam, in N. Arakan, 99, 90
| 18, 19. Inscriptions on pillars in the temple of Mahākāla, at Bādāmi, 104, 105
| 20. Inscriptions of the First Edict of Asoka from Girnar, Kālē, and Kagparīgiri, 107
| 21. Kāshāya Inscription of Skandagupta, dated 141, Gupta, 125
| 22. Inscribed pillars in the entrance gate of the temple of Virupākṣa at Pañnadakal .................. 164
| 23. 24. Inscriptions in the enclosure and on a pillar of the east porch of the temple of Virupākṣa at Pañnadakal, 154, 165
| 25. 26. Inscriptions on the temples of Virupākṣa and Sāgara, from Pañnadakal ........ 166, 167
| 27. Inscription on the front of the temple of Pāpanātha at Pañnadakal .................. 170
| 28. Inscription on the side wall of the temple of Pāpanātha at Pañnadakal .................. 171
| 29. Chinese Inscription and carving found at Buddhāgaya ............ 173
| 30. Bhasuṭṭha Stūpa inscriptions .................. 255
| 31, 32. Spurious Valabhi Grant of Dhanaṇa, dated 3, 400, 3 sides .................. 284, 285
| 33, 34. The Tower at Sūl Vihāra, near Bhāsalpur, and inscription .................. 324, 325
| 35, 36. Inscription from Gyan, dated 1813 of Buddha's Nirvāṇa, and an inscription from Buddhāgaya, 325, 324 |
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

ON THE SĀVANDURGA RUDE STONE CEMETERY, CENTRAL MAISĀR.

BY COL. B. B. BRANFILL.

1.—General Remarks.

CIRCLES of stipes, of all sizes up to 30 feet or more in diameter, surrounding buried or half-buried kistvaens, are to be seen in several places on the west and southern sides of the well-known and conspicuous fortified rock of Sāvandurga, 22 miles west of Bengalūr, and south-east of Māgaḍi, in Maisār. They are numerous at a spot called Ittige-bailu (Brickfield), a piece of rising ground or spur running out west from the centre of the hill near the foot of the western entrance, called Chandrayan-bāgilu. Grassy slopes and shady glades alternate with thickets of trees and undergrowth, whilst groups of rocky boulders and patches of bare sheet-rock combine to enhance the beauty of the scenery here. But there is no good drinking water procurable near.

The kistvaens vary much in size and appearance. The commonest form being an oblong chest projecting a foot or two above the ground, and surrounded by a circle of stones, whose tops are seen only a little above the surface.

The length, which is usually nearly double the breadth, lies more or less east and west, but the direction varies considerably.

The sides are composed each of a single thin stone slab, chipped or hammer-dressed along three edges, so as to fit together and form a rectangular chamber. The fourth edge—the right-hand end of the stone viewed from with-out—is undressed, and projects beyond the corner of the chamber (see plates, Figs. 1 and 2).

The four side-slabs rest upon a single flat stone laid deep in the ground, and are covered by the capstone, a comparatively huge undressed slab, which projects beyond the sides, especially on the east and south.

The sidestones vary from 3' to 10' in length, 4'-6' to 5'-6' in height, and from 2' to 6' in thickness. The interiors are from 6' to 9' long, 3' to 6' wide, and about 5' high. The capstones vary from 8' to 14' in length, 7' to 10' in width, and are from 6' to 16' thick. They seem to have been left in the rough, just as they were taken from the quarry (i.e. scaled off the surface of the hill), with their edges vertical and entirely undressed.

To have rested and adjusted these huge capstones on the thin side slabs would surely have broken the latter, and it appears hence that the chamber must have been surrounded by, and probably also filled with, earth before the capstone was put on.

The east side or front is still much banked up by earth, but on the other side the earth is now scarcely raised at all above the general ground level. A rounded hole has been chipped high up in the front or east wall, large enough for a man to pass through, and an entrance passage walled off by thin slabs of stone.

When closed, a rounded shutter-stone has been
set up at the inner end of the passage, closing the entrance hole, after which the passage has also been filled up with earth and so left.

Very many of the capstones have been split, as if by the effect of forest fires, or by their own weight in the course of time, from unequal or insufficient support, and large pieces of them have fallen over, leaving the interior of the chamber partly or wholly uncovered. Many chambers have no capstone at all, but this may well be due to the wandering stone-masons (Waddar) who are known to make away with the stones of these ancient monuments.

The usual surrounding circle of stones is rough, and consists of some 15 to 25 boulder stones more than half buried in a ring from 12' to 30" in diameter, round the chamber. A few of the circles are double or treble, and composed of upright or sloping slabs instead of boulders. A few of the chambers are free standing, i.e. almost entirely above ground, with a circle of half-buried stones, and one on the adjacent hill of bare rock is entirely free standing, and without any circle at all (Fig. 2).

Many slabs are to be seen at ground level or even partially covered by the soil and without any stone circle appearing. From their form and appearance these would also seem to be buried chambers or kistvaens.

There is little or no sign of any cairn, tumulus, or barrow, unless it be where the stone circle is double or treble, when the outer circle, usually of 20 to 25 boulders, is only a little above the general surface, the next higher, and the innermost the highest, rising in slight steps.

The double circle of upright slabs seemed to contain the rudiments of an earthen wall or a hedge, surrounding the tomb.

2.—Examination of the tombs.

Having a holiday on Saturday (5th July 1879) I determined to examine some kistvaens and stone circles which I had noticed ten years previously, in the forest at the west foot of Sāvandurgha, and accordingly on Friday evening rode out from Bengalūr, 28 miles westwards along the Mágadi road, and passed the night in a tent at the little hamlet of Bāchennāṭti (the "Ranachinhully" of Indian Atlas sheet No. 60).

Next morning having procured some workmen,

I proceeded along the footpath leading to Dalvāy-koru, which skirts the N. W. foot of the hill, and after an hour's walk reached the spot called Iṣṭige-baila (Brickfield), where the stone circles, both with and without the buried or half-buried stone chambers or kists and their huge capstones, were scattered over the rising ground.

Very few of the capstones remained entire in their place and many were gone altogether.

Amongst them on a sheet of bare rock I noticed a fine dolmen (13 ft. long and 8 1/4 ft. wide) supported upon three piles of stone raising it to a height sufficient for people to sit under (Fig. 1).

The whole shape and arrangement of this was so irregular that I did not examine it more closely, but may remark that very similar dolmens, megalithic slabs, supported on 3 or 4 piles at a little height (2 to 4 feet) above the sheet-rock on which they stand, are to be seen elsewhere: near Chikkā Jāla, for instance, 15 miles north of Bengalūr.

A free-standing solitary kistvaen or rude stone cubical chamber, conspicuous on the top of the adjacent bare rock, next engrossed my attention (Fig. 2). It was composed of four thin vertical slabs of rough stone, arranged with their right-hand ends, as seen from without, projecting beyond one another successively.  

It seemed as if the left-hand lower-side corner of each stone had been laid on the ground touching the left corner of the space to be enclosed, and then all lifted simultaneously so as to fall into their places at once. This peculiar arrangement of projections appears to be a general rule in the structure of the Māisūr and Kōdu (Coorg) kistvaens. The capstone of this, and of the other kists I have seen, seems large out of all proportion to the size of the chamber it covers, and the thinness of the side slabs. The dimensions of this free-standing kistvaen are as follows:—

Capstone—12'-10" long, 9'-6" wide, and 0'-6" to 1'-0" thick.

Interior 8'-1" long, 5'-6" wide, and 4'-2" high.

The length runs east by north, and W. by S. (80° and 260° Magnetic bearing).  

In the upper northern corner of the east wall of the chamber is the entrance, a roundish hole roughly chipped, 1'-10" to 2'-0" in diameter.

Compare the plan in Fig. 10, omitting the two short slabs that form the passage on the east side.

Some of the kistvaens at Jāla near Bengalūr have capstones or covering slabs from 14 to 20 feet in diameter.
On the south and east the capstone projects 2 to 3 feet beyond the side and end walls. The projections on the north and west sides of all these kists was considerably less. The plan recalled the svastika symbol, \( \text{Śr} \) (or \( \text{Śf} \)). One of the meanings given in M. Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary for 'Svastika' is: — "A mansion or palace of a particular shape (described as surrounded by a terrace or portico on the north, west, and south sides, and having the door on the east)."^9

Returning to Iṭṭig-e-bānil, I searched for the largest and most suitable looking tomb for measurement and excavation, and having no time to lose, soon pitched upon a rather grand looking one in the midst, near the centre of the slanting ground or ridge of the spur, the capstone of which was about 3 feet above the ground level, and split, and a large portion of it had fallen over on the north side, so as to uncover a part of the chamber, and allow of its excavation from the top without removing any more of it (Fig. 3). The chamber was full of hard red earth just like that of the surrounding surface soil, only harder and drier.

In some places the earth reached the capstone, in others, more particularly towards the front, (the east or entrance end,) there was a space of a few inches, as if it had not been quite filled up there, or very possibly had settled by consolidation in the course of time. Outside, the earth was irregularly banked up against the kistvaen in some places nearly to the capstone.

The excavation was begun on the north side and N. E. corner. Little of interest turned up at first, beyond the cast-off skins of snakes, white-ants' nests, and the refuse stores of bygone rats and mice, but at 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 2 feet in depth little pieces of pottery, charcoal and charred bones began to raise my hopes of a "find," and at about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet in depth a little greenish lamp was observed in a piece of hard red earth dug out of the centre of the chamber and a trifle towards the west end, which proved to be a piece of flattened copper of an irregularly rounded shape 0'6 in diameter, 0'15 to 0'18 thick, and nearly \(\frac{1}{2}\) oz. in weight (Fig. 5).

At present I can only see a few roundish-looking spaces formed by some triangular and other depressions stamped on one of the surfaces which is rather concave. Besides these there are some dots and corroded blotches, and faults in the manufacture that I need not describe. The opposite side is flat, but rough, and bears no marked resemblance to anything I can recognise. 

A little piece of corroded iron next turned up, which on cleaning off the encrusted earth proved to be a modern shaped arrow tip 1'5 long and 0'7 thick at base, with a deep hollow tube or socket in it, to receive the end of the shaft. In taking it out, the point broke off and a piece of it was lost, but the fracture only served better to display the good workmanship of the maker. The tube is tapering, 0'3 in diameter at the orifice and 1'1 deep. It weighs about 4 oz. (Plate IV, Fig. 7).

Fragments of pottery of various kinds, coarse and fine, polished and plain, red and black, with pieces of charcoal and bone, some apparently human, others of birds, all very small, were met with frequently, scattered throughout the mass.

At 3'5 below the capstone and close to the middle of the north wall, the first jar was met with, full of common earth, but broken to pieces by the pressure of the superincumbent weight, and beside it along the base of the north wall were ranged a row of jars of sorts and sizes, all of them broken.

On taking out the contents of one of the larger earthen jars, a small vessel was found inside, much the shape of the common modern pot (chatti), except that it was rather pointed at the bottom, instead of being, as now-a-days, globular (Fig. 9). It is 6' in diameter and height, with a neck 3' wide. It contained earth of two sorts and colours; one grey, and the other dark red. The grey seemed to be fine clay with a large admixture of fine white powder, possibly ashes.

Throughout the earth taken out of the kist white-coloured streaks and lumps of grey earth were met with in all directions, especially below; and, (but that there was more of it inside the jars,) one might suppose it to come from the white-ant nests, the colour of the earth around which also seemed white or grey. The grey lumps, and the white powder incrusted on the inside of the jars, were almost tasteless.

The outside of the small enclosed vessel, like

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* I have found this symbol roughly scratched on a small earthenware vessel taken from a kistvaen in Kolagho, now in the Bengal Museum.

* This coin or token nearly resembles the Mahamadani pāo/a with marks punched on it, of no great antiquity.
most of the finer pottery from these *kisāvaṇa*, is black and polished above the bulge, light red below, and ornamented with a few faint horizontal lines round the bulge, and round the neck; on the splay between these two bands are some faint scratches, i.e. some crossed lines within a curved line, three fainter lines, and three more vertical and still fainter (see Fig. 9).

The similar marks of the pottery from the Jāla *kisāvaṇa*, 30 miles to N.E., are:—M on one side, and U on the other.

The mouth of this small pot was full of grit or fine gravel, and in the earth outside it were found two small crystal sharp-edged cutters or scrapers (Fig. 8), and two little bones, one of them the vertebra of a bird (?), and the other a piece of the (? arm) bone of a fowl, with a hole in it; this bone was broken, leaving only one inch of it, and the rest was lost.

About the centre there was a plain large globular jar, broken, the earth in which seemed little if at all different from the rest.

Near it and lying on what seemed to be the floor, a thin oval plate of iron was found, broken in taking out, and some part of it lost (Plate IV, Fig. 12). The oval is about 4½ in length, and what remains of its width is 0½6, but if complete would have been 0½8. The edge appears to have been sharp all round. At most it is only 0½03 thick. At a depth of 4½ 10° below the capstone, a flag or floor stone was reached, but all along the north side (and as it eventually proved, along the west end also), ran a trench of depression about a cubit in breadth and 6 or 8 inches deep, the floor of which was formed of a single slab, and proved to be the real floor of the chamber, on which an upper slab about 6 feet long and 4 feet wide, had been laid, touching the south side and east end walls only (see plan and sections Plate II, Fig. 10). The jars in this trench were full of hard earth, generally free from gravel, but some of them had minute pieces of charcoal and bone here and there. One of them contained something like grain (possibly the remains of a small millet), which would not bear to be touched without crumbling into an impalpable powder. The colour of this grain was grey, but there was little of it that was not

mixed with earth, and it was found impracticable with the means and time at disposal to preserve any. A little to the south-west of the centre and near the upper flag stone, some larger pieces of bone were found, and plain indications of a human skeleton having been buried lying on its right side along the south side of the chamber, with the head to the east, and looking towards the north. The figure must have been in a bent posture, for parts of the leg bones were found projected towards the centre, whilst the pieces of the feet and rib bones were withdrawn towards the south wall, and the skull lay about 6 inches distant from the east end and the same distance from the south side.

The bones were too brittle to take out whole, and came out mostly in small pieces: but the pieces of the greater part of the skull were large and complete enough to be put together so as fairly to represent its shape and size.

I was unable personally to superintend the whole exhumation, being obliged to return to Bengalpur before nightfall, which put a stop to further search, before all the earth along the south and west sides was taken out.

Being unable to visit the spot again for some time, a week or so later I sent out a small party of men under an experienced and reliable native head workman to re-examine the earth that had been taken out in the twilight, on the last evening, to finish the excavation, and bring in the remaining portions of the "find," which they did, consisting of a few more little pieces of bone, making up a weight of about 4 lbs. altogether. With these they also brought in two hollow horn-shaped vessels with a hole on the convex side of each near the tip (Plate III, Fig. 29). One was flat enough to stand on its base, but the other was pierced with a lateral hole, nearer the tip, apparently for a string to hang it up by, the base being too curved for it to stand on* (Figs. 29 A and B).

The distance from base to tip is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chord length</td>
<td>0°3</td>
<td>0°8 inches respectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arc length</td>
<td>12°0</td>
<td>10°8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. diam.</td>
<td>3°5</td>
<td>2°8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hole or orifice</td>
<td>0°5</td>
<td>0°3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity (fluid oz.)</td>
<td>12°0 oz.</td>
<td>7°0 oz. up to the orifice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight (av.)</td>
<td>26°5 oz.</td>
<td>10°0 oz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In a so-called Buddhist sculpture in Pala marble, horns or flanks of this shape are to be seen hung at the backs of some hunters or bird-catchers who have presented a bird to a raja seated on his throne. One is suspended by means of a string. This representation must have been from one of the Amravati marbles presenting the story of king Śibi.
They are hollow throughout, and hold 12:5 and 7:5 ounces respectively. The larger (A) has five slight horizontal flat grooves round its greatest diameter, and on its side a scratched mark. It is stained black outside and above the hole. It was cracked or very porous, and will not hold water well. It is very slightly polished, and of a brownish dull red colour.

The other (B) is less polished, holds water well, and is of a dull light red colour (Fig. 29, B).

They were both found in the angle of the jar-trench on the true floor, at the N.W. corner of the chamber. They are pretty smooth, and regularly formed outside, but much rougher within, varying in thickness from 0:17 to 0:5.

The workmen now discovered that the trench extended along the west end, as well as the north side of the cell, and they found several more jars placed in it; and in the S.W. corner a ringed, circular, cylindrical pot-stand (Fig. 18), with splay lip at top, and five regular horizontal rings, grooves or corrugations (Pl. III, Fig. 18). It is open at bottom, having a rough flat-edged base to stand on, as if it were intended to stand the pointed bowls and pots on. It was not used for that purpose here, for on taking it up, a number of iron points were found to be protruding from the bottom touching the floor; indeed two of them had been struck by the excavating tool, and damaged from having slipped out through a broken place in the lower part of the pot-stand, and must have been left so by those who put them there, before filling up the kist with earth.

The pot-stand was full of earth, and contained ten flat, pointed, arrow-heads, with barbs running back nearly parallel to the shaft socket.

These are all of a similar lancet shape, from 2:7 to 5:6 long, over all. If complete the longest would have been about 5 or rather more in length (Plate IV, Fig. 6).

The blades are from 2:6 to 3:5 long, 0:8 wide, and 0:15 thick.

The barbs are from 0:4 to 1:0 long, and their points in no case more than 1:0 apart. Between the barbs, the shaft-socket extends from 1:3 to 1:6 in length backwards from the blade, being about 0:18 in diameter at the neck, where smallest, and increasing to 0:4 (in one case) at the back end, where largest.

The shaft tube or socket by which they were attached to the arrow-shaft is very well made, from 1:0 to 1:25 deep, and from 0:25 to 0:35 in diameter at the orifice.

Besides these, the pot-stand contained a plain modern-shaped arrow-tip of iron, like that previously found, and also a plain taper tang, 2:0 long, 0:08 thick, and from 0:1 to 0:2 wide, with sharp edges, and sides clean, flat, and squared, much like a modern 'cut nail,' or large brad, apparently of steel. There are indications of this piece of steel having been broken short off from a longer piece, at a point where it had been pierced with a (? rivet) hole. Compared with the arrow heads the tang is remarkably free from corrosion. The small end is broken irregularly, but a slight increase of the rate of tapering looks as if it had not been much longer in that direction. The ten arrow heads had evidently been stuck into the pot-stand vertically with their points downwards, and were all much corroded and some gone to pieces.

During the final examination of the earth taken out of the chamber, two small bars of iron were discovered, the larger is 2:5 long, nearly 0:5 wide and 0:16 thick, and is bent. The other is 1:2 long, 0:4 wide, 0:18 thick, and straight. Both these pieces are much rusted for nearly half their length, but the thicker end is comparatively smooth, retaining its original shape.

3.—The human remains.

As soon as the pieces of the skeleton bones were brought in (to Bengalur), I set to work to put the pieces of the skull together, and with some difficulty succeeded in setting up the major portion of the roof, but none of the base or facial parts were forthcoming. I then showed it to several medical men from whom I gathered the little there is to say about it.

The outside of the bones is covered with a rough incrustation of indurated matter which is not removed by the application of water and a hard brush, but scales off before a knife.

The thickness of the skull is unusually great, being about 0:7 where thickest. It is the skull of an adult or old person, the sutures having become completely closed and nearly obliterated, so that they can only be seen with difficulty. It gives the idea of being small, but long and narrow, and of a rather low type.

The missing portions of the skull were lost in
bringing in the first instalment. The dimensions are as follows:

**Measurement of the Skull.**

*External.* Extreme length ...7'-30
Do. width ...5'-35
Least width ...4'-1 (?)
(Max.) circumference ...20'-3

*Internal.* Maximum length ...6'-63
Do. width ...4'-87
Minimum do. ...3'-5

Dividing the width by the length, the above measures give 0'-733 external, and 0'-735 internal, as the ratio of width to length, which brings it within the long-shaped class (dolichocephalic).

The brow appears to be narrow, low and retreating; the orbital ridge (the right one alone remains) prominent. Six teeth of the right upper, and four of the left lower jaw remain, and though much ground down, are in good order, and of a good white colour.

One of the peculiarities of the skull is the existence of a fracture extending for some six inches in length from the base of the occipital bone on the left side obliquely upwards through its centre, and well into the right parietal bone.

Where this long crack crosses the suture, on the interior surface there appears to be a cross fracture following the line of the suture to the trijunction at the apex of the occipital bone, and a short distance down its other (left) side; at the point of cross fracture a decided spiculum of bone can be felt and seen slightly projecting inwards from the skull.

The fracture appears to have joined partially but firmly, although an open seam is left throughout the greater part, as if death had ensued at a sufficient interval of time after the fracture to admit of a partial junction, but not long enough for a completion of the healing process.

A few pieces of the bones of the head have not been set up for want of many missing parts; amongst those to hand are the petrous portions of the temporal bones of both sides, a fragment of the right upper jaw containing six teeth (the 5 molars and 1 canine), and a piece of the left lower jaw containing four teeth (the last incisor, 1 canine, and 2 molars), a loose canine of the right lower, and lastly a large molar, also of the right lower jaw, set alone in a fragment 0'-6 thick, and 1'-5 long.

The teeth are all much ground, even the canines, as if by an eater of hard grain, and are generally small, to correspond with the small size of the head. The bones of this subject were positively stated to have been taken out from a space extending over 5 ft. 6 inches from top to toe, but the small size of the skull and teeth contradicts the idea of a large body, as also I believe do the other fragments of bones, which seem to belong to a rather undersized individual.

On the 2nd of August I again visited the Ittige-bail *kistvaen* at Savandurga, with a view first to sift and closely examine all the earth taken out of the kist in my absence, and search for the missing pieces of bone requisite to complete the skull, and also to examine more closely the structure of the *kistvaen*, especially its floor. The earth had been cleared out down to the true floor along the north and west sides, but only down to the raised flag-stone or 'bedstone' on the south, east and centre. This bed-stone was fairly rectangular, 6 ft. long, 4 ft. wide, and comparatively thin, being only 2 or 3 inches thick. It rested apparently on a bed of hard earth, like that with which the rest of the chamber had been filled, but on clearing away the earth beneath its exposed sides, rough blocks of stone were found under the corners serving the purpose of legs, from 3 to 5 inches in height. Finding how thin the bed-stone was, it was lifted up by 5 or 6 men, and set upright along the south wall, whilst the earth that filled the space between it and the true floor of the chamber was examined.

The exact form of the underside of the bed-stone was found impressed on the surface, and gave the idea that the earth, which seemed not different from the rest, had been put down first, and the stone then laid upon it; but the surface was of rather finer mould, and the whole of it a good deal less compact and hard than that above it. This comparative softness however may have arisen from the wet having recently got in, there having been many heavy showers lately, since 5th July, when it was first opened. The great mass of the earth in the chamber from top to bottom was exceedingly dry and hard, as if it had not been moist for a very long while, and I cannot but attribute the partial moisture of the earth under the bed-stone to the recent rains, which had evidently stood in the bared portions of the floor, especially in the north-east corner under the opening.
II. KISTVAENS AT SÁVANDURGA, AND EXCAVATED POTTERY.

10. PLAN OF KISTVAEN

SECTION OF KISTVAEN

SECTION FROM WEST SHewing INTERIOR

SECTION W. TO E. SHewing INTERIOR

SCALE: 1" = 10 FEET
two or three little bowls, the shape and about half the height of a tea-cup, or rather like a high-sided small saucer, were found on the floor, one of them having a two-barbed arrow-blade resting across it; several arrowheads with double-edged barbed and pointed blades were also found on the floor under the bed-stone, together with one or two dagger blades (with a copper fillet on the guard of one), a javelin blade or spear-head, some chisel-like cutters of several sizes, a little piece of flat-pointed iron wire, and some thin knife-blades.

All these were spread pretty evenly over the surface of the floor under the bed-stone, so that many of them would have been well out of arm's reach when the bed-stone was laid over them, for it lay touching the south and east walls, and could not have been easily moved.

The true floor stone was one flag of considerably larger dimensions than the chamber (5'6" X 5'6"); it is cracked through the middle from north to south, and the eastern portion has sunk a little.

No. 2 Kistvaen.

About 20 paces W. N. W. from the first kistvaen examined (No. 1), with only a few smaller or capless cells and stone-circles intervening, was another with a split capstone, which it was found just possible for 8 or 10 men (natives) to raise on one side by means of levers, and slip over to the south, leaving the top of the kist uncovered.

The capstone measured 10'-3" long, 6'-0" wide, 4'-0" to 10'-11" thick, and the interior 7'-5" long east and west, by 4'-2" wide N. and S., and, as it turned out, 4'-9" high. Just below this lay a roughly chipped thin flat disc of stone 4'-0" to 4'-5" in diam. and 0'-3" to 0'-4" thick. The earth in this cell was not quite full to the top, a space of from 3 to 6 inches remaining open just under the capstone. It was still dry except in one corner (the north-west), where a piece had fallen from the capstone, and let the rain in, but the earth was generally dry and softer than in the former case (No. 1) throughout. On the centre of the floor lay a flat earthen bowl (Plate III, Fig. 24) 8" in diam. and 3" deep, full of calcined bones, presumably human, and common earth. A smaller bowl, 6'-9" in diam. and 2'-7" deep, lay on the floor near the N. W. corner, in which also might be seen, mixed with grit or fine gravel, traces of bone, principally thin flat pieces, as if the flakes of a human skull after incomplete cremation had been collected, and buried in a small bowl separate from the rest. Nothing else was found in this kistvaen that calls for remark, unless it be the absence of fragments of pottery and charcoal, compared with what was found in the chamber previously opened (No. 1). The entrance hole was high up in the east end slab, and near the north side, as usual, its measurements being 17" wide, 15" high, 2'-6" above the floor, and 1'-4" below the capstone.

Its distance from the south wall was 2'-3" and only 9" from the north.

The porch or entrance passage was not excavated, but the shutter-stone could be seen from the inside having slightly fallen away outwards, the space thus left vacant, however, had been filled up with earth.

No. 3 Kistvaen.

The next kist excavated (No. 3) was from 50 to 100 yards to the S. W. of the first, and was selected because it had no capstone remaining, but the cell was large, and surrounded by a triple circle of stones, 16', 19', and 23' in diameter, the outer circle, of boulders, just appearing above ground-level, and the other two inner circles of upright slabs of stone rising slightly above one another towards the centre, where the earth was about a couple of feet above the general ground-level outside.

The earth inside this roofless cell was a little higher still, but not quite up to the level of the 4 upright side slabs forming it, the upper edges of which were nearly 3 feet above the general ground-level.

From recent rain the earth was moist and difficult to work; so that it took three men nearly a whole day to excavate it. Nothing was found in the earth until near the floor, when 8 or 10 earthen jars and pots, &c. were discovered, of several sorts and sizes, resting on the floor stone. Most of the pottery was spread about towards the west end except a single flat bowl or dish, with a pointed bottom, and a low rim sloping inwards, like that found in centre of No. 2, which was lying by itself in the S. E. corner and full of calcined bones mixed with earth. A smaller one with more bones lay on the south side towards the centre, and another little cup or saucer lay in the north-east corner by itself full of earth.

In the centre of the floor lay a long pointed
javelin or spear-head 13'-6 long, over all, of which 1'-5 was the tang, the blade being about 1'-1 wide at the base, and tapering gradually to the tip (Pl. IV, Fig. 5). At most it is only 0'-16 thick. Eastward of this lay a broken-pointed (2 knife) blade 2'-5 long, 0'-9 wide, and 0'-12 thick. It has a slight bend at the break at each end, and is better preserved than the other iron blades. The pottery was all broken, and contained nothing distinguishable from common earth.

The dimensions of this kist (No. 4) were as follows:—Interior 8'-2 long, 4'-9 wide, and 5'-9' high. The entrance hole was nearly circular, 1'-9' in diameter, and more nearly in the centre of the east wall than usual.

The four side stones were 6' to 9' long, 5'-9' high, and from 2' to 5' thick.

No. 4 Kistvaen.

Whilst No. 3 was being excavated, a fourth kist close to it, also without any capstone, was excavated as being convenient. It was smaller, but otherwise like No. 3, with only a single circle of stones, 18 ft. in diameter. The recent rain had penetrated but slightly, and the earth being comparatively soft and friable, its examination was completed first. As in the cases of Nos. 2 and 3, nothing was found, except two or three small fragments of pottery, until near the bottom, when a great many jars and pots were found very closely packed, especially towards the west end and the two sides, but more or less spread all over the floor.

Four or five high narrow tripod jars were found, one of them standing up, the rest lying down. Some globular pots with rather pointed bottoms and large mouths occurred; and some flat bowls, one of which, a little east of the centre, was full of charred bones, besides which there were two other pots full of bones on the south side.

Two circular pot-stands were seen and numerous small hemispherical bowls interspersed amongst the rest of the pottery. Everything was already more or less broken or cracked, and could not be taken out whole. The jars, pots, bowls and vase-stands numbered thirty-two in all. Except the bones, nothing could be made out of the contents of the pottery, but that it consisted largely of common gritty soil; no iron implements were found here, nor was anything of any special interest noticed.

The dimensions of this kist (No. 4) were—7'-8 long, 4'-6 wide, and 5'-4 high.

The entrance hole, 1'-9' in diameter, was as usual high up in the slab forming the east end of the chamber, and within 9' of the north side.

The two side slabs were 8' and 9' long, 5'-4' high, and from 3' to 6' thick; the end slabs 5'-5' and 5'-8' long, 5'-4' high, and 2' to 5' thick.

They all stood about a foot above the ground within the circle of stones, which was very little above the general ground level.

The "bearing" or direction of the length of this cell was a point or so to the south of east, whereas by far the most of those observed were rather north of east: but a few differed considerably.

The peculiarities of the kistvaen (No. 1) first opened at Savaudurga, wherein it differs from those ordinarily found in this part of the country, are as follows:—

1. The earth with which it was filled contained fragments of all sorts of pottery, a copper coin or token, a few pieces of wrought iron, and some charred bones, possibly human, as well as of birds (apparently uncharred), all scattered up and down throughout the kist, except near the surface.

2. There is no cinerarium, but the remains of many of the bones of a human skeleton (besides the charred bones above mentioned) as if a body had been buried unburnt. The earth in which they were embedded was very hard and dry, and the bones were so brittle or decayed that few or none of them could be taken out whole.

3. The couch or bed-stone raised a little above the floor, on and beneath which lay a number of iron weapons and implements of the chase, amongst which was a knife or dagger with a copper fillet round the handle-guard.

4. The somewhat large size of the entrance hole (2'-7' wide).

Arch-stone Kistvaens.

On this occasion I visited a small group of kistvaens amongst the rocks 10 minutes' walk or more to the north of Ittige-bail, having been attracted thither from the foot-path by catching sight of a conspicuous upright arched stone, standing in the inner edge of a double circle of stones in front of a fine half-buried kist, with a capstone 12' long, 9' wide, and 9' thick (Plate I, Fig. 4). The arched stone is formed out of a very
even and flat thin slab of dark stone, and is well shaped by rough chipping or hammer-dressing, into a rounded arch form at top with a hole of the same rounded shape as most of the entrance holes to these kistvaens, that is, flatter than the true circle, below, and more pointed above, but without any great difference between the height and the width, which in a few instances I have met has been from 20' to 30'. One or two other tombs in this group had broken arch-stones, but much smaller than that here described, which stands over 5' high above the ground on the inside, and more still on the out, and must have been about 8' wide when entire. The only other one I measured stood 3' high above ground, and must have been about 6'-6' wide, with a hole 24' wide and high.*

General Remarks, Notes and Impressions, &c.

The huge capstones must have been put on after the chambers they cover had been filled with earth, for, in some cases, the kist is full but has no entrance hole at all, or the entrance is too low to admit of the chamber being filled through it.

Standing on a spur or plateau of rising ground with deep ravines around, they cannot have been subject to floods, and the rain could not have washed in so much soil through the crevices, from a mound of earth that may have been raised over them originally, without also leaving some portion of it spread around.

The "site" may be a cemetery, or place of interment, selected perhaps for its seclusion in the depths of the forest, and for the convenience of the locality for the requisite materials,—stone slabs of all sizes, boulders, and a suitable space of ground near to the quarry. The prominent rounded masses of solid bare rock, cropping up like islands above the general level of the soil, so common in Southern India, offer great facilities and frequent opportunities for the purpose.

The gneissic rock is laminated, and peels off, or is easily exfoliated in scales of any size, and may be transported on log rollers down the sloping spurs without difficulty. The rounded boulders are to be found in the adjacent ravines.

The form of the kistvaen, a cubical chamber surrounded by a circle of stones, is perhaps only a copy of the dwellings of the people who built them.

In many parts of India people still live in houses of a somewhat similar shape, composed of four upright walls of mud, covered by a flat mud roof; but the huts or cabins of the Todas, folk of the Nilgiri Hills afford a closer parallel, allowance being made for the different of material and the structural necessities of the case, for they are surrounded in a similar way by a circular wall or enclosure, and have an entrance hole at one end as small as these. The customs still in vogue amongst the (quasi-)aboriginal tribes, Toda, Kota, Goud, Kol, Khasia, &c., would probably, if collated, go far to explain all about these kistvaens, and the rites that attended their use.

Occasionally a patriarch or headman may have died under circumstances that forbade the rite of cremation, when he might be buried in a monumental sepulchre built specially for the occasion, and in a manner that would leave all the appearances described above, as found in the case of the first kistvaen (No. 1) opened at Sāvandurga.

The raised couch or bedstone, the number of iron implements and weapons found associated with the remains of a single unburnt skeleton, and possibly also the fractured skull point to an unusual case, and indicate that the person here buried had been a warrior, or a great hunter.

In the 2nd instance (kist, No. 2) the thin flakes of bone contained in the smaller bowl may be those of a wife who became sati upon the funeral pile of the person whose calcined remains were found in the larger.

The 3rd kist opened, that surrounded by a triple circle of stones with its two bowls of ashes (one large and one small), may indicate another case of cremation and sati. The long javelin head and single knife blade was a disappointingly small find in so fine a kistvaen.

The last kist excavated (No. 4) with its three (or more) cinerary urns full of ashes, and its 30 accompanying earthen vessels, and the entire absence of iron weapons, may indicate the sepulchral monument of several minor members of the tribe or family, who had died at the stone wall there given recalls the rail round a Buddhist Tope remarkably.

* See Welsh's Military Reminiscences (Smith, Elder and Co., 1860), vol. II, p. 55, where a cromlech or kistvaen with arched entrance stone is figured and described. The
same time, or within a short period of one another, and whose ashes were all interred together.

The free-standing kistvaens on the adjacent rock may be the ‘lich-gate’ to the cemetery, or the purgatorial abode for the departed, whilst awaiting their final disposal.

The people who left these monuments were no wild savages. They treated the ashes of their dead with a respect that must have bordered on worship, and lodged them with much care in most lasting tombs, furnished apparently with all the necessaries of life. They had clever iron workers and potters amongst them, and used copper, but sparingly. The good preservation of the iron weapons, especially of the points and edges, is remarkable, and may be partly due to the dryness of the situation and to the closeness of the earth in which they have been embedded.

The neighbouring town of Māgādi is well known for its iron, which abounds in the vicinity. The stone-masons’ work has been done very cleanly though roughly, and considerable skill must have been requisite, and many workmen, to take out, transport, knock into shape, and erect such masses as the cap-stones, arch-stones, side-walls, and flags of these kistvaens and dolmens.

The present inhabitants have no traditions beyond the name Pāṇḍuvar mane, or Pāṇḍuvar-gudi, = ‘dwelling, or temple, of the Pāṇḍu-folk,’ a race of dwarfs that preceded their own forefathers as inhabitants of this country.

In the present day the Wāddar folk (Vodarau) are the rude stone-masons of the country, and are said to have come originally from Teliangana. But the Koṭar of the Nilgiri hills would be more probably the descendants of the artisans of the cromlech period in Māsūr.

The cromlech and kistvaen building people must have lived amongst, or been able to assemble considerable numbers of able-bodied workmen; but the paucity of their cemeteries and tombs (or monuments) does not look like a large population all practising these same funeral rites.

If they were numerous, it can only have been their great men, princes or patriarchs, warriors and priests, who became as gods at their death, and whose remains and relics were honoured with these rude but lasting shrines. On the death of such, his body was perhaps brought to the cemetery, and placed under the great dolmen until the arrangements and preliminary ceremonies for its cremation were complete.

After the cremation, the ashes and the remnants of bones and relics may have been placed in an urn or bowl in one of the free-standing chambers, of which the cemetery contains several, until a fit and separate kistvaen was prepared for their final resting-place and interment.

The entrance-holes and shutter-stones of these would then serve their appropriate purpose repeatedly, and not be merely copies of the dwellings of the living, as above suggested.

More than one cremation at a time, or several at intervals, may have been thus temporarily disposed of, before the final sepulture took place.

From time to time the entrance-hole might also be used in making offerings of flowers, fruit, food, water or incense, &c. to the dead.

When the proper season came and the new tomb was ready, the final funeral ceremony would take place, and the vessels full of ashes and relics would be removed from their temporary to their final abode, in presence of the whole family or clan. This would be an occasion of feasting and possibly of sacrifice, which may account for the stray pieces of bones, charcoal, and fragments of pottery that are now to be found scattered through the upper portions of the earth with which the chamber (No. 1) was then filled.

In three of the cases above described the charred bones, intimately mixed with earth, had been placed in open, flat, rimmed bowls, surrounded by numerous jars, pots and vessels of sorts, originally containing no doubt supplies or offerings of which scarcely a trace now remains.

In two cases of the four examined, implements of iron and weapons of the chase, or of war, were deposited also; the earth was then filled in together with the debris of the feast, heaped up over the whole, and covered by the capstone, the entrance hole was closed by a shutter-stone, and banked up in front, to be left for the honour of the departed, to remain for ages and excite the curiosity of races yet to come.

The railing round the Buddhist Topes has been referred to a common origin with that of heaped-up earth, and the uppermost earth seemed most compressed and solid.
III - POTTERY FROM THE KISTVAENS AT SAVANDURGA.

Fig. 29. To 32. Half actual size.
IV-IRON WEAPONS FROM SÄYANDURGA KISTVAENS.
HALF ACTUAL SIZE.
these sepulchral chambers and their surrounding circle of stones; may not their arched-stone entrances correspond to the Buddhist Tope gateways, in a similar manner? And may not the medieval and modern great gateway spires or entrance towers of the south Indian temples, called Oṭpuraṇam, be traced to the same origin as that of the stūpa gateway and the cromlech archstone, and possibly also that of our own church steeples?

The space within the outer circle of stones occasionally (but not often) recalls in like manner the procession path around the Buddhist stūpas, and more modern temple.

In east Maisūr kistvaens are found surrounded or enclosed by four great arch-shaped slabs 9 or 10 feet high, set up parallel to, and a little apart from, the four walls of the kist.

As mentioned above, certain marks were noticed on the first entire pot taken out (Fig. 9) and on one of the horn-shaped vessels. On washing the soil off the other vessels, many of them were observed to have somewhat similar marks scratched on them, very rudely done, but all apparently with a like object (Figs. 12, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28).

Many of the small bowls are marked in three places on the bottom, whereas the marks on other pots now in the Bengalur Museum taken from the Jāla kistvaens and from Koḍagū are only in two places on each vessel, nearly opposite to one another. The commonest mark on those appears to be on one side, and on the opposite; a resemblance to which may be traced in one or two of these. The scratches are frequently faint, and indistinct but can be made out in a suitable light, with the aid of a magnifying glass, on the polished surface quite well enough to trace the figure.

The svastika symbol appears rudely scratched twice on a small vase taken from a kistvaen in Koḍagū, now in the Bengalur Museum, thus—

Pottery found in the Kistvaens at Sāvandurga.

(See Plates.)

Fig. 9. A smaller pot, but very similar to No. 13, found inside a bigger; size, 6' high and 6' in diam. at bulge; 3'8 outside lip rim; 3'9 outside neck; and 2'64 inside. Thickness 0'18. Neck is 1'5 high; and it has five horizontal lines just above bulge and on neck for ornament, and some scratched marks, shown in the figure.

Fig. 11. A big earthen globular pot, light red; polished, entire; found on floor against west wall, full of earth. Has no plain artificial marks on it. Very modern looking, and devoid of ornament. Size 11'8 high, 39' in circumference at biggest, 12'4 diam. The lip outside 6', and inside neck 4'8 diam. The neck and lip-rim stand 1'5 high and 5'2 in diam. outside. It is 0'2 thick and weighs 5 lbs.

Fig. 12. A smaller pot with wide neck, polished, black, with some fine grooves or horizontal lines round the neck, which stands 1' high, the entire height being 6', diam. at biggest 7'75, and of neck 4'4 inside. On the shoulder of it are scratched the marks represented below the figure.

Fig. 13. A smaller pot of still ruder make, and red colour throughout, with little polish. Found like No. 9, inside another bigger pot; size 6' high, of which 1'8 is neck; 5'8 in diam. at the bulge, 3'6 at lip, 2'66 at neck outside, and 2'22 inside; and 0'2 thick throughout.

Fig. 14. A very small rude vase, with a rough surface, of light red colour. It was found full of grit and earth, inside another. It is only 3'15 high, 2'75 in diam. at bulge, 1'7 at lip, and 1'2 at neck, and from 0'2 to 0'25 thick.

Fig. 15. Several high tripod jars were found, both standing up and (more commonly) lying down, all more or less broken. They were mostly red throughout and had been polished. The only ornament noticed was some horizontal lines. One stood 18' high and was 6'75 in diam., the legs being 4' long.

Fig. 16. The handle and part of a pipkin of red pottery. The handle has a slight spiral groove all along it to give a firmer hold, and prevent it slipping from the hand. Its shape would be globular, and quite plain without lip or rim. In size it would be a sphere about 6' in diam.; with the top cut off for a mouth 3' in diam.

Fig. 17. Pieces of a large coarse crock or jar, in very coarse pottery. Dull greyish light red colour. Diameter outside lip 15', inside neck 11'. From the scattered state of the pieces found in the earth throughout the middle of the chamber, this must have been used and broken outside before the earth was filled in. It is nearly 0'5 thick.

Figs. 18, 19, 20. Three circular vase-holders or potstands were found, open at both ends, top and bottom, and evidently designed to place the pots and vases on, they having generally too pointed a base to rest on unless supported by some such contrivance, or on sand. They vary in height from 5'4 to 5'2, and in diam. from 6'6 the outside maximum, to 2'9 interior minimum diam. at the waist. They are somewhat ornamental, two of them are contracted in mid-height,
bell or trumpet fashion. The first is more cylindrical, but corrugated by horizontal grooves and bands. The third has scratched upon it two marks represented below the figure; those on Fig. 19 are shown at Fig. 19b.

Figs. 21, 22, 23. Many little bowls or cups were found interspersed amongst the larger vessels. They are mostly of fine thin well-baked pottery of a black colour, and well polished throughout. They have little if any ornament or marks on them, and vary slightly in shape; most of them have a more or less pointed bottom, but a few are spheroidal. In size they run from 3"-5 to 4"-5 in diam. and 1"-5 to 2"-5 deep. On the bottom of No. 23 are scratched the marks shown in Fig. 23; and on another those in Fig. 27.

Fig. 24. Wide shallow bowls or dishes were found containing the charred bones, generally 8" to 9" in diam. and 2"-5 to 3"-0 deep, with a rim varying from 6"-5 to 1"-0 in height. They are of good black polished pottery, and have the favourite pointed bottom.

Fig. 25. An intermediate form and size of bowl between the small cups and the larger flat bowls, which also contained bones. It has a deeper side, and is much like Fig. 21. It is polishes black above and inside, but reddish below outside. Three marks scratched on the bottom of it are represented below the figure. In size it is 7" in diam. and 2"-7 deep.

Fig. 26. A diminutive cup or vessel was also found which looks as if it had been designed for the cap or stopper of a goblet; in size 2"-3 in diam. and 1"-4 high. Its colour is a dirty grey, almost as if unbaked.

Fig. 29. Two horn-shaped vessels of rude pottery found lying on the floor of one of the kistvaens and described above.

Fig. 30. A piece of the top, neck and lip of an earthenware water-bottle or vase. It is thin, and well formed on the potter's wheel, of a good reddish colour, and polished outside. In size it is 3"-15 in diam. at lip, and 2" at the neck, which is 2" high: the thickness is 0'-12.

Fig. 31. Part of a large pan or basin with a hollow horizontal rim, and a vertical edge, somewhat ornamental. It must have been from 8"-5 to 8"-9 in diam. (uncommon).

List of iron weapons from Savandurga kistvaens.

Plate IV.

Fig. 1. Spear head or javelin blade; flat and thin; blade 9'-5 long, 2'-15 wide, 0'-1 thick, tang 2'-25 long. Weight 43 oz.

Fig. 2. Chisel (?) 9'-5 long, 1'-62 wide, 0'-25 thick. Weight 7 oz. This is a good serviceable hand-chopper not in use or known by the country artizans now.

Fig. 3. Dagger knife with guard. The blade is thin and rusted to pieces; 8" or 9" long, 1'-4 wide and 0'-1 thick. Tang 2'-2.

Fig. 4. Thin dagger-knife with copper fillet. The blade when complete would be 8" or 9" long, 1'-2 wide and 0'-07 thick.

Fig. 5. Long flat tapering arrow blade or javelin point, 13" long (besides 1'-6 of tang), 1'-1 wide and 0'-17 thick. Weight 24 oz.

Fig. 6. Double barbed arrow points, lance-shaped with hollow shaft socket. From 3'-1 to 6'- long, 0'-8 wide and 0'-15 thick. Weight about 3 oz. each. Tapers well made and points fine.

Fig. 7. Modern shaped (English) arrow-tip, 1'-4 long and 0'-4 thick. Shaft socket well made. Weight about 4 oz.

Fig. 8. Thin flat chisels or cutters, 5' or more long, chopping edge 1'-2 and 1'-5 wide, and 0'-06 to 0'-10 thick.

Fig. 9. Double-edged thin flat blades, under 1'-2 wide and 0'-1 thick.

Fig. 10. Part of tapering two-edged blade, 0'-12 thick.

Fig. 11. Awl or needle, 4'-3 long and 0'-15 thick.

Fig. 12. Part of edged oval cutter or scraper.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from vol. IX, p. 278.)

V.

The position of the man at the period we have reached is not easy to understand. He was the eldest son of Yessu gei, the Khakan of the Mongol race. He was married to the daughter of the chief of the Mongurut, the most illustrious tribe of the Turks, and, as we shall show presently, was on friendly terms with Tughrul, the chief of the Chinas who dominated the Mongolian steppes, and yet he seems reduced to the condition of a mere shepherd having few followers and hardly any authority, and was virtually a fugitive from the great bulk of his people who obeyed the Tajut chief Terkutai Kiriltuk. Terkutai Kiriltuk and the Tajuts encamped, as we have seen, on the
Onon. Temujin meanwhile had wandered to the upper valleys of the Kerulen, and lived with his family on the river Sangur. 1

It was while living there that Chinghis set off down the Kerulen to fetch his wife home. We afterwards read that he removed further up into the higher land of the Kerulen, and settled at the foot of the Burqar, 2 where he lived with his wife Burté.

When she returned with him, she took with her a kaftan or robe made of black sable, as a present for her mother-in-law. Temujin, who doubtless thought it might be made more useful in another way, recalled the fact that his father had been on good terms with Tughrul Khan, the chief of the Kirais, who was therefore like a father to himself, and he determined to present the kaftan to him. He therefore rode off with his brothers to the river Tula, where Tughrul lived, and told him he had brought him a present which his wife had intended for her mother-in-law. Tughrul was much pleased, and said "I will bring your people together again, and reunite the scattered once more to you, and will treasure this in my heart." 3

We must now consider shortly who the Kirais and their chief Tughrul were. Until recently it has been almost universally considered that they were Mongols. In the first volume of my History of the Mongols I argued that they were Turks, and belonged to the famous section of the Turks called Uighurs. In this view I have been strengthened by further study. The name Kirai 4 is still borne by a well-known stock of Eastern Turks who live in South-Eastern Sungaria, and who are very probably descended from the Kirais we are now describing. This tribe forms the principal section of the Burnut or Kirghises proper. Two other tribes belonging respectively to the Middle and the Little Horde of the Kazaks, are still known as Kirai and Kirait, and it is not improbable that the Ghirais who ruled in the Kirin derived their name from the same source. These are all Turkish tribes.

In contrast with these facts is the ominous one that no modern Mongol tribe bears such a name as Kirai. No ancient author known to me calls the Kirais Mongols. Rashid class them among the people who afterwards adopted the name of Mongol, while the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi and the Chinese writers nowhere make them Mongols. Khuandemir calls them Turks, and Abu'l-faraj, the Syrian historian, speaks of the Kir as a race of the Southern Turks in the East ("Gens quaedam Turcorum mediterraneorum in Oriente")—are the words in the translation of Bruns and Kirch), and in another place speaks of their king as ruling over a tribe of barbarian Huns called Cherith. 5

The Uighurs as we know were largely Christians, thus Carpini tells us they were Christians of the sect of the Nestorians. 6 Rubruquis says that in all their cities there was a mixture of Nestorians and Saracens. 8 The adjoining province of Tangut was the seat of one of the metropolitan sees of the Nestorians. 8

I have collected several references showing the prevalence of Christianity in Tangut and its neighbourhood in the times of Marco Polo in my volume already quoted. 10 All this exactly conforms with what we know of the religion of the Kirais. Gregorius Bar Hebræus, surnamed Abu'l-faraj, was a Jacobite Christian of the town of Malatiya in Cappadocia. He was born in 1222 and died in 1286. He tells us that in the year 798 of the Hijira, i.e. in 1077 a.d., a tribe called Kir, was converted to Christianity, and their king was baptised. He gives a number of details which I have quoted elsewhere. 11 Rubruquis says 12 the people of Kirit and Merkit 13 were Nestorian Christians. Rashid-ud-din expressly says of the Kirais, whom he calls Kerait: "They have their own Padishahs, and belong to the Christian religion." 14 Again in another place he says of them: "The fame

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1 There can be little doubt that this was the Sungur mentioned in the Chinese Geographical work translated by Hsun-k'ung, where we read the Kerulen rises on the south side of the chain of Kentii, it receives five small rivers, runs 100 li further north, and turns towards the south-east 100 li of the Sun, and receives the Sungur. Timukofski, vol. II, p. 234.

2 This mountain is also mentioned in the Chinese Geography just named, where we read—The Birga-daba (daba means a mountain the summit of which may be crossed—ld. p. 227) to the south-east of the source of the Kerulen is a branch of the Kentii mountains; from its left side issues the Birga-gol which empties itself into the Onon.—ld. p. 232.

3 Trans-ch'ao-pi-shi, ed. Pulk. pp. 45 and 49.

4 See page 696.

5 The final t or d in this and other tribal names, as usually spelled, is merely the Mongol plural.


7 D'Avene, p. 560.

8 C. Musallam, id. pp. 223 and 238.

9 Tule, Cathay and the Way Thither, p. 179.


12 D'Avene, p. 261.

13 C. s. e. the Kerait and Merkit.

14 Erdman, Völständige Uebersicht, etc. p. 190.
of the Lord Jesus came to them, and they adopted his faith.\textsuperscript{13} Von Hammer, in describing Dokuz Khutan the wife of Khulagu Khan, who was a grand-daughter of Tughrul, the chief of the Kirais, says, \"As the Kirais had for a long time been Christians, Dokuz Khutan was much attached to the Christians, who during her lifetime were in a flourishing condition . . .\" At the gate of the Ordus of Dokuz Khutan was a chapel wherebells were constantly rung.\textsuperscript{14} Again, in speaking of Siurukteni the mother of Khulagu, who was a niece of Tughrul's, he says, \"Although she was a Christian yet she favoured the Moslem Imams,\" etc.\textsuperscript{15}

The phrase Southern Turks in the East, applied to the Krit or Kerait by Abul-Faraj, can mean assuredly nothing else than that they were Uighurs.

Again, the old Uighur country was Karakorum and its neighbourhood. It was there the Uighurs were attacked and broken to pieces by the Hakes in the 9th century. When this happened a large portion of the race went southward and settled on the Chinese frontier. Further, we are expressly told by Visdelou that they attacked the town of Tiente,\textsuperscript{16} where they were defeated by a Chinese General, and that one section of them submitted to the Emperor.

The other section with the Khan asked permission to settle at Chin-vu, which being refused, it attacked the Chinese borders in the following year, committed great ravages, and eventually occupied the country between Tiente and Chin-vu.

A third section encamped south of Ta-tung-fu in the mountains Lin-men-shan. Several of the Uighur grandees submitted to the Emperor, and were rewarded with titles, and many of their followers seem to have become Chinese subjects. The Chinese fought several engagements with their main body, which are detailed by Visdelou.\textsuperscript{17}

At this time other hordes of them overran several provinces of Tangut, and settled there, especially in the districts of Sha-chan and Kucha and as far south as the river Chaidam.\textsuperscript{18}

It would seem in fact that the whole of the northern frontier of the present Chinese empire south of the Desert, from Sha-chan to the borders of the province of Pechehli, was occupied by the Uighurs, and among the places specially mentioned as so occupied are Tiente and Ta-tung. So extensive was this occupation that it will be remembered in the famous polemic that took place between Schmidt and Klaproth about the nationality of the Uighurs, the former relied almost entirely for his case on a passage in a Mongol work on the origin of writing, in which it is stated that at one time the people of Tangut were called Uighurs.

The evidence therefore points conclusively to the Kirais having been a section of the Uighurs.\textsuperscript{19}

Tughrul under his title of Wang Khan was, as we have shewn in the first volume of the History of the Mongols,\textsuperscript{20} the Prester John of mediæval romance, and Prester John's country is called Tenda by Marco Polo, whose description enables us to fix it with tolerable accuracy. He tells us that on leaving Calachan\textsuperscript{21} he proceeded eastward, and entered the land of Prester John, which he calls Tenda, whose capital was also named Tenda. He tells us it had been the capital of Prester John, and that his heirs still ruled there.\textsuperscript{22} After leaving this province he proceeded eastwards for three days, and then arrived at Chaghán Nur.\textsuperscript{23}

Colonel Yule identifies the place thus described with \"the extensive and well cultivated plain which stretches from the Yellow River past the city of Koko Khotan which still abounds in the remains of cities attributed to the Mongol era,\" and he goes on to suggest that the city of Koko Khotan\textsuperscript{24} is on the site of Prester John's capital.\textsuperscript{25} Panthier identifies Tenda with Ta-tung, the name of a city and fu in Northern Shan-si, south of the wall and not very far from Koko Khotan. We may take it therefore that the country of Prester John as understood by Marco Polo included the district now held by the Tamed of Koko Khotan and its neighbourhood. Rashidun'd-din in describing the country of the Kirais tells us that they lived on the borders of Khiat\textsuperscript{26} as well as in outer plexioned, whence their name from Kara, black. — Ermann, Terminologie, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{27} Id. vol. I, pp. 535—545.
\textsuperscript{28} I.e. Alashan, a little west of the Yellow river, Yule's Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 273.
\textsuperscript{29} Id. vol. I, pp. 275—8.
\textsuperscript{30} Id. p. 286.
\textsuperscript{31} Called Tsingchau in mediæval times.
\textsuperscript{32} I.e. China.
Mongolia in the country of Onon and Keluron. The latter part of the sentence is a mere general expression, and we may limit it very considerably by turning to the Yuan-ch’o-ji-shi, where we are told that Tughrul lived on the river Tula and in the Black Forest.

This black forest is called Karaun Kipchak by Rashidu’d-din. Tughrul’s camp on the Tula was probably at or near the modern town of Urga. This northern settlement of the Kiriai was apparently their summer quarters only, and their principal country when Tughrul’s father and grandfather lived was Tenche.

I ought to add that both Abu’l-faraj and Rubruquis tell us that he became a pervert from Christianity. The former says that on marrying a wife belonging to the nation Kara-khitai, the Chériz King John, whom he a few sentences before calls Unach Khan, forsook the religion of his fathers, and served strange gods. The latter says he had abandoned Christianity and taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are addicted to sorcery and the invocation of demons.

Such was the chief and such his people to whom the young Temujin paid court in his earlier days, and who were probably the most powerful neighbours of the Mongols. It would seem from a passage in Abu’l-ghazi that Tughrul’s wife was the sister of Burtu Fujin, which was thus another tie binding the Kiriai and Mongol chiefs together. We must now go on with our story.

The Yuan-ch’o-ji-shi tells us that on Temujin’s return home from visiting Tughrul there went to him an old man called Charchintai from the mountain Burkhan leading his son Chelemi by the hand, and taking with him some furs as a present. He said to Temujin: “When you were born at Delian Boldakha I made you a present of a baby’s coat lined with sable, and presented you with my son, but as he was still very young, I took him home, and trained him. Now I have brought him, let him look after your horse and open your door.”

Rashidu’d-din calls the boy Jelméh and says he belonged to the tribe Uriangkut, and that he was surnamed Uheh, i.e., robber, highway man. He says he was one of Temujin’s principal amirs, and commanded the vanguard. I have previously referred to the Uriangkut. Rashidu’d-din says further of them, that they claimed to have had a part in the metal-forging at Urga, a tradition, as I have said, pointing to their being a Turkish stock. When it thundered they addressed shouts and jeers to the noise, thinking they could thus make it cease. The other Mongols on the contrary were afraid of thunder, and kept inside their yurts. If the lightning killed a four-footed animal among them, they would not eat it, and took care not to touch it. They deemed that the lightning proceeds from a dragon which, flying towards the earth, gets its tail entangled, and in its rage spits out fire. They believed that if konais, sweet or sour milk, and especially wine, was spilt on the ground, the lightning would strike their four-footed animals, particularly their horses. This also happened when any one put one of his boots out in the sun to dry. Hence when drying their boots they covered the top of their tent, or dried them inside. These strange superstitions like many others that prevail on the steppe, are the heritage of the Shamans, and are the subjects of much minute regulation.

Let us again return to Temujin:—It will be remembered that when Yessagei married Khoilun he virtually committed a rape, for he carried her off from the Merki Yeeke Jilatu, who had in turn carried her off from the Olkhoonut. The Merkit now had their revenge. One morning an old woman named Khakhchin, who was in the service of Khoilun, and who was apparently a confidante of Yessagei and the mother of Belgutei, aroused her saying, “Get up quickly, it would seem as if the earth were quaking. It is probably the Taliut who are again upon us.” She also roused Temujin and his brothers. They all rose suddenly, as did Boghorchi and Chelemi, who were with them, and mounted their horses, while Khoilun took her daughter Tumalun in her arms.

Temujin showed little gallantry, for he at once rode off with his brothers for the mountain Burkhan, i.e., for the Kentei, and left his

23 Erdmann, Temudjinachin, etc. pp. 230-1.
24 Op. cit. 40. Black forests still line the banks of the Tula, and south of it is a large wooded district known as the Djo-ro or Dao-modu.
26 D’Avenas, p. 361.
29 Erdmann, Temudjinachin, p. 196.
30 Id. pp. 195 and 196.
wife Barté to her resources. We are told the old woman Khoakchinh put her into a black kibita and putting a bridled cow in the shafts drove it along the river Tunggeli. They met a party of horsemen, whom the old woman tried to put off the scent, and pretended she knew nothing of Temujin’s whereabouts, as she had been away shearing sheep. They rode off, but presently the axle of the kibita broke. The horsemen again came up. They seized the old woman, and inquired who was inside the cart. She replied that it was loaded with wool, but they quickly dismounted and searched it, and on finding Barté, put her and the old woman on two horses, and rode off with them. They then set off in search of Temujin himself, following his horse’s tracks. They rode three times round the mountain Burkhan, but could not penetrate into its recesses on account of the woods and bogs on its flanks.

The horsemen were in reality Merki’s, led by Tokhhoza from the tribe Uduut, Dair Usun from the tribe Yuras, and Khana-i Darmala from the tribe Khut, and had gone, we are told, expressly to revenge themselves for the rape of Khilun.

Meanwhile Temujin hid away in the mountain, and sent Belgutei, Boghorozi and Chelmi to explore, and when they reported all safe he came out from his retreat. He declared that the mountain Burkhan had saved his life, and promised that in future he and his descendants would sacrifice to it, then turning to the sun, putting his scarf about his neck, and holding his cap on his hand, he struck his breast nine times, and nine times bowed his knee, and poured out an offering of kumis. After this Temujin with Khazar and Belgutei went off to the black forest on the river Tula to see Wang Khán and to ask his assistance. The latter promised that he would destroy the Merks and restore his wife. He told him to go and inform Chamukha, and promised to supply two tumans, i.e., 20,000 to form the right wing of the army, while Chamukha would furnish another two tumans for the left wing. The latter according to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shí was the chief of the tribe Jajirat or Juriat, and was reported to have been descended from Budantsar by a concubine who was pregnant when he married her. She belonged, we are told, to the tribe Jarjun Adankhan Uriankhajin. Her son was named Jajirat, who had a son named Tugu-ndail, who had a son Buri Balchiri, he a son Kara Kadan, and he a son Chamukha. Rashidu’d-din on the other hand makes the Juriat descend from Durbayan, the 7th son of Tunmenei Khán. Chamukha afterwards became one of Temujin’s most bitter enemies. We are told in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shí that he lived at Khor khon Ak’hubur, which was probably somewhere in the valley of the Onon. The first name, I believe, is preserved in that of one of the tributaries of the Onon figured in the map in Palladino’s atlas, and there called Kirkoun.

On his return home Temujin sent Khazar and Belgutei to chamunkha to tell him what he had taken place and also to take him Tughral’s message. He said he had heard of the event, and consented to go, saying they would cross the river Kil-ho on a bridge made out of a plant called the pig’s bristle, which they would plait together, and thus approach the quarters of Tokhino, fall upon his yurt through the upper opening and defeat his people. “Tell Tughral and Temujin that I have already equipped my army, let the former pass along the front of the mountain Burkhan, and meet me in the place called Botokhan Boorchi (doubtless somewhere on the upper Onon). I have here some people belonging to Temujin. From them I will collect a tuman of warriors, and will also take a tuman of my own, and with these two we will go up the river Onon to the place Botokhan Boorchi, where we will unite.”

After this he began to move. Belgutei and Khazar now returned and reported the result of their mission to Temujin and the chief of the Kirais. The latter thereupon ordered two tumans of his people to unite and to march over the shoulder of the mountain Burkhan Khaldua towards the river Kerulon, and Temujin’s old camping ground at Birga. The latter with his warriors mounted the Tunggelik to the mountain Burkhan, and to where the small river Tana (?) flows. He joined Tughral and Tughral’s brother Jakhaganbo on the banks of the Kinurka" in the place Allikarakhona (?).
The three set out together for the appointed trysting place Botokhan Boorchu at the source of the Onon. When they arrived Chamunka had already been there three days, and he said angrily: "When we agree to a time of meeting, then whether it be wind or rain, one ought to keep one's appointment. With us Tartars, a promise is as good as an oath. If you don't mean to fulfill it, there is no need to ask for assistance." Tughral confessed that he was late, and told Chamunka to reproach him as much as he pleased. The united force of 40,000 men now set out, as Palladius quaintly says, to rescue the Mongol Helen. They speedily reached the banks of the Kil-ho.

Having crossed this river by a bridge made as already mentioned, they arrived at the place Buura, where they seized the wives and people of Tokhota. He would also have been taken, but was warned in time by some fishermen, who had observed the crossing of the Kil-ho. With Dair Usun and a few followers he fled down the river Selanie, (i.e. the Selings) to Bargachin. As he pursued the fugitives down the Selings, Temujin shouted out the name of his wife Burtê. She happened to be there, and noting his voice dismounted from the kibila, and with the old woman Khaochchin ran up to his horse and seized its bridles. The moon was then shining, and they recognised each other. The same night he went to tell his friends what had happened. The pursuit was stopped for a while, and they encamped there. The fugitive Merkis also stopped.

It seems that Jilada, from whom Yesugei had forcibly carried off his wife Khoilun, was a brother of Tokhota. A third and younger brother was Chilger, to whom when the Merkis carried off Burtê they had married her. He now reproached himself for this misfortune which had overtaken his people. "I," he said, "am like the black raven who is fated to feed on mere scraps of leather. A desire comes over me to taste the wild goose and the dracula."

Having offended against Burtê I have brought this misfortune on my people. It will return on my head. To save my life I must hide in some dark and secret place." Whereupon he fled.**

The Mongols captured Khatai Darmala and put the cangue upon him, and then returned to the mountain Burkhan. Meanwhile Belgutei searched for his mother, i.e. for Khaochchin. He entered the yurt she had been living in by one door as she fled out of another. "I have heard," she said, "that my children have been made princes, and I am here and have been given to a vile man, how am I to look them in the face?" Whereupon she hid herself in a thicket. Belgutei who was beside himself went about shouting—Restore me my mother. The Merkis who had taken part in the raid, 300 in number, were all put to death. Of their widows those who were worthy were remarried, while the rest were made slaves of. The three allies now returned home by way of Tstalkhini Aral between the Orkhon and the Selings. Temujin and Chamuka went back to the latter's quarters at Khorkhon-okhchibir, but Tughrul going behind the mountain Burkhan passed the three places Khoktor-uchir, Khajurartu**, Sibir and Khuliyatu Sibir.**

He occupied himself on the way with a great hunt, and eventually reached his camp again on the Tula. We are told that in their retreat the Uduut Merkit abandoned a five year old boy named Kichu, who was left behind in their camp. He was very handsome, and had beautiful sparkling eyes, and was clothed in the white fur of the river sable.** On his head was a sable cap and on his feet boots made from reindeer skin. The warriors presented him to Temujin's mother Khoilun.**

Of this long story Rashidu'd-din has preserved only a very short and distorted account. He says the Merkis captured Temujin when he was very young, and afterwards often plundered his camp, and once carried off Burtê Fujin, and took her to Wang Khân, who on her husband's request restored her to him.** It was when returning home again after this advent-

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** This river is so called in the map attached to De Maille's History of China. It is otherwise known as the Khlokh and Chlok. It falls into the Selings just below the town of Selongkait. Pallas describes it as a considerable river. The forces were not passable when he was there, and he had to make a detour to get on his journey.—Voyages, tome IV, pp. 366 and 367.

** Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shih, pp. 54 and 55.

** Probably Ordin.

** I cannot find these places, unless the first is Ourskouktau, marked in Yuzhakovski's map as a station between Urga and the Selings.

** The emir.

** Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shih, p. 57.

** Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 168.
ture that Khoilun gave birth to a boy, who was named Jucchi, or the unexpected. He was the eldest son of Chingshiz Khan, and the circumstances attending his birth seem to have thrown some suspicions on his legitimacy, which somewhat affected his future fortunes. We are told the young child was surrounded with dough, and was thus carried along safely in the cloak of a Mongol officer. As Jucchi died in 1294 at the age of 48, it follows that he was born in 1176, which was therefore the date of these adventures.

Let us now consider the Merkit or Merged as the name is written by Schmidt. The word is the plural of mergen, whose primary meaning is skilful, dexterous, and a skilful archer or shooter is pre-eminently styled Mergen. It is a name therefore which is merely descriptive, and answers to the Manchu Solon. The Merkit are in fact confused with the Solons, and are called Solonos Merged by Ssang Setzen, a name of his own which led to a fruitless polemic between Schmidt and Klaproth. The Merkit with whom Temujin came in contact lived on the lower Selings. They were also according to Rashidu’d-din called Uduylter Uduyt Merkit, a name they derived according to Klaproth from the river Uda, a well-known eastern tributary of the Selings, which was probably therefore the chief camping ground of the race. Rashid also says they were divided into four tribes. The name of the first of these reads Uighur in the MSS. followed by Von Hammer and Erdmann. Klaproth says that in one passage where Rashid speaks of the wives of Ogotai Khan he calls this tribe Uhut. D’Ohsson reads it Oohut, which is doubtless right, for in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi we find one of the tribes of Merki called Yuvas. The second tribe Rashid calls Mudan, the third Tuda-kalin, and the fourth Jiyun.

The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi names three only of their tribes, which it calls respectively Uduyt, Yuvas and Kahn. The domicile of the Merkit is not difficult to fix; all the evidence points to their having occupied the country watered by the Eastern feeders of the Selings. The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi says that Toktoa, the ruler of the Uduyt, had his camp at Bunkakeher, i.e. the plain of Buura. This is apparently the district watered by the little muddy river Bura, which falls into the Selings south of the Chikoi. Dair Usun, the chief of the Yuras, lived between the Orkhon and the Selings in the place called Talkhini Aral. Aral means island, and the description doubtless applies to the Entre-Rios, limited on the east and west by the Orkhon and Selings respectively. Kha-at-tai Darmala lived in Kharachi-keher, i.e. the plain of Kharachi. Rashid tells us that in 1197 Chinghis Khan marched against the Uduyt Merkit, and defeated them near the river Monja in the district of Karas Muran before the Kelurin and in the neighbourhood of the Selings. The Yuan-chi calls this river the Manscha-ula. The Karas Muran of this notice is probably the district watered by the Kara-gol which falls into the Orkhon, while the Monja is to be recognized in the Manzia, a well-known tributary of the Chikoi, which rises between the great and little Kentaï, crosses the Siberian frontier at Obar Khadain Usun, and then goes by the fort of Manzinskof.

The next year Wang Khan marched against the Merkit and defeated them at a place called Bukeh Kehre. I notice a place called Baikara on Ritter’s maps situated on the Chikoi nearly opposite the outfall of the Manzia.

On another occasion Chinghis having pursued the Uhuuzor Yuvas Merkit, made terms with them on a river Bar. This may be the Bara already named, or perhaps the Boro, a tributary of the Karagol. Lastly, when Chinghis conquered the tribe of Dair Usun, we are told he did so at a fortified place called Kurukchal or Ohnukkipchak near the Selings.

These citations suffice to prove that the country of the Merkit was in fact that watered by the Eastern feeders of the Selings. In one place the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi distinctly calls the country of the Merkit, Selings. This exactly fits Marco Polo’s description when he tells us that on leaving Caracorom and the Altai.

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50 Id. p. 452 note.
51 Erdmann, Volut. etc. p. 53.
53 Id.
you go north for 40 days till you reach a country
called the Plain of Barga. The people there
are called Merekhs. They are a very wild
race and live by their cattle, the most of which
are stage, and these stage, I assure you, they used
to ride upon. Their customs are like those of
the Tartars, and they are subject to the Great
Khan.

In regard to the nationality of the Merekhs our evidence unfortunately is very slight. I
believe they were Turks, and like the Kirais a
branch of the Uighurs. In Rashidai's table they
are classed with the various tribes who later
wards called themselves Mongol, but it is clear
from the genealogies, etc., etc., that they did not be-
long to the Mongol nation proper. Their name,
a mere appellative, is no guide. Rubruquis
links them with the Kirais in speaking of the
Cirt and Meemit who were Christians and subjects
of Unk Khan. In the biography of Su-bu-tai
in the Yuan-shi, we find them associated in one
army corps with the Kinvaha or Kipchaks and the
Nai-mans, both Turkish tribes. Lastly we
find in Rashidai a reference to another tribe of the
same name and perhaps origin living in the
mountains near Bishbaligh or the Uighur country
proper, and who are apparently the Makriths
of Theophylactus.

When defeated by Temujin, the Merekhs
apparently migrated in two directions, one section
down the Selings and the other westward. As to
the former I am going to venture upon a sugges-
tion, only at present a tentative one, but as I
believe worthy of study. Perhaps the most inter-
esting of all the tribes of Turkish descent
which still remain in Northern Asia are the
Yakuts of the river Lena. There they occupy
an isolated position surrounded by Tungusian
other tribes, and entirely separated from the main
body of Turks. They occupy a considerable
area extending southwards as far as the Aldan,
estwards as far as the Kolyma, and west as far
as the Yenisei. Their physique is very Mon-
golian, closely resembling that of the Buriats
of lake Baikal, while their language is Turkish in
the main, but has been considerably sophisticated
by an infusion of Mongol words.

Every inquirer who has studied the Yakuts is agreed that they have migrated to their present
quarters on the Lena from more southern climates
within a comparatively recent period. Their
traditions all point to this conclusion. Isbrand
Ides, the earliest traveller who notices them,
go so far as to say that they migrated in con-
sequence of the Russian extension in Siberia, that
is as recently as the 17th century, but this is
incredible, unless it means that they have within
the last two centuries pushed their northern
frontier considerably further. Dobell was told
by the Yakuts that they were descended from
two tribes, one of them called Batulens. They
affirmed that they migrated under their chief
called Omooy Bey to the country of the Burisats,
where they stayed for a considerable time. And
this is confirmed by another tradition that they
formerly lived with the Burisats and formed
one people with them.

They seem to have lived on bad terms with
the latter, by whom they were frequently
attacked, and, who at length collecting all their
horse, had determined to exterminate them.
Taking advantage of a superstition which pre-
vented the Burisats from fighting between the
full moon and the new, they escaped from
Irkutsk across the mountains to the Lena, on
which they embarked in rafts with their cattle
and horses, and soon escaped beyond the reach
of pursuit, and we are told the place of their
embarkation is still known as Yakutskois
vooz or the Yakut transport, to the Russians.

After a while we are told their second tribe
followed the example of the first, and migrated
under a chief named Eliya, and on reaching
Yakutsk amalgamated with the former one
Wrangel says their leader was a Tartar named
Sakhalan, who on arriving at Yakutsk married
a Tungusian woman, Strahlenberg, who is
followed by Latham, calls their leader Deptzi
Tarchan-tegin. He also gives Zacha as the
name of one of their ancient princes. How-
ever the details may differ, and for a rectifica-
tion of these we must wait till we have more
evidence, the main fact remains that only very
recently the Yakuts were neighbours of the
Burisats, and have displaced a prior population
on the Lena consisting of Tungus, Omoki,
Shelagi and Yakahiri, none of whom were
Turks. An old Yakut, 82 years old, told Wrang-
el that his people were formerly more civilized
before they separated from the other Tartar

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70 Bretschneider, Notices, etc. p. 71.
races, that they then possessed written characters. He said his race had formerly inhabited far distant southern lands, and quoted several popular sayings in proof of it in which gold and gems, lions and tigers of which they are now quite ignorant are mentioned. To this we may add that the Yakuts use the famous cycle of animals employed by the southern Turks and the Mongols in calculating their chronology. Following up this clue, and bearing in mind the distinctively Turkish language spoken by the Yakuts, the evidence we have of a mixture of Buriat blood, and the more distinct characteristic that being Turks they are not Mahommards but Shamanists, it ought not to be difficult to discover their nearest relations. The emigration of such tribes is bounded by certain conditions. In winter small parties and detached families of hunters find their way across the snow-covered tundra, but a whole race emigrates generally along some river. The traditional method in the case of the Yakuts is also the most reasonable.

Following the mighty river Lena to its head waters, we arrive at the sea of Baikal, whose shores are now occupied by the Buriats, the Bratski of the Russian writers, an incroaching race, formerly limited to the region south of the Baikal Lake, and only recently and since the Russian conquest of Siberia pushing further north and west. Close to the Baikal lake and on the river Angara stands the city of Irkutsk. This city is described by Labrand Ides, the earliest authority we have for this region, under the name of Jekutska, and it is so named on his map. It is placed on a small tributary of the Angara called by him the Jekut. I have no hesitation in accepting this form of the name as one current in the time of Ides, nor have I much hesitation in assigning it and the river on which it is placed as the original head-quarters of the Yakuts from which they took their name, as Ides expressly says, and from which they were driven by the encroachment of the Russians. This area is close to that of the Buriats on the one hand and to that of kindred races to the Turks on the other, and is placed at the very fountain head from which a migration would naturally creep down the Lena. Now it is a very remarkable fact in confirmation of this reasoning that the name Baikala itself is not of Mongol origin, but as we are expressly told, is a Yakut gloss, the Yakuts now living a long way from the Baikal. From all these facts I am convinced that the Yakuts were once the dominant race about the Baikal, and have since been thrust out and moved down the Lena. This brings us to the gist of our question. The only tribe which is known to me in early times which can be identified with the ancestors of the Yakuts is that of the Merkits of the 13th century. Like the Yakuts they were Turks, like them they occupied the borders of the Baikal, were unsophisticated by Mahommadianism, and were no doubt coheirs of the old culture of the Uighurs.

The Yakuts occupied as we know the country just opposite the head stream of the Lena. Their name, we are told, is not indigenous but one given them by the Buriats, while the name Merkit was doubtless a mere appellative also of foreign origin. I believe therefore that when defeated and dispersed by Changhis Khen the Merkits withdrew across the Baikal, whence they have gradually wandered down the Lena, and that the Yakuts are descended from them. This I take to be an important result for the ethnographer and historian of Asia, and enables us to simplify very considerably the disintegrated history of the Turks.

MISCELLANEA.

VESTIGES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN CENTRAL ASIA.

The village of Gumuche Topé itself is remarkable as being the only maritime Turkoman village of any importance on the Caspian coast. The inhabitants are practically independent, paying only a small annual tribute to Persia. The interior administration of the place is entirely in the hands of the Turkomans. The main industry of Gumuche Topé is fish-drying, preparation of the skins of water fowl, manufacture of kibitkas and boats, together with the nets and felt carpets used by the residents. The settlement dates from a remote period. It takes its name from a large earthen mound situated about half a mile to the northward, close to the water's edge. This mound,
two hundred yards long by eighty in breadth, is entirely artificial, constituting the western extremity of the great line of defence constructed by Alexander the Great as a barrier against Skythian invasion, and which runs eastward as far as Budirud on the Aterek, ten days' ride from the coast. It is occasionally used as a place of burial by the Turkomans. When excavating graves pieces of silver money, bearing the head of Alexander, are frequently found, and hence its name of Gumuche Tepé (the Silver Hill). Its base and sides are covered with an immense quantity of large bricks, formerly constituting the fortifications of the station. Fragments of ancient pottery and glass also abound. Close by is a Turkoman village named Xhorib, which the inhabitants say is the name of the old town that existed alongside the military station. It was doubtless at the mouth of the Giurgen that relics of the garrison and the necessary supplies were formerly disembarked. From the hill a brick wall former ran zig-zag in a south-easterly direction. The foundations of this wall are still to be seen. It was about three feet thick, and built of flat bricks nearly twelve inches square, very heavy and extremely hard. The mortar binding them together is even still harder. This wall must have been deliberately destroyed. Even the long period which has elapsed since its construction would not sufficiently account for the total demolition of a wall constructed so solidly. This wall ran along the very slightly raised watershed of the Aterek and Giurgen Rivers, much closer to the latter than to the former. I think it is Vambeý who says it was so placed as to be beyond the reach of the inundations caused by the overflow of the Giurgen. This cannot have been the reason; for such a thing as the overflow of the river is absolutely impossible, as in a great depth does its channel, for the greater part of its course, run below the level of the surrounding plain. At intervals of three to four miles, sometimes much closer, are the remains of immense entrenched camps, each having usually a kind of acropolis, consisting of a great earth mound, two to three hundred yards long, one hundred to one hundred and fifty wide, and forty to fifty feet in height. The Turkomans have names for each of these mounds or tepes. Westward of Gumuche Tepé are the entrenched places respectively Kara and Sulí Tepes (Greater and Lesser), Karga Tepé, Sigur Tepé, Atton Tepé (Gold-hill), and Aser Shyâh. Rising abruptly from the midst of the dead level plain, these tepes are conspicuous objects. In many cases portions of the brick ravement which formerly retained the sides of the mounds at a steep slope still remain. In rear of the main line of entrenchment, and south of the Giurgen, is a second line of hills, but at much greater distances from each other than those of the former. The Turkomans inform one that these hills and walls were made by Iskender Zul Karmen (Alexander with two horns). Some, however, will insist that they are the work of Saleimanaub Daed (Solomon, the son of David), a person to whom all works of a surprising nature are attributed.—Daily News' Correspondent.

GHAZNI.

Ghazni lies on the borderland between the powerful clan of the southern Ghilzais, whose headquarters is at Khelat-i Ghilzai and the Wardaks, who extend northwards towards Kabul, but its military importance has always kept it in the hands of the central power. It is distant about 90 miles south-west from Kabul and 230 miles north-east from Kandahar. The existing town has shrunk back to the limits of the old citadel, which stands on a mound, partly natural and partly artificial, rising about 40 feet above the plain. The elevation above the sea is given as 7,720 feet, or more than 1,000 feet higher than Kabul, and therefore proportionately colder. The shape is an irregular square, each side being about a quarter of a mile, and thus the entire perimeter is not more than one mile. The highest ground is in the north-east, where is situated the Bala Hissar, or Upper Fort. When Ghazni was stormed by General Keane in 1839 the fortifications consisted of a masonry wall, rising about 30 feet sheer from the face of the mound. Below ran a faience bourse and a wet ditch, which could be flooded from the river of Ghazni, that flows round the western angle and ultimately falls into the salt lake of Ab-i-Istâda. These fortifications were blown up by General Nott in 1842, when he retired by this route from Kandahar to India. No European has since visited the spot, but it is known that Shir Ali repaired the works, and doubtless they have been reconstructed substantially in their old form. From a military point of view, they are commanded by neighbouring heights both north and south, upon which batteries could be erected; but the walls are probably proof against field artillery. The town of Ghazni has a considerable bazar, which constitutes an entrepôt for the trade of India which passes by the Gomai route. The houses are thickly built of mud, and the streets are described as even more narrow and dirty than those of Afghan towns generally.

In population and in trade Ghazni cannot compare with the three great cities of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat, but by force of historical traditions and
religious sanctity the name still retains a strong hold upon the Afghan imagination. Here was the capital of Mahmod of Ghazni, or Mahmod the Destroyer, as he is known in Eastern story, the first of the Muhammedan conquerors of India, and the only one who had his home in Afghanistan, though he was himself of Turkic or Mongol nationality. Seventeen times did he issue forth from his native mountains, spreading fire and sword over the plains of Hindustan, westward as far as the Ganges Valley, and southward to the shore of Gujarát. Seventeen times did he return to Ghazni, laden with the spoil of Rajput Kings, and the shrines of Hindu pilgrims. In one of these expeditions his goal was the far-famed temple of Somnath or Somnath Patan in Gujarát. Resistance was vain, and equally useless were the tears of the Brahmins, who besought him to take their treasures, but at least spare their idol. With his own hand, and with the mace which is the counterpart of Excalibur in Oriental legend, he smeared the face of the idol, and a torrent of precious stones gushed out.  

When Kame’s army took Ghazni in 1389, this mace was still to be seen hanging up over the sarcophagus of Mahmod, and the tomb was then entered through folding gates, which tradition asserted to be those of the Temple of Somnath. Lord Ellenborough gave instructions to General Nott to bring back with him to India both the mace and the gates. The latter, as is well-known, now lie mouldering in the lumber room of the fort at Agra, for their authenticity is absolutely indefensible; but the mace could nowhere be found by the British plunderer. Mahmod reigned from 997 to 1030 A.D., and in his days Ghazni was probably the first city in Asia. The extensive ruins of his city stretch northwards along the Kabul road for more than two miles from the present town; but all that now remains standing are two lofty pillars or minarets, 400 yards apart, one bearing the name of Mahmod, the other that of his son Masud. Beyond these ruins again is the Roza or Garden which surrounds the mausoleum of Mahmod. The building itself is a poor structure, and can hardly date back for eight centuries. The great conqueror is said to rest beneath a marble slab, which bears an inscription in Cufic characters, thus interpreted by Major (now Sir Henry) Ralston:—“ May there be forgiveness of God upon him, who is the great lord, the noble Nizam-ud-din (Ruler of the Faith) Abul Kasim Mahmod, the son of Sabaktagin! May God have mercy upon him!” The Ghaznavide dynasty founded by Mahmod lasted for more than a century after his death, though with greatly restricted dominions. Finally, it was extinguished in 1132 by one of those awful acts of atrocity which are fortunately recorded only in the East. Alau’d-din, Prince of Ghor, a town in the north-western hills of Afghanistan, marched upon Ghazni to avenge the death of two of his brothers. The King was slain in battle, and the city given up to be sacked. The common orders of the people were all massacred upon the spot; the nobles were taken to Ghor, and there put to death, and their blood used to cement the rising walls of the capital. Henceforth the name of Ghazni scarcely again appears in history, except as a fortress and a place of associations.—Daily News’ Correspondent.

THE THANÁ MARTYRS.  
CIOCCXIX.  

Pope John read in the consistory, with great approval, a letter which he had received, to the effect following. “To wit, that certain brethren of the orders of Minor and Preachers, who had been sent on a mission to Ormus to preach the faith to the infidels, when they found that they could do no good there, thought it well to go over to Columbina in India. And when they arrived at the island called Dyo, the brethren of the order of Minor separated from the rest of the party, both preachers and secular Christians, and set out by land to a place called Thana, that they might there take ship for Columbina. Now there was at that place a certain Saracen of Alexandria Yusufu by name, and he summoned them to the presence of Melich, the governor of the land, to make inquest how and why they were come. Being thus summoned, he demanded, what manner of men are ye called? They made answer, that they were Franks, devoted to holy poverty, and anxious to visit St. Thomas. “Then, being questioned concerning their faith, they replied that they were true Christians, and uttered many things with holy fervour regarding the faith of Christ. But when Melich let them go, the aforesaid Yusuf a second and a third time persuaded him to arrest and detain them. At length Melich and the Cadi and the people of the place were assembled, pagans and idolaters as well as Saracens, and questioned the brethren: How can Christ, whom ye call the Virgin’s son, be, the son of God, seeing that God hath not a mate? Then set they forth many instances of divine

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* This date 1312 must be an error, for Odoricos of Friuli who was at Thana in 1222, describes the events as having occurred in the preceding year.

* Quilon.

* Quila.

* Yusuf.
generation, as from the sun's rays, from trees, from germs in the soil; so that the infidels could not resist the Spirit who spake in them. But the Saracens kindled a great fire, and said: Ye say that your law is better than the law of Mahomet; and it be so, go ye into the fire, and by miracle prove your words. The brethren replied that, for the honour of Christ, that they would freely do; and brother Thomas coming forward would first go in, but the Saracens suffered him not, for that he seemed older than the others; then came forward the youngest of the brethren, James of Padua, a young wrestler for Christ, and incontinently went into the fire, and abode in it until it was well nigh spent, rejoicing and uttering praise, and without any burning of his hair even, or of the cloth of his gown. Now they who stood by shouted with a great cry, Verily these be good and holy men!

"But the Cadi, willing to deny so glorious a miracle, said: It is not as ye think, but his raiment came from the land of Aben...... a great friend of God, who when cast into the flames in Caldea, took no hurt; therefore, this man abode deathless in the fire.

"Then stripped they the innocent youth, and all naked as he was born was he cast by four men into the fire. But he bore the flames without hurt, and went forth from the fire unscathed and rejoicing. Then Melich set them free to go whither they would. But the Cadi, and the aforesaid Yusuf, full of malice, knowing that they had been entertained in the house of a certain Christian, said to Melich: What dost thou? why slayest thou not these Christ-worshippers? He replied: That I find no cause of death in them. But they say: if ye let them go, all will believe in Christ, and the law of Mahomet will be utterly destroyed. Melich again says: What will ye that I should do, seeing that I find no cause of death? But they said: His blood be upon us, for it is said that if one cannot go pilgrim to Mecca, let him slay a Christian and he shall obtain a full remission of sins, as if he had visited Mecca. Wherefore, the night following, the three men aforesaid, Melich, the Cadi, and Yusuf, sent officers who despatched the three brethren, Thomas, James, and Demetrius, to the joys of heaven, bearing the palm of martyrdom. And after awhile, having made brother Peter, who was in another place, present himself before them, when he firmly held to the faith of Christ, for two days they vexed him with sore afflictions, and on the third day cutting off his head, accomplished his martyrdom. But their comrades, the preachers and the rest, when they heard this, wrote to the West lamenting wofully that they had been parted from the company of the holy martyrs, and saying that they were devoutly engaged in recovering the relics of the martyrs."

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BOOK NOTICES.


In March 1871, Dr. Burnell was deputed to examine the Tanjore Palace library by Lord Napier and Ettrick, then Governor of Madras. Then, he says, "I found it to be, though with huge masses of rubbish properly buried in it, of far greater importance than was suspected, and I suggested a tolerably complete catalogue, instead of a brief and partial report. To this, Lord Napier at once assented. I was at Tanjore for nearly eleven months, and in this time I drew up the slips for the 12,076 MSS. in the library as roughly classified, and I also sorted them roughly to begin the work of drawing up the Catalogue. I was then required to go to a distance of some hundreds of miles to take up very heavy routine work. This impeded sadly my progress, and I had often to rely for necessary information on correspondence. In 1874, I got back to Tanjore, but my official duties continued so heavy, that I could do but little, and it was only when I was enabled to devote three months to this work alone at the end of 1878 and the beginning of 1879, that I could finally complete this Catalogue. But for these numerous and serious obstacles to my progress the work would have been done long ago."

The arrangement of the Index is excellent. Many works being represented by a number of copies of different ages, the description of each work is founded on the copy which seemed to Dr. Burnell to be the original, from which in many cases the others had been copied; and, in the case of the more important, a tolerably full description is given, with extracts to show the state of the texts. The other copies are then described simply with reference to age, writing, extent, and general condition. By this means the author has contrived to compress the detailed account of over 12,000 MSS. into the space of 268 quarto pages. They are divided into three great sections; 1.

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* Sic: perhaps Ibn Aser, the Muhammadan name for the son of Terah, i.e. Abraham.
Vedic and Technical Literature; 2. Philosophy and Law; and 3. Drama, Epics, Purāṇas, and Taṭātras. In each subdivision the collection contains fairly representative works and recensions peculiar to Southern India. In the introduction Dr. Burnett says:—"One important fact will, at once, be evident from this Catalogue—the great part taken, during later times, in S. India in the development of Sanskrit literature. More has been done, in this way, during the past thousand years in the South than in the North." The complete volume occupies 240 royal 4to pages, double columns, and was printed in England, Dr. Rost (Librarian of the India Office) reading the proof-sheets during the author's absence in India. Dr. Rost has compiled three full indexes which complete this very important volume.

The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism described and compared with Christianity. By James Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature in the University of Oxford. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1889.

There are few men living better qualified to supply us with correct information on the subject of the religions of China than the Oxford Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature, and this volume presents the reader with a very accurate outline of the two principal. Buddhism, for which some writers ignorantly claim most of the Chinese population, is almost ignored by the author as a minor sect; so that the oft-repeated statement that Buddhism claims a greater number of votaries than any other religion, requires at least re-examination. Of the great and all but over-mastering influence of Buddhism on the development of Taoism, however, there is no doubt, and Dr. Legge illustrates this very strikingly.

"You go into a Buddhist temple in China," he says, "and what strikes you most at first sight is the three gigantic images in the principal hall, called the San Pao, or "Three Precious Ones.' You know that in the theory of Buddhism 'the three precious ones' are Intelligence personified as Buddha, the Law, and the Church; but an attendant of the temple will tell you that the images represent Buddha past, present, and to come. The common people, ignorant of the esoteric view of a Trinity, cannot understand the logical abstractions that are thus represented, and blindly worship what they suppose are three divinities; and when you stand, as I have often done, a long time before the great figures, you feel that you are sympathizing with their popular worshippers more than with the philosophers.

"You go now into a Taoist temple, and are immediately confronted by three vast images, which you mistake at first for the precious Buddhas. By-and-by you see that they are different, and understand that they are San Ch‘ing, 'the three Pure or Holy Ones'; the Perfect Holy One'; 'the Highest Holy One'; and 'the Greatest Holy One.' Each of them has the title of T‘ien Ts‘u, the Heavenly and Honoured, and also the title of Shang Ti or God, the latter taken from the Confucian or old religion of the country. The second of the three is 'the Most High Prince Lao-tse,' the usual style in speaking of Lao-ťsze, but his full title is 'the greatest Holy One (the Lord) of Tao and Virtue, the Heavenly and Honoured.' The first of the three, 'the Perfect (literally Gemmous), Holy One, who was at the first beginning, the Heavenly and Honoured,' is also called 'Pan-k‘u,' or Chaos. Pan-k‘u is spoken of by the common people as 'the first man, who opened up heaven and earth.' And in Taoist picture-books, I have seen him as a shaggy, dwarfish Hercules, developing from a bear rather than an ape, and wielding an immense hammer and chisel with which he is breaking the chaotic rocks." "Next to them is Yu Hwang Shang Ti, 'the gemmous sovereign, God,' who has in a great measure displaced the others from the public mind, superintending, as he is supposed to do, all human affairs, and also exercising a control over the physical world. He is styled 'the God of mysterious existence.' The Taoists contend that he is the same with the Shang Ti of the classics, forgetting that Shang Ti was worshipped by the sage Shun, more than two thousand years before Taoism had assumed the form of a religion. And more than this: the original of this popular idol was a magician of the Chang family that has given so many patriarchs to Taoism whose deification cannot be traced higher than the T'ang dynasty, in our 7th or 8th century' (pp. 160-169).

The first two lectures, or half the volume, is devoted to Confucianism, as the national religion of China is usually called. But this religion does not owe its origin to the Chinese sage: he only expounded it. "He received it, as did others, from prehistoric time, both in its twofold worship and in its rules of social duty." "He taught morality, but not a morality without reference to God. He taught ceremonialism, but not for the sake of the ceremony merely. His formation did not content itself with the outward observance of established rites" (pp. 133, 124). To Confucianism the Chinese owe their best morality.

What is called the Science of Comparative Religion—a title to which the new study is hardly as yet entitled—has of late years drawn forth many books, of which but a few are written with the scientific accuracy of information and correct-
ness of delusion that ought to entitle them to serious attention and a long life. Dr. Legge's volume, though written in quite a popular style, is one of sterling value on account of both these features, and is thus a valuable contribution to the comparative study of religions, which ought to be welcomed by every student. He does not suppose that the Divine origin of Christianity "imprints the brand of falsehood on other religions. They are to be tested according to what they are in themselves," the good is to be approved; the defective to be noted; and the wrong to be disapproved. "The study of them continues to be a duty, full of interest and importance." But this unprejudiced study will dissipate the imagination of some, that "we shall find one truth of importance here and another there, and that, bringing these together, we may, by an elective process, frame a universal religion that will supersede Christianity itself."

THE VOYAGES AND WORKS OF JOHN DAVIS the Navigator.
Edited, &c., by Albert Hastings Markham, Captain, R. N.; &c., London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society; 1890.

Captain John Davis, of Sandridge, Devon, "stands foremost among the navigators of the great Queen as a seaman, combining scientific knowledge and skilled piloting with the qualities of a fearless and determined explorer." So far his biographer; who has well earned the right to use such language.

Davis's greatest exploits were connected with that fatal and heroic mar's nest the North-West Passage, whereof he was the inventor. Three times he essayed it with courage and (circumstances considered) success equal to those of any of his followers on that path. When the Court and City had had enough of the North-west Passage for one generation, we find him sailing for the already discovered South-west Passage of the Straits of Magellan, with the unfortunate Cavendish. But neither by this route was he to gain the "Golden Isles." The squadron failed to pass the Straits; and put back, intending to harry the Brazilian ports as a pie alre.

They were scattered by tempest; some lost; and the few survivors brought nothing back to England but accusations against each other. Davis himself was accused of desertion by Cavendish, in his testamentary letter to Sir Tristram Gorges. He is, however, acquitted by Captain Markham; and no one wish to dispute the verdict. It would appear, however, that his reputation suffered; for we do not find him, for some time, employed in any great enterprise. He brought out, however, two important works: The Seaman's Secrets, 594; and the World's Hydrographical Description, 595; and had also, apparently, a hand in the construction of the great globes of the Middle Temple; on one of which his name has honorable mention. Sanderson, at whose expense these globes were constructed (the first ever made in England), was an old and staunch friend of Davis's.

Captain Markham thinks that Davis served as a pilot under the Earl of Essex in his Atlantic Expeditions of 1596-7; but he evidently still hankered after the Indies; and on the 15th of March, 1598, he sailed from Middelburg as Pilot of the Leeuw (Lion) despatched by "Mushroom, Clark, and Monet, Owners and only Adventurers." Cornelis van Houtman, who had already made the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, was general of the Expedition; Pieter Stoksman Captain of the Lion; and Frederick Van Houtman of the Lioness. It had been proposed to send four vessels, but only these two sailed. Another Englishman named Tomkins was on board the Lion, apparently as an officer, but it does not exactly appear what rank or duty. He was certainly inferior to Davis, whose position as pilot was much higher than those days than that which landsmen now associate with the title. He was, in fact, the principal navigating officer of the ship, as well as when nearing port: and owed that position not to mere local knowledge but to superior scientific requirements. He was the only historian of the expedition. On the 9th June the ships made the coast of Brazil in 7° south lat., and on the 15th (having bad winds) Fernando Noronha. On the 11th of November they anchored in Saldanha Bay. Here they found a people "blackter than the Brasilians, their hair is curled and blacker as the Negroes of Angola, their words are for the most part inarticulate; and in speaking they click with the tongue like a brood Hen, which clicking and the word are both pronounced together very strangely" (p. 135). Davis had a good ear for language; and had already compiled an Eskimo vocabulary which Captain Markham gives in its place (p. 21); with some interesting comments by Dr. Rink.1

These people had many sheep and oxen, the latter "large, and under several marks having upon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lump of flesh like a Camels back." Captain Markham thinks that this is an exaggerated account of domesticated specimens of Bubalus Caffer. It

1 Vide the Hawkins Voyages; published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1877. The editor of that volume, Mr. Clements Markham, identifies Saldania with Table Bay.
sounds a good deal more like one of the Indian, or an allied race of oxen. Such races do exist in North-eastern Africa; and that alluded to may have become extinct. Or there may have been some confusion in Davis's notes or memory.

"The Fimmings offered them (the natives) some rude wrong," which cost them 18 men killed; and the rest of the shore party were kept to their tents "being beleagued with Canibals and Cowes." The poor Hottentots apparently are only called Cannibals here to turn the phrase; as no overt act of anthropophagy is alleged against them.

They had decidedly the better of the Dutch, who, according to Davis, behaved like poltroons from "the Baase" (Van Houtman) downwards, and eventually "went all aboard, only leaving our great Mastive Dogge behind us, who by no meanes would come to us. For I thinke" (says the sarcastic Davis) "he was ashamed of our companie." It is to be hoped that this spirited animal, the first Cape Colonist, thrive in the land of his adoption.

On the 6th December the Lion doubled "Cape das Agulios" (Agulhas), and on the 6th January saw Madagascar. On the 3rd February they anchored in St. Augustine's Bay; where the people would have little to say to them, Houtman having used them badly on his last voyage. They were "a strong, well shaped people, and cole blacke, their language sweete and pleasing;" says our philologial pilot.

On the 14th March they left St. Augustine, nicknaming it Hungry Bay. On the 30th they anchored at Mayotta in the Comoro group of islands, where they were well used; and furnished with a letter of introduction to the Queen of Anssumne, now called Johanna, in the same group, where they arrived on the 19th, and anchored "before a city named Demo, which hath beene a strong place, as by the ruines appeare. Their houses are built with freew hewed stone and lime."

The inhabitants were Musalmans; and had swords, targets, bows and arrows. The king of Mayotta and his nobles had "long silke garments embreded, after the Turkish manner." The people were "Negros, but smooth haired," and "greatly regarded paper." Evidently the Arabian civilization was of old date here.

On the 23rd May they made the Maldives Islands, and on the next captured a boat containing a "gentleman and his wife; he was appareled in very nice white linen; after the Turkish manner." "His colour was blakes, with smooth hair, a man of middle stature." His modest and noble bearing much affected Davis; and his wife was "pardinishin." Possibly he may have been a Muselman from India or Ceylon. Davis would have recognized an Arab. On the 27th they got a pilot who "spoke a little Portugall," and showed them the "Four degree channel." On the 3rd June they made the land near Cochin; but held on; and on 21st anchored in the bay of Achin. The king was called Sultan Aladin, he was an usurper; and a hundred years old; but still lusty, a great lecher, drunkard, and glutton.

He treated the Dutch well at first; endeavouring to engage them in his wars with "Ior" (Johore) and paying for their services in pepper. He was very solicitous to see the Englishmen Davis and Tomkins, whom at first Van Houtman refused leave on shore (they don't seem to have got on well with him from first to last). Eventually the king forced Van Houtman to let Davis visit him, whom he treated with much honour and hospitality. But in the end he made a determined attempt to seize the ships. All the men on shore, including Van Houtman, were murdered; except eight, taken prisoners. In the meanwhile the Malay nobles on board the ships had intoxicated the officers with a kind of seed which seems to have been datura, with which "all the meat and drinke which they brought was infected." Upon this advantage they suddenly seized the ships. The Lion was saved after a desperate struggle; mainly, according to Davis, in consequence of some previous precautions taken by his advice; and by the actual conduct of himself, Tomkins, and a Frenchman not named. The Lioness was taken outright; and "all the chiefest murdered," but the victorious crew of the Lion "cut our cables and drave (drifted) to her, and with our shot made the Indians flie: so we recovered the ship; the Gallies durst not come near us. In this great miserie it was some pleasure to see how the base Indians did flie, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned" (p. 145).

The ships departed and anchored before Pider in Sumatra. On the next, 2nd September, "there came eleven gallies with Portugalls, as we thought, to take our ships. We sunko one and beat the rest."

In the afternoon one of the prisoners was sent aboard by the king, with a message laying the blame upon the Dutch; and requiring their best ship in satisfaction and as ransom for his prisoners. This was refused, and the messenger remained on board. Strangely enough this man, Guyan Lafor, the son of a French merchant in London, turned out to be the person appointed to the command of the expedition by sealed letters kept to be opened in case of its falling vacant. He was probably the first Frenchman who ever commanded a ship east of the Cape.
In this affair of Achin the Dutch lost altogether 67 men, two pinnaces and the Lion's boat; and much merchandise which was ashore; including all Davis's "Europe commodities with those things which I had provided to show my duty and love to my best friends." He had made good use of his eyes however; and gives a very good account of Achin. He "saw only two pieces of coin, the one of gold; the other of lead; that gold is of the bigness of a penny, and is named Mas, the other is a little leaden token, called Caxas." Captain Markham in a note refers to the Chinese "Cash" of to-day.

In another note he mentions also the Chinese "tael"; and quotes Taylor the Water poet:

"Goods in and out which daily ships doe freight,
By guess, by tale, by measure, and by weight."

The italics are his; and would seem to imply a supposed connection between tale and tayoi—an astounding etymology!

The Achinese, says Davis, sell pepper by the Bhar = 200 lbs. This can hardly be derived from anything but the Indian Bhar; which varies locally, but is always a heavy weight for raw produce. He saw there besides "many of China," "Portugalls," "Gusarates," Arabians, and "those of Bengal and Pegue each having their particular towns," so that their trade must have been important and of long standing. He also mentions "people of Coromandel, Java, and Rumos. Rumos is in the Red Sea." The King's secretary was called "Corconz," which looks uncommonly like the Indian Karz; but may have been a proper name. It is properly a Marathi word; and he does not mention the Maratha ports as represented at Achin. Probably the Portuguese had already monopolized the trade of that coast of India.

On the 12th October the ships returned to Achin to make a last effort for the release of their men in the king's hands, but only succeeded in having a skirmish with his galleys. These are distinguished from the "Pravee," "Prahus," and are described as quite open; and without artillery, but capable, some of them, of bearing 400 men. They were paddled; and must have been mere war-canoes. The Prahus do not seem to have been used for war at this period. The king had about 100 galleys; and a female admiral, "for he will trust no men."

On the 18th October the ships sailed for "Tannaserin, for it is a place of great trade," but failed for want of wind; and on the 12th November anchored at the Nicobars, where the people brought them hens (perhaps Megapodes) and fruit. They had no grain crops.

On the 6th December they took a ship of Negapatam, laden with rice for Achin. "There were in her three score persons of Achien, of Java, of Zeilon, of Pegu, Narsoings and Coromandel." Captain Markham says Narings is an inland town of Bengal, which sounds queer. Probably it stands for "the country of the Narsha Raya," a peninsular prince. The prisoners told them that "in Ceylon was a citie named Matecalou, a place of great trade;" presumably Batticaloa; and of "Trinquanamo" (Trinquamali) where was the like trade, i.e. in spices.

Captain Lafort had difficulties with his crew; and on the 25th December shaped his course homeward; and arrived at Middelburg on the 29th July 1600.

On the 1st August Davis writes to the Earl of Essex by Master Tomkias, forwarding his Journal. On the 13th February O. S. of the same year (1601 N. S.) he was again afloat in Lancaster's famous 'Red Dragon,' bound eastward on the Company's first voyage. This voyage has been described in a former publication of the Hakluyt Society. Lancaster returned on the 11th September 1603, and on the 5th December 1604 Davis sailed again for the East on his last voyage.

This was the expedition of Sir Edward Michelborne, the first of the "Interlopers." He seems to have designed to do a little trade; and a good deal of what we should now call piracy; but was too much of a gentleman for either business. His ships were the 'Tiger,' of 240 tons, and a pinnace called the 'Tiger's Whelp.' They got to Saldanha Bay on the 7th April; and using the natives well, were well supplied by them. On the 7th they passed Cape Agulhas, and parted company with their pinnace in a storm. On the 19th July they sighted Sumatra, and on the 26th anchored at Batu Island, on the West coast; where they built a shallop and named her the "Bat," after the abundant flying squirrels (Pteromys potamista) which are very well described by the anonymous historian of the voyage.

On the 11th August they cast anchor at Priaman, where they had a joyful meeting with the "Tiger's Whelp" which had got so far by herself; a very creditable voyage for a vessel of her class. Her tonnage is not stated; but probably did not exceed 40 tons. Priaman was disturbed by civil war. Our old friend the king of Achien having two sons, he kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made king of Pedir. Whereupon the eldest son took his father prisoner, affirming that he was too old to govern any longer" (the reader will remember that at our last meeting he was said to be

over 100), "and afterwards made war upon his younger brother."

Captain Markham, in a note, says that there is a great discrepancy between this and Davis' account in his journal of his voyage with Van Houtman; but it is quite plain that the historian of the Tiger's voyage is speaking of what had happened in the interval of nearly six years.

These wars hindered Michelson's business; and on the 21st August he sailed for Bantam, worrying fishing and coasting craft on the way, impressing pilots, and capturing a ship of "Cambaya" of 80 tons. This prize he carried into Sillibar on the 2nd of September; and "having despatched all his business," (meaning probably the stripping of her and purchase of provisions,) he left that port on the 28th. On the 23rd October he came to Pulo Marra, left it on the 28th, and the same evening anchored 3 leagues from Bantam. Here the English-Factors came and told him that the Company of the Hollander's ships were in the road had used very slanderous reports of us to the king of Bantam," hinting, amongst other calumnies, that he (Michelson) was afraid to anchor near them, the Hollanders. The knight in high dudgeon weighed anchor at once, "sending the Hollanders word that hee would come and ride close by their sides; and bad the proudest of them all that durst to put out a piece of Ordnance upon him; and with all that if they did go about either to brave or to disgrace him or his countrymen hee would either sink them or sink by their sides." The Hollanders, according to our chronicler, mended their manners accordingly.

On the 2nd of November Michelson sailed for Patane, still worrying small craft and impressing pilots. On the 27th December he met with "a Juncke of the Japans which had been pyrating along the coast of China and Camboin" much like himself. These fellows had lost their own ship on the shoals of Borneo; and made shift to capture another; which, however, was old and leaky, and so bad a sailer that they had little hope of getting home in her. The English determined to search the Juncke; with the view of course of appropriating whatever they might find there worth taking, and the Japanese for their part, though apparently yielding to superior force, probably looked upon the Tiger as sent by Providence to be a spoil unto them upon the first opportunity. "They were 90 men, most of them in too gallant a habit for saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them that they seemed all fellows; yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine; but gave him little respect" (p. 179).

Filled with these amiable intentions, the two parties of corsairs "interchanged mutual courtesies, with gifts and feastings;" and sometimes 25 or 26 Japanese would be aboard the Tiger; but not more than six were allowed to bring arms. The narrator, who seems to have been Michelson's second in command, told Davis "to possess himself of their weapons and put the companie before mast, and to leave some guard upon their Weapons while they (the English) searched in the Rice."

Davis, however, appears to have neglected to seize the arms; perhaps thinking that that would only precipitate an outbreak; but he did search the ship. Whatever the Japanese intended before, they had now clear proof of the intentions of their new friends, and at sunset they broke out in both ships. Those in the Junk regained her in an instant; killing or driving overboard all the Englishmen in her, while six and twenty on board the Tiger, arming themselves as they best could, sallied out of the cabin, and maintained a desperate fight on deck for near half an hour, when they were stoned back into the cabin with stones from the tops; a regular manœuvre in deck fighting in those days; and that by which Davis himself had saved the Lion in Achin Roads six years before. The valiant Japanese in the cabin, proving utterly inexpressible by ordinary means, two demiculverins (32 lbs. guns) were loaded with langrage and turned upon the bulkheads; and but one of them was left standing of two and twenty.

Davis was the first man whom the Japanese met as they sallied out of the cabin. They dragged him into it, gave him six or seven mortal wounds, and pushed him out again. He died almost immediately. Probably, as the active agent in searching their ship, he was a mark for special vengeance.

Michelson went on doing much harm to other people and very little good to himself, till the 5th February, when he weighed for home from "two little Islands, which they of Java call Pulo Sumaira," and anchored in Portsmouth 19th July 1606. There was another Captain John Davis, of Limehouse; who made six voyages to the East Indies in the service of the Company. Captain Markham is not pleased with former biographers; and especially with Mr. Froude, for mixing the two Johns up. He even seems to have a grudge against poor John of Limehouse himself for presuming to be mistaken for his betters. What is worth knowing about him is that he wrote a Buter (Routier), i.e. a book of sailing directions for the East Indies. This ill-used forerunner of Horsburgh died at Batavia on his last voyage in 1621.

W. F. S.
SASANIAN INSCRIPTION OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM.

OF all the Sasanian rock-inscriptions known to exist in Persia the longest are those attached, respectively, to the two groups of sculpture which are now called Naqsh-i Rajab and Naqsh-i Rustam. The former inscription consists of thirty-one lines, containing originally about 1,400 letters, and the latter appears to have formerly comprised about seventy-seven lines and nearly 7,000 letters.

The late Professor Westergaard, when sending me a tracing of his copy of the remains of the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, in March 1878, remarked that he had "unfortunately missed the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription when visiting Persepolis" in 1843, but had "tried to make a copy of the large Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, as exact as its mutilated state would allow." That Westergaard did not see the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription must still remain a source of regret to Pahlavi scholars, as there can be no doubt that the whole of that inscription would have been deciphered long ago if a copy of it had been taken and published by Westergaard with his usual care and accuracy. As it is, we have to depend upon the copy taken by the French expedition under M. Flandin, which is more of an artist's sketch than a rigorously accurate transcript, and, therefore, makes the greater part of the inscription unintelligible, although it is evident that not more than one in forty of its letters is really illegible.

The state of the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription is very different; for, although some of the latter words in each of its first thirty-six lines are so distinctly legible as to be accurately given in the copy taken by the French expedition, yet only scattered words and letters can be read over the remaining surface. The mutilated condition of this inscription can be readily seen from the reduced facsimile of Westergaard's copy, which accompanies this paper; and at first sight there seems little chance of obtaining any connected meaning from these scattered fragments. Further investigation, however, shows that the names and titles of the kings, when restored, fill up several of the blank spaces; also, that two or three phrases, which frequently occur and can be readily recovered, fill up several more; while some missing words can be supplied by guesses, more or less hazardous, so as to obtain a connected meaning for more than one-third of the inscription. Such guesses are, however, only justifiable when there is little hope of obtaining a better copy, and when they are so carefully indicated as not to mislead the reader by assuming any greater certainty than really exists.

The following transliteration of as much of the first thirty-four lines as seems recoverable has been prepared by these means; and it may be noted, as a proof of Westergaard's accuracy, that hardly one in a hundred of his letters seems to require emendation, although some of the Sasanian characters can be easily mistaken for others. In this transliteration all the words and letters supplied by guess are printed in italics, and all vowels expressed by Sasanian characters (except initial a) are circumflexed; the rest of the vowels being merely understood in the original. Where the number of letters apparently missing (including spaces between words) is not expressly mentioned, it is indicated by a hyphen for one letter, a dot for two, or a dash for five letters and spaces omitted, or by any combination of such dashes, dots, and hyphens as may be necessary for indicating the probable number of missing letters and spaces. The beginning of each line of the inscription is indicated by its number in parentheses; the letters h and bh, or p and f, represent the same Sasanian character; the letter r is often written like l in Sasanian, and the syllable -man represents a single letter which appears to be usually equivalent to a Semitic final n, but is written -man in Pahlavi MSS.

Transliteration of the first part of the Naqsh-i Rustam Inscription.

(1) Amatam karsfi zi magopat va otharapat val Artakhshatar malkan malka Afran va Shahpahar malkan malka zil hurastal va hukamaki hatchut

(2) afam afrinakan va sipaši dim — — — va

courtesy of the chief librarian of the University Library at Copenhagen, to which the literary papers of the late Professor Westergaard have been presented.

* Compare the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription. The word is varsh in line 8.

* For hurastal apparently.
Artakhshatar Airān malkān malkā va Shahrpūhari malkān malkā kārti havītun zākam vabdūn

(3) zi Shahrpūhari malkān malkā pavan Airān va Airān kārti pavan babā va babā shatarāi val shatarāi zīvāk val zīvāk hāṃshatari pavan Magōstan kāmākārī

(4) va pavan dāshūmākī farāān zi Artakhshatar malkān malkā pavan shatarāi zi Airān malkān malkā shatarāi va shatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk kābīr kartākān zi

(5) yazdān7 aṣfādlīkī va kābīr ātūrī va Airān yetībūnī. — bārā avālāyī āeḥarpat va magōpat va kābīr ātūrūn ātūrī. — — pātakhshatar hatīmūn va Aḥharmazdī va yazdān

(6) babā sūtī yehevinī — vā-rābā-v-v — unt va xemanī. — na, m, — pavan shatarāi Shahrpūhari malkān malkā pavan vāspōhara kān pākūn vabdūn

(7) va yetībūnī a — i — chūgūn — āj Aḥharmazdī va yazdān val kāmākī. — vazīr va — ev zātī pātakhshatar va māztadān māman valman

(8) vidanā madam Shahrpūhari malkān malkā pavan babā va babā shatarāi va shatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk kārti valman pavan hānā avāyūn, madam nipsīhī yekevīmūnt āk vartīr zi āeḥarpat.

(9) va magōpat Shahrpūhari malkān malkā va bagdāt gāzā10 vezūnt va Aḥharmazdī malkān malkā aṭī barman pavan shatarāi yekevīmūnt11 afam Aḥharmazdī malkān māktā kūrāpī

(10) madam yetībūnī afam gadom va pātakhshatar yetībūnī afamva babā va babā shatarāi va shatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk hāṃshatarā21 pavan malkān zi yazdān hangūnikā kāmākārī

(11) afam22 Shahrpūhari aḥarpat shem va magōpat shem Aḥharmazdī magōpat shem va aḥarpat kārti d-d-p-k — shatarāi va sbatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk kābīr

(12) kartākī zi yazdān aṣfādlīkī va kābīr ātūrī va gehān15 yetībūnī. — bārā avālāyī āeḥarpat va magōpat — — va kābīr ātūrūn ātūrī pātakhshatarī

(13) hatīmūn va zātī16 pātakhshatarī va māztadān māman valman vidanā madam Aḥhar-

mazdī malkān malkā pavan babā va babā shatarāi va shatarāi zīvāk val zīvāk kārti valman pavan hānā avāyun

(14) madam nipsīhī yekevīmūnt āk vartīr — zi magōpat va āeḥarpat Aḥharmazdī malkān malkā va bagdāt gāzī vezūnt va Varāhrān malkān

(15) malkā hānā Shahrpūhari — — — Aḥharmazdī malkān malkā pavan hamshatarāi yekevīmūnt afam Varāhrān malkān malkā zāk hangūnikā17 pavan

(16) gadom yetībūnī va pātakhshatarī vezūnt afam babā va babā va sbatarāi va shatarāi zīvāk val zīvāk hāṃshatari kāmākī

(17) afam Aḥharmazdī magōpat shem Varāhrān shem kārtī18 hamūlī shatarāi19 va sbatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk kābīr kartākīn zi yazdān afzādīhī va kābīr ātūrī

(18) va gehān yetībūnī. — — — — — bārā avālāyī āeḥarpat va magōpat — va kābīr ātūrūn ātūrī pātakhshatarī hatīmūn va zati

(19) pātakhshatarī va māztadān māman valman vidanā madam Varāhrān malkān malkā kārti va valman pavan hānā madam nipsīhī

(20) yekevīmūnt āk vartīr zi āeḥarpat va magōpat Varāhrān malkān malkā va bagdāt gāzī

(21) vezūntī [60 letters] kartāki20 pavan.

(22) [60 letters] āgā — tah-yetībūnī21

(23) afam gadom va pātakhshatarī vezūntī afam babā va babā shatarāi va sbatarāi zīvāk va zīvāk hāṃshatarī pavan

(24) malkān zi yazdān hangūnikā kāmākārī va bākht rūbūn Varāhrān22 āeḥarpat shem va magōpatam Varāhrān shem magōpat

(25) va āeḥarpat kārti [48 letters] t v. hānā vezūntī

(26) [53 letters] shatarāi va sbatarāi zīvāk va

(27) zīvāk [51 letters] ān va magōtī gāzī bēn shatarāi

(28) [27 letters] mayā va ātūrī [24 letters] ih madam yehāntūn

(29) [28 letters] babā [29 letters] shīkān min — shēdītān

(30) [32 letters] aṣal [27 letters] t l — yehevinī va afzādīhī gūnakīhī

6 See line 8.
7 See line 12 and 31.
8 See line 32.
9 See line 13.
10 See lines 14 and 20.
11 See line 15.
12 See line 16.
13 See lines 3 and 23.
14 This sentence is very doubtful.
15 See line 32.
16 See lines 7, 16, and 32.
17 So in Flandin's copy.
18 A very doubtful sentence; compare lines 11 and 24.
19 See lines 11-14.
20 In Flandin's copy it is kar - t.
21 See lines 10 and 11.
22 See line 55, but the sentence is very doubtful; compare lines 11 and 17.
(31) — — — vdpth — va nished — shatari va shatari svdvk va svk kbr kartk zv yzdzn ajzdhl
(32) va kbr atar va gohvn yttbn — bar avlyk ahrpat va mgpht va kbr atar n atar ptkshahrati hatmipnt va zti ptkshhrati
(33) mnam vlmvn vldn nmadn Varhrn mlnk mpk vs Varhrn [30 letters] kar — bkh rbdn Varhrn ahrpat va mgpht
(34) [20 letters] n — — — — — 32 letters)

Translation of the above.

(1) When my crown of mobad and herbad existed for Artakhshatar, king of the kings of Irân, and Shahpãhvri, king of kings (who was well-principled and well-inclined)
(2) and y benedictions and praise which me), and had made Artakhshatar king of the kings of Irân, and Shahpãhvri a king of the kings, that was done by me
(3) which Shahpãhvri, king of kings, did in Irân and non-Irân through capital to capital, town to town, and place to place of the united country, spontaneously in Maghistan
(4) and by the loving command of Artakhshatar, king of kings, in the country of the king of kings of Irân. From town to town and place to place to perform the great deeds which
(5) are the bounty of the angels and settle in the great fire and Irân... but the... of the first herbald and mobad, and of the great fire of fires, ended the sovereign; and Aûhrmzd and the angels
(6) because the benefit of the capital... great... and this... in the country Shahpãhvri, king of kings, inflicted chastisement on the nobles
(7) and sat... as... Aûhrmzd and the angels, at will... And smitten was the sovereign and the slain, for that
(8) time it was done unto Shahpãhvri, king of kings, through capital to capital, town to town, and place to place. In this fashion it is written about, that the crown of the herbald

(9) and mobad Shahpãhvri, king of kings, goes to the divinely-appointed place, and Aûhrmzd, king of kings who is the son, remains in the country. And Aûhrmzd, king of kings, sat on my kûrî (or kûlî)
(10) and was made my glory and sovereign; and from capital to capital, town to town, and place to place of my united country he was more absolute among the kings who were similar to angels.
(11) and Shahpãhvri's title of herbald and title of mobad, appointed by me, was made Aûhrmzd's title of mobad and herbald... From town to town, and place to place, the great
deeds which are the bounty of the angels and settle in the great fire and the world... but the... of the first herbald and mobad, and the great fire of fires, and the sovereign.
(13) And smitten was the sovereign and the slain, for that time it was done unto Aûhrmzd, king of kings, through capital to capital, town to town, and place to place. In this fashion it is written about, that the crown... of the mobad and herbald Aûhrmzd, king of kings, goes to the divinely-appointed place, and Varhrn, king of kings, this... of Shahpãhvri, remains as coadjuitor of Aûhrmzd, king of kings. And Varhrn, king of kings, in like manner,
(16) sat in glory and was made sovereign by me; and from capital to capital, and town to town, and place to place he was absolute, through me, over fellow-performers of exploits who were similar to angels;
(17) and Aûhrmzd's title of mobad was made the title of Varhrn by me. From every town to town, and place to place, the great deeds which are the bounty of the angels and settle in the great fire
(18) and the world... but the... of the first herbald and mobad and the great fire of fires end the sovereign. And smitten
(19) was the sovereign and the slain, for that time it was done unto Varhrn, king of kings; and in this way it is written about,
(20) that the crown of the herbald and mobad

22 Possibly Shahpãhvri.
24 See lines 11-13.
25 Italics indicate words and portions of words which are either supplied by guess where the inscription is illegible, or are added to complete the sense. The commencement of each line in the original inscription is approximately indicated by its number in parentheses, and the extent of the missing text is only approximately shown by the number of dots.
26 A Mobad is a Parsi priest whose special duty is to conduct religious ceremonies, and herbald is a general term applied to all ranks of the priesthood.
27 Perhaps "celebrated."
28 Perhaps "propitiated or pleased."
29 Perhaps "he performed" both here and in the similar phases in lines 12, 18, and 32.
30 That is, being inferior to him who was his supreme lord.
31 This sentence and the corresponding passages in lines 17 and 24 are the most doubtful parts of this decipherment.
Varahran, king of kings, goes to the divinely-appointed place,
(21) . . . . a deed in . . .
(22) . . . . sat,
(23) and was made my glory and sovereign; and from capital to capital, town to town, and place to place of my united country, among
(24) the kings who were similar to angels, he was more absolute; and the title of herbah and mobah Varaḥran with the saved soul was made by me Varahran's title of mobah
(25) and herbah . . . . this he does
(26) . . . . from town to town and place to
(27) place . . . . and the Magian men in the country
(28) . . . . water and fire . . . . came on
(29) . . . . capital . . . . east the . . . . from . . .
(30) . . . . become, and the habitations of the idol-temple
(31) . . . . and sits (?) . . . . From town to town, and place to place, the great deeds which are the bounty of the angels
(32) and settle in the great fires and the world . . . . but the . . . . of the first herbah and mobah and of the great fire of fires, ends the sovereign.
And was the sovereign,
(33) for that is the time unto Varaḥran, king of kings, and Varaḥran . . . . Varaḥran with the saved soul, the herbah and mobah,
(34) . . . . the great fires arose in the country.

In the subsequent lines of the inscription, owing to its mutilated condition, only the following words and phrases are intelligible:
(35) Va zatakān, 'and the smitten';
(36) Shahpūhari malkan malkā, 'Shahpūhari, king of kings; satari ātūri, 'the fire of the country';
(37) malkān malkā, 'king of kings';
(38) satari māman, 'the country, for';
(39) vabhān vad, 'did, until'; val, 'to'; babā Shahpūhari malkān
(40) malkā, 'the capital of Shahpūhari, king of kings'; mekhītun afām, 'struck, and by me'; Aūharmazdāi malkān malkā minā, 'Aūharmazdāi, king of kings, the spirit';
(41) karī yehevūn, zak ham barā yaneṣbūn, 'was done, that same took away, 
(42) ridī, 'liberal';
(43) mekhītus, afām, 'struck, and by me';
(44) kabīr, 'great';
(45) afash, 'and by him';
(46) vakhdūn, va kabīr, 'took, and great';
yazdān va kabīr ātūri kambātāri yehevūn, 'he was more absolute than the angels and the great fire';
(47) yehevūn bōman, afām, 'has been, and by me'; ātūri, 'fire';
(49) va yehevūn, 'and was'; shatarī, 'town, or country'; bētā, 'house';
(49) nafshman, 'own'; zennin min, 'this from';
(50) afzūdīhi, 'bounty'; yehevūn, 'was';
(52) bēn vēhtari, 'among better';
(53) bōman, 'is';
(54) debrūnt, 'conveys';
(55) yehevūn chīgān, 'was as';
(56) yazdān, 'angels';
(58) vaṣpāharagān, 'noble';
(60) valman roeshman val, 'that head to, 
(61) vaṭḍān tarman, 'they go there';
(62) gūš'alk, 'said thus';
(63) yadman na min, 'hand, and from';
(64) bēn zak adānākī, 'within that sort';
(65) bārā, 'except.'

If the first portion of this inscription has been correctly restored it would appear to contain merely an account of the succession of the first six Sasanian monarchs (a.d. 226–283), from Artakhshatar I to Varaḥran III, with some general allusion to their chief actions. Whether this succession is continued beyond Varaḥran III is very doubtful, for though some kings are afterwards mentioned, such as Shāhpūharī in lines 36 and 39, Aūharmazdāi in line 40, and a king whose name is missing in line 37, yet these names can hardly refer to Aūharmazdāi II and his successor, Shāhpūharī II, because the latter name is mentioned first. But they are, most probably, the names of the second and third Sasanian monarchs, already mentioned in the earlier part of the inscription; so that the latter half of the inscription probably gave a more detailed account of the deeds of the kings mentioned in the former half. As, however, the very short reign of Varaḥran III is hardly likely to have been commemorated by so long an inscription, it is perhaps most reasonable to suppose that the accession of his successor being modern.

25 The verb vaṭḍān is unknown in the MSS., but is a regular formation from the Semitic root ṣḍḥ.
sor, Narsih (A.D. 283—300), may have been mentioned in the missing portion of line 35 or 36, and that the actual date of the insulation was about A.D. 290.

Owing to its mutilated state this inscription is of little value as a historical document. Like that of Naqsh-i Rajab it is written in the first person, and professes apparently to be dictated by the divine Asharazad himself; this is clear enough in the first half of the inscription, and the occurrence of the word afam, ‘and by me,’ in lines 40, 43, and 47, shows that the use of the first person continued in the latter half.

The chief value of the inscription is philological. Even in its present mutilated state it supplies one hundred distinct Sasanian words, of which forty-five have not been found in other inscriptions, though all but fourteen are known to exist in Pahlavi MSS. Allowing for certain peculiarities in orthography, and for the existence of about one strange word in seven, its language is practically the same as that of the MSS. still preserved by the Parsis.

One peculiarity of Sasanian orthography is the existence of a final i in several Iranian words, which disappears in MS. Pahlavi, as in Asharazad, azadi, gadi, kankari, and sipah, in the abstract suffix -ihi of azadithi and yandithi (which has become -ih in modern Persian), and in the comparative suffix -tari of kanakartari and vekharti. In some cases the Sasanian final i has become an optional final o in MS. Pahlavi, as in dari, hanginakhi, hilakmini, kartak, radd, shatar, and sult, in the past participial suffix -it of yuitti, karti, nipisthti, and zati, and likewise in the Semitic word ati.

But many Iranian words have no final i in Sasanian (even though some of them have frequently a final o in MS. Pahlavi) such as aharpat, Ahran, Anvaran, Artakhshatar, awagun, bagdadi, bakhti, chaghn, farmun, gehun, ham, magopat, Mokstan, mino, rausun, Varahrn, varir, and zivak; also all plurals, such as arurun, kartakan, malkan, matusalan, vaspolkhakan, yasadun, and zatakan; and the pronominal suffixes, as in afam, afish, zakan, and zim. In no case is this final i an irafat, or relative particle, which is always either understood as Sasanian inscriptions, or expressed by the Semitic relative zi; nor is it an abstract

or adjectival suffix, as in modern Persian. Neither can it be merely a sign indicating the end of the word, for in that case it would be used after all words, and not be confined to a few of them; moreover, in this inscription the words are separated by blank spaces.

With regard to the verbs, the suffix of the past participle in Iranian verbs (which is also used for the preterit) is -it, as has been noticed above; and no other forms of Iranian verbs occur in this inscription. The Semitic verbs not only occur in their crude forms, which appear to be used for both the past participle and preterit, but also take the suffixes -i (or -a), -t, and -l. The effect of these suffixes is rather doubtful, though -t and -l may perhaps form the third persons singular and plural of the present tense, respectively, as has been assumed in the translation, although it is by no means certain that they are not used indifferently; and it is possible that the suffix -i (or -a) may give a conditional meaning to the preterit, but this requires confirmation.

The Semitic verbs which occur in this inscription furnish many corrections of the traditional pronunciation of the Huzvārīsh verbs used in Pahlavi MSS., most of which have been anticipated by European Orientalists on etymological grounds. Thus, we find dehrun, ‘conveyed,’ for the traditional darun and gaban; hilmun, ‘ended,’ for altun; mekhitan,23 struck, for madun; shottun, ‘cast,’ for shakun; vahidun, ‘did,’ for vadun;24 vahdin, ‘took,’ for wadun; vazulun, ‘went,’ for vazun; yazdan, ‘seized,’ for jainun and jainun; yehantun, ‘arrived,’ for jamun; yeheun, ‘was,’ for jainun; yekevinun, ‘remained,’ for jakiminun; and yettun, ‘sat,’ for jaotun. Two of the Semitic verbs, hawtun, ‘was,’ and zadun, ‘arose,’ are not known to occur in Pahlavi MSS.

Several other corrections of the traditional pronunciation of Huzvārīsh words are also supplied by the Semitic words in this inscription. Thus, we find afam, ‘and by me,’ for the traditional evam; harr, ‘except, but,’ for band; bon, ‘within,’ for dayun; honak, ‘this,’ for and; val, ‘to,’ for var; valman, ‘that,’ for carman; zeman, ‘this,’ for gomun; and zivak, ‘place,’ for jinak. The meaning of the last word is not absolutely certain, as zivak must mean ‘living, ender in jinun, when the f is not radical.

23 The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the practice of the Pahlavi MSS. written in Persia, by using a short vowel, instead of a long one, in the last syllable of Huzvārīsh verbs like di, and then mistaken for a.
or living-place; bearing the same relation to sinastan (Pers. sîstân), 'to live,' as adâdâ, 'knowing, wise,' does to dânîstân, 'to know;' and it may be compared with Pers. sây, 'side, quarter, shore;' in this inscription it is, however, used exactly as the traditional jisâk, 'place,' would be, and it may, therefore, be the same word.

Some few traditional readings, which are not easy to explain by etymology, are confirmed by this inscription, such as madâm, 'on, about, unto,' which is used both as a preposition and as an adverb in the inscription, exactly as it is in the MSS.; also adâmânâ, 'kind, sort,' if that word has been correctly identified. It likewise proves the conversion of b into d or g, by the writers of MSS., in such words as bônûn, dédrûn, vâdûn, and yanasegûs which have become dês, dedrûn, vadûn (afterwards vadûn), and yanasegûs in the MSS.

Any traveller in Persia who would obtain and publish photographs of this inscription and that of Naqš-i Raγâb, taken while the sun is shining obliquely on the surface of the rock (when the letters are most distinctly visible), would be doing good service to Pahlavi scholarship, as it is doubtful if Westergaard found time to copy all the visible letters in the lower part of the inscription. There are also two shorter Sasanian inscriptions, of the succeeding century, on the marbles of an edifice near the south-west corner of the platform at Persepolis, and south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol. ii, p. 237 and plate 42), of which photographs would be very valuable. When such photographs have been obtained it will, no doubt, be necessary to make several emendations in that portion of the text of the Naqš-i Rustâm inscription which has been here supplied mainly by conjecture.

**INSCRIPTION FROM KÂMÂ OR KÂMÂVANA.**

**BY BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI PANDIT.**

Kâmâ or Kâmâvana is about forty miles west from Mathurâ in the Bharatpur territory. In the middle of the village is a rising ground on which is an old fort, and in this fort are many fragments of Hindu sculpture and a Masjid called Chôrâsî-Khâmba, built of the stones of old Hindu temples of various ages—the pillars being placed, as in many other similar cases, in pairs above one another, to give the necessary height to the mosque. On one pillar is carved, in letters resembling the Hâlî Kannadâ, the words—namà śivâyâ. The Masjid stands in a court, the outer measurements of which are 76 by 102 feet, with a corridor having a double row of pillars inside the front walls and a single row down each side. The mosque itself has three rows of pillars from end to end. The mimbar or pulpit in this mosque is locally called Chhathêpîlîma—'Krishna’s swing.'

The inscription, given in the accompanying plate, is found on an old pillar of hard reddish sandstone 4' 2" by 1 ft., built into the inner side of the court wall to the right of the entrance on the east side. This pillar is laid upon its side. At one end 1' 3" of it is occupied by a chakra or wheel; and the inscription which occupies about 2' 6" of the remainder of the surface is in 37 lines; but a small piece on the left side, and a strip of irregular breadth down the right, has been chipped away. Some letters also have been injured over the remaining surface, but these can be generally made out with a little pains.

The following transcript was made on the spot. The language is Sanskrit, and it is in verse. It contains no date, but the alphabet appears to belong to the 8th century, or somewhat after the date of the Jalripâtan inscription (Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 180).

**Transcript.**

\[1\] सन्तानानांतः सुहुदुर्गरागांतः कविसमां धनस्यामां देवस्यां [j]

\[2\] [कत\] कतीकोपपुरुः | अलक्क्या: श्रीमान्त-श्रीधरमुणिपद्यम् [सिवां]

\[3\] [ह]प्रायो: दारियोधितो महामोहय दसे || श्रीमुरुसेनस्वाधारस्वामस्यादितः [ते]

\[4\] [म्य] महात्म शक्ति माणिविं गुणव्यस्य श्रीको भूमांभमन: | तत्य [पियाम]

\[5\] [व]हें दैपिका दैवतमम: पे: | कुरुमत: श्रीमानवनामस्य [साम]
This gives us the genealogy of the Sāraśānas dynasty extending over seven kings, if not of one more whose name is lost. These are—

1. Phakka, married Deyikā.
2. Kula-abhaṭa his son, married Draṅgliṅṭā.
3. Ajita their son, married Apsarapriya.
4. Durggabhaṭa their son, married Vachchhūlikā.
5. Durgādāman their son, married Vachchhūlikā.
6. Dēvarāja their son, married Yajñikā.
7. Vatsadāman their son.

Vachchhikā had also another son whose name is lost. She built a temple to Viṣṇu, which it seems to have been the object of this inscription to record.

THE MAHĀVALI DYNASTY.

BY LEWIS RICE, M.B.A.S.

Some time ago, when at Śrīnivāspura in the east of Māipur, I was led to a wild tract called Gūlgānpode, near which is the reputed site of an ancient city, now known as Harāḷukōṭe. There are scarcely any traces left, except mounds and bits of broken pottery here and there, but small coins are said to be washed up after heavy rain. The place is all jungle and surrounded by the low flat hills characteristic of the aridous tract which runs along the right bank of the Pāḷār to beyond the limits of Māipur, and which indeed is said to commence with a cave at the north-eastern angle of the site in question. In a ditch I found fragments of a pillar with a Pallava inscription dated Śaka 690.

But at Gūlgānpode, seeing what appeared to be the edge of a large slab of stone standing a few inches out of the ground, I made an excavation, and was gratified with the discovery of the two massive stones, with inscriptions on them, of which the accompanying facsimiles were taken by photography. They prove to be grants in Pūrva Haṭe Kannada, the oldest form of the Kānṭākaka language, made during the reign of kings of the Mahāvali dynasty. They are engraved in bold and deep-cut characters, as if the work of giant hands, and have been well preserved by accidental burial in the ground. They bear no religious emblems, but one has a sort of ornamental floral device at top. The marks of great antiquity presented in the absence of sectarian symbols, the simplicity and brevity of the inscriptions, and the ancient forms of the letters, are borne out by the obsolete and obscure expressions used in them. One contains a couplet which appears to be a quotation of some proverb or popular maxim, of which the meaning is far from clear, and which I am inclined to think is about the oldest specimen of Canarese that has yet come to light.

The first inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Mahāvali Bānarasa, of the Mahāvali-kula, who were door-keepers (?) (pratīhāra) to Paramēvara adored by all three worlds as the lord over gods (saṇa) and giants (asura). It relates how an officer named Viṣṇu Pāḷaḍhara was ordered to attack an enemy named Māraṇa and slew him. But being compelled by the difficult ground to dismount and pursue the enemy's force on foot, he was himself killed, and a grant was made of the village of Kuḷa Nellār as a means of livelihood for his family.

The second inscription is of the reign of Mahāvali Bānarasa, who seems on account of his victories to have been called Viṣṇumādāṭya, and to whom other kings gave the celebrated name of Bāṇa Vijyaḍhara. It records how Pekkiri Voraḍoga Rājā was sent against a force besieging Māvindaṇūra and compelled it to retreat. But while pursuing the enemy, his eagerness was such that his troops could not keep up with him; hence, though securing the victory, he lost his life. A grant of land for the support of his family was in consequence made, apparently by his followers.

These inscriptions, it seems to me, are not less important in securing from oblivion a line of kings that ruled over a part of India historically most interesting, than curiously suggestive in the resemblances of their proper names, and valuable for the study of ancient forms of the language.

Mahāvali is the same as Mahābali, after whom Mahābālipur, known as the Seven Pagodas, situated about thirty miles south of Madras on the Coromandel coast, is said to have been named, as it is called on the spot Māvalivarman, or as some state Māvalivarman. In the inscriptions at the place it is called Māmallapura or Māmallaṉūrapura, and Janaṉāṭhapura.² Mahābali or Bali,
whom Sir William Jones would identify with Belus, it is needless to state plays an important part in Hindu mythology. He was the powerful Asura emperor on account of whom Vishnú assumed the Vámana avatāra, the fifth or Dwarf incarnation. The story as related in the Rāmāyāna and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is well known and need not be repeated here.

Of the Mahāvalikula I have met with only one single mention. This is in an inscription of the beginning of the 7th century, obtained by Sir Walter Elliot, from which it appears that the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I. conquered the chief of the Mahāmallakula, besides by the capture of Kānchi subjecting the Pallava king Jayatesvara Pota Rāja. "From these facts it may be inferred," says Sir Walter, "that the rulers of Māmallaipurā were in a state of independence in the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries." The present inscriptions not only support this view, but, for reasons to be further stated, make it likely that from the 2nd century the Mahāvali line ruled the whole tract of country through which the river Pāḷār flows, from its source near Sriñivasāpurā, where these stones were found, past Kānchi to Mahābalipura near its mouth.

The inscription just referred to has also been published by Mr. Fleet, but by translating Mahāmalla kula as "family of mighty wrestlers," Rāja Malla as "Royal Wrestler," and Pota Rāja as "sea king (i.e. king of ships)" he has missed the significance of the allusions, and states that he does not know who are referred to.

As regards other names in this inscription which he is unable to identify, I may point out that Śrī Vallabha was a Ganges king who gained a great victory over the Pallava king, in which the latter lost his life. This must have been the Narasimha here mentioned, the Narasimha Pota Varma of the inscription published by me in Ind. Ant. vol. VIII, p. 23. Pota Varma is a form of Budhā Varma.

And here, as the phrase was first met with in the same inscription, I may notice the objection which Mr. Fleet makes to my rendering of avanipatī-trīlay-āntardiṃ-seva-guru-śriyam-āmaśā-bṛtiya by "making his own the wealth his father had won, together with that inherited for three generations," proposing to read "having acquired for himself, the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings." The discrepancy between the two translations rests upon the meaning attached to "trīlay-āntardiṃ." Does this only signify "interrupted by a confederacy of three (kings)" so as to exclude entirely the rendering "transmitted by a succession of three (kings)?" I believe I am right in saying that, so far as the phrase goes, it may be interpreted in either way. We must be guided therefore by other evidence as to which was intended in the original.

The authority for the alleged "confederacy of three kings" is so slight that Mr. Fleet would suggest the probability of Amara and Ādityavarmā being really not of the Chālukya family at all, but two of the three confederate kings. Now, so far as the hypothesis rests upon this supposition, I think it is disproved by the inscription published by me in Ind. Ant. vol. VIII, p. 96, which is a grant by Ambera (i.e. Amara), the "dear son of Satyāśraya, of the Chālukya family." Again, a further reference is made to the three kings in line 17, where the religions endowments are said to have been lost or ruined tasmin-rājya-traye(pā), "by those three reigns," which seems to me something different from the (necessarily single and combined) reign of a confederacy of three kings. Nor can the reference be to Trairājya Pallava, unless one king can be said to have three reigns or form a triad in himself. There is thus no evidence for the "confederacy of three kings," and the statements made are inconsistent with the hypothesis; we may also infer from the details which are given that further particulars would certainly have been mentioned had so important a combination of hostile kings been formed and overcome.
In the absence therefore of further evidence I think my translation may stand, the reference being to the three kings specially mentioned in each of the inscriptions as the predecessors from whom Vikramâditya derived the fortune which had been his father's, thus establishing beyond dispute the legitimacy of his right to possess it and to bestow it.

To revert again to the legends of Mahâbalipuram, as the son of Bali, its reputed founder, was Bânasura (Banâcheren in As. Res.) who is represented as a giant with a thousand hands. Aniruddha, the son (or grandson) of Krişhna, came to his court in disguise and seduced his daughter, which produced a war, in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner and brought to Mahâbalipuram: upon which Krişhna came in person from his capital Dvarakâ and laid siege to the place. Śiva guarded the gates and fought for Bânasura, who worshipped him with his thousand hands, but Krişhna found means to overthrow Śiva, and having taken the city, cut off Bânasura's hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage. He continued in subjection to Krişhna till his death, after which a long period ensued, in which no mention is anywhere made of this place till a prince arose whose name was Malêcheren, who restored the kingdom to great splendour, and enlarged and beautified the capital. But in his time the calamity is said to have happened by which the city was entirely destroyed."

Whether Bâgaras of the present inscriptions had anything to do with Bânasura or not, the coincidence of the names is singular. But it may be noticed that in the second inscription Bâna is called a Vijyadharma, and in the first, the officer is a Vijyadharma. This term is more commonly met with as Vidyâdhara. The interchange of ja and da is according to rule, and is exemplified in the name of Vijaynagara which was originally Vidyânagara. The old Jain poem in Kannada, the Pampa Ramâyana, distinguishes three ruling races in the south in Rama's time:—the Râkshanasa line, with capital at Lankâ (in Ceylon); the Vânarar or Kâpi-dhavaja line, with capital at Kishkindha (the modern Nicobars); and the Vidyâdhara line more to the north, with capital at Rathnâpurachakravâlapura (? Ratanpur in the Central Provinces). The Vidyâdharas are uniformly described as superior to men in the possession of certain magic powers, and specially in the ability to travel at will through the air. This mode of locomotion has yet to be rediscovered. The Śilahāra kings of Kâraṇâta near Kolapur are said to be Vidyâdharas.

But we are not, I think, without a direct reference to Bâna which enables us to place him with certainty not later than the 7th century. For on revising the Nâgamangala plates (Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 155) I find the first line of the 7th side describes Dûnda, the king of Nîrmunda, as Śrînâd-Bâna-kula-kalah (or kalakalah). This, it appears to me, must be the Bâna of the present inscription, and Bâna kula, if that be the form, would be equivalent to Mahâvali kula as applied to the kings of that line who came after Bâna. Moreover, from another phrase which follows, it may be surmised that their kingdom was called the Dûnda-mânḍala, which would correspond with Tûnda-mânḍala, a name applied by many writers, following Ellis, to the Pâlî valley.

But even with regard to Bâna, assuming that he is not the same as Bâna, I believe I have found a reference which would place him much further back than the latter. In the 2nd line of the earliest Mallohaulî plates (Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 133) was an undeciphered word which I suggested at the time might be a proper name. On close examination of the doubtful letter I am disposed to make the word Bânaiti. If this should be correct, and Bâna prove to be contemporary with Kâŋgañi, we must put him at the end of the 2nd century. And we should thence be justified in inferring that the Mahâvali line of kings ruled for at least five centuries down to the 7th.

That the Mahâvali did not continue in power beyond the 7th century follows from the known fact that the Pallava were in possession of Kânci early in that century, and it seems probable also of Mahâbalipuram, not only from the inscriptions there, but from its being impossible that they could have tolerated


10 Among the weapons used was jagara, fever! For the full account see Vishnu Purâna.
the existence of an independent kingdom in such close proximity to their capital. Moreover, as we know, and as the inscription found on the same site mentioned at the beginning, and other inscriptions prove, that the Pallavas were ruling over the east of the Maissur country from that time onwards, coupled with the fact of there being no mention of the Pallavas in these two inscriptions, together with the undoubted evidences of their antiquity, these considerations give, I think, strong ground for supposing that the Mahāvali or Mahāmalla line immediately preceded the Pallavas, as the rulers of the entire Palār valley or (?) Daṇḍa Maṇḍala.

Of the existence and importance of Mahāvalipūr at the beginning of the 12th century we have evidence in an inscription of the Hoyala kings (Myore Inscriptions, p. 331) in which, after the capture of Kannë and Maṇḍura, the general of Viṣṇu Vardhāna is said to have burnt Janaṇātha-pūra.

I. Transcript.


Translation.

May it be well. While Śri Mahāvali Bāṇarasa—a great king Vikramādiyā, who as a mount Meru of victory received from other kings the celebrated name of Bāṇa Viṣṇadhara—was ruling the kingdom of the world:—

A brave heart dying has merit in a son, his lord has merit in the enterprise which showed his valour. 14

11 If this be read pratihārikīta it is difficult to make a reasonable translation. The ad though undoubtedly long in Mahādevi is not, it will be observed, marked so in the second mention of the name in line 3, nor in pratihāra in line 10.
12 This appears to be a quotation of some popular maxim, but the expressions are obscure, and I am not at all sure that

Thus like a brave man, Viyala Viyahadha, at the command of the great lord who ruled him, pursing that Marigāra, pierced him: then, there being no footing for the horse, dismounting from the horse, he went down walking, and joining fight, fell. To (or on account of) him is given for a livelihood Kuṇa Nellīr, free of all (impôts).

Whoso takes away a gift made by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

II. Transcript.

Svastisatya Śrī-Vikramādiyā-jaya-Meru-ummahibhir Bāṇa-Viṣṇadhara-khātyā-nāmadheayasya rājabhī Śri Mahāvali Bāṇasar prathuvi-rājya geye; aṇi chelvan aṇuma parākramaṁ vīra mahā meru Pekkiri Voradoga Rāja tannam āya prabhu meru besase Mavindi-ūru kādu vattiyam samasta balaṁ mu megerṭare tamma pade ētī betān adare tani ād irane naṇadu nāyakarul taṭte iru oṣṭi bīḍan: n. tamma pade baḷikke band ūroj galageṇḍu aṭṭu am vange vaṇotpattiyage dāya goṭṭadum: ā deguṁ bāḷadeya yo paharate lobhān mohit praṇādād va sa paśchabhi mmaḥābhī pātakke yuktō bhavā tī. i daimmad id ivaṇa perund avaṇe koṭṭodu ai gu-la kajani parihaīra.

Translation.

May it be well. While Śri Mahāvali Bāṇarasa—a great king Vikramādiyā who as a mount Meru of victory received from other kings the celebrated name of Bāṇa Viṣṇadhara—was ruling the kingdom of the world:—

Pekkiri Voradoga Rāja, of great beauty, of the highest valour, a mount Meru of bravery, by command of the great lord who ruled him, fighting in Mavindi-ūru and causing the whole of the besieging force to retreat; his army being weary, he, unshaken as a mountain, marched on, and coming up with the chiefs, I have separated the words correctly either in this or in the succeeding sentence.

13 These words might be names or titles.
14 or it. I have taken pālī as representing pāga given in the Dictionary as "the place where a horse or elephant stands."
pierced and drove them off and fell. His army, putting off their arms in the town near which they had come, raised a lamentation and made a gift to yield an annual income for him.

Whoso through avarice, covetousness or envy

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEELE. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE.


(Continued from p. 304, vol. IX.)

No. 6.—FOLK TALE.

Sir Bumble.¹

Once upon a time a soldier died, leaving a widow and one son. They were very poor, and at last matters became so bad that they had nothing to eat.

"Mother," said the son, "give me two rupees, and I will seek my fortune in the world."

"Oh! oh!" said the mother, "and where am I, who haven't a piece wherewith to buy flour, to find two rupees?"

"There's that old coat of my father's," answered the lad, "look in the pocket; perchance there might be something there." So she looked, and behold! there were three rupees down in the very corner of the pocket. "More than I bargained for," said the lad, laughing. "See, mother! here is one for you, and I'll keep the other two for myself to pay my way until I find my fortune."

So he set off to find his fortune. On the way he saw a tigress, licking her paw and moaning terribly. He was going to run away, but she called to him faintly, saying "Good lad, take this thorn out for me, and I shall be for ever grateful." But the lad answered, "Not I! why, if I begin to pull it out, and it pains you, you will kill me with one blow."

"No!" said the tigress, "I will turn my face to this tree, and then when the pain comes I will strike the trunk."

"All right," answered the soldier's son. So he pulled out the thorn, and when the pain came, the tigress gave the trunk such a blow that it split all to pieces. Then the grateful tigress said, "As a reward take this box, only don't open it till you have travelled nine miles."

So the soldier's son set off to find his fortune with the box. Now when he had gone about five miles, he felt certain the box was heavier than it was at first, and every step he took it seemed to grow heavier and heavier. Still he tried to struggle on, but when he had walked eight miles and a quarter, his patience gave way, and he cried:—"I believe that tigress was a witch, and is playing off her tricks on me. I will stand it no longer. Lie there, you wretched box; Heaven knows what you contain, and I don't care."

So saying he threw the box down violently. It burst open, and out stepped a little old man. He was only one span high, but his beard was a span and a quarter long.

He began to abuse the lad roundly for throwing him down so hard. "Upon my word," said the soldier's son, "but you are weighty for your size, old gentleman. And what may your name be?"

Muhammadan. It possesses considerable literary merits remarkable from their absence in most Panjâb tales. The treatment is humorous and in places poetical, and the tale as a whole gives the idea of its having been at some period committed to writing. The description of "Sir Bumble" as being a manakin "one span high with a beard one span and a quarter long" occurs in The Arabian Nights and in some German tales. It is possible the Muhammadans brought the tale in with them during some of their irruptions. —F. A. S., R. C. T.

¹ Or "coming back and putting off their arms in the town."

² shēr—tigress. Though no description of the remarkable tigress of the story is given, she is usually described as a bhût = Sansk. bhûta, an evil spirit, demon, any creature possessing demoniacal powers, attendants of Siva.—R. C. T.
"Sir Bumble," snapped the one span mannikin.

"Upon my word," said the soldier's son, "if you are all the box contained, I'm glad I didn't trouble to carry it further."

"That's not polite," returned the mannikin, "perhaps if you had carried it the full nine miles you would have found something better. It doesn't matter, however, for I'm quite good enough for you, and I shall serve you faithfully according to my mistress' orders."

"Serve me! Then I wish you would serve me with some dinner, for I'm mighty hungry. Here are two rupees to pay for it." No sooner had the soldier's son said this, than with a boom! bing! Sir Bumble whizzed away through the air to a confectioner's shop in the next town. There he stood, the one span mannikin with the span and a quarter beard, before the preserving pan, and cried in ever so loud a voice, "Ho! ho! Sir confectioner, bring me sweets."

The confectioner looked about but could not see any one. Sir Bumble was so small he was quite hidden by the preserving pan, so he cried still louder: "Ho! ho! Sir confectioner, bring me sweets."

Then when the confectioner looked about in vain for his customer, the mannikin got angry, and ran and pinched him on the legs and kicked him on the foot, saying—"Impudent knave, do you mean to say you can't see me? why I was standing close beside the preserving pan."

The confectioner apologised humbly, and brought out his best sweets. Sir Bumble chose about a man* of them, and said, "Here, tie them up in something, and give them into my hand. I'll carry them home."

"They'll be a good weight," smiled the confectioner.

"What's that to you?" snapped Sir Bumble, "do as I bid you, and here is your money." He jingled the two rupees in his pocket.

"All right, sir," said the man cheerfully; so he tied up the sweets, and placed the big bundle on Sir Bumble's hand, and lo! with a boom! bing! he whizzed off with the rupees still in his pocket.

He alighted at a corn-dealer's shop, and standing behind a basket of flour, cried loudly, "Ho! ho! Sir Baniah, bring me flour."

Then the corn-dealer looked about for his noisy customer, but could see no one. Sir Bumble cried again: "Ho! ho! Sir Baniah, bring me flour." And when the man didn't answer, he flew into a violent rage, and ran and bit him in the leg, and pinched and kicked him, exclaiming: "Impudent varlet, do you mean to say you can't see me? why I was standing close beside you behind that basket."

The corn-dealer apologised humbly, and asked Sir Bumble how much flour he wanted. "Two mams," said the mannikin. "Two mams, neither more nor less. Tie it up in a bundle, and I'll take it home."

"Your honour has a cart with you doubtless, or a beast of burden, for it will be heavy."

"Do as I bid you," shrieked Sir Bumble stamping his foot, "and here is your money." He once more jingled the two rupees in his pocket. So the corn-dealer tied up the flour in a bundle, and placed it in Sir Bumble's hand, when whizz! buzz! the mannikin flew off with the rupees still in his pocket.

The soldier's son was just wondering what had become of the one span mannikin, when with a whisper he alighted, and wiping his face and panting, said: "I hope I've brought enough, but you men have such terrible appetites."

"More than enough," laughed the lad when he saw the huge bundle.

Then Sir Bumble cooked the bread, and the soldier's son ate three cakes and a handful of sweets; but Sir Bumble gobbled up all the rest, saying at each mouthful, "You men have such terrible appetites."

After that the soldier's son and his one span servant travelled ever so far till they came to the king's city. Now the king had a daughter called Princess Blossom, who was so lovely, and tender, and slim, and fair, that she only weighed five flowers.

Every morning she was weighed in golden scales, and always the scale turned when the fifth flower was put in, neither less nor more.

Now it so happened that the soldier's son caught a glimpse of the lovely, tender, slim, and fair Princess Blossom, and he fell dreadfully in love with her. He would not sleep, or eat his food, and said all day to his faithful man-

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* 1 man = 80 lbs.

Biddahshudd Pholl, Princess

Flower or Blossom: also Phulasad, i.e., born of a flower; a blossom.—R. C. T.
Princess Blossom is in your Highness’ garden outside the town, only there is a terribly valiant little sentry there who fights with a tree.

Then the king went with horses and men to the garden, and tried to get in. But Sir Bumble with his tree routed them all; half were killed and the rest ran away. The noise of the fight awoke the young couple, and they determined at once to fly with each other. So when the fight was over, they all three set out to see the world.

Now the soldier’s son was so enchanted with his good luck in winning the Princess Blossom that he said to Sir Bumble, “My fortune is made, I shan’t want you any more, you can go back to your mistress.”

“Pooh!” said Sir Bumble, “that’s what you all think. There’s trouble before you yet. However, have it your own way, only take this hair cut of my beard, and if you want my help, burn it in the fire.”

So Sir Bumble boomed off, and the soldier’s son and the Princess Blossom lived and travelled together very happily. At last they lost their way in the jangals one day, and had nothing to eat or to drink. When they were just about as hungry as they could be, a wandering Brahman appeared. Hearing their story, he said, “Oh poor children! come home with me, and I will give you something to eat.”

If he had said “I will eat you,” it would have been nearer the mark, for he was no Brahman, but an ogre dreadfully fond of handsome young men and slender girls. They went home with him, and he said: “Now get ready what you want to eat: here are all my keys; you may open all the cupboards except that with the golden key. Meanwhile I will go and gather firewood.”

Then the Princess Blossom began to prepare the food, and meanwhile the soldier’s son opened all the cupboards. He saw such lovely jewels, and dresses, and cups and platters, and bags of gold, that his curiosity got the better of him, and he said “I will see what wonderful thing is in the cupboard with the golden key.” So he opened it, and lo! it was full of men’s
skulls picked quite clean.\(^*\) Then he flew to the princess and cried: "We are lost! this is no Brahman, but a horrid ogre."

Just then they heard him at the door, and the princess had barely time to thrust the hair into the fire before the ogre appeared. At the same moment a boom, boom, bing! binging noise was heard in the air coming nearer and nearer. Then the ogre (who very well knew Sir Bumble's power) changed into a heavy rain which poured down in torrents, but Sir Bumble turned into the storm wind which beat back the rain. Then the ogre changed to a dove, and Sir Bumble pursued it as a hawk, and pressed it so hard that the ogre had barely time to change into a rose and drop into Rájá Indra's lap,\(^*\) who was listening to some dancing girls singing. Then Sir Bumble, quick as thought, changed into an old musician, and standing beside the bard who was thrumming the sítár,\(^{10}\) said "Brother, you are tired; let me play." Then he played so wonderfully and sang with such piercing sweetness that Rájá Indra said: "What shall I give you as a reward? Name it, and it shall be yours." Then Sir Bumble said: "Only the rose in your lap." "I had rather you asked for something more, or something less," answered Rájá Indra. "Tis only a rose, but it fell from heaven: nevertheless, take it." He threw the rose towards him, and lo! the petals all scattered on the ground. Sir Bumble threw himself on his knees, and gathered them up; but one petal escaped, and changed into a mouse. Then Sir Bumble changed into a cat and caught the mouse. All this time the soldier's son and the Princess Blossom were waiting to see what would happen in the ogre's hat. Suddenly with a boom! bing! Sir Bumble arrived, shook his head, and said, "You two had better go home; you can't take care of yourselves." So he gathered together all the jewels and gold in one hand, and placed the Princess and the soldier's son on the other, and flew through the air to their home, where the poor mother, who had been living on one rupee, was delighted to see them. Then with a louder bing! boom! than ever, and without waiting for thanks, Sir Bumble whizzed out of sight, and was never seen any more.

But the Soldier's Son and Princess Blossom lived happily ever after.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

We make the following extracts from Dr. G. Bühlér's interesting Report on Sanskrit MSS., dated Ahmedabad, 8th June 1830,—

As regards the cataloguing of important libraries, I directed my attention exclusively to the ancient Bhandarys of Añhíl and Patán and of Cambay. For while I consider it a mere waste of time and money to publish lists of the exceedingly numerous Brahmanical and Jaina manuscripts which are to be found in our Government collection, as well as in every Bhandár and private library throughout India, the ancient collections made chiefly in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries of our era possess a special interest. They contain, firstly, copies mostly written on palm-leaves, which surpass all those elsewhere

\(^*\) This is 'Blue-beard' over again. The governing idea is the evil results of curiosity; from the coincidence there is no reason to presume any connection between the two tales.—R. C. T.

\(^*\) Indra, originally the beneficent god of heaven, giver of rain, etc., in the later Hindu mythology took only second rank as ruler of the celestial beings who formed the Indarā or Court of Indra, which was synonymous with licentiousness (śiva = a god assemblage). He is usually known now as the Rájá Indra, of whose doings and court innumerable stories are told and even books written. For the purpose of folk tales he appears as in

\(^{10}\) sítár Persian = \(\text{ṣī + ṭūr}\), three wires or three strings. It is an instrument with 3, 5, 7, and even 11 steel strings, but the usual number is three. Lat. cithara; German sitar, sittern; Eng. guitar, etc. But the Greek word is κιθάρα. Homer's form κιθάρας. Lat. from cithara. The European word is therefore very old, and hardly likely to be in any way connected with the Pers. sítár. The Hebrew word for a similar instrument is κιναρ, kanor, to make a stridulous sound: whereas another set of words: Gr. κιναρός κιναρός, κιναρός, κιναρός, κιναρός. Lat. spinus, a pipe, and German schnarren, schnurren.—R. C. T.
Camby, and one to Patan. The former were ordered to catalogue the Bhandar attached to the temple of Sāntinak, which contains only palm-leaf manuscripts of great antiquity, and such palm-leaf manuscripts as might be found in the other three public libraries of Camby. Though armed with orders from the Acting Collector, Mr. G. Wilson, my emissaries were unable to prevail on the Camby Darbar to bring the exceedingly obdurate Panch to reason, and after spending a part of August and September in fruitless efforts, they had to return without having effected their purpose. Towards the end of the year I made a second attempt, which, owing to the energetic manner in which Mr. Shapard, the Collector of Kheda, espoused our cause, and to the intelligent and ready co-operation of the Divan, Mr. Shāhirbād Nārāyan, turned out successful. In the latter's invitation I personally visited Camby and inspected Sāntinak's Bhandar, the catalogue of which had been begun by my men, as well as a smaller collection said to belong to Śrīpūj Gunaratna Śagara. The former library is fully worthy of its fame. The manuscripts, about 500 in number, are exceedingly old, six dating from the beginning of the 12th century and beautifully and correctly written. During my short inspection of the collection I discovered at once a new copy of the historical Prakrit poem, Gaudasukha, which Vākpati composed in honour of his patron Yaśovarman of Kanauj (A.D. 725). The copy, the third which has been found, appears to be very correct and somewhat more complete than those discovered in Jaisalmer and Patan. Its last verse gives the name of the author in full as "Kavirayana Vappasira," i.e., Vākpātirāja, who bears the mark or title of a "Prince of Poets." Besides this work, I saw a considerable number of unknown Jain works, among which were also some Prabandhas or "historical tales." A complete account of the contents of the library can be furnished in next year's report only. The Pandit whom I sent to Patan, had orders to catalogue the Saṅghavīnī Pāda Bhandar and to attempt, after the completion of that task, the great library of Hemachārya. As I had found the custodian of the former collection very obliging in 1876 and 1877, I hoped that the preparation of the catalogue would cause no difficulties. In this expectation I was, however, disappointed. The Pandit had to sue for many months in vain, as the leading Jains feared that some sinister attempt against their books might be intended when the new catalogue had been prepared. At last the Gaṅgādhar Sarasvati took the matter earnestly in hand, and the permission to prepare the catalogue was given. The work was, however, only just finished at the end of the year. The trouble taken with it has been well rewarded by the discovery of a very ancient copy of one of the oldest Sanskrit dictionaries, the Śāhakās, of which one other copy only (preserved at Oxford) is known, of several copies of Hemachārya's Prakrit grammar, together with a commentary thereon, and of a Viṣṇuvadātanāḍaya Kaveda, apparently another historical poem.

The second work is the life of Hemachārya's patron, Kumarapala of Avhilvā, and bears therefore the second title Kumbhakondekarita or history of Kumarapala. Its primary object is to illustrate the rules of the author's Prakrit grammar. It is, therefore, written in six different dialects, and below each verse the author names the rules of his grammar, according to which the remarkable words employed have been formed. The work has, therefore, a double importance for Sanskritists, as a source for a portion of the history of Gauā and an illustration of Heravic's grammar. The Saṅghavīnī Bhandar contains nothing but palm-leaf manuscripts, upwards of 400, and among them some belonging to the 12th century. Its contents as well as those of Sāntinak's library at Camby and of the great library of Jaisalmer will, I hope, convince those European Sanskritists who still doubt the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts dating from the 12th and earlier centuries, that they can fearlessly acknowledge the fact. These revered old hoards of the Jain communities do not contain forgeries, but genuine relics of very ancient times. The condition of the manuscripts, the characters in which they are written, the material on which they are written, furnish strong testimony on the point, and the quantities in which these documents occur (but only in so jealously guarded localities to which in general neither the faithful nor infidels are admitted), make it also unbelievable that they can have been manufactured in modern times. The genuineness of these documents granted, it will be the duty of Sanskrit scholars, who again and again publish the classical Sanskrit books according to manuscripts dating from the best from the 15th century, to turn their attention to our old Bhandars and to use the copies there deposited, which are not only older than the earliest paper copies, but older also than the oldest commentators on whom usually great reliance is placed. Before that can be done, it will, however, be the duty of those who conduct the search for manuscripts to publish the list of the contents of the Bhandars. The catalogue of the Saṅghavīnī Paḍāno Bhandar is at present being prepared for the press.

In purchasing original Sanskrit books for
Government, I have been even more fortunate than in my attempt to obtain catalogues. The whole number of my purchases amounts to 429 volumes, many of which contain more than one work. The number of separate works, great and small, surpasses five hundred. Seven of these books belong, however, not really to this year's collection, but to 1877 and 1878. All the other manuscripts have been actually collected during the year in the Government and Gaikwāḍ districts of Gujarāt, in Cambay, Kāṭhīwāḍ, and Southern Mārwx. During my two years' absence in Europe, a great number of old Pandits, who possessed good libraries, have died, owing to the scarcity and the epidemic fever which have deprived Western India of a considerable proportion of its population. Again a great number of Brahmanical families have been reduced to extreme distress by the high prices for the necessaries of life which prevailed for more than two years, and by the inability of their Yajamāns, or spiritual clients, to give them the customary support. These special circumstances, regrettable as they are in other respects, have enabled me to collect this year in 9 months, more Brahmanical manuscripts than I ever obtained before in Gujarāt, and to obtain them at a cheaper rate than usual. If the delay which occurred repeatedly in the payment of the money advances had not impeded my operations, I should have been able to show even better results.

As regards the quality of books collected, I am happy to state that this year's collection contains much that is rare and important. Vedic literature is represented by 159 numbers. For the Rigveda there are, besides copies of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Śāstras of Śāṅkhāyana Śāṇkha, the very rare commentary of Durgāchārya on the Nirukta, and some rare treatises, among which I may name a Gālita-pradīpa and a Padadvāla. The former is, I think, new. Among the works referring to the Mādhyandina Śāṅkha two large pieces of the Mantrabhāṣya by Urvāṇa, a complete copy of Mahādāra's Vedādīpa, and a collection of the Parāśāstras, deserve to be mentioned. One of the manuscripts of the first-named book is the copy mentioned in my Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarāt, I, No. 36. A special and very great interest attaches to a collection of 10 manuscripts of the Maitrāyanīya Śāṅkha, containing the greater portion of the Sūkhīdī, a Padadvāla of the Mantras, the Mānasagṛihyasūtra partly with a commentary, and six treatises on the sacrificial and funeral rites of that Vedic school. All these manuscripts, among which the Padadvīda of the Mantras is unique, come from Morvi and Lāthi in Kāṭhīwāḍ. Many years ago, when I first began the search for Sanskrit manuscripts, I heard through Rāo Sāheb Gopalīji Sūrbhān Desāl of the existence of Maitrāyanīyas in Morvi. But I was informed later that they were extinct. As Dr. L. Von Schroeder undertook last year the edition of the sacred books of the Maitrāyanīyas, I resolved, at his request, to institute another careful search for them in Gujarāt and Kāṭhīwāḍ. I sent one of my assistants to Morvi and its neighbourhood, and he found there two families, in one of which the whole Śāṅkha is still recited annually. Not without some difficulty, he bought from them nine old manuscripts and procured a copy of the unique Padadvīda of the Mantras. Encouraged by this result, I ordered a further search after Maitrāyanīyas to be made in the whole trace north of the Narmada, to which, according to the commentary on the Charavānyudha they originally were confined. In consequence a number of families adhering to the school were found in the northern districts belonging to the Gāikwāḍ, near Siddhapura and Vadangar. They, however, possess no books. But in Aḥmadābād two Śuklasses or spiritual heads turned up, who still are able to recite the Sūkhīdī. One of them has declared himself willing to part with his manuscripts, while the other will probably lend them for collation. I have not been able to include the Ahmadābād manuscripts among the purchases of 1879-80, as I had no money in my hands at the end of the year to pay for them. Upwards of fifty manuscripts refer to the Śāṅkha-sūtra. They include, besides the Sūkhīdī, the Gītās and the chief Brahmānas, some of the rarer Śāstras and Parāśāstras attached to the third Veda. The most important among them are the Bhikṣānta and Śāmantra Vyākaraṇas, the Tattvālokāna, Pancharātra, and Pratāpaśūtras, as well as the Amṛtāravāna, Somapatī and Naigaya-Parāśāstras. The Atharvaveda is represented by more than twenty manuscripts. Some old, though incomplete manuscripts of the Sūkhīdī, a good manuscript of the Kasūka Gṛihyasūtra, a copy of the last thirty-seven Parāśāstras and two Prayogas on domestic ceremonies appear to be valuable. In connexion with the works belonging to the Atharvaveda a discovery deserves to be noticed which throws some light on the history of the Paippalādas, one of its ancient schools, the Sūkhīdī of which is hitherto known through a single Kaśmir manuscript. All the Atharva manuscripts which I have collected or seen in Gujarāt and Rajputānā belong to the Śaunaka Śāṅkha. Yet the Meharṣena, a work quoted in the commentary on the Charavānyudha, distinctly states that all Atharvaveda residing north of the Narmada are Paippalādas, while those living to the south of the river are followers of Śaunaka. Partly with the hope
of finding somewhere a second Paippalāda Samhīta, and partly with the intention of testing the assertion of the Mahārāva, I instituted inquiries in the chief settlements of the Atharvavedis as to the school to which they considered themselves to belong. In Kāṭhikāwāḍ as well as in Gujarāt, I mostly received the same answer, "we belong to the Paippalāda school." Some Brahmans who are even able to recite their Samhīta, asserted in addition that their manuscripts, which manifestly belong to the Saunaka school, contained the Paippalāda recension. Others, e. g. a large colony near Sīdhāpar-Srīsthāla, who have become cultivators, knew nothing about their Veda beyond the name of the school, and their Guru or spiritual chief admitted that for the domestic sacrifices and rites he employed the ritual of the white Yajurveda. From these facts I conclude that at some period or other the Atharvavedis of Gujarāt must have given up the study of their Veda, and that, when later a revival of learning took place among them, they had lost their own books and procured new ones from the south, which, of course, belong to the southern recension of Saunaka.

Among the poetical works collected this year, there are many books which will be useful for students of the kāryas and dramas. But two only deserve special notice, viz., the Jāmāināya of Vānīnātha and the Mokhopadgaveda of Abhirnanda, the Gaḍa. The author of the former poem was a protégé of Jām Sattarsāl (Jāma Satraśālya), who ruled over NāvānaAGR in Kāṭhikāwāḍ from 1569 to 1608. He gives short notices of thirty-two ancestors of his patron and a rather distorted account of the adventures of the latter. The poem possesses, however, considerable interest for the history of Gujarāt, which, for the period of the Musalman ascendency, is known from Musalman sources only. The Mokhopadgaveda is a philosophical poem, extracted from Vāmikī's Rāmāyaṇa. Its author is the same poet who wrote the Kadambarkathadāra and the Henuchārta, and lived, as I have shown elsewhere, in the ninth century of our era.

The acquisitions under the heads grammar, lexicography and philosophy require no special remarks, though it may be noted that the books on Vedānta and especially the Vedānta of the Vaiśeṣika school are very numerous.

MISCELLANEA.

In New Zealand and its Inhabitants, the Rev. R. Taylor mentions that the Maori roots ka, ku, ta, va, and their derivatives convey respectively the idea of 'heat,' 'crookedness,' 'striking,' 'carrying.'

Under the head Alankāra or poetics, there is a manuscript containing a portion of Bhoja's Sarasvatīkāvya, the first which has turned up in Gujarāt, and a small novel entitled Kavi-kāvyaṃkhaṇaṇa composed by the Kāśmirian poet Ksheṃendra-Vañśaṃa. The latter is particularly interesting for its quotations from contemporary literature and the author's own numerous compositions. In the collection of works on Dharma or sacred law, two rare commentaries on Māna's code by Govindarāja and by Nārāyaṇa deserve to be mentioned. The collection of works on astronomy and astrology contains several very rare books. The most important is a very old and tolerably correct copy of Varāhamihira's Panchasiddhāntika, dated Samvat 1873 or 1616-17 A.D. The only other known copy of this work, which was discovered by me in 1876-77, is so incorrect as to be almost useless. The new one is very much better. It comes from Cambay. Next follows a complete manuscript of the Śrīdhūragrāvyas Samhīta, which includes also the famous Yugapurāṇa, a short prophetic account of the early history of India. There is farther a very old, but somewhat damaged copy of Pṛthūdakavāmin's commentary on the Brahmasiddhānta, dated Samvat 1595 or 1538 A.D. It is the first copy which has been obtained in Gujarāt. Finally, I have obtained a good old copy of Bhoja's Karana, the Baijanaangalaka, which hitherto was represented in the Government collection by a modern apograph only from Jēsalī, and a hitherto unknown Samhīta by the same royal polyhistor. Its title is just as that of his Yogakāstra, Baijanārtanda. The manuscript is dated Samvat 1635 or 1578 A.D.

The Jāna manuscripts collected during the past year are not very numerous. But I am glad to report that I have obtained some good, though incomplete, manuscripts of Hemachandra's Sanskrit Dvīpaṅkya, which is the standard authority for the Solanki period of the history of Gujarāt; the same author's hitherto unknown Prakritī Dvīpaṅkya, of which I have already spoken above; and a new historical poem by Arisiṃha called Sukrīkārtatana, which was composed for Vastupāla (A.D. 1220), and gives, besides an account of his charitable gifts and buildings, a complete review of the history of Gujarāt, from the Chāpatikata to the Vāghelās.
of ideas); vāl, a train or tail; vāñjī, a carriage; vālī, a road, way.

A. M. FERGUSON, JR.

ABBOTSFORD, BEDFORD, LINDULA, CEYLON.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN THE BÁWĀLÍ PINDI DISTRICT.

HINDUS.

BETROTHAL.—(Sakhi or Kurnál.)

Among Hindús betrothals are of three kinds, viz.:

1.—Páneakh, where no valuable consideration is received whatever. 2.—Dádák, where an interchange of brides takes place between the two families. 3.—Where money is paid for the bride.

The last is a custom much repudiated, and does not usually prevail among very high-caste Hindús.

The preliminaries having been settled privately between the two families, the parents or guardians of the girl send their purohitas with some sugar, one rupee cash, two pice, two tolas of saffron, and a Brahmanical thread (jáne) to the house of the parents or guardians of the boy. On his arrival the friends and relatives of the boy assemble with their purohitas. A drum (ídol) is beaten, and it is publicly notified to the members of the assembly to such a person's son has been betrothed to such a person's daughter. The boy's purohita draws a figure with saffron or sandár of (ganésa in the vessel containing the jáne, &c., and offers up prayers to Ganesá. The girl's purohita invests the boy with the Brahmanical thread, and affixes a thád of saffron on his forehead. Some batásahas (sugardrops) or raisins are distributed to the friends assembled, and the purohitas are dismissed with a present. There is also for the next two days music and singing in the boy's house.

In some instances the above ceremonies are not observed. There is a simple announcement, when the girl's purohitas is sent, that a betrothal has taken place between the parties, and in cases where there is relationship or confidence between the parties, there is no ceremony of any kind whatever, the parties are content with a private verbal engagement. The betrothal of a widower takes place without any ceremony.

MARRIAGE.—(Biyáth or Shád.)

When a marriage is to be celebrated, two or three months before the event the friends of the bride, with the assistance of the family purohita or priest, fix upon the auspicious day, which is known as the Shád. It is taken down in writing, and this document, which is called the Parchá Shád, is sent by the hand of the family purohita or barber to the parents of the bridegroom.
On receiving the notice, they dismiss the bearer with a present and commence to make preparations for the wedding.

Fifteen days before the marriage the bride is secluded, and is only approached by her female companions who stay near her, and sing bridal songs. This seclusion of the bride is known as Māïyān. Seven days before the marriage some food is distributed, and money given in charity, which is called Bāzūrdōn ki ḍālā.

On the day the marriage is to take place, a new earthen vessel (kumbh) containing water, and a lamp (chirdōgh) are placed before the bride, and before sunset of that day she is bathed and anointed with oil, and her maternal uncle or her father's elder brother encircles her right wrist with ivory churā or bracelets.

The friends of the bride are summoned, and her purohita announces the sādhd, and publishes her and the bridgroom's gotracharā or the names of their great grandfathers, grandfathers, and fathers. In the interim, while the above ceremonies are being enacted in the bride's house, others are taking place in the bridgroom's.

Four or five days before the marriage, a woolen chaplet (ghara) is tied round the wrist of the bridgroom. The Navagraha and Ganesh are worshipped, and food and money are distributed to Brahmas and others: music and singing commence from this date.

A day before the marriage the bridgroom's clothes, as well as those of his relations, are coloured yellow with kasumundh, and in the night his hands and feet are stained with henna. On the next day the friends of his family assemble and are fed, and a contribution of money called Tumbul neṃdrā¹ is levied from them. Presents are made to the family purohita, barber, servants, and mendicants. The jauk or marriage party then start from the house of the bridgroom, who is decorated with a head-dress called the mōr. On approaching the bride's residence, the members of the party dress themselves, and saffron water is sprinkled over their clothes.

A little after dusk the bridgroom's party enter the village or town, and are met a short distance off by a deputation of the bride's father and friends, who salute them, and the bridgroom receives a small present from the bride's father. This is called milōt or pekkhārā. On reaching the bride's residence, the bridgroom and his friends have sherbet served out to them, and the comfort of the guests is attended to.

If the omens are favourable for the performance of the ceremony, it takes place that very night. If not, it will take place on the following night.

When everything is ready, the bridgroom is taken into the house of the bride's father, and made to open the door of a room where the bride is seated with her companions. Here he receives another present from the bride's father. The bride's purohita now gives a paper to the bridgroom's purohita, in which are recorded the names of the bride's great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and he measures the bridgroom with a piece of raw cotton thread. Presents of ornaments and clothes are made to the bridgroom's father. Four posts are erected at the four angles of a square, over which is stretched a canopy of red cloth. Under this canopy the bridgroom seats himself on a basket turned upside down. To the right, and by the side of it, a similar seat is prepared for the bride, who sits on it, but is separated by a cloth screen from the bridgroom. The near relatives and the purohita approach the enclosure. The gotracharā or ancestral list is taken by the bride's purohita together with seven vessels of sweetmeats and placed before the bridgroom. An earthen vessel of water (kumbh) and a lamp (chirdōgh) are also deposited within the enclosure.

Figures of Ganesh and other divinities are made of wheaten flour and placed in the enclosure, and prayers to Ganesh and the Navagraha are offered up. The purohita then places the ancestral list, the jaukō, and a rupees in the boy's lap, and gives a piece of sweetmeat from each of the seven pots to the bridgroom to eat. Some practical jokes, such as thumping and pinching by the younger female members of the bride's family, are usually carried on, and goodnaturedly submitted to by the bridgroom and his younger relatives up to this stage of the proceedings, but they cease now, and are no longer practised or attempted.

The ceremony of the Kanyāddhāna now takes place. The bride's father places the right hand of the bride in the right hand of the bridgroom, and takes some water in the palm of the right hand, and putting it over their clasped hands, gives the girl away. The purohita repeating the words of the saukalpa as follows:—

On this day, at such an hour, I give my daughter, Bhāgārā, whose great grandfather was Bānāk Rām, whose grandfather was Bākhā Kām, whose father is Ātāl Rām, to Bhāmkānd, whose great grandfather was Mnath Chand, whose grand-father, &c., &c. The father of the bride responds Sāvet—Amen! and enquires from the bridgroom if he will nourish and cherish the woman. His reply is, "God will do so."

Then a corner of the bridgroom's dopāṭā or scarf is tied to a corner of the bride's sheet, and the bridgroom gets up, followed by the bride be-

¹ Neṃdrā or Neṃdā, a Punjabi word, signifying a marriage contribution.
hind him, and in this manner they both perambulate seven times round the vessel of water (kūmbh) and the lamp (chirdgh). This is called Ladosphere. The marriage is now deemed complete and irrevocable.

The purohitas and others are then dismissed with presents. The contributions of the friends and relations of the bride are then made under the name of Tambał or Neundrā as in the house of the bridegroom. The dowry is given, and after a stay of two days, during which time there is feasting, singing, and music, the assembled guests depart. The servants, mendicants, and others receive presents as renumerations or charity. On the third day the bride is carried home in a gold or litter preceded by music, and followed by the bridegroom on horseback, and his friends. The bridegroom is shaded by a large round red umbrella called a sīrūshā, which is usually carried by the līdār, or dyer of his native town or village.

It should be noted here that the Ladosphere is essential to marriage, all other rites or ceremonies can, and are, on rare occasions, dispensed with, except the Ladosphere, but when parties are married by the Ladosphere only, the marriage is called Chori-kū-boyād, or stolen wedding.

Marriage of Widows.

Widows are not permitted to marry by law or custom, but among low caste men, such as Sonārs, Auras, Chimbis and Jats, an observance called Chāddar-Jalā is commonly observed. There is no particular ceremony: only a white Chāddar or sheet is coloured yellow at the four corners with saffron, and the man throws it over the woman's head, and the rite is complete. Jay-Sikhs do this in a Dharamsālā, and also prepare kālva (kārdh), which they distribute among the spectators.

MUHAMMADANS.

Betrothal.—(Nīkā.)

There are three kinds of betrothals among Muhammadans—1. 1wās Mu'āwīs—a where an interchange of brides takes place between the two families. 2. Where money is paid for the bride. 3. Among respectable and well-to-do people, where nothing is given or taken.

The boy's father goes to the girl's father, and asks for the girl for his son. If the father be agreeable, the boy's father sends ghī, sugar and rice for a feast, and on a day fixed for the occasion, the father of the boy, with some friends, his family barber and musician, proceed to the house of the girl, where the food is prepared and distributed. The barber and musician of the girl's family are also present.

The contract of betrothal is ratified by the boy's father calling out—"O God—vouchsafe thy mercies, and may all end well!" The girl's family barber brings a brass dish (ṭhāli), and places it before the assembly with ghī and sugar in it. The boy's people throw some jewellery, and the boy's father some clothes into the dish, which the barber and the musician carry to the girl's father, who takes as much as he thinks proper, and returns the rest. Some return all. The barber and musician get one or two rupees each out of it. Sherbet is served out to the boy's friends by the barber, or musician. If the boy's father be rich, he gives a present of a gold mohar to the girl's father. If he be poor, a rupee is usually given. This is called a nihād or token. After the betrothal, on some day not later than the eleventh, the females of the boy's family pay a visit with music and singing to the girl's house, and there get sprinkled with haldī water by the relations of the girl, and the parents of the boy receive as presents some clothes and a ring. The girl conceals herself now from the relations of the boy and from the boy himself, and afterwards at the occurrence of every grand festival, or until the marriage takes place clothes are sent for the use of the girl by the boy's father.

But sometimes simultaneously with the betrothal there is a rite performed which is as binding as the nihād or marriage, and which indeed is the nihād only that it is not followed by consummation. This ceremony, which is called the shava-janād, generally takes place when the boy's father does not implicitly rely on a verbal promise, and fears that a breach of contract is likely to take place hereafter. It is not attended with any festivities, and the bride is not taken away from her parent's home. She is allowed to remain with her parents until she is grown up, or until her husband has the means to bring a jān or bardī with music, and after the usual festivities to take her away to his house according to ancient form and custom.

Marriage.—(Nikāh or Shādī.)

It should be observed at the outset that among all Muhammadans, except those of the strictest sort, a great many Hindō customs are followed on occasions of the Shādī. For instance, the bridegroom has the pahūd tied round his waist. His clothes and those of his near relatives are coloured yellow with tān and kasamūn, and the bridegroom's hands and feet are stained with henna. A feast is given by his parents, and the Neundrā is contributed by their friends. The bride is also secluded in Māliyān, and there is much singing by the women accompanied by the tum-tom of

2 A Punjābī term.
the Dommāt or wife of the family musician. But these are not essential to the validity of a Muhammadan marriage. Indeed they are dispensed with in families which follow the Shara' or Muhammadan law strictly.

The Nikāh is performed as follows:—The parents of the parties settle beforehand a date for the ceremony. If the date is eight days hence, they put eight knots on a piece of cotton thread which they circulate by the hand of the family barber among their friends and relatives. This is called Gāndā.

On the day fixed, the bridegroom’s father goes to the bride’s father with a janī or bardī. The bridegroom riding on horseback with a sirga or red umbrella carried over his head by the ildār or dyer, and on arrival on that same night, if a Shara’ jumā has not already taken place, the Nikāh is read, but if a Shara’ jumā has already been performed between the parties at time of the betrothal, there is no necessity for a second similar ceremony, but as a rule, and particularly if the girl has arrived at the age of womanhood since her betrothal, a second Nikāh is usually celebrated by the Qāzī of the village or Mullah when a janī or bardī comes to fetch the bride. Indeed it is held by pious Muhammadans to be rather a meritorious act than otherwise if the ceremony of Nikāh between man and wife be repeated regularly once a week, or on every Friday, and this is not to be wondered at when we consider that according to their creed there are numberless sins of omission and commission which are held to be sufficiently grave to weaken, if not to destroy, the marriage tie altogether.

The preliminaries having been arranged, and the provisions and money for the feast having been supplied by the bridegroom’s father, if the bride’s father be too poor to incur the expenses of a feast, food is cooked, and the guests having been fed, and the menials paid, the Nikāh is celebrated.

If the bride is not of age, she is not questioned, but her father or guardian says that he has, in the name of God, given her to this man. The bridegroom answers that he is willing to take her. Should the girl be full-grown, still the parents usually make the contract, but she has the option of refusing, when the Nikāh is not performed, but if she remain silent the ceremony proceeds.

If the woman cannot appear in public, her consent to marriage is taken by her vati and witnesses. The bridegroom, whose face is covered by the sehrā or veil, is made to repeat the Istighdār, the four Qulās, the five Kalimās, the Sifāt-i-Ismā, and the Du’d-i-Qandāt.

The dower is fixed according to the means of the parties, but if it is not fixed, or omitted, the marriage is still valid.

After the ceremony the bridegroom and all his people receive the congratulations of the assemblage, and the Qāzī, who officiates, gets a fee according to the position in life of the parties, but if is never less than a rupee.

Among Muhammadan Bājpūts and other tribes of Hindī origin, a Brahman, before the Nikāh, performs the Hindī rite of Law constituted, but this is now falling rapidly out of use owing to the protests and remonstrances of the Mullahs; nevertheless even when the Brahman is not summoned, his fee is invariably sent to him on the occasion of every marriage. Music and festivities are only signs of marriage. They are in no wise essential to it and are often dispensed with.

After the Nikāh the girl is taken to the bridegroom’s house in a dālā accompanied by the wife of the barber or musician, who gets a present on arrival of the bride at her husband’s house.

Marriage of Widows.

A widow is free to marry, but it is usual for them first to restrict their choice among the relatives of the deceased husband, failing this, a widow may marry whenever she likes, though it is not considered decorous for her to marry out of her tribe.

The Origin of the Gipsies.

It has been repeated until the remark has become a sort of truism that the gipsies are a mysterious race, and that nothing is known of their origin. And a few years ago this was true; but within those years so much has been discovered that present there is really no more mystery attached to the beginning of these nomads than is peculiar to many other peoples. What these discoveries or grounds of belief are we shall proceed to give briefly, our limits not permitting the detailed citation of authorities. First, then, there appears to be every reason for believing with Captain Richard Burton that the Jāts of N.-W. India furnished so large a proportion of the emigrants or exiles who, from the tenth century, went out of India westward, that there is very little risk in assuming it as an hypothesis, at least, that they formed the Hauptstämme of the Gipsies of Europe. What other elements entered into these, with whom we are all familiar, will be considered presently. These gipsies came from India, where caste is established and callings are hereditary even among out-castes. It is not assuming too much to suppose that, as they evinced a marked aptitude for certain pursuits and an
inveterate attachment to certain habits, their ancestors had in these respects resembled them for ages. These pursuits and habits were, that they were tinkers, smiths, and farriers.

They dealt in horses, and were naturally familiar with them.

They were without religion.

They were unscrupulous thieves.

Their women were fortune-tellers, especially by chiromancy.

They ate without scruple animals which had died a natural death, being especially fond of the pig, which, when it has thus been "butchered by God," is still regarded, even by the most prosperous gypsies in England, as a delicacy.

They slewed animals, carried corpses, and showed such aptness for these and similar detested callings that in several European countries they long monopolized them.

They made and sold mats, baskets, and small articles of wood.

They have shown great skill as dancers, musicians, singers, acrobats; and it is a rule almost without exception that there is hardly a travelling company of such performers, or a theatre in Europe or America, in which there is not at least one person with some Romany blood.

Their hair remains black to advanced age, and they retain it longer than do Europeans or ordinary Orientals.

They speak an Aryan tongue, which agrees in the main with that of the Jats, but which contains words gathered from other Indian sources.

Admitting these as the peculiar pursuits of the Jats, the next step should be to consider what are the principal nomadic tribes of gypsies in India and Persia, and how far their occupations agree with those of the many of Europe. That the Jats probably supplied the main stock has been admitted. This was a bold race of North Western India which at one time had such power as to obtain important victories over the Khalifs. They were broken and dispersed in the eleventh century by Mahmud, many thousands of them wandering to the West. They were without religion, "of the horse, horsey" and notorious thieves. In this they agree with the European gipsy. But they are not habitual eaters of *sello bread*, or "dead pork*; they do not devour everything like dogs. We cannot ascertain that the Jats is specially a musician, a dancer, a mat and basket-maker, a rope-dancer, a bear-leader, or a pedlar. We do not know whether they are peculiar in India among the Indians for keeping their hair unchanged to old age, as do pureblood English gipsies. All of these things are, however, markedly characteristic of certain different kinds of wanderers, or gipsies, in India. From this we conclude—hypothetically—that the Jats were supplemented by other tribes; chief among these may have been the Doms.

The Doms are a race of gipsies found from Central India to the far Northern frontier, where a portion of their early ancestry appear as the Domar, and are supposed to be pre-Aryan. In The People of India, edited by J. Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye (India Museum, 1888), we are told that the appearance and modes of life of the Doms indicate a marked difference from those who surround them in Behar. The Hindus admit their claim to antiquity. Their designation in the Sástak is *Sopak,* meaning dog-eater. They are wanderers, they make baskets and mats, and are invertebrate drinkers of spirits, spending all their earnings on it. They have almost a monopoly as to burning corpses and handling all dead bodies. They eat all animals which have died a natural death, and are particularly fond of pork of this description. Notwithstanding profligate habits, many of them attain the age of eighty or ninety; and it is not till sixty or sixty-five that their hair begins to get white." The Domar are a mountain race, nomads, shepherds and robbers. Travellers speak of them as "gipsies." A specimen which we have of their language would, with the exception of one word, which is perhaps an error of the transcriber, be intelligible to any English gipsy, and be called pure Romany.

Finally, the ordinary Dom calls himself a Dom, his wife a Domai, and the being a Dom, or the collective gipsydom, Domipana. *D* in Hindustani is found as *r* in English gipsy speech—e.g., *doi,* a wooden spoon, is known in Europe as *ro.*

Now in common Romany we have, even in London:

*Rom* ... A gipsy.

*Romni* ... A gipsy wife.

*Romipna* ... Gipsydom.

Of this word *rom* we shall have more to say. It may be observed that there are in the Indian Dom certain distinctly marked and degrading features, characteristic of the European gipsy, which are out of keeping with the habits of warriors, and of the daring Aryan race which withstood the Khalifs. Grubbing in filth as if by instinct, handling corpses, making baskets, eating carrion, living for drunkenness, does not agree with anything we can learn of the Jats. Yet the European gipsies are all this, and at the same time "horsey" like the Jats. Is it not extremely probable that during the "out-wandering" the Dom communicated his name and habits to his fellow-emigrants?

* Or *Sapak,* Manu, X, 38. — Ed.
The marked musical talent characteristic of the Slavonian and other European gipsies appears to link them with the Luri of Persia. These are distinctly gipsies; that is to say, they are wanderers, thieves, fortune-tellers and minstrels. The Shah-Namaeh of Firdusi tells us that about the year 420 A.D., Shankal, the Maharaja of India, sent to Behram Gour, a ruler of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia, ten thousand minstrels, male and female, called Luli. Though lands were allotted to them, with corn and cattle, they became from the beginning irremovable vagabonds. Of their descendants, as they now exist, Sir Henry Pottinger says:

"They bear a marked affinity to the gipsies of Europe." They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, have a king to each troop, and are notorious for kidnapping and pilfering. Their principal pastimes are drinking, dancing, and music. They are invariably attended by half-a-dozen of bears and monkeys that are broke in to perform all manner of grotesque tricks. In each company there are always two or three members who profess... modes of divining which procure them a ready admission into every society.''

This account, especially with the mention of trained bears and monkeys, identifies them with the Riknari, or bear-leading gipsies of Syria (also called Nuri), Turkey, and Roumania. A party of these lately came to England. We have seen these Syrian Riknari in Egypt. They are unquestionably gipsies, and it is probable that many of them accompanied the early migration of Jats and Doms.

The Nats or Nare are Indian wanderers, who, as Dr. J. Forbes Watson declares, in The People of India, "correspond to the European gipsy tribes," and were in their origin probably identical with the Luri. They are musicians, dancers, conjurors, acrobats, fortune-tellers, blacksmiths, robbers, and dwellers in tents. They eat everything except garlic. There are also in India the Banjari, who are spoken of by travellers as "gipsies." They are travelling merchants or pedlars. Among all of these wanderers there is a current slang of the roads, as in England. This slang extends even into Persia. Each tribe has its own, but the general name for it is Rom.

It has never been pointed out, however, that there is in Northern and Central India a distinct tribe, which is regarded, even by the Nats and Doms and Jats themselves, as peculiarly and distinctly gipsy. We have met in London with a poor Muhammadan Hindoo of Calcutta. This man had in his youth lived with these wanderers, and been, in fact, one of them. He had also, as is common with intelligent Mahomedans, written his autobiography, embodying in it a vocabulary of the Indian gipsy language. This MS. had unfortunately been burned by his English wife, who informed us that she had done so "because she was tired of seeing a book lying about which she could not understand." With the assistance of an eminent Oriental scholar who is perfectly familiar with both Hindustani and Romany, this man was carefully examined. He declared that these were the real gipsies of India, "like English gipsies here." "People in India called them Trublis or Syrians, a missapplied word, derived from a town in Syria, which in turn bears the Arabic name for Tripoli. But they were, as he was certain, pure Hindoos, and not Syrian gipsies. They had a peculiar language, and called both this tongue and themselves Rom. In it bread was called Mauro." Mauro is all over Europe the gipsy word for bread. In English Romany it is softened into muro or morro. Captain Burton has since informed us that mauro is the Afghan word for bread; but this our ex-gipsy did not know. He merely said that he did not know it in any Indian dialect except that of the Rom, and that the Rom was the general slang of the road, derived, as he supposed, from the Trublis.

These are, then, the very gipsies of gipsies in India. They are thieves, fortune-tellers, and vagrants. But whether they have or had any connexion with the migration to the West we cannot establish. Their language and their name would seem to indicate it; but then it must be borne in mind that the word Rom, like Dom, is one of wide dissemination, D. O. M. being a Syrian gipsy word for the race. And the very great majority of even English gipsy words are Hindi, with an admixture of Persian, and not belonging to a slang of any kind. As in India, churi is a knife, adk the nose, balia hairs, and so on, with others which would be among the first to be furnished with slang equivalents. And yet these very gipsies are Rom, and the wife is a Romni, and they use words which are not Hindu in common with European gipsies. It is therefore not improbable that in these Trublis, so called through popular ignorance, as they are called Tartars in Egypt and Germany, we have a portion at least of the real stock. It is to be desired that some resident in India would investigate the Trublis.

Next to the word Rom itself, the most interesting in Romany is Zigan, or Tekenan, which is used in twenty or thirty different forms by the people of every country except England, to indicate the gipsy. An incredible amount of far-fetched erudition has been wasted in pursuing this philolog-

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[February, 1881.]
cal ἐγνήσ-ἀταμν. That there are leather-working and saddle-working gipsies in Persia who call themselves Zingan is a fair basis for an origin of the word; but then there are Tchangan gipsies of Jat affinity in the Punjab. Wonderful it is that in this war of words no philologist has paid any attention to what the gipsies themselves say about it. What they do say is sufficiently interesting, as it is told in the form of a legend which is intrinsically curious and probably ancient. It is given as follows in The People of Turkey, by a Consul's Daughter and Wife, edited by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, London, 1878:—

"Although the gipsies are not persecuted in Turkey, the antipathy and disdain felt for their enemies itself in many ways, and appears to be founded upon a strange legend current in the country. This legend says that when the gipsy nation were driven out of their country and arrived at Melkan, they constructed a wonderful machine to which a wheel was attached."

From the context of this imperfectly-told story, it would appear as if the gipsies could not travel further until this wheel should revolve:—

"Nobody appeared to be able to turn it, till in the midst of their vain efforts some evil spirit presented himself under the disguise of a sage, and informed the chief, whose name was Cen, that the wheel would be made to turn only when he had married his sister Gwin. The chief accepted the advice, the wheel turned round, and the name of the tribe after this incident became that of the combined names of the brother and sister, Cen-gwin, the appellation of all the gipsies of Turkey at the present day."

The legend goes on to state that, in consequence of this unnatural marriage, the gipsies were cursed and condemned by Muhammadan saint to wander for ever on the face of the earth. The real meaning of the myth—for myth it is—i very apparent. Cen is a Romany word, generally pronounced Omen, meaning the moon, while Gwin is almost universally rendered Gom or Gom. Gom is given by George Borrow as meaning sun, and we have ourselves heard English gipsies call it Gom, although Gom is usually assumed to be right. Cen-Gom means, therefore, moon-sun. And it may be remarked in this connexion that the Romanian gipsies have a wild legend stating that the sun was a youth who, having fallen in love with his own sister, was condemned as the sun to wander for ever in pursuit of her turned into the moon. A similar legend exists in Greenland and the island of Borneo, and it was known to the old Irish. It was very natural that the gipsies, observing that the sun and moon were always apparently wandering, should have identified their own nomadic life with that of these luminaries. It may be objected by those to whom the term 'solar myth' is as a red rag, that this story, to prove anything, must first be proved itself. This will probably not be far to seek. If it can be found among any of the wanderers in India, it may well be accepted, until something better turns up, as the possible origin of the greatly disputed Zingan.

It is quite as plausible as Dr. Miklosich's derivation from the Arctegani—'Arikanos'—'an unclean heathen Christian sect, who dwelt in Phrygia and Lycaonia from the seventh till the eleventh century'. The mention of Melkan indicates clearly that the moon-sun story came from India before the Romans could have obtained any Greek name. And, if the Romans call themselves Jengan, or Chenkan, or Zin-gan, in the East, it is extremely unlikely that they ever received such a name from the Gorgios in Europe. —Saturday Review, Dec. 13, 1879.

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"At Padampur in Orissa when passing through the village of Labananda, a sort of standing camp of the Labanos or Brinjaras, I was at once struck by the peculiar costumes and brilliant clothing of these Indian gipsies. They immediately recalled to my memory the appearance of the Zingari of the Lower Danube and Wallachia. In two minutes I was surrounded by all the women of the place who commenced to chant and escort me across the fields. In the evening two parties of them came to the camp, and sang for an hour or so in the peculiarly melancholy minor key which characterises all of these people. I was informed by a Russian Prince who travelled in India in 1874, that one of his companions, a Hungarian nobleman, found himself able to converse with the Brinjaras of Central India in consequence of his knowledge of the Zingara language."—Jungle Life in India, by Y. Ball, Esq., M.A., of the Geological Survey of India, p. 516.

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THE NEWLY-ARRANGED INDIA MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Visitors who may pass directly from the Architectural court to the upper gallery will find the first part of it devoted to Indian art furniture and household decorations, such as inlays, carvings, lacquered work, and paintings. In the case of
hideous Bombay and Madras blackwood furnature, a little lacquered native table from Kashmir must not be overlooked. The construction of the legs and the whole decoration of the lower framework are Chinese. The forms of Chinese construction and art are very common in Eastern Hindustan, but it is startling to find them unmistakably naturalized so far to the westward. This is just one of the surprises, however, for which one must always be prepared in an Indian museum. India is always supposed to have remained comparatively isolated from the rest of the world; but the truth is that no country, has been more overrun by the people of other countries, or more exposed to the influences of foreign invasions, conquests, commerce, arts, and probably religions. Among the Kashmir graven parcel-gilt silver-plate will be seen a strange-looking vessel lent by Mr. H. T. Jenkins. It resembles the Indian water-carrier’s ifassak, formed by sewing up the hide of an ox, and leaving its four feet (as prescribed by the code of Manu, B.C. 900–300) intact; and the first thought at seeing it is that it has been designed from a massak. But the classical uter-vina was of the same shape, only made of a goatskin. In the classical askos, modelled from the uter-vina, the handle ends in a pair of couching goats. The handle in this Kashmir vessel ends in a pair of tigers, clearly proving that its designer had no idea of modelling from a massak, or he would have put two oxen at the end of the handle; and that he was really copying from a Greek or Roman askos, or a modern copy of one, simply substituting tigers for goats, as more familiar decorative forms in his art.

In the pottery room, among the Madura glazed pots, is a curious-looking object. It is formed of a series of vases united together round a central vase. It is identical with the Greek sepulchral vase known as the keros.

Mr. Fergusson has said that if the description given by Josephus of the Temple of Jerusalem, as rebuilt by Herod, be read with the plan of a Hindu temple, such as that of Tirnavelly, it is impossible to escape the conviction that their coincidences are wholly accidental. But the really astounding fact is the obvious resemblance which the sanctuaries of some of these southern Indian temples bear to the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Jerusalem. In the great Temple of Chidambaram, the object of worship is vasaum (omagataya) itself, by which term the Hindus are in the habit also of designating the object of Muhammadan worship. There are numerous images of the gods and goddesses to be found in the subsidiary shrines; but the shrine of the temple is only empty space. It is enclosed by a superb structure of sandalwood, profusely decorated with gold and silver plates. A thick curtain screens the interior from all human sight, save that of the high priest, who is permitted to enter it but once in every year. When Wolf, the missionary, first came to Bombay, and was taken to witness the service at one of the Hindu temples there, he fell into a fit of passionate weeping at seeing, as he expressed it, the ritual of the Levites desecrated to the service of idols. It is, in short, vain to seek for the origin of the forms of art. Forms pass to and fro, and what alone remains with a people is the expression of their art. . . .

There is an obvious correlation between the mind and hand, and the more carefully the natural freshness of the mind is preserved, the stronger will be the impress of the individuality of any people on their art and the greater its vitality and assimilative power; and it is for the very reason that so much of their work is done instinctively by, as it were, the unconscious celebration of the hand, that the workmanship of the Hindus, from whencsoever they may borrow its designs, generally bears the indelible expression which distinguishes Indian art.

Beyond the furniture and pottery are the arms, above which hang the banners of the Hindu guardian deities of the eight quarters of the globe—viz., of Indra, guardian of the east, Agni of the south-east, Yama of the south, Surya of the south-west, Varuna of the west, Vayu of the north-west, Kubera of the north, and Soma of the north-east. Nothing could be more simple, practical and picturesque than the arrangement of the arms, or more superb than the armorer’s and jeweller’s art shown in many of them, particularly in the many splendid specimens so graciously lent by the Queen. Real grandeur of effect has been attained in this room, and one feels it to be worthy of the Louvre itself. . . .

The catalogue of the old India Museum collection of arms, which has been prepared by the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P., and published by the India Office,1 will prove a most interesting and invaluable guide to this section of the Museum. In the jewelry room beyond, the eye scarcely knows where to look, there are so many objects of engaging attraction. In the centre cases are the specimens of jade, many of them unique examples of the best period of Mogul art in India. The collection was bought from the late Colonel S. Guthrie for about £2,000. There can be no manner of doubt that its intrinsic worth is not less than £70,000. The large bowl
with a cover has a very interesting history. It was purchased about 30 years ago by Colonel Guthrie without the cover, which had disappeared for generations. Some years ago it turned up at a sale in London, and was purchased by Mr. Arthur Wells, of Nottingham, who possesses the finest collection of Indian agates in existence; and he, on hearing of the transfer of the India Museum, at once offered the cover to the Science and Art Department for the price he gave for it, about £30. It takes a year or two years to bore a single hole, or cut the smallest portion of ornament in jade, and this bowl, with its cover, occupied three generations of one family of artists in the employment of the Moghul Emperors in its manufacture, and must have cost the Emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahân, and Aurangzib, between them, not less than £5,000. It would at this moment fetch probably double that price in China or Japan. The weight, dimensions, and photographs of all the other pieces of the Moghul period of this collection of jade should be carefully taken and recorded. The whole gallery beyond, which brings us to the end of the Museum, is allotted to brass, copper, and other metalwork.—The Times, May 15, 1880.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. Proper Names.—In the Indian Antiquary vol. IX, page 229, a custom of giving certain names to children is referred to, which also prevails north of Madras among all castes of the Telugu-speaking people, with the exception of the Brahman and Rau caste.

The following names are given to children that are born after the death of their predecessors:

1. Puliya (mas.), Pullamā (fem.)—from puli akalu, 'leaves' from which, used as plates, a meal has been eaten. These are thrown out on a heap, and when the infant is born, two or three are brought, and it is placed on them.

Another explanation is this: the word pulli means 'a hole': the dead child has left one, and the newborn one has filled it up.

2. Pentiā (mas.), Pentamā (fem.)—from penta dung—the same ceremony as at page 229.

3. Sanisā (mas.), Sanisamā (fem.). In the ceremony of bathing the child, ashes are brought from an ash heap, and sprinkled on the infant.

4. Vulaiki (mas.), Vulkikunā (fem.): the meaning of this word is 'nothing.' In a family where all the children have died after birth, and another is born, there is great commotion in the house; the neighbours ask what is the matter, and they are answered 'Oh it is nothing (vulaka), only another child born.'

5. Konia (mas.), Konemā (fem.): should his predecessors have died shortly after birth, when the following ceremony is performed: A hole (koni) is dug under the framework of the entrance door of the house where the birth has taken place; through this hole the newborn child is passed from the outside into the house, and the name is pronounced. The mother never changes her name.

These ceremonies are not customary among the Muhammadans now, but they say it is done south; they do not consider them orthodox, and do not intermarry with them.

After naming the child the right side of the nostril and by some the right ear also is pierced, and a gold wire with a round knob at the end inserted. This is customary with all, but the money to make the gold ornament must be begged for by rich and poor, as it is contrary to custom for the parents to make it from their own means.

There are many more names, mostly near the coast, but these I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

Among the Koyas a similar custom prevails, but the only two names used are Konia and Pul.

I cannot ascertain from inquiry what is the origin of this custom; can any of your readers?

T. Vanstaeren.

Dumagudem, 24th September 1889.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Royal Asiatic Society.—At the meeting of the Society, 15th November 1880, Prof. Monier Williams, C.I.E., read a paper "On Indian Theistic Reformers," in which, after pointing out that Monotheism is not of recent growth in India, he traced the development of the modern form of Theism there from Rammohan Roy, who formulated a system which may be described as Unitarianism based on Brahmanism, through his successor, Debendranath, who improved on Rammohan Roy's work by founding the Adi-Brahma Samaj, to Keshab Chandra Sen, who threw off altogether both Brahmanism and caste, and founded his new progressive Brahma Samaj in 1866. In his present eclectic form of theism, drawn from Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity, he teaches a worship of God under the character of a Supreme Mother.
BOOK NOTICES.

Geography of India, comprising a descriptive outline of all India, and a detailed geographical, commercial, social and political account of each of its provinces, with historical notes. By Geo. Duncan. (10th ed. 1860. pp. 182. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1881.)

This little book is intended for the use of schools, and is very neatly got up by the publishers, and illustrated with 17 woodcuts, of which the one on p. 155 given as "View, Jaipur," is not a view of Jaipur, though it may stand for some other place in that part of India. Considerable attention seems to have been devoted to the insertion of the transliterated vernacular spellings of names, but not always successfully, as in cases like 'Krishna' for 'Krishna,' 'Bhitna' for 'Bhitna, and like Márkthi 'Chandarmagar,' 'Amaroeti,' 'Daulagiri,' 'Mhao,' 'Bhroch,' 'Bilgàon,' 'Pandhápur, 'Jalandhári,' &c. Nor is the information always correct: Girnar is more than 2,500 feet high; Ñäsik was not anciently called Panchavati, but the suburb opposite is Panchavati still; nor is Chopra one of the two largest towns in Khandesh. A similar little book is published by T. Nelson and Sons, London.


Mr. Sewell's official report on his excavations at the Amaravati Tope in April-May 1877 has been published in Her Majesty's Printers' best style of type and super-royal 4to toned paper. Besides the report of his own operations and a full description of every stone he excavated, with speculations on the subjects of the various sculptures, occupying pages 31-55, the author has collected into this report long extracts (pp. 10-59) from the accounts, published and unpublished, of Col. C. Mackenzie, with descriptions of his excavations and those of Sir W. Elliot, &c.; a detailed description of the twenty-two Amaravati marbles in the library at Bejwâla; and a facsimile, with transliteration and translation by Prof. Eggeling, of a fragment of a large inscription now in the British Museum.

Mr. Sewell's account of each of the 59 marbles obtained by him at Amaravati, and of the 29 previously lodged at Bejwâla, seems to be drawn up with great care: and it was most desirable they should be described by their finder as soon after they were unearthed as possible; but, since it was found impracticable to illustrate these descriptions so as to make them intelligible to those not otherwise familiar with them; and, moreover, since the whole mound has more recently been dug up by orders of the Duke of Buckingham, and photographs taken, both of the marbles first ex-

cavated by Mr. Sewell and of the others found since, it seems unnecessary to have combined with this report so much extraneous matter that would more appropriately have formed part of a complete account of both his own and the more recent excavations, with the illustrations necessary to make the descriptions practically useful.

Since the publication of Mr. Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, the Amaravati Tope has become familiar to all interested in Indian antiquities. Col. Mackenzie, in 1816-17, had careful drawings made of 97 separate marble slabs, pillars, &c., and about 18 of the stones are now in England, while 7 others were sent to Calcutta, and some are at Madras and Musulipatam, but probably 60 or 70 of them were left on the spot and broken up or burnt into lime by the villagers. Sir Walter Elliot in 1845 excavated a second large series of slabs, now partly at Madras but the larger portion at the British Museum. Those in the Madras Museum were photographed by Col. Tripe, and those in England are produced in the second portion of Tree and Serpent Worship. The Duke of Buckingham has now dug out all that was left, and, as Mr. Ferguson's work is all but out of print, the new materials will naturally be available for a third edition of it, which we hope will be undertaken soon. Meanwhile the results of the later excavations will be anxiously waited for.

Nothing can be more praiseworthy than the effort made by Mr. Sewell to render an accurate account of the exact position in which he found each stone. His descriptions of the sculptures are, too, well written, though, like some other writers of strong imaginativeness, he is somewhat too fond of tracing resemblances and finding the origin of things where soberer workers would strongly deny any connection; thus he is not satisfied with an indigenous or even a Greco-Baktrian origin for the roll-ornament of leaves and flowers so frequent on architraves and friezes, but must trace it to the serpent symbols on the sarcophagus of Omenepthah I of Egypt.

The fragment of an inscription given, with transliteration and translation by Prof. Eggeling, contains no historical information; it is the same as was given in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. VI. pp. 216 ff' and plate xi. Besides this plate, there are other two to illustrate his excavations; and one—a "Sketch" of Dipâlîmune by Col. Mackenzie, made in 1816. Why this latter should have been selected, which is manifestly a mere eye-sketch, incorrect in details as well as in scale, in preference to the surveyed plan published by Ferguson (plate xivii) is by no means clear, and is apt to mislead.
Bádámí, the ancient Vátápi or Vátápi, is the chief town of the Taluká of the same name in the Káliágí District, and is situated about four miles from the left bank of the Malpré or Malpréá river, in Lat. 15° 55' N. and Long. 75° 45' E. I have explained the origin of its name at Vol. VIII, p. 238.

In addition to possessing many architectural remains, which have been described by Mr. Burgess in the First Archaeological Report, pp. 15 et seq., Bádámí is fairly rich in inscriptions. I have already published three of them in this Series;—the fragments of a Pallava and of a Western Cháulkya inscription, No. LXXXIII, at Vol. IX, p. 99, and a Western Cháulkya tablet of Jagaákatamallá II.,1 dated Sáka 1061 (A. D. 1139-40), No. XXXIII, at Vol. VI, p. 139. I now give all the remaining inscriptions that are at present known to exist at this place, with lithograph facsimiles of the most interesting of them.

After the Pallava fragment mentioned above, the earliest, of known date, is the Sanskritic inscription of the Cháulkya king Maṅgaláraja, Maṅgalála, or Maṅgaláśvara, on a pillar in the verandah of the Vaisháya Cave No. III. Dr. Eggeling's version of this inscription has been given at Vol. III, p. 305, and in the First Archaeol. Report, p. 23; and my own version of it, at Vol. VI, p. 369, in the Second Archaeol. Report, p. 287, with some corrections notified in the Third Archaeol. Report, p. 119.

The original facsimile, published with Dr. Eggeling's paper in this Journal and as Plate XXXII. of the First Archaeol. Report, did not altogether do justice to the original. Accordingly a fresh lithograph,2 from the original stammapage made by Mr. Burgess, has been prepared under my personal superintendence, and is published herewith. The original covers a space of 3' 7" high by 2' 1" broad.

1 No. 44 of Pall, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.
2 No. 30 of P., S., and O.C., Inscriptions.
3 Priness's Useful Tables, p. 154, in 'Thomas' edition of Indian Antiquities, Vol. II.

It is unnecessary to repeat my translation and explanation here. It is a Cañkya or Cháulkya inscription of Maṅgaláśvara, and is dated Sáka 500 (A. D. 578-9), in the twelfth year of his reign; and it records the construction, or rather the completion, of the Cave as a temple of the god Vishnu, the installation of an image of Vishnu in it, and the grant of the village of Láñájára. This inscription, therefore, fixes Sáka 489 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgaláśvara. It is also of extreme interest as determining, with a precision not previously attained, the starting-point of the Sáka era. This era has been supposed to date "from the birth of Saivávaha, a mythological prince of the Deklan, who opposed Víkramáditya, the Epli of Ujjayini."3 It is here said distinctly to date "from the anointment, or coronation, of the Sáka king."

In the Jour. Bo. Dr. R. As. Soc., Vol. XIV, p. 23, among some remarks on the dates of the early Cháulkyas, Professor Bhándarkar has interpreted the date of this inscription to be the twelfth year of the reign, not of Maṅgaláśvara, but of his elder brother Kértivarma I. I cannot agree with him in this. His chief objection seems to be to explain the date,—"the twentieth year of the augmenting reign of victory, and the year five-hundred and thirty-two of the Sáka era,"—of the grant published by Mr. K. T. Téláng at Jour. Bo. Dr. R. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 348, to be the twentieth year of the reign of Maṅgaláśvara; in which case, of course, it would follow that Sáka 500 cannot have been the twelfth year of his reign, and that Kértivarma I. must have died, and Maṅgaláśvara succeeded him, not in Sáka 489, but in Sáka 513. My own opinion as to Mr. K. T. Téláng's grant is that it is a Cháulkya grant, and is of the reign of Maṅgaláśvara; but that the "twentieth year of the augmenting reign of victory," refers, not to the reign of Maṅgaláśvara, but to the governorship of the local viceroy and granter,4 and is

Satyáraja-Dhruvaraśa-Indravarma. He was inclined at first to read 'yuvrajya,' instead of dhruvaraśa; but, as pointed out by him, the letter, as engraved, is certainly not yu, and a further difficulty is raised by the epithet dàmadaśak deserialize, for, if Indravarma was a Cháulkya Yuvaraja, he could have been only of the Cháulkya lineage. I cannot explain bopaśa, any more...
calculated from the date of the conquest of Rêvatidvîpa by Maṅgallīvâra, and not from the commencement of his reign.

Professor Bândâjâkâr’s line of argument is,—1st, as an addition reason for holding that Kårtitvarnâ I. must have died in Saka 513 and not in Saka 489, that “since Pulikêsâ II, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hiwen Thang saw him, in about A. D. 639 (Saka 560-1), he must” [if Kårtitvarnâ, died in Saka 489] “have been at least seventy-eight years old; and a man verging on eighty can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulikêsâ was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him.”—

And, with special regard to the interpretation of the date of the inscription under discussion, 2, that “the granter of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign.”—3, that “there is nothing in the inscription to show that Maṅgallīvâra was reigning at the time.”—4, that “on the contrary, from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit, arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother Kårtitvarnâ, it appears pretty clear that he was not, but that he was probably his brother’s general or lieutenant, and thus characterises his act as a piece of obedient service.”

I have to reply,—1, There are certainly some difficulties, still to be explained, in respect of the ages of the early Chalukyas; especially if we accept as genuine the date of Saka 411 which is attributed to Pulikêsâ I. But, as to this, I have said all that I have to say at present at Vol. VII, p. 210; except that, in Hiwen Thang’s account of Pulikêsâ II, as given by Mr. Burgess at Vol. VII, p. 290, I can find nothing to indicate that he was a man of any remarkable physical vigour when Hiwen Thang saw him, and nothing opposed to the supposition that he was then of extreme old age.—2, It is certainly true that the granter of land, when he happens to belong to the royal family at all, is not in every case the reigning sovereign. But the inscriptions always make this point clear one way or the other; and the present inscription certainly does so. The instances selected by Prof. Bândâjâkâr in illustration of his remark on this point are not altogether happy ones. For, Nâgavardhana of the Nirupa plates did not belong to the direct line of the Western Chalukyas of Vatâpi, and there is nothing in the wording of his grant to indicate that he was subordinate to them, and, on the contrary, it reads as if he had independent power of his own, though perhaps in an outlying part of dominions which were nominally theirs. And, taking the Nerdr and Kochdr plates of Vija-yabhaṭṭârikâ both together, there can be no doubt that she did reign after her husband Chandrâditya’s death,—probably as regent during the childhood of a son whose subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramâditya I.—3, So far from there being nothing in the present inscription to indicate that Maṅgallīvâra was reigning at the time, it reads specifically as if he was the reigning sovereign. The Haidarâhad grant of Pulikêsâ II is dated dâmanah pravardhâmanâ-râjyaabhâishêka-sauvâcara-tritiya ‘in the third year of Our own augmenting installation in the sovereignty’; and the Nerdr grant of Vija-yabhaṭṭârikâ is dated svardhyâ-pacharana-sesai(sauvâ)svadard, ‘in the fifth year of her own reign.’ But, in all the other published dated grants of the Western Chalukyas of Vatâpi, the expression recording the year of the reign is, though it may differ slightly in the choice of words, exactly analogous to the pravardhâmanâ-râjya-sauvâcara (svadâd) of the present inscription, and neither dâman nor swa is used. On the analogy of all those inscriptions, as well as by the ordinary rules of construction,—as there is nothing in the text to distinctly refer the twelfth year to the reign of any one else, it can only be referred to the reign of Maṅgallīvâra.—4, In the present inscription Maṅgallīvâra describes himself as being possessed of a desire to obey his elder brother Kårtitvarnâ I, and prays on this ground for a reward away, I should think it not at all impossible that dharya-râja, or rather dharya-svadâna, is a mistake by the engraver for yuvarâja, and that in Satyârâja-Indrâvarna we have the name of the son of Maṅgallâvra, who is mentioned, but is not named, in I. 7 of the Aîhole Mûgshi inscription (Vol. VIII, p. 241).—See the Aîhole Mûgshi inscription, l. 6; and the Mûrâ plate (Vol. VII, p. 13).

ON A PILASTER IN THE VERANDAH OF
THE VAISHNAVAY CAVE No. III., AT BADAMI.
ON THE ROCK NEAR THE VAISHNAVA CAVE No. 111, AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BUNDES.
in respect of his actions. The reward desired is, of course, a religious reward. Where a grant is made otherwise than of the original motion of the person who actually makes it, it is always said to be made,—either viñjāpanayā" or bi-
napadītā,’11 ‘at the request’ of such and such a one, where that person is inferior in authority to the person who makes the grant,—or anumānyā’yā,’12 niyāmadhitā,’13 besadhitā,’14 ‘at the order,’ or nīrāpadītā,’15 ‘by the appointment,’ of such and such a one, when that person is superior in authority to the person who makes the grant. None of these expressions is used here, nor any other to indicate in any way that Maṅgaḷīvarā had to obtain the permission of Kṛttivārmā before making the grant; and the text is simply Śrī-Maṅgaḷīvarā... maha-Viṣṇu-grihaṇa... kṛteḥ... Laṁjāva-ranaṁ grāmaṇa... dattavāṁ, ‘Śrī-Maṅgaḷīvarā, having made an abode of the great god Viṣṇu, granted the village of Laṁjāva.’ Bearing this in mind, and also the fact that the Cave-temple must have taken many years to complete,—and comparing16 with the expression of this grant the less emphatic but more usual expressions of mādāpiṇḍāra-ārtaṁ naṁ pāṇītyāvaye, ‘in order that (Our) parents may acquire our own religious merit,’ made use of by Puṇiṅkaśī II17 at a time when his parents were certainly dead, and mādāpiṇḍāra-ārtaṁ cha pāṇītyā-bhieridhataye, ‘in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (Our) parents and of Ourselves,’ made use of by Viṣṇuvaraja,18 it is plain that, in allotting to Kṛttivārmā all the religious merit of the completion of the Cave, the setting up of the image, and the grant of the village, and in reserving for himself only the religious reward due on account of obedience to Kṛttivārmā, Maṅgaḷīvarā is claiming his reward for carrying out a project which was originated, and perhaps commenced, by Kṛttivārmā, but which Kṛttivārmā did not live to complete in person.

12 e. g., Vol. VII, p. 294, l. 24.
14 e. g., Vol. II, p. 142, plate, l. 13.
15 e. g., Vol. VI, p. 32, l. 11, and p. 39, l. 27; and Vol. VII, p. 302, l. 26, and p. 204, l. 25. Also No. 10 of P. S., and O.-C., Inscriptions, l. 21. Also compare Viṣṇuvaraja, Jour. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XII, p. 44, l. 49.
16 e. g., Vol. VI, p. 141, l. 23. Also compare bānāpanāyan-gaṇḍa, Vol. IV, p. 269, l. 26.
17 e. g., Vol. VII, p. 294, l. 24.
19 e. g., Vol. II, p. 142, plate, l. 13.

No. LXXXII.

On the rock, to the west of the cave, there are several short inscriptions19 such as Śrī-
Vimala, Śrī-Bālahākārāḥ, Śrī-Ganapālān, and Śrī-Kotāūlān. And on the rock to the west of the neighbouring Jain Cave, No. IV, there are some similar inscriptions20 such as Śrī-Vidhi(τ)μὰν, Śrī-Ru(δ)ρα(α)υμί, Śrī-Dhama(τ)δέαν, and Śrī-Prasa(τ)ναβοβουδῆ. They appear to be the names of visitors to the caves, and are in characters the age of which may vary from that of the large inscription, No. LXXXI, in Cave III, up to the end of the seventh century A. D.

But the only historical inscription among them is the following undated Old-Canarese inscription21 of Maṅgaḷīvarā, here called Māṅgaḷīṣa, in the four lines of irregular length, on the rock a little to the west of the west end of the verandah of Cave III. The writing covers a space of 1' 1½" high, by 2' 2½" long in line 1 and 3' 6½" long in line 4.

The date of this inscription must be somewhat later than that of the large inscription inside the Cave. For it records a grant to the 'stone-house' of the glorious Maṅgaḷīṣa, i. e. to the 'Cave-temple,' the completion of which is recorded in the inscription inside the Cave.

It is not stated what is granted; but it would seem to be flowers, to make garlands for the god of Maṅgaḷīṣa is the Canarese corruption of a name of Viṣṇu, as a shrine for whom the Cave was made, and to whom, as we are told in l. 13 of the inscription inside the Cave, the village of Laṁjāva was allotted. ‘Laṁjāva and 'Laṁjīṣa' are one and the same name, and the village is named after the god. ‘Laṁjī’ is a name of Lakṣmi, and laṁjīdā must be a second form of laṁjē in this sense, as it is of laṁjē in the sense of 'an adulteress, a harlot'; hence we get 'Laṁjāva,' which, however, should be Laṁjēs-
vara, and 'Laṁjīsēsā,' for Laṁjēkāsēsā, as names of Viṣṇu.

19 e. g., Vol. V, p. 20, l. 13; and l. 6 of No. LXXXVII, p. 59 below.
20 Not contrasting, as Prof. Bhopalkar would.
21 Vol. VI, p. 73, l. 13. Perhaps we ought to correct the text and read mādāpiṇḍāra-ārtaṁ cha pāṇītyāvaye, 'in order to the acquisition of religious merit by (Our) parents and of Ourselves.'
23 No. 40 of P. S., and O.-C., Inscriptions; and First Archaeol. Report, Pl. xxxiv, No. 13, and Pl. xxxv, Nov. 16 and 15.
24 No. 41 of P. S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.
25 No. 40 of P. S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.
Svasti. Ṣrīmat pri(pr)thivīvalabhā Maṃga(li)sa(sa)ṁ
kal-manage itodān Luṇājigēsaraṁ-dērkarke pūni-iruva
māna(la)kārargge arddha-visaḍi ittōdan-salivon
dācu-mahāpātakam-sakuṁ[k(a)ku]m ḍjaneyā namanā
vati paḷa aku(kku)m [*[*]

Prākṛt inscription. It consists altogether of fifteen full lines of writing, with the letters hīta in line 16, just below the last four letters of line 15; and the whole inscription covers a space of 2' 01" broad in lines 1 to 5, 1' 11" broad in lines 6 to 15, and 2' 1" broad in line 16, by 2' 83" high. But the inscription has been so much damaged and abraded that hardly any of it can be read except the first ten lines; and no lithograph can be prepared even of them. This portion of the inscription is in Sanskrit. In the Prākṛt portion, the only words decipherable are suṇka, l. 10; Bdddēti, l. 15; and hīta, l. 16. The characters are those of the usual Western Chalukya alphabet of the period, but, owing in a great measure to the substance of the stone, they are very indifferently formed.

The inscription is of the time of Vijāyādītya, and is dated Saṅk 621 (A. D. 699-700), the third year of his reign. It records the installation of the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara, at the capital of Vātāpi. The illegible Prākṛt portion probably recorded some grant.

Chaturāśa-vidy-ōpalaś-taṅkha-sahasra-dvija-
Satyāsraya-prabhṛtiṇaṁ mahāra-
Vātāpy-adhiśthānā Vija-
pravā-
tritiśe
Saṅkha-varshāsvuś-cartī
tēsha Jyōtiṣṭhāyāṁ Bhrāmna(hma). Viṣṇu-Mahēśvara-sthā-
puruṣa-vijaya-sukhaṁ Brahma(hma)-Viṣṇu-Mahēśvara-sthā-
krāśa-bhāśyāṁ rājadhānyāṁ kritāṁ [***]
panuṁ paddyān-dtāni datāṁ [**]

[*] Svasti
[*] var-ōpāśhhitā
[*] jānām-sati-bahu-mānyē
[*] yādīti[j]ya-Satyāsraya-śri-prithivīvalabha-mahā-
[*] rājādhīrāja-paramēśvara-paramēṣṭarē rākṣaya
[*] rdha(ruddha)māna-vijaya-rāja-saśvatsarē
[*] rtamaṁča śka-viśiśtētara-sat-chhataśe
[*] tēsha Jyōtiṣṭhāyāṁ puruṣa-vijaya-sukhaṁ Bhrāmna(hma). Viṣṇu-Mahēśvara-sthā-
[*] panaṁ vijaya-sukhaṁ rājadhānyāṁ kritāṁ [***]
[*] krāśa-bhāśyāṁ paddyān-dtāni datāṁ [**]

[*] Svasti
[*] kal-manage itodān
[*] māna(la)kārargge
[*] paḷa-mahā-pātaka-sakuṁ[k(a)ku]m

Transcription.

The Anvēṣaṇā in each place is distinct in the original but has not appeared in some copies in the lithograph.

Puṣu may be the old form of huṣu; huṣu, 'insect,' But there is also a verb, puṣu, huṣu, 'bury,' and another, (puṣu), huṣu, huṣu, 'rot, decay.'

i. e., the netmornt hells.

22 In the Madura Journal of Literature and Science, New Series, Vol. XX, p. 56, Plate II, Sir Walter Elliot gives representations of two old iron weights. One is circular, and weighs exactly 3 lbs. 1 oz. 4 dtrs. It has, on the front, the figure of a boar (the Chalukya emblem,) and above it a sword, with the sun and moon; and, on the back, the words Pramādhika-rāṣṭra vi 1, i.e., "one rāṣṭra, (stamped in) the Pramādhika suvarṇaṁ." The other is octagonal, and weights 13 ozs. 2 dtrs. It has, on the front only, a sword, with the sun and moon, and, below them, the words Pramādhika-rāṣṭra vi 4, i.e., "a quarter-rāṣṭra, (stamped in) the Pramādhika suvarṇaṁ." In the modern dialect, Sanderson gives viṣṇu as "one-sixteenth," and also viṣṇu as "five ounces, or the weight of 120 rupees," (3 lbs. 1 oz. 5'04 dtrs.). The word occurs again with the vowel of the first syllable short,—vaṁ,—in 1. 4 of No. LVIII, (Yd. VIII, p. 286). But in some of the later Old-Camaro inscriptions it occurs with the vowel long,—vaṁ,—e. g., Second Archæol. Report, p. 117, I. 46-7.

18 Puṣu, hānu, 'attempt, undertake, engage in.'

19 Either one letter has been quite effaced here, or there in a hole in the stone which was left blank.

20 One letter is effaced here, at the end of the line. The rest of the inscription is illegible, except the word Bdddēti in l. 15, and the syllable ṛṣa, in l. 16, just below the last four letters of l. 15.
Translation.

Hail! At the city of Vatapi, which was adorned by many thousands of excellent twice-born who were well versed in the fourteen sciences, and which was worthy to be most highly esteemed by Satyārāya and other great kings after him,—in the third year of the augmenting and victorious reign of Vijayaśitya-Satyārāya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme lord, the most venerable one,—when six hundred and twenty-one of the Saka years had elapsed,—on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Jyaistha,—there was made the establishment of (the gods) Brahmā and Vishnu and Mahāvīra at the victorious capital.

(1. 9.)—After that, these verses were given in the Prākrit language:—A taṣ.

No. LXXXIV.
The following inscription is cut on the cliff, at a height of ten or twelve feet from the ground on the north-west of the hamlet of Tatūkōti, which is at the north-east corner of the tank; it is on the left hand going up from the tank by the rear or east ascent to the Bārvanbaḍē-kōṭi or northern fort, and is about half-way up to the shrine of the god Tatūkōti-Māruti mentioned in No. LXXXVII. below. The writing covers a space of 3' 4½' high by 2' 10½' broad. Below the inscription, and covering a space of about 3' 7' in height, there is cut a broad circular band, with a floral device, apparently a ten-leaved lotus, inside it, and with what seems to be a fillet, with a ribbon crossed in a double loop hanging from it, below it.

With the exception of lines 3 and 4, and the quotation in line 10, the language is Old-Canarese. The characters have more of the Pallava, than of the Western Chalukya, type about them; but whichever alphabet they belong to, they are undoubtedly early.

The inscription is not dated. The meaning of it is here and there not quite clear; but it appears to be a monumental record of some sain of local celebrity. Mr. Veṅkuṭa Raṅgō Kaṭti, to whom I applied in the hope of getting a better explanation of Il. 7 to 9 than I am able to offer, looks upon the whole inscription as a "biruddvali," or epitome of the titles and deeds of some great man," and upon these three lines in particular as "a riddle or pun upon words."

Transcription.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Kappe-Arabhattan} & \quad \text{sīṣṭā-jana-priyan} \\
\text{kaśṭa-jana-varjita} & \quad \text{kaliyuga-vipartan} \\
\text{vāraṇ-tejasvinō mṛttyu(tyn)a=na} & \quad \text{nā tu mān-āvakhāṇjanam} \\
\text{mṛttyu(tyn)a=taṭakaśaṅkō daṁkham=mān-baṁgān-dīn-dīnā} & \quad \text{[**]} \\
\text{sāḥũge sādhu mādhū(dhu)ryyaṅ(age) mādhū(dhu)ryyaṁ bādhippa} & \quad \text{[**]} \\
\text{kaliyuga-vipartan=mādhavan=itān=peṛan=alla} & \quad \text{[**]} \\
\text{ollīta keyor=ār=ppolladum=adārante} & \quad \text{kaliyuga-vipartan=mādhavan=itān=peṛan=alla} \\
\text{vīparātā purā-kītim=illi} & \quad \text{kalige} \\
\text{kāṭida śinghaman=ketṭo=ṭun=emag=endo} & \quad \text{blindu} \\
\text{ṛitaṅg-ahitarkaḷi=ketṭar=māṇē-sattar=avichāram} & \quad \text{[**]}
\end{align*}\]

Kappe-Arabhatta was beloved by excellent people and avoided by evil people, and was an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga. Better is a glorious death than the destruction of reputation: death is a pain that lasts only for an instant; but the destruction of reputation abides from day to-day. That which is good (is appropriate) to that which is good, and sweetness to sweetness, and he who is an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga to the distressful Kali (age); he is (a very) Mādhava, and nothing less. Who are they that do what is good? they cannot be likened (to him). Having recognised this, let there be here effected a reconciliation with the Kali (age). And so, when the enemies of him who was an exceptional man in the Kali (age),

be given to this passage by taking kali in the Canarese sense of 'a hero, a valiant man,' and by translating 'to the hero who distresses the ruler of Mādhura.'

21. Krishṇa or Vishnu, who is not to be met with in the Kaliyuga.

22. Viparītā purā-kītam. This is evidently some familiar quotation; but it is unintelligible, from the context being wanting.
saying “What is this to us?” came to injure and destroy the eminence that he had achieved, they were worsted, and then they died; as to this there can be no doubt.

No. LXXXV.

At the east end of the tank, which lies at the back of the town, there is the temple of the god Bhūtanātha. There are some short inscriptions, a good deal damaged and unintelligible to me, on one of the columns in the mandapas or central hall of this temple. But the only one of any importance at this temple is the following, which my servants found by scraping away a thick coating of whitewash on the outside of one of the stones in the north wall of the temple. The writing covers a space of 2' 5" broad by 1' 0" high. The language is Old-Canarese. The characters are of about the ninth or tenth century, A.D.

**Transcription.**

[1] Svasti Śrī-Paṅgara Śrīdharabhūtecavara-bhavārāge
[2] sādhūśa-bhūmiyā keyya eṣṭu māṭāraya
[3] kōṭto ad-śaṛpatā (ttu)
[4] dēvasvā-dōṣhādōj]

**Translation.**

Hail! They gave eight mattrās of culturable land, excellent soil, to the venerable Śrīdharabhūtecavara of the lineage of Śrī-Paṅgara. Let it be (as sacred as the gift of) sixty Nandaś. Whosoever transgresses against it shall incur the guilt of an offence against the property of a god!

No. LXXXVI.

Near the inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa, No. LXXXIV. above, there is a passage through the rocks, leading by flights of steps directly up into the northern fort. The walls of this passage bear numerous short inscriptions, chiefly names of visitors or devotees, in characters ranging from the sixth or seventh century down to about the thirteenth century A.D. The longest, and one of the latest of them is the following, left unfinished, near a figure of the god Hanumanta, cut on the rock on the left-hand side way up the steps.—**Transcription:** [1] Sāẖaкра(ẖṛ)pta(t.)[2] saẖa(-sah) vachṣa(ṭas)ra[3] Sṛ-śri-Kālikā(ḥā) dēvī-Kāma[4] śīśāvarādeva divya[5] śīrpaṇaḥpād-arā[6] ḍhakar-īda Madu[7] galla. **Translation:** “(In) the Sāẖakhri phalajaran, ............... of (the village of) Mūdugāl, who was the worshipper of the holy feet, which are like lotuses, of the goddess Śri-Kālikā and of the god Śrī-Kamathēśvara, ...............” Among them, I did not find any others of any importance, historical or linguistic or otherwise.

**Notes:**

20 Sīngho, I. 9, here seems to be a Tadbhava corruption of sīrpaṇa, ‘horn, top, summit, height, elevation, dignity,’ rather than of sīngha, ‘a lion.’ The more usual form of the Tadbhava of both words is sīngha.
22 No. 43 of F., S., and O. C., Inscriptions.
23 The construction is wrong here; dāḥata is the nominative singular, while sīrkaṇḍa is the third person plural.
24 I do not quite know what part of the verb kōṭto is; probably we ought to correct it into kōṭtop. 25 Or, school.
26 Nandan—the sacred bull, the vehicle and emblem of Śiva.
ON THE CLIFF AT THE BACK OF THE NORTHERN FORT
NEAR THE HAMLET OF TATTAKOTI, AT BADAMI.
ON THE SIDE WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF BHUTANATHA AT BADAMI.

[Image of inscriptions on the side wall of the temple of Bhutanatha at Badami]
March, 1881.] Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions. 63

Gara, and is the only one of his reign at present known to me. It is dated Saka 1281 (A. D. 339-40), the Vikrama samvatsara. It records the grant of the villages of Badavi and Mundanur to the Two-thousand Mahajan of Badavi, and the erection of the fort, presumably the northern fort, and the construction of its parapet wall by one of the Nedyakas of Harhara.

It is worthy of remark that Harihara I is styled only a Mahamanangledvaru in this inscription, just as his younger brother Bukka is in Nos. 149 and 150 of Pai, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.

Transcription.

[3] arina(m) mahamanaangledvara ev(an)raun ari-raya(vi) ??
[5] rvva-paschima-sannit-adhipati
[6] Hariyappa-vodayara
[7] mahanayak-chaharya gamda kasa(?) ... ni(?)
[8] gaja-sikhra ... diya-amka-bhima
[9] Chameyana-yakunu [10] ... it-sakhvurvaric Budaviyana
[11] naranu Srij-Bhutanathana samudr(i)h(e)
[12] dhara-purvakaun sarvamahay-agi kotu
[14] ... Chamaraja rachisidanam manjala-
[15] mahar-srij-sril

Translation.

Hail! Victory and glory! On Thursday the first day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra of the Vikrama samvatsara, which was the 1261st year of the Saka era,—by the appointment of the lord, the brave Sri Harippappa, the glorious Mahamanangledvaru, the ... of hostile kings, the punisher of kings who break their promises, the supreme lord of (the country which is included between) the eastern and the western oceans:

(L. 7).—The glorious Chameyana-yaka,—the Mahanayaka, the Acharya, the hero, he who was a very lion to the elephants ... , he who was terrible ... , in the presence of (the god) Sri-Bhutanatha, gave, with libations of water, and as a sarvamahya grant, (the village of) Badavi and (the village of) Mundanur to the glorious Two-thousand of Badavi; and—

(L. 13).—Chamaraja constructed the fort and

the eastern parapet of that same Badavi. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

No. LXXXVIII.

Standing on the flat top of a large rock, a short distance to the north-east of the Dharmishtad which is on the north of the town, there is a small temple called 'Maalegiti-Sivaliya', i.e. 'the Saiva shrine of the female garland-maker.'

On the right side of the door there is a short inscription in characters of the eightieth, or early in the ninth century A. D. The transcription is:—[1] Sri-Aryamaichi upadhya[2] prasadininitta. And the translation is:—"Sri-Aryamaichi, the spiritual teacher; for the sake of (or, on account of) the favour (of the god of the temple)."

And on the east or front face of a pillar in the porch of the same temple there is the following Canarese inscription, covering a space of about 2' 13" broad by 1' 2" high. It is an inscription of the time of the Vijnana-
garaking Sadāśivarāya; and the Sōbha-
krit saṁvatsara referred to is Śaka 1465 (A.D. 1543-4). On the crest of the hill, facing the
temple, and some twenty yards or so to the
south, there is a large and strong bastion, which
is probably the one spoken of in the inscription.

Transcription.

[1] Śobhaku(kṛti)-saṁvatsara Aśādha(ṛha) su 15-
[2] ku Saḍāśivarāya Haḍapada-
[3] la-kṛti-śṛṇappa-nāya karū kuți-
[4] sida kottalke(kke) śubham-astu [[*]] Śri [[*]]
[5] Kōṇḍarājagala adhika[[*]] [[*]] Śri [[*]]

Translation.

May prosperity attend the bastion, which was
causd to be built by Haḍapaddara,27Krishṇap-
panāya, (the Nāyaka) of Saḍāśivarāya,
on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of
the month Aśādha of the Śobhakrit saṁvatsara! Śri! The superintendent of Kōṇḍarāja. Śri!

No. LXXXIX.

To return to Cave III,—the following in-
scription,28 covering a space of 2' 2" bread by
7½' high, is on the north or front face of one of
the pillars of the first row in the verandah.

Transcription.

[1] Śobhaku(kṛti)tta(m)-saṁvatsara
[2] ku Kōṇḍarāja
[3] ti(tti)sida kota(tta)lakke śubham-astu(stu) [[*]] Śri [[*]]

Translation.

May prosperity attend the bastion which was
causd to be built by the great king Kōṇḍa-
rāja, on the fifteenth day of the bright fort-
night of the month Aśādha of the Śobhakrit
saṁvatsara! Śri!

No. XC.

On two other pillars in the same cave there
are two inscriptions,29—one of eight lines, covering
a space of 2' 2" bread by 1' 3" high; and one
of six lines, covering a space of 2' 2" bread by
1' 6" high. They are either in Teṅgu, or in
some dialect of Canarese which I do not know.
The contents, therefore, are unknown to me,
except that the first one of them is dated on
the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the
month Aśādha of the Pramādīsaṁvatsara
which was the Śaṅgavāhana-Śaka 1476

Transcription.

[1] Śubham-astu [[*]]
[2] y-aśhyasaya-Saṅgavāha-

(A.D. 1554-5). The second one is not dated;
but it is of about the same age.

No. XCI.

Inside the town there is a small temple of
the god Veṅkatarāmaṇa, now used as a house
by one Dāḍeṇab Hajam. The following Cana-
rese inscription is on a stone-tablet at this
temple. The writing covers a space of 2' 11½'
high by 1' 3" broad; the only emblems at the
top of the stone are the sun and the moon.
A copy of this inscription is given in the Elliot

It is another inscription of the time of the
Viṇayānagarā king Saḍāśivadēva,
and is dated Śaṅgavāhana-Śaka 1469 (A.D. 1547-8), the Paḷavaṅga saṁvatsara. It records
a grant to the guild of barbers.

Transcription.

[1] Śvasti Śaṅgavāha

64 THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [MARCH, 1881.

66 Sc., adhyakshān.
67 This is his family-name or surname.
68 No. 46 of P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.
ON THE ROCK AT THE SHEINE CALLED ARALIKATTE, AT BADAMI.
May it be auspicious! On the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Ávānyāja of the Plavaṅga-saṅvatāra, which was the 1469th year of the victorious and glorious Śālīvāhana-Sāka,—while the great king, the brave and puissant Śrī-Saṅvatāra, the glorious great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord of kings, was governing the world:—

(L. 9.)—These three men, Timmōja and Koṇḍōja and Bhdari of (the town of) Bādāvī, having propitiated the king, that same (king) Saṅvatāra, in connection with a request that they made, [issued his commands to] a Saṅvatārāja and Rāmaraja and Eremaraja, yya and Veṅkaṭārdhrīrājaya, 

[and allotted] an impost, as a mānya-grant, to the barbers of (the village of) (?). U ṛa b i, which is included in the boundaries (of the demesne) that appertain to the throne over which the king presides, 

No. XCII.

The last, and probably the latest, of the Bādāmi inscriptions is the following, at a small sacred place called Aralikaṭi, about half a mile to the east of Bādāmi, and a little to the right off the pathway over the hills to Mahākūta. There is a pool with a spring; a small masonry cell; another cell, half of masonry, in front of a natural cavity in the rock; and a row of thirty or forty well executed images of Viṣṇu and other principal gods, cut on the rock. The inscription is towards the east end of this row of images. It covers a space of 1’ 7” high by 1’ 1” broad. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription is not dated; but it is probably of the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D. It purports to record the advent of the goddess Mahālakṣmi from Kollāpura, the modern Kolhapur, where there is a large temple dedicated to her and of great repute all over this part of the country.

And on the rock near this inscription there are the following three lines, in Canarese characters of much the same standard as those of No. LXIII. above:—


Transcription.

[1] Śrī-Kollāpura-var-ēva-
[2] ṛaśi Śrī-Mahālakṣmyai namaḥ. [*]
[3] Hārīta-kula-saṁbhūtā-Ra-
[4] vidēva-tridaṇḍīnāḥ tushiṭā
[5] Kollpurūḍ-dvēti Mahāla-
[6] kṣhir-śivāṇa-śaṅgātā || Lakshmī-
[7] māhīṭhyān maṅgalaṃ || [*]
[8] Mahī-Śrī-Mahālakṣmyai namaḥ [*]

[9] **

This line is entire, but the letters are hopelessly indistinct. The rest of the inscription, eight more lines, is quite illegible.

** Sir W. Elliot’s copy gives oppongaṇa koṭisī in L. 17; the stone may have been a little more legible when his copy was made. His copyist, however, did not attempt the rest of the inscription.

** No. 40 of P., S. and O.-C., Inscriptions.

** The letters in this line are very cramped and quite unintelligible.
Translation.

Reverence to (the goddess) Śrī-Mahālakshmi, the mistress of Śrī-Kollāpura, which is the best of cities.

(L. 3)—Being pleased with Ravidēvā-tridāṇḍī, who was born in the family of Hārīta, the goddess Mahālakshmi came here from Kollāpura. Auspicious is the greatness of (the goddess) Lakshmi! Reverence to the great-(goddess) Śrī-Mahālakshmi!

No. XCVIII.

About three miles to the south-east of Bādāmi is the village of Tejchząd, in the lands of which there is a large temple of the goddess Banaśaṅkari.

At the village itself, just outside the eastern gateway, there is a rough unshapely block of stone with an inscription on it of either Achyutarāya or Sadāśivadēva of Vijayanagara; but I only saw it when riding by, and could not note down the contents or make a copy of it.

In the courtyard of the temple of Banaśaṅkari, in front of the temple, there lies a large dhvaja-stambha or kirti-stambha, with an Old Canarese inscription of seventeen lines running round the base of it. The pillar, however, requires to be raised and cleaned before the inscription can be copied. The visible portions of the inscription do not contain either the date or the name of the dynasty and the king.

Two stone-tablets, with inscriptions on them, were found by me lying in the courtyard; and I placed them for the sake of safety in an open cell in the eastern wall. One of them, of which a copy is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 639, has already been published by me, from the photograph, at Vol. V., p. 19. It is a Vijayanagara inscription of Achyutarāya, and is dated Śilāvēhana-Saka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4), the Nandana savētasa. It is an exception to the style of most of the inscriptions of that period, in that it is engraved in small and well formed letters on a smooth and polished black-stone tablet.

The present inscription, the second of the two just mentioned, is engraved in large and coarsely formed letters on an irregularly shaped red-sandstone tablet; and the lines have an upward slope to the right. The emblems at the top of the tablet, cut in outline only, are a līga, with the sun and moon above it. The writing covers a space of 2' 9" high; the stone is broadest from line 9 to line 16, being there 4' 10" broad; above line 4, and below line 16, it tapers away and is only nine or ten inches broad at the top and bottom. A copy of this inscription is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 649. It is a Canarese inscription of the time of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara, and is dated Śilāvēhana-Saka 1466 (A.D. 1544-5), the Śākhakrit savētasa. And it records a grant by the Tīrgha, Hadapadājra-Kṛishñappa, who is mentioned in No. LXXXVIII. above.

Transcription.

 Śrī-ja- 1466-
 Sōbhakra(krī)śam savētasa-
ṛma-
 Rāya-
 Sā-bhuvān-ādhipati-Śrī-Vanapura-pati-
 Śrī-Banada-Mahasāmāyi(ye)ya
 Ṛma-
 Bādāviya
 Dānakasirivūra-grā-

[a] Tristha, a wandering Brahman mendicant, who has resided in several places and carried his own mutter, and who to form one staff, in his right hand.
[b] No. 73 of P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.
THE WAHHÁBÍS.

BY FAZL LUTFULLAH.

The founder of the bold schism of the Wahhábis was A bd ul Wá há b, the son of a petty Sheikh of the pastoral tribe of Temín in Néj, and of the clan called Abdul Wahhab in the province of Arabia, called El Arid, who was born in the year 1691 a.d. He was the hereditary chief of his clan. The munificence of the Turkish pilgrims, the profligacy that profaned the cities, and the abuses that had crept into the religion of even the conservative children of the Desert, his clansmen, attracted his attention.

The excited opposition with which the doctrines he preached were met on the part of the population and the government, ended in his expulsion from the place of his birth by the order of the Governor of El Hassa, and, escaping the death of a culprit and the poniard of the assassin, he fled and took refuge with the Sheikh of a neighbouring town—Deráiah, who was not unfriendly to him and his doctrines. It was there that, after the partial establishment of this power, he took the sejmír as the means of compulsory conviction. After a life full of peril and success he died at Deráiah in a.d. 1787, at the advanced age of ninety-five.

As a reformer he was eminently qualified for the task he had undertaken, possessing, as he did, all the elements essential for success in a country like Arabia and among a people like the

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**Notes:**

11 About eleven letters are effaced and illegible here.
12 One or two letters are effaced here.
13 About eight letters are effaced here.
14 The Sóbhakrít savásrór, however, was Sáka 1465; and Sáka 1466 was the Kródhí savásrór.

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Arabs: a warm and persuasive eloquence, an intrepidity squallèd only by cool and undaunted courage, and a profound and keen insight into the Arab character.

The work begun by him was not relinquished or neglected by his son Muhammád, during whose tenure of the post of the leadership of the reformers the cause continued steadily to gain strength and flourish.

The first sectarian army that is heard of was commanded by A bd ul A r i i z, the son of Muhammád, who, though repulsed at its head at the siege of Déraiah, achieved exploits with it that permanently strengthened the Wahhábi cause. Among other brilliant advantages gained by this chief was the bringing into obedience the Sheikh Aba Arásh and the Mekrání Sheikh of Negmir, who were the means of spreading the new doctrines from the coast of Bahrain to the confines of Mokha and 'Áden. As the new party grew more and more powerful, the raids into the country of the neighbouring tribes grew more frequent, and, as forfeiture of cattle and flock was the penalty of the refractory, the conversions became more numerous and otherwise unforced, and numbers began to flock to the Wahhábi standard. The clans, otherwise perpetually bickering with one another, having now between them a feeling of common interest

15 About two miles south of Toleshgrad.

1 This is disputed by some writers; if he were 55 years old according to the Arabic Lunar Calendar when he died in 1787, he could only have been born about 1632 a.d.—Ed.
and brotherhood, what were previously hostile clanships became now amalgamated into a kingdom as peaceful internally as it was formidable to its neighbours. At the close of the eighteenth century the Wahhābī power was established over the whole of the province of Nejd, and the Sheriff at the head of the government of the holy city of Makkah not thinking it politic to withhold his amity from a people at once so disposed towards opposition and so powerful, granted the Wahhābis permission to perform their pilgrimage to the temple of the Ka'bah. This was the first time that the Wahhābis were acknowledged politically as a nation.

Sheriff Ghālib was the first that opposed the Wahhābis. He carried on, with varying success, a sort of Badawi warfare with them. But finding that, alone and unassisted, he was not able to cope with a body of men that fought with a newly-infused religious fervour and zeal for their very existence, being opposed, on his side, as he knew, by men who, at the best, had no very large interests at stake, he gave up the unequal contest, and began to persuade the Porte to make common cause with him for the destruction of a power which ere long would grow too powerful to quail before the joint efforts of any two Eastern Governments.

These coupled with the unceasing complaints of the Turkish officers and Pashás of territories bordering on the Wahhābi frontier, against Wahhābī encroachment and aggression, at last succeeded in drawing the attention of the Porte towards this new enemy. The officer then in charge of the Pashalic of Bagdād—Sulimān Pasha—in consequence of orders from the Porte to the effect, in 1797 despatched an army from Bagdād consisting of 5,000 Turkish troops and twice that number of allied Arabs. But, instead of proceeding to Derainah, the head-quarters of Wahhābī power, they attacked the fortified citadel of El Hāssa and laid siege to it for a month, which it was well prepared to resist. Sa‘d, the son of Abdul Asiz, however, coming to the rescue of the besieged party, compelled the beleaguering forces to retire, and, their motion being considerably retarded by Sa‘d having injured the water in the wells on their route by putting camel-loads of salt into them, they withdrew with great loss and privation. At length a truce for six years was concluded. It was, however, honoured by Sa‘d no longer than necessary. In 1801 Sa‘d at the head of 20,000 Wahhābīs attacked and captured the town and shrine of Kerbal, in which 5,000 persons were massacred. Rich in gold and jewels, the accumulated votive and devotional offerings of ages of Shi‘ā superstition, the shrine was stripped of everything that had even the semblance of preciousness. It proved no mean booty to Sa‘d and his rapacious hordes. The following year saw the Wahhābis at Ta‘if, where the shrine of Aḥbās, the uncle of the Prophet, received no more honour, though, perhaps, it yielded less booty than that of his grandson. On the 27th of April of the following year the Wahhābi axes were operating as lustily on the walls of the Temple of Makkah—the qiblah, on-bowing point of the Muhammadan world.

The “thrill of horror that passed through the orthodox Moslem world” was the parent of a feeling of intolerant hatred which was soon kindled in the breast of the surrounding Moslem Powers, and the remaining portion of the life of Sa‘d was one of unremitting warfare, which, with the variety of chances peculiar to it, sometimes resembled the career of a victorious general and sometimes the struggles of a man hunted to death. On his death his son Aḥbūl‘lah faced the enemies of his father and his race with the same tenacity and courage, but in 1812 “the strong arm” of Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, helped by the stronger arm and energies of Britain, helped to complete his ruin and the fall of the Wahhābi power. Abdullah was led in captivity to Constantinople, where he was publicly beheaded in 1818 as a heretic and a rebel.

With their Chief no more at their head, and their resources utterly crippled, the Wahhābīs, from a flourishing and a powerful people, dwindled into a quiet and isolated community. They have gradually recovered from the blow that once prostrated them, and though curtailed in limits and shorn of many possessions, “the Wahhābi Empire” has not been expunged from the map of Arabia,² with its seat of Government at Ri‘ād.

The religion that Aḥbūl‘lah taught was in no way opposed or foreign to the spirit of Islam; it was substantially identical with the creed of Muhammad. Belief in and absolute reliance on one God, a less extensive acknow-

² Vide Palgrave’s Arabia, chap. ix and xiii.
ledgment of mediation, the entire withdrawal of
belief in Saints, the right of private interpre-
tation of the Kurân, instead of accepting its
meaning in no other manner than that in which
it was construed by a learned few, the rejection
of all vague forms and idle ceremonies engrafted
by an unscrupulous priesthood on the original
form of the religion, the return to the old
practice of abstinence from everything border-
ing on luxury, and the obligation to wage reli-
gious war;—these were the doctrines which
Abdul-Wahhâb taught. Especially among the
Muhammadans of India—like the Roman Catho-
lies—Saints were and still are numerous,
each with his separate office, and, from the
lower and less educated orders, they receive a
reverence much approaching to that of gods.
The example of the Wahhâbis—not to say their
influence—has done much towards the decrease
of this practice. The object of their reform
was to bring back the religion to its first
purity, which during its encounter with other
and more material forms of faith, it had in a
great measure lost. Mr. Bosworth Smith
defines Wahhâbyism as the Puritanism of the
Puritanism of Islâm, “hated, by the so-called
orthodox Musalmâns, as the Lutherans were
hated by Leo, and the Covenanters by Claver-
house.” As known in India, Wahhâbyism
consists in a rigid observance of the most
difficult tenets of Islâm, not excluding even
the obligation of waging religious war against
infidels, and some of the most notorious leaders
of the mutiny of 1857 were of this persuasion.
This however is the only point of
their religion in which, owing to the compact-
ness of British power, rather than any want
of religious frenzy or will on their part—the
Indian Wahhâbis lack zeal, and their opinion is
divided as to whether India under the British
rule can so far be looked upon in the light of a
(دیره‌لاحر Dâr-e-Harî, or a country of war,
and to warrant their going to war with its
rulers. This, however, is sufficient to render
them politically dangerous subjects, and to
draw upon them a sharp and unremitting sur-
veillance from Government, to render impossible
their ostensible existence as a body, and to
oblige them, however reluctantly, to conceal their
religion. In some cases even, a Wahhâbi finds
his prolonged sojourn in one place impossible.
To repudiate the observance of all holidays
except the two great ones observed by and
during the time of the Prophet, to regulate their
clothes, and to keep their persons in strict accord-
ance with the austere warlike behests of the
Prophet are parts of the religion of a Wahhâbi,
and considering the indifference with which his
example and his command are regarded in the
devotional and other parts of the religion, this
is a matter of surprise. On occasions of sorrow
and joy only those forms are recognized that
have the sanction of the Kurân and the most
authentic of the vaticinal traditions. The
authenticity, in fact, of most of the traditional
sayings of the Prophet, forming, as they do,
the greater part of the Muslim religions lore,
is either totally denied, or only partially ac-
nowledged, by the Wahhâbis. As the great
bulk of this literature has been made sub-
servient by the doctors of the orthodox faith
in India, as elsewhere, to building up that
vast fabric of superstition so irrational in a
religion like Islâm, the Wahhâbis are more than
justified in withholding their belief in it; more
especially, as every now and then, a learned
man, more enterprising than the rest, has been
found to lay it aside even among the orthodox
themselves. Though with the Muhammadans
of the orthodox school—a submission to the
traditions is not religiously a sine qua non, the
belief once voluntarily tendered is now exacted.
Neither inhabiting any particular district in
British India, nor in any strength of num-
bers, the Wahhâbis are found thinly intersp-
ersed throughout the length and breadth of
the land. The reform appeared in India in the
year 1821 A.D., ten years after its being beaten
down in Arabia, in the person of one Sâyîd
Aâlîmâd, an inhabitant of Central India. It
secretly and gradually gained strength till the
year 1857, when it made its début in the
order and bloodyshed that then everywhere
ruled supreme. The Mutiny was the first
time that Wahhâbyism became generally
known, but though it got abroad with it, it was far
from being of it. The Wahhâbis that joined
the mutineers of 1857 had no feeling or fellow-
ship in common with the herd of ruffians and
assassins, whose one idea was revenge, and whose
sole motive was gain. The motive that impel-
led them to take the sword in India was the
same that actuated their brother reformers in
Arabia—religion. The culpability in both cases
is not to be denied, though, if motives be taken into consideration in forming the standard of crime, it may be modified. There is no denying, however, their having joined the mutiny; and that it was the occasion on which the reform gained publicity in India. Except in some of the independent native states of Central India, the Wahhábis cannot be talked of as a class existing by themselves. But the preaching and influence of these isolated units has in Southern Gujarat and among the class of cultivating Bohorás called Biyráwi, brought about a complete revolution not only in their religious principles but in customs that, even under the press of royal authority, were secretly cherished. Under the Wahhábí influence, the customs held most dear by the people, the music on occasions of joy, the celebration of most of these occasions, the dress of their women, the ceremonies performed during marriages, all these and many others have disappeared, and have been succeeded by a strict attention to all the details of the law in all the minutiae of life. Being peaceful in all their other occupations, these Bohorás have latterly shown a bold disregard to the concealment of their newly-adopted doctrines.

In the North some of the leading Sunnis Bohorás have come to look favourably upon this mode of belief, and discarding music at marriages, &c. have adopted both the principles and the practices of the Wahhábis.

The Wahhábis in Gujarat may be divided into two sections — foreigners and those joining the reform from the local classes. The former element consists of Wahhábí preachers with their followers from North, East, and Central India. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the foreigners are generally the priests under whose influence the local portions have entered the reform, and wherever, as in the Bohorá villages of Gujarát, there is a number of local Wahhábis, these are the acknowledged religious, and to some extent temporal heads of the body, held in reverence, and sometimes in affection, by the people.

Difference of manners, in cases of the above nature, between the foreigner and his congregation there certainly is. But the number of these being so small, it is too insignificant to deserve or call for special remark. His manners, his customs — the veriest details of the daily life of a Wahhábí priest are all merged in his religion, and his followers are, so to speak, in a chrysalis state — progressing with his model before them from the observance of their half-Hindu, half-Muslim customs to a decidedly marked state of Musalman character. With these circumstances in mind, to say that the Wahhábis of Gujarát follow wholly the customs of their cultivating Bohorá ancestors would be equally as incorrect as to assert the contrary. Their home-language, certainly, is Gujaráti, but the dress of their women is no longer the sári and petticoats (the Hindu woman’s costume) of ten years ago. There has also been no change in their houses and their occupations; these are the same as those of their unreformed brethren.

Their condition has undergone a change, and a change for the better — a change which they owe to their conversion. They do not, as Wahhábis, give the same minous dinner parties, do not launch out into extravagant expenses at marriages and deaths, and pregnancies, and anniversaries. Thus where formerly there were insolvent tenants, there are now affluent landholders. Drinking of spirituous liquors or the fermented palm-juice, known as “toddy,” were formerly vices not uncommon among the Sunní Bohorás. They are never heard of now.

As a community — the reform party of the Sunní Bohorás had no reason to detach themselves from their orthodox brethren — for, though the latter may not sympathise, they still do not meet them with the animosity that the other classes of Muhammadans show towards a Wahhábí. Intermarriages between the old and the new parties have not ceased nor is there any chance of their ever ceasing, as the old party are not intelligent enough to quarrel for a difference of opinion as they think it. Headed as the new party is by some of the most influential of the Sunní Bohorá population, the idea of a breach is a distant probability.

If elsewhere — in Central India, in the North Western Provinces, in Arabia and the Ottoman Levantine dominions — the prospects of Wahhabiyism are bright and cheering, they are not the less so or less encouraging to the heads of that section in the south of Gujarát. The indifference shown by the orthodox party to the conversion of their people is, if taken into consideration, no small ground for self-gratulation to the Wahhábí preachers, who have latterly begun
to look upon the whole Sunni Bohorá population of the south of Gujarát as a rich field for their proselytizing labours. In the north of Gujarát there is no open Wahhábí revolution at work, though perhaps its spirit may not be entirely absent among the trading Sunni Bohorá classes. In the south of Gujarát the rude Gujarát-speaking cultivating Bohorá of former days has, under the course of Wahhábí instruction and guidance, acquired even a taste for the religious literature of Islam. In towns like Rán-dér, colleges have been established where the Bohorá youth acquire some proficiency in religious learning. In small villages the masjid serves the purpose of the village academy, where the Miyán Sáhib, the village priest, instructs the young men of the village. The town academy frequently forms the arena of discussion with the learned of the old sect, but the controversy is carried on with coolness and courtesy, never waxing warm enough to come to blows like the ill-regulated meetings of other sects. This is a state of things promising a great deal to the reform, certainly, but to the converts themselves no great advancement in worldly position. Learning English is regarded either as superfluous or decidedly irreligious. A Wahhábí youth with these ideas, however high he may hope to look religiously, does not aim at any political distinction. As it is—the reform has done all it can to remove the people from gross ignorance, the grasp of superstition, and the hold of interested, designing spiritual leaders.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(Continued from Vol. IX, p. 280.)

FIRSTS.

Inám-dárs or High-fliers simulate broken-down gentlemen. These beggars come in pairs, or sometimes three or four together, men, women and children. The women cover themselves with a sheet from head to foot to show that they are ladies and their husbands gentlemen. The men put iron chains round their necks, hands, and feet, fastened by a padlock, and say that on account of debt due to the Sarkár they have been reduced to this state and their lands, cattle, and jewelry confiscated, with everything else they were possessed of; also that they have been deprived of their children, and that in their present condition they are seeking the means to pay off their debts. They lay their grievance before the people in a song, and the women and children join them in the same. These beggars sometimes hold a half-open roll of paper in their hands written in Modi characters with a seal attached to it. Some have iron chains round their wrists only, with a padlock attached, the key of which, they say, lies with the Government (Sarkár). They call themselves Deshmukhs and Despandés. Others tie a miniature plough to their necks, and say they were landholders or zamindârs; and thus they beg to be freed from their bondage. These beggars invoke ill-luck on those who do not give them charity.

BAHURUPIS.

Bahurupis, or men of many faces or characters. These actors are generally Maráthás. They carry no clothes or other stage property; but one day come dressed as a god, the next as a milkmaid, and again as a Rishi. The last of the scenes is generally the Murl or female-devotee, who comes provided with a vessel for collecting money. The number of these representations is not fixed, but they do not generally exceed fifteen. When these beggars have done with one part of the town, they commence representations in another. In about a fortnight they collect in this way, in well-to-do localities, from five to ten and twenty rupees, and receive old clothes also. These beggars are excellent dancers and singers. Some of them are eunuchs.

PÂNGULS.

The Pângul comes very early in the morning. His clothes consist of a piece of cloth round his loins, a langoti and a coarse black blanket over his head hanging downwards. Under his arm is a bag in which he stores his coin, and in his hand is a long bambú stick with an iron top to which is attached small rings which he stamps as he walks. He is the earliest beggar that appears, bawling out at the top of his voice something to the following effect:—'Oh give alms to a pângul in the
early morning, the god Rāma's time; in the
name of your ancestors, give alms to a pávedā;
in the name of your family gods, give alms to a
pávedā; in the name of the goddesses Bhavāni
of Kollāpur and Tuljāpur, give alms to a páveda.'
In this way he names one after another about
twenty or more Bhavānis and an equal
number of Gaṇapatīs, then Mahādevas, and so on.
He is given a pie, and the name of the deceased
male ancestor of the family told him, when he
repeats aloud the name saying, páved pávedā
in Raghobā's name, and invoking a blessing
on the deceased ancestor, he cries in the same
loud tone, 'the pávedā has visited the goddess
Ambābāi of Jogai, the goddess Mahālakshmi
of Kollāpur, the goddess Bhavāni of Tuljāpur,
Khandobā of Jejurī, Vithobā of Pandharpur,
Narsobā of Wādi, Ahīyābāi of Indur, Tukoba
of Dehu, Mhasobā of Rājāpur, Satwāi of Chām-
hāragāiw, Dhopēśvar of Indāpur, &c. &c. and
is off. This person generally frequents the
houses of Sūdras, and the idea of their ancestor's
name being blessed by a pávedā and in the god
Rāma's time, gladdens their hearts. They also
climb trees calling out the name of some deity
and shouting for alms to passerby.

NANDIBAIL.

This beggar, who is a Hindu Marāthā
by caste, goes about with a bullock (Nandībail)
behind him, covered all over, not excepting the
horns, with clothes of different kinds, shapes, and
colours, with bells tinkling round his neck and
feet, and an image of Gaṇapatī or Mārtti fastened
to the animal's forehead. The beggar has a
drum hanging from his waist, which he keeps
both rubbing and striking as he goes along the
streets, and approaching a Hindu house com-
mands the bullock to point out the charitably-
disposed person in the crowd, which is done by
the bullock going to some one on the verandah
of the house and standing with his face
towards him. The beggar then tells the ani-
mal to show the right hand with which
charity is made, which the bullock does by
raising his right forefoot. After this is done,
the beggar offers his neck to the bullock, which
the bullock holds in his mouth, and either
walks a few paces or stands keeping it hanging
therefrom. Last of all the man spreads
a cloth on the ground, and lying down on his
back tells the bullock to stand upon it, which
the bullock does by placing his four feet on
the man's stomach and dancing upon it for
some minutes. This feat closes the beggar's
exhibition, and the people throw the man
some coin. A few pice satisfies him, and he
then goes on beating his drum to the next
house. If it happens that a female in the
family at whose door he stops is pregnant,
and wishes to know what the issue will be,
whether male or female, they place before the
animal a pound or so of rice in which they
have already put a whole betelnut, and if after
the animal has eaten the whole of the rice,
including the nut, he throws down the nut
unbroken, then this is deemed a sign that the
issue will be a son, but if he drops it broken,
then a daughter may be expected.

WĀREKARI.
The Wārekari is generally a Marāthā by
caste. He carries an ochre-coloured flag and
a bag containing his goods. He wears a tulsi
necklace round his neck and arms, and begs of
the passers by to help him on his way to Pan-
dharpur.

AYLĀS.

These beggars go about on ponies or bullocks
that are little better than skeletons, or get
themselves taken about from door to door in a
small hand-cart. They employ persons to
drag them about from place to place, promising
them from one to two annas per day.

VENTRiloquistS.

Ventriloquists are either Musalmans or
Hindus. They imitate thunder, the sound of run-
ing water, roaring waves, the cries of beasts, the
whistling of birds, and the speech of men. The
other day one of these beggars put the inmates
of a house into much alarm, where there was a
woman near her confinement, by imitating the
cries of a new-born child. These men make
from six to eight annas a day by their pro-
fession, and are surrounded by a number both
of children and grown-up persons.

KAÍKĀDĪS.

Kaiśādis are of two divisions, Gā-
rañis, who make lattes and other articles of
'tur' (cojanus indicus) stalks, and Kuńchē-
karis, who make weavers' starch-brushes.
They do not eat together nor intermarry, some
are settled, others are wanderers and known
to the police as thieves and vagabonds. They
sing and beg, receiving remains of food and
money. Their women generally go about
half-naked, winding a bit of cloth round their waist, and leaving their breasts bare.

**JARIMARI.**

*Jarimari* or Cholera beggars, are a class who take every pains to assume a hideous and uncouth appearance, and the more they succeed in this the more they are pleased. Their hair is all matted and tangled, and in this too the more the confusion the greater the approbation. They paint their foreheads with red-lead, and on their legs, waist and fingers they wear brass rings which jingle when they move. It is a characteristic of these beggars to wear a long coat and trousers, and to their waist and arms are tied clothes and pieces of cloth of different colours and shapes one over the other. As they go along they dance and twirl round, which expands the folds of these loose garments into a round flowing shape. They go about either singly or in groups of two and three, and are accompanied by servants. They make their presence known by a loud and prolonged cry. They take about with them a twisted hemp cord or rope three to four inches in diameter at one end, and terminating in a point, *korda*. When these beggars strike themselves with this cord, the crack or noise it makes is far from pleasant to hear. It is the belief however of many that although the blows they inflict on themselves are apparently severe, they yet have a knack of doing it so as not to harm themselves. But they assert that it is because the goddess *Jarimari*, who is in them, that it does not hurt them. They generally frequent places where low caste Hindus reside. They do not always go begging from house to house, but dance and yell in front of people's dwellings. They belong to the Mhār, Māng and other low castes. A few pice or a handful of uncooked rice satisfies them. If the rice be given in a winnowing fan, he dances with it, rolling the contents into another held beside it or holding the winnowing fan upside down without letting a single grain fall on the ground.

**SĀNTĪRES.**

These are Māng and other low caste females, who beg only on Saturdays during the month of Śrāvan, crying out—*Sanavār vādhā*. They carry baskets on their heads and earthen pots or glass bottles for oil. Hindus consider it meritorious to give alms to a Māngin on these days. The oil is given in a cocoanut shell, and it is first waved from the head downwards in the case of each person, and given to the woman, by which is meant that all the ills of the man are given to the Māngin, who only can bear up under them.

**JOGIFS AND SĀNKHES.**

The *Navarātras* are nine nights sacred to Durgā, the wife of Siva, and the *Dasara* or tenth follows: during these days married women of the Vādval or earkeeper caste, with a hollow dried gourd wrapped in cloth hanging from their right arm, beg in Bha-vānī's name from house to house. Each day they are given a handful of rice, and in one of the nine days an elderly married woman of each household worships the hollow gourd. A Vādvalin and her husband are called, a quartz square traced, and the hollow gourd placed in it on a low wooden stool. The worshipper draws lines on the outside of the gourd with turmeric and red powder and a few grains of rice, fastens a spangle on it, and filling it with rice, waves a lighted lamp before it. The Jogin rubs her own hands with turmeric, and fastens on her brow red powder and a spangle, and before her and her gourd the worshipper waves a lighted lamp. The Sātkhyā—called so from his carrying a conch shell with him—is given some rice and oil, and blessing the worshipper he blows the conch shell.

**SĀKTAS.**

*Sāktas* (from *sakti*, force or power) worship an invisible power or force represented by emblems. They are found among all classes, but can only be traced by keeping a strict watch over the movements of suspected Sāktas. If they are Vaishnivas, their worship is offered to Laksāmī; if they are Śaivas, the worship is offered to Pārvati, Jagadamba, Bha-vānī, Kālī or Durgā.

The Karāris, who are also Sāktas, inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, and pierce their flesh with hooks or spits, run sharp-pointed instruments through their tongues and cheeks, gash themselves with knives, or lie upon beds of sharp-pointed spikes. The Sāktas perform initiatory ceremonies on the admission of a new member, or as often as any one of the society succeeds in getting a female to act as a goddess for the worship. Preference, however, is given to a black-complexioned woman. Solitude and secrecy being strictly enjoined,
they perform the worship at midnight in most unfrequented and private places, and even in the burning grounds in honour of the goddess Bhavāni. A Brāhman is usually the chief mover, but sometimes Śūdras are the movers or accomplices, and are previously initiated in the mysteries. If the Śākta who knows the formula belongs to the right hand party (Dakshānāchāri), he takes his own wife, but if of the left-hand party (Vāmāchāri), the daughter of a Māṅg or Muhammadan prostitute. He asks the other members to join him at the appointed place. The five maṅkām are necessary for the worship are—

māṃsa, flesh; matīga, fish; madya, liquor; maṅkāma, cohabitation or rather women; and muddra, certain mystic gestures. At the meeting place, lines are traced with quartz powder on the floor, on which a mat is spread. The Māṅg woman or prostitute 1 is seated on the mat with her hair loose and the whole of her forehead daubed with red powder (kānku). Then, repeating verses, she is worshipped by all the members with flowers, the waving of lights in the manner they worship their family gods, and liquor sprinkled over her. Then, placing before her beef, liquor, fish, and sweetmeats, she is prayed to partake of the same. After she has eaten to satisfaction, the remains are collected and mixed with the remaining food and liquor, which are freely eaten and drunk by the members. If she should not drink liquor, however much pressed, she is seated naked on an earthen pot with her tongue stretched out, and the worshippers pour liquor over the tongue, so that it falls from her body into the pot on which she sits, and about a tea-spoon is drunk by the worshippers, and the rest mixed with the other liquor in the pot. Dubois says, in the meetings which they hold, all castes are invited, without excepting even the Parwāri. Not only are all distinctions abolished and the Parwāri is as welcome as the Brāhman, but they call themselves vīrā, heroes, and those that do not join them, pashus, beasts. This over, each one by turns takes and lies with the woman on the spot where she has been worshipped, and each collecting the seed that has dropped puts it in a human skull. When all have done this, the seed is sipped with the utmost joy by all the members. They hold the pātra, skull, says Dr. Wilson, on

1 Dr. Wilson says, they prefer for their worship a female devotee, a harlot, a washer-woman, a barber's wife, a

the ends of the three fingers of the left hand, viz.:—the thumb, the little finger, and the one next to the thumb, closing the two other fingers. The woman is then liberally rewarded and dismissed.

The other ceremony performed on the admission of a new member is nearly the same. On the first night only the worship, by repeating verses in honour of Bhavāni, is performed, and the flesh, fish, and sweetmeats are eaten and liquor drunk. But on the second night, women corresponding to the number of members present on the previous night, are brought. These women may be of any caste, from the Brāhman down to the Māṅg, Dheṇ, and Musalmān. But it is necessary that one at least of them should be a Brāhman. These women are seated nude on a mat, within a quartz drawing, side by side, and opposite them the worshippers sit each with a coconant shell in his hand. The chief among them, who is always well versed in the incantations, offers the several goddesses beef, fish, sweetmeats, and liquor, and then collecting the remains of the food and mixing them with more, he offers the same to the worshippers. Then each worshipper pairs with the woman before whom he is seated on the spot, and collects the seed in his cup of coconant shell. He puts it in a human skull. The fluid is then well stirred, and each one, calling on the goddess Āi Bhavāni! takes a sip of it. Then the whole night is spent in debauchery, the men exchanging the women, and the women the men, and at the same time eating and drinking to excess. Dubois says, “the least detestable of the sacrifices made to the Śāktas are those in which the votaries content themselves with eating and drinking of everything, without regard to the usage of the country; and where men and women, huddled promiscuously together, shamelessly violate the sacred laws of decency and modesty.” Then, again, he adds, “In some varieties of these mysteries of iniquity, the conspicuous objects of the sacrifice to the Śāktis are a large vase filled with ārak and a young girl, quite naked, and placed in the most shameful attitude. He who sacrifices calls upon the Śākta, who is supposed, by this avocation, to come and take up her residence in those two objects. After the offering has been made of

Brāhman, a Śūdrā, a flower-girl, a milkmaid, and a Chandāla.
all that was prepared for the festival, Brāhmaṇas, Śudras, Pariahs, men and women, swallow the arak which was the offering to the Śaktis, regardless of the same glass being used by them all, which, in ordinary cases, would excite abhorrence. Here it is a virtuous act to participate in the same morsel, and to receive from each other’s mouths the half-gnawed flesh. The fanatical impulse drives them to excesses which modesty will not permit to be named. It cannot well be doubted that these enthusiasts endeavour, by their infamous sacrifices, to cover with the veil of religion the two ruling passions—lust and the love of intoxicating liquor. It is also certain that the Brāhmaṇas, and particularly certain women of the caste, are the directors of these horrible mysteries of iniquity."

Lepers.

Some of these unfortunate sufferers were once trusted servants and good stewards in respectable Hindu and other families. They and other miserable creatures covered with loathsome diseases, whom one feels both pity and repugnance to look at, may be seen perambulating our streets in large numbers, especially in Khetwădi, or standing at the doors of houses clamouring for alms. None of these beggars penetrate the native town, yet they are not prevented from loitering or wandering about in the public streets or lying down by the roadside.—(To be continued.)

ON THE JAINENDRA-VYĀKARĀNA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNE.

The Government collection of Sanskrit MSS. deposited in the Library of the Deccan College contains the following works of the so-called Jainendra-vyākaraṇa:

1. (a) A paper MS. consisting of 314 leaves, entitled Jainendravyākaraṇa-mahādevīti. It contains the text of the Sūtras from I, 1, 1 to IV, 3, 30 (॥ = P. VI, 1, 42) together with a full commentary by Abhayananand-muni. The MS. begins:

(b) A paper MS. consisting of 75 leaves, and containing the same work from IV, 4, 143 (॥ = P. VI, 4, 163) to the end of the Jainendra-grammar, V, 4, 124. The MS. ends:

2. (a) A paper MS. consisting of 262 leaves, containing the text of the Sūtras complete, with a succinct commentary, entitled Sabdārṇavachandrikā, and composed by Somadeva-yati, or mānivara (Śomānanda-ratīpīka). The MS. begins:

and it ends:

(b) An old palm-leaf MS. of the same work. Unfortunately this MS. has been so much injured that it will take some time to arrange the existing fragments of about 300 leaves in their proper order.

The paper MS. of the Sabdārṇavachandrikā contains (after the last verse above quoted) a note, according to which the work was composed in A.D. 1205, in the reign of Bhοjadeva (Bhoja II), at a Jinālāya founded by Gandhari of the Jainendra-grammar and of the commentary has been given by Dr. Zacharias (Beiträge z. kunde d. ig. sprachen, vol. V, pp. 296—311).


A MS. of this work is at Berlin; from it an account...

3. A paper MS. consisting of 338 leaves, entitled Pancaavastuka. This is a short grammar arranged after the fashion of the Kaumudi. It consists of five chapters, Samkhya-vastu, Nada-vastu, Sāvādhi (i.e. Samasādhi)-vastu, Hrida-vastu and Braddhā-kānak-samākīrti-vastu. The Sūtras are taken from the text of the Jainendra-grammar given by Abhayanandin, and they are accompanied by a short commentary. Towards the end of the MS. the whole is stated to be the work of Deyana-āchārya (वेदाण्याचार्यः). How much truth there is in this statement, I shall endeavour to show below; here it will suffice to note that in a verse which occurs on Fol. 8a the authorship of the Pancaavastuka is distinctly assigned to Śrutāṅgī. In the MS. before me the actual text of the Pancaavastuka commences on Fol. 10a, and the first 9 leaves contain a commentary on the introductory portion of it. The work begins:

अग्निश्चिन्यनासाय नमो जनमासातिे |
नन्दमातस्याणितास्यात शालये ||
अभ्यवहरस्त्रम् ४ वुष्टिते नन्दये।

After a discussion on the Pratyāhāra-Sūtras, in which it is stated that they are in every respect the same as those given in the works of former grammarians (meaning Pāñjini), and that the Ayogavāhas (Anuvāra, Visarjanīya, etc.) are not put down in them, the author goes on to say (Fol. 11b):

वपनान्तो विभाषनो वशनो ऐवज्जान ||

In now proceeding to give a short account of the contents of the Jainendra-grammar, I have first to state that the MSS. which have been described in the above, contain two different recensions of the text of the Sūtras, a shorter one which has been followed by Abhayanandin and in the Pancaavastuka, and a longer one which is the basis of Somadeva's commentary. In both the text is divided into 5 Adhīyās (पाठायाम्); पाठायाम् मित्र ते तीन जानन्ति, ते तीन विश्लेषणात् शब्दकाथा नाम तीन जानन्ति), each Adhīyā consisting of 4 Pādās; but whereas in the shorter recension the total number of Sūtras hardly amounts to 3000, Somadeva's text contains no less than 3,712 rules. There are also some slight differences in the formation of the Pratyāhāras, in the employment of technical terms, and in the arrangement and wording of the rules, but as all these differences do not materially affect the character of the work, it is possible to base an estimate of it mainly on the shorter and, I may add, original text.

And here I may remark that among the various grammarians which have come under my notice, there is none more wanting in originality, none more worthless than the Jainendra. It was indeed difficult for later grammarians to add to the store of knowledge which had been collected by Pāṇini, Kitāyana, and Patañjali; nevertheless there has been no lack of scholars who have endeavoured to improve on the arrangement of the Ashāhāyā, and who, each in his way, have done useful work. The Jainendra-grammar, taken as a whole, is a copy of Pāṇini pure and simple, and the sole principle on which it was manufactured, appears to be that 'the saving of half a short vowel affords as much delight as the birth of a son.'

The Jainendra-grammar omits all those rules of Pāṇini's grammar, which treat of the Vedic idiom. Of the rules relating to the accents it retains only (in a somewhat altered form) the general rules which define the terms Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita, and the technical rule स्वारिणकारां; Pratyāhāra-Sūtras are not given, but the Pratyāhāras used are Pāṇini's. For the rest, both the order of the rules and the rules themselves are, generally speaking, the same as in Pāṇini's grammar, and the compiler's ingenuity is exclusively exerted in the endeavour to economize one or more syllables. To this end he transposes the words of a rule; he omits the particle च (see Mahābhāṣyam on P. I, 3,
98); he uses words in आदि and compound words generally in the singular*; he employs त्रि instead of तिला or अन्यायारुपम्:** and in general he substitutes shorter words for longer ones, त्रि for जातिः (P. I, 4, 79), त्रि for पशुस्त्रम् (व त्रि P. III, 3, 188, पशुस्त्रम्), त्रि for विशेष (P. IV, 2, 4), त्रि for सुभित, त्रि for मूर्ति for स्त्रीलिंगिणी (P. IV, 3, 31), त्रि for पाषाणमfunction (P. III, 4, 55, पाषाणमfunction).

But the most effective means which he employs to attain his object is the formation or, in some cases, the adoption, of a large number of short technical terms, which are collected in the following list:

- च = क्रस्तिः, न = द्रयांग, च = प्रमाणः; चिद = लाख, च = गुरु; च = गुरु. च = गुरु, च = गुरु, च = गुरु, च = गुरु; चिद = गुरु, च = गुरु, च = गुरु, च = गुरु.
- चिद = प्रभार्य, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय.
- चिद = सातांग, चिद = तन्त्रिक, चिद = तन्त्रिक, चिद = तन्त्रिक, चिद = तन्त्रिक, चिद = तन्त्रिक, चिद = तन्त्रिक.
- चिद = देवी, चिद = बाहुखय्य, चिद = बाहुखय्य, चिद = बाहुखय्य, चिद = बाहुखय्य, चिद = बाहुखय्य, चिद = बाहुखय्य.
- चिद = दक्षिण, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय.
- चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय, चिद = अद्वितीय.

To obtain short names for the case-terminations the compiler ingeniously forms the term लित्रिक for 'termination' generally and tells us that we must add the vowel अ to the several consonants of this word, and the consonant अ to its vowels in order to arrive at अ = ग्रहान्ति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति, अ = देविति.

I have not considered it necessary to indicate the gender of the terms enumerated in this list, but not to deprive the author of any credit.

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* शोभिति: श्रेष्ठैन्ति = P. I, 1.27, श्रेष्ठैन्ति: श्रेष्ठैन्ति.
** न त्रि = P. II, 3.59, न त्रि: न त्रि.
* अचाराली अचाराली.
* See e.g. कृतक्रियाः on P. II, 4, 21 पाणिन्यपथमका-

that may be due to him, I may state that in order to show the working of the difficult rule स्त्रि परम् (= P. I, 4, 2 विनाशिते परम् 'कार्यम्'), he employs some terms in the masculine and others in the neuter, and lays down the rule that where two terms would seem to be simultaneously applicable, the neuter term must give way to one of different gender. त्रि (i.e. गुरु) in this manner supersedes त्रि (i.e. लाख, त्रि: supersedes परम्, त्रि: (i.e. अद्वितीय) supersedes न (i.e. रामायण), etc. By means of this device the author has been enabled to embody in the text of his ग्रहान्ति much of what we are taught in the वृङ्कितास on P. I, 4, 1. (See Mahabhasya, vol. I, p. 301.)

The वृङ्कितास are the source of another innovation which is of no mean importance to us, because it helps us to settle the question of the authorship of the Jainendram. The 3rd Ahniki of Adhy. I, पद्धति 2, of the Mahabhasya treats of the so-called Ekaśeṣa-rules of Pāṇini's grammar (I, 2, 64-73) and the main result of a long and sometimes difficult discussion is this that Pāṇini might have saved himself the trouble of giving his rules, because it lies in the nature of words that e.g. the one base अद्वितीय should denote two or more Rimas just as it denotes one Rima (Mahabhasya, vol. I, p. 242 अद्वितीय....”. This doctrine the author of the Jainendram accepts; he omits all the rules on Ekaśeṣa, and to defend the course he has adopted he lays down the maxim—

I, 1, 90 सामान्य-वक्तव्यायानमृत्यूक्तेदार्थाय:?

'(The rules on) Ekaśeṣa I do not give, because it is the nature (of words) to denote (two or more objects as well as one).

Hence it is that the Jainendra-grammar is the अद्वितीयवक्तव्यायानमृत्यूक्तेदार्थाय: just as Pāṇini's grammar is the अद्वितीयवक्तव्यायानमृत्यूक्तेदार्थाय:.'

The names of the grammatical authorities mentioned by Pāṇini are invariably omitted in the Jainendram, the rule for which an authority is quoted by Pāṇini being simply made optional. To make up for this, the compiler quotes six authors of his own, Śrīdatta, Pāṇini, Bhūtibhā, Prabhāchandra, Śiddhasena, and
Samantabhādra; but as all these are mentioned in such rules as are optional with Pāṇini the process adopted in the case of Pāṇini's authorities appears here simply to have been inverted. A commentary on the Dvīpī śrayayamahākavya of Hemachandra tells us that Siddhasena was not a grammarian, and the same we may believe of the rest until their grammars have been discovered.

On the longer recension of the work which has been commented on by Somadeva, little need be said here. Though many rules have been added in it from the Vārttikas, rules of the other recension have, where it appeared possible, here been made even shorter, or have been altogether omitted. The number of Pṛtyūṣāṇaśtuṭras has been reduced to 13, and a place has been given in them to the Ayogavāhas. The rules defining Uddāta, etc. are omitted, and so are the terms annuddata and evartet of the shorter recension. For Sarvanāman and Sakhkhyā we find तत and तत्त; on the other hand there is no Samparāṇa, nor any equivalent for it. And though in the commentary the work is still called the anekākāśaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ, all the Ekaśēṣha-rules have been reintroduced from Pāṇini.

The existence of the Jainendra-grammar first became known through Vopadeva's Dhātu-pātha, in the introductory lines of which a grammarian Jainendra is enumerated with Śakalāyana, Pāṇini, and other grammarians.

On the last page of the palm-leaf MS. of the Śabdāravaścandra, which I have mentioned above, there occurs a verse which, owing to the fragmentary state of the leaf, is incomplete, but of which luckily enough remains to show that the personage referred to in Vopadeva's verse was designated Pājyaपाजयादा.

Somadeva mentions this Pājyaपाजयादा also in the body of his commentary. For a rule which corresponds to P. I, 4, 86, he gives the instance अनु पूजयादा वैखरणा; for another rule corresponding to P. II, 1, 6, he instances ज्ञत्युपयादाद; and finally, when for the rule which corresponds to P. IV, 3, 115, he instances ज्ञयादानसक्षे, he thereby clearly tells us that the Anekaśēṣha—i.e. the Jainendra-grammar is the work of Pājyaपाजयादा.

That this Pājyaपाजयादा was not an ordinary grammarian, but is the Pājyaपाजयादा kar' इष्वन, Mahāvīra, the last of the Jinas, to whom the title Jainendra is applied not infrequently, we learn from the tradition of the Jinas regarding the origin of the Jainendra-grammar.

When Mahāvīra—so the story goes, and it is with slight variations repeated over and over again—was about eight years old, his parents thought it time that he should learn to read and write. With great pomp they accordingly took him to school and introduced him to the Guru. Then Indra, by the shaking of his throne advised of what was going on here below, came down from heaven, assumed the form of an old Brāhmaṇī, and asked the child to solve the grammatical difficulties by which the mind of the Guru had long been disturbed, and which nobody had been able to explain before. Mahāvīra not only answered all the questions put to him, but he also propounded the various kinds of grammatical rules, and his utterances became the Jainendra-grammar. The Guru, delighted with what he had heard, made Mahāvīra the author of the grammatical play composed by Yasāpāda in honour of king Kumārapāla. In the beginning of the Paṇḍavastu it is stated that the proper Mānasa for the commencement of a work is ज्ञनान्तरसम्बन्ध, and the term ज्ञेत्युपयादाद is explained ज्ञनान्तरसम्बन्धित्युपयादाद, 'युपयादाद then is equivalent to युपयादाद, ज्ञेत्युपयादाद, ज्ञेत्युपयादाद, and so the word is used, e.g. in a commentary on the Upadeśasamādhi, at the commencement of a MS. of the Gaudapadā and elsewhere.
vira a Guru too, and saluted by Indra, the child returned home with his parents.

In *Samayasundaravāsaṅśi*’s commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* the Sanskrit text of the main part of this legend is as follows: अव महावर्ती शिक्षकारण कर्मम्। कर्म विश्वासनर्म्मः।।

In another commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, entitled *Kalpadrumakalikā*, and composed by *Lakṣmīvīrābha*, we are told that the rules of grammar were propounded by Mahāvīra, and furnished with a gloss and illustrations by Indra.

Again, in the *Upadesamālakā-karikā*, by *Udayaprakāšadevaśri*, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the *Jainendra* is made to reveal ‘the science of words’ to Indra, and the Guru is reported to have published those revelations under the title of *Aicandra* grammar.

These quotations, to which I might add others, will suffice to prove that the Jainas themselves generally ascribe the composition of their grammar to the *Jainendra* Mahāvīra, and that for this reason they term it the *Jainendra*. We must look for an ordinary human author of the work, and we shall, I trust, have little difficulty in discovering him.

I have shown that the *Jainendra*, to distinguish it from other grammars, is called the *Anekākāśhaṃ vākaraṇam*, the grammar in which there are no rules on Ekaśeša, and I may now state that the author of that grammar can be no other than *Devanandī*, a grammarian who is mentioned in the Ganpatnaimahodhadi and elsewhere. My proofs are these:

1. For the rule वंशिते of the *Jainendra* (= P. IV, 3, 11.5) the commentator Abhayayanandin gives the illustration रेल्लोनमिनेनकः *vākaraṇam* ‘the Anekākāśha grammar composed by Devanandī.’

2. On the rule of the *Jainendra* न तद्वरः तत्तदाः (= P. II, 4, 21) both Abhayayanandin and Somadeva quote the instance एकाकास शायरोदय *vākaraṇa* ‘the Anekākāśha grammar first propounded by Deva (i.e. Devanandī).’

3. On a rule which corresponds to P. I, 1, 69 and 70, and which in the shorter recension is worded अनुबन्धम् *vākaraṇa* ‘the Anubandha,’ and in the longer recension स्मार्याः पार्यहरुः, the commentator Somadeva quotes the following verse:

**अद्विति:** शायरोदय *vākaraṇa* तत्तदाः।

**मान्यते:** अनुबन्धम् *vākaraṇa* तत्तदाः।

‘By the word अनुबन्ध in this rule Devanandī denotes the following five, viz. a substitute, an affix, that which has द, that which has द, and that which has द for its Anubandha.’ (See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, page 177.)

4. The MS. of the *Pancavasturaka* ends with the remark that ‘this is the work of the Āchārya Devanandī.’ But as the explanatory part of the *Pancavasturaka* is in the body of the MS. stated to belong to *Śrutakriti*, I take the truth of that remark to be that Devanandī was the author of the rules rearranged and commented on in the *Pancavasturaka*.

5. Finally, I believe that the author of the *Jainendra* himself has suggested to us his name in the very first lines of his work, which have been quoted already, and which run thus:

**लक्ष्मीप्रकाशी:** शायरोदय तत्तदाः।

**मान्यते:** अनुबन्धम् *vākaraṇa* तत्तदाः।
FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.


(Continued from p. 33)

No. 7.—Folk-Tale.

Princess Pepperina.¹

A bulbul² and its mate lived in a forest and sang all day. At last the bulbul said “Oh, husband, I should like some green chillis.” The obedient lover flew off at once to find some. He flew and he flew, and he flew still not in one single garden could he find a single green chilli.³ There was either no fruit at all on the bushes, or it was red.⁴

At last in a desolate place he came to a magnificent garden; the tall mango trees shaded it, and innumerable flowers and fruits were to be seen, but not a single sign of life: no birds, no beasts, no insects. The bulbul flew down into the middle of the garden, and lo! there grew a single pepper plant, and on it hung one single large green chilli that shone like an emerald.

So the bulbul flew home to his mate, and said, “Come with me, dear wife, and I will show you the most beautiful green chilli you ever saw.”

Now the Jinn⁵ to whom the garden belonged was asleep in a summer-house; he generally slept for twelve years at a time, and then remained awake for twelve years. So he knew nothing about it when the bulbul and his wife arrived in the garden and began to eat his beautiful green chilli. It so happened, however, that the time for his awakening was drawing near, so he was restless and had bad dreams while the bulbul’s wife was eating the chilli. At the end of that time she laid one green glittering egg on the ground beneath the pepper plant, and then she and her mate flew away.

Just then the Jinn woke, and, as usual, went at once to see how his pet pepper plant was getting on. He found it pecked to pieces. Great was his sorrow and dismay; he wondered what had done the damage, knowing well that neither bird, beast or insect lived in the garden.

⁶ Some horrid creeping thing from the world outside must have stolen in while I was asleep,” said he to himself, “I will search for it and kill it.” So he began to search and found nothing but the shining glittering green egg. He took it to the summer-house, wrapped it up in cotton wool, and laid it in a niche in the wall.

Every day he looked at it, and sighed and thought of his lost chilli; but one morning when he went to the niche, lo and behold! the egg had disappeared, and in its place sat the loveliest little maiden. She was dressed from head to foot in emerald green, and round her throat hung a single large emerald, shaped just like a green chilli. The Jinn, who was good-hearted and fond of children, was delighted, and made it the business of his life to tend the Princess Pepperina, for that she told him was her name.

Now when the Princess Pepperina was about twelve years old, it became time for the Jinn to go to sleep again, and he puzzled his brains, what was to become of the princess meanwhile. It so happened that a king and his minister were hunting in the forest, and came upon the garden. Curious to see what was inside, they climbed over the wall, and found the beautiful Princess Pepperina seated by the pepper plant. The young king fell in love with her at once, saying, “Come and be my bride.”

“Not so,” said the Princess modestly. “The Jinn who owns this garden is as my father, and you must ask him; unfortunately he has a habit of eating men sometimes.” But when she looked at the young king her heart softened; she had never seen any one so handsome and beautiful; so she said “Hide yourselves in the garden, and when the Jinn returns I will question him.”

No sooner had the Jinn entered the summer-

¹ شاهزاده ميرچ: the word is properly ميرچ, which also assumes the forms ميلچ, ميریان, ميرچ, ميره, ميرچ, etc. The proper Persian expression for Princess Pepperina would be شاهزاده ميرچ. The smoke of pepper, ميرچ (Capsicum Frutescens), is supposed to drive out evil spirits from those possessed, generally women, if applied to the nose; whereas the proverb—

² Bulbul; Arabic, nightingale, now a naturalised word all over India.—R. C. T.

³ حار ميرچ—i.e. green pepper or green chilli.—R. C. T.

⁴ جين, Arabic, Lat. genius—a spirit.—R. C. T.

⁵ Lال ميرچ—red chilli or pepper.—R. C. T.
Now the young king continued passionately in love with his new wife, but the other women were jealous, especially after she gave birth to the most lovely young prince that ever was seen; so they thought and thought how they might kill her or lay a snare for her. Every night they came to the door of the Queen's room and whispered to see if she was awake, saying—"The Princess Pepperina is awake, but all the world is fast asleep." Now the emerald which the Princess wore round her neck, was a talisman, and always told the truth. So it answered at once, "Not so! The Princess is asleep; it is the world that wakes." Then the wicked women shrunk away, for they knew they had no power to harm the Princess so long as the talisman was round her neck.

At last, one day when the Princess was bathing she took off the talisman, and left it by mistake in the bathing place. That night when the wicked women came and whispered—"The Princess Pepperina is awake, but all the world is fast asleep," the truthful talisman called out from the bathing place: "Not so! the Princess is asleep, it is the world that wakes." Then knowing by the direction whence the voice came, that the talisman was not in its usual place, they stole into the room softly, killed the young prince who was sleeping in his crib, cut him into little bits, then laid them in his mother's bed, and gently stained her lips with his blood. Then they called the king, and said—"See, your beautiful wife is an ogre. She has killed her child in order to eat his flesh." Then the king was very wroth, and ordered her to be first whipped out of his dominions, and then killed.

So the beautiful Princess Pepperina was scourged out of the kingdom and slain; but when she died her body became a high white wall, her eyes turned into liquid pools of water, her green mantle into stretches of soft grass, her long twining hair into creepers and tendrils, while her scarlet mouth and white teeth changed to a bed of roses and narcissus. Then
her soul took the form of a chakwa and a chakwi, and floating on the liquid pools mourned her sad fate all day long.  

Now after many days, the king, who was full of distress for the loss of his young wife, went out hunting, and found no sport anywhere.  

By chance he came to the high white wall, and being curious to see what it encircled, he climbed over it, and saw the green grass, and twining tendrils, the roses and narcissus, and the liquid pools with the chakwa and chakwi floating on them, singing sorrowfully. The king was hot and tired, so he lay down to rest on the grass and listened to the cry of the birds. Then the chakwa told him the whole story of the wicked women's treachery, and the king listened with a beating heart.  

The chakwi wept, saying—"Can she never become alive again?"

"If any one will catch us and hold us close together," answered the chakwa, "with heart to heart, and then sever our heads from our bodies at one blow, so that neither of us shall die before the other, the Princess Pepperins will take her own form again." The king, delighted at the prospect of seeing his love again, called the chakwa and chakwi to him: they came quite readily, and stood heart to heart, while he cut off their heads with one blow of his sword. No sooner were their heads off than there stood the Princess Pepperins smiling and beautiful as ever: but strange to say, the liquid pools and grass, the roses and narcissus remained as they were.

Then said the king—"Come home, I will never mistrust you again, and I will kill the wicked traitors who belied you."

But the Princess said "Not so. Let me live here always."

Just then the Jinn woke and yawned. He knew at once by his art where the Princess was, so he flew to her, saying "Just so! and here I will live also."

So he built them a magnificent palace, and there the Princess remained and was happy ever after.

Kwan-yin.
by Rev. S. Beal.

It is first of all plain from the explanation given in the Encyclopaedia Vi-tai-king-yin-i (vi, 91), that when the palm-leaf manuscripts were first introduced into China from India, that the name of this Deity was written A v a l o k i t e s w a r a, where the second member of the title is iśvara—but the notice proceeds: "When other Śūtras were introduced (at a later period) from the Snowy Mountains (i.e., probably from Nepal), then the word iśvara was found changed into svarā, and hence was translated into the Chinese as yin, or voice." Now, this is an important statement, as it agrees with the criticism of Klaproth and Stian. Julien that iśvara was actually corrupted into svarā in the compound word Avalokiteśvara—but granting this, it remains to inquire whether this corruption was accidental or designed. The writer of this article has elsewhere given reasons which induce him to think that the change was not accidental (Catena, p. 383); and it seems abundantly evident that it originated in the northern veneration paid to the published Scriptures of the Prājñā-Pāramitā class. Mr. Hodgson, in his Essays, tells us that these works are known generally as Raksha Bhagavati, i.e., the goddess who delivers—which is an especial attribute of Kwa-n-yein, and as a singular corroboration of this the short

Chakwa—main dūna? May I come? shall I come?

The chakwa and chakwi are considered sacred by the multitude, but on what ground it is not clear. There seems to be no distinct story attached to them, but I have heard of songs about them which I have not succeeded in procuring. They are of course the emblem of constancy, like the English turtle-dove. The English term Brāhmaṇi Duck is a curious one, of which I have no satisfactory derivation to offer.—R. C. T.
work which introduces the voluminous Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra in the Chinese version, is drawn up in the shape of a Mantra with Sāriputra as the Rishi, and Āvalokiteśvara as the Devata, but in M. Burnouf's Commentary on the Yaṣṇa we are told that the word mantra is equivalent to the Zend māthra, and that tānu-māthrahe, which occurs so frequently in the Vendidad, is only a form signifying "the embodied word or speech,"—we will give the passage:

"Il faut reconnaître que cet adjectif est un composé possessif, et traduire: 'celui qui a la parole pour corps,' 'celui dont la parole est le corps'; et (peut-être par extension) 'parole faite corps, incarnée.' Cette interprétation ne saurait être douteuse; car le sens de tānu est bien fixé en Zend, c'est le Sanscrit tanu, et le Persan tan (ω' corps); et celui de māthra n'est pas moins certain puisque ce mot Zend ne diffère de Sanskrit mantra que par l'adoption de l'd qui aïne à précéder th et par l'aspiration du t, laquelle résulte de la rencontre de la dentale et de la liquide r." It seems plain then that the alteration of tānu into tāra in the compound we are alluding to, resulted from a designed ascription of the office of Āvalokiteśvara (the manifested Deity) to the mantra which forms the introduction of the Prajñā-Pāramitā Sūtra, and afterwards to all the Sūtras of this class. This mantra having the virtue of Bhagavati, became the type of the "manifested word" or "embodied speech," and hence assumed the character Vāch as known and adored in the Vedas—or of tānu-māthrahe (embodied speech) as named in the Yaṣṇa.

In general, then, and as sufficient explanation for most purposes, we may regard Kwa-n-yin as the manifestation of the mind of Buddha (or the Jñāna Buddha Amītābha) in the character of Prajñā or sublime wisdom, embodied in the scriptures bearing that name. The reason why this Deity was first regarded as a male and afterwards a female, is to be found in the title Iscara, masculine, and Vāch a feminine noun.  

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY M. EMILE SENART.

(Continued from Vol. IX, p. 287.)

Fourth Edict.  

(*) Așikātaśi aśtarasū bahūṁ vāsaśaṭāṁ vadhitō eva praśāraḥbhō vihīṁsā cha bhūtāṁni niḥscū.  

(∗) asampātīpāti bhamaparamaśaṭināi asampātīpāti [m] ta aja devaṁapriyasa priyadāsino rāno  

(∗) drahaḥmaṭaraṇena bherighoso ah drahaḥmaṭhaghoḥ vimaṇḍaṣaṭaḥ cha hastidasaṭaḥ cha  

(∗) aghamahāhi cha aṇāni cha divyinīś rūpinī dasyaṁībā janañī[...] yārisā bahūṁ vasaḥtehi  

(∗) na bhaṭtepurvāṁ rāsāya ja va ṣhīte devaṁapriyasa priyadāsino rāno drahaḥmaṭaśaṭi aṇāri  

(∗) bhō praṇānaṁ avihīsā bhūtāṁni niḥscū sampaṭīpāti bhamaparamaśaṭināi sampaṭīpāti mātari pitari  

(∗) susrūśī devaḥmaṭaśaṭi cha devaḥmaṭaśaṭi cha aṇāni cha bhuvīḍhe drahaḥmaṭaśaṭi cha devaḥmaṭaśaṭi  

(∗) priyadāsī rāśi drahaḥmaṭaśaṭi cha aṇāni[...] putrā ca praṇāni ca devaṁapriyasa priyadāsino rāno  

(∗) vadhayaśaṣṭi iṣa drahaḥmaṭaśaṭi aya sa vaḥṣaṭkāpaḥ drahaḥmaṇīmīli sīmāḥ tiṣṭaṁti drahaḥmaṇīmīli savaḥsaṣṭaḥ[...]  

(∗) esa hi seste kānme ya drahaḥmaṇōsānaṃ drahaḥmaṭaraṇo pi na bhavati asīlasa[...] va  

(∗) dhī cha aḥni cha sādhu[...] etāya athāya iṣa[...] lekhāṁpīthā inṛṣa athāsa vadhī yuṣṭaṁhī[...] hīni chā  

(*) lochetavyā[...] dvāśaśaśākṣisita devaṇāṁpriyena priyadāsina rāṇā iṣa lekhāṁpīthā ( )

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2 From The Oriental, November 6, 1873.  
5 These readings differ from those represented in plate V of Cunningham's Corp. Inscriptionum.  
6 The prī is indistinct in the facsimile II.
Translation.

In the past there has prevailed for many ages the destruction of living things, violence towards the creatures, want of regard for relations, want of regard for Brâhma and Sâmanas. But now king Piyanasi, dear to the gods, being faithful in the practice of religion, has made the noise of drums to resound [in such a way that it is] as the [very] sound of religion, pointing out to the people the processions of reliquaries, elephants, torches, and other heavenly spectacles. Thanks to the instruction in religion spread by king Piyanasi, dear to the gods, there now prevails, as it has not for many ages, respect for living creatures, gentleness towards beings, respect for relatives, respect for Brâhma and Sâmanas, obedience to father and mother, obedience to seniors ["obedience to seniors" wanting in the Khâksi copy]. In this matter, as in many others, the practice of religion prevails, and king Piyanasi, dear to the gods, will continue to make it prevail [Kapurdigiri: 'and this practice of religion, which king Piyanasi, dear to the gods, observes, shall continue to prevail']. The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Piyanasi, dear to the gods, shall make this practice of religion to prevail even to the end of the world; established [K.: living] in religion and virtue, they shall teach religion. For the teaching of religion is the most virtuous work, and there is no [real] practice of religion without virtue. Now the development, the success of that [religious] concern is good. It is for this purpose that it has been engraved, in order that they may apply to the greatest good of this concern, and that they may not see in it [G: that there may not be seen in it] any decay [K: and that decay

1 More freely—"Now, says Piyanasi, that I practise the true law, my drum is indeed the drum of the law, for I make it resound in the holy solemnities where I show to my people elelants, sacred ears, the splendour of torch illuminations, spectacles divine (p. 225).

2 Prinsep, p. 253; Wilson, p. 412; Lassen, p. 237, n. 1; 229, n. 3.

3 The readings in these places differ from those in Plate V. of Corpus Inscrip.

4 Khâksi reads—kayâne dukale a adi kayядâda. &c.


6 Dhâlii reads here—bhumânâhitaka anadhuthu maha loka cha hitasakahyeha, &c.; maugada has only bhumânâhitaka. Khâksi has—bhumânâhitaka a nohitruhurhodhara hitasaka.

may not arise in it], king Piyanasi; dear to the gods, has caused this to be engraved in the thirteenth year of his consecration.

Fifth Edict.3

(1) Devânâmpryo piyanasi râja evaîa aha[e] kalâpanâ dukaraṇa ye a[e] kalâpanë a dukaraṇa karoti [i].

(2) ta mayâ bahu kalâpanâ kataîm; ta mama putâ cha potâ cha paraîn cha tena ye me apachâniî avâ saîvatakâpâ-anuvatisare tathâ

(3) so sukataîm kâsaî yo tu etta desai pîhaîpesei so dukaraṇa kâsaîm; sukaraṇa hi pâpamâ [i] stikâtaîm ântaraîm

(4) na bhûtâpurvam dhâmannahamâmatât natmaî; ta mayâ tadasavaîbhsîtenaî dhâmmanahamâmatâ katâîm; te savapâsaîdase vyaîpata dhâmaddhistänaînya.

(5) dhâmanyutasa cha yonakumojgaîdhâramânî ristikapotekiânâî ye vâpi aîne âparata bhatamayesa va

(6) sukâhyâ dhâmanyutânaî aparagoddhâya vyaîpata te baîdhanabadhasa pâtividhânya.

(7) jâ katâbhikâresu vâ thairesu vâ vyaîpata te pâtalipute cha bâhiresu cha ahaî.

(8) ne vâpi maî anî nîtikâ savata vyaîpata te yo ayaî dhâmmanisrito ti va

(9) dhâmannahamâmatatetâh aîhâya ayaîn dhâmmanîpik likitâh.

Translation.

Thus saith Piyanasi, the king dear to the gods: [The practice of] virtue is difficult; he who [deviates not] from virtue does something difficult. Now I have myself done many virtuous actions. Also those of my sons, of my grandsons, and afterwards those of my descendants, who, till the end of the kalpa, shall

hâye, &c.; and Kapurdigiri—bhramamibhecha anadhuthu vatsahu hêtsukhayeha.

12 Here D. has—aparagoddhaye mohîghya cha evam annotationa pâjgî cha bhâhikale te va mahalaksa yâpata te hida cha bhûleu, &c.; Kh—aparagoddhaye mohîghya cha evam annotationa pâjgî cha bhâhikale te va mahalaksa yâpata te hida cha bhûleu, &c.; and K.—aparagoddhaye mohîghya cha evam annotationa pâjgî cha bhâhikale te va mahalaksa yâpata te hida cha bhûleu, &c.; &c.

13 Here D. has—nâgâraîy saîvus saîvu vahânuhësa vâpi bhâdhanâm wa bhâgaiwânuhësa vâpi nhâmâniyam, &c. &c.; Kh—nâgâraîy saîvus saîvu vahânuhësa vâpi bhâdhanâm wa bhâgaiwânuhësa vâpi nhâmâniyam, &c. &c.; and K.—nâgâraîy saîvus saîvu vahânuhësa vâpi bhâdhanâmwa bhâgaiwânuhësa vâpi nhâmâniyam, &c. &c.; &c.
thus follow my example, these shall do well; those who shall abandon that path they shall do evil. In reality evil is easy (K. evil is in human nature; Dh. Kh.: let us strive then against evil). It is thus that in the past there were no Inspectors of Religion. But I have in the fourteenth year of my consecration created Inspectors of Religion. They are concerned with the adherents of all sects, with respect to the establishment of religion, the progress of religion, the use and the honour of the faithful of the (true) religion; they are concerned with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gandhāras, the inhabitants of Surāshtra, and the Petenikas (the two last names are omitted at Kh.), and with the other frontier populations, with warriors, with Brāhmans, and with rich and poor, with the aged, in order to procure their welfare and happiness, to remove all obstacles before the faithful of the [true] religion; they are concerned to comfort him who is in chains, to remove obstacles for him, to deliver him because he is burdened with a family, because he has been the victim of craft, because he is old; at Pātaliputta (Dh. Kh. K.: here) and in other towns, they concern themselves with the private life of all my brothers and sisters and of my other relations; over all the land (K. Kh.: in all my empire) the Inspectors of Religion are concerned with the faithful of the (true) religion, with those who are diligent in religion, who are established in (the excellent adds K.) religion, who are given to alms. It is for this end that this edict has been engraved. (Dh. Kh. and K.: May it long endure, and may people thus follow my example!)

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE CASTES OF THE TAMIL NATION.

By the late Rev. Philip DeMelho, on the Ceylon Establishment of the Hon'ble the Dutch East India Company. Communicated by Mr. Mat. P. J. Ondaatje.

In the ancient manuscripts left behind by the Tamil, it is recorded that that nation is divided into four castes, viz., Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiṣyās, and Śūdras; and to show their quality and rank, it is said in the aforesaid MSS. that the Brāhmans proceeded from the head of Brahmā, which they understood to be the element earth; the Kshatriyas from his breast, the Vaiṣyās out of his thighs, and the Śūdras out of his feet; by these emblematical expressions, they represent the distinctions of their castes. The Brāhmans are priests, and may be considered similar to the Levites among the Jews, as they exercise themselves only in their Law or Religion, and explain it to the people. These are sub-divided into three classes, viz.:—1st. The race of Fire, adoring fire as their idol. 2nd. The race of Kasibar, a prophet among them; they worship Śiva; and 3rd. The race of Paratoewaser, who was also a prophet among them; they worship the idol Vishnu.

The Kshatriyas are kings, who in former times enjoyed thrones. They are also divided which rendered an university education a sine quâ non for the ministry. He officiated in Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamul, and was eloquent in the pulpit. His principal works are Tamul versions of the New Testament from the Greek, the Dutch liturgy and some of the Psalms of David, etc. in metri; a work against Popery, entitled The Triumph of Truth, a Catechism in Portuguese, and a version of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew, published in 1790, also additions to the Tamul Classical Lexicon, and other philological works. At his death, he left translations of the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth in MS. He also wrote many poems of great merit. Born at Colombo, 1723. Died at Jaffna, North Ceylon, 1790."

By whom the footnotes have been added.

The ancient Romans had also four divisions; the Flamen, corresponding with the Brāhman; the Knight corresponding with the Kshatriya; the Patrician corresponding with the Vaiṣyā; and the Plebeian corresponding with the Śūdra. The castes are also described by their ārya or colour—Brāhmans, white; Kshatriyas, red; Vaiṣyās, yellow; and Śūdras black. Caste is a word of Portuguese origin, meaning breed or descent. Baradwaja.
into three classes; 1st, the race of fire, whose kings were called by the common appellation of Seran. They reigned over the kingdom of Maleywär, which was corrupted by the Portuguese into Malabar, signifying the mountain; and according to this name of that kingdom, their language Tamīj is called Malavy, i.e., Malabar, as also Malen Tamīj, i.e. Malabar-Tamīj. 2nd, the race of the sun, whose kings were called by the common appellation of Sōlen (Chōjan). They governed the kingdom of Šōlamaṇḍalam, which was also corrupted by the Portuguese into Coromandel, signifying the kingdom of Sōlen, and their language is the Telugu, which is also called Vādaugu (Northern). 3rd, the race of the moon, whose kings are called by the common appellation of Pāṇḍiyān. They governed the kingdom of Madura, and their language is the pure and elegant Tamīj, which is also commonly called, though improperly, Malabar.

The Vaiśyas are noblemen, and divide themselves also into three classes, viz.:

1st: the race of Ko-vaiśyas or Šādiyār, i.e. pastoers, who earn their livelihood by keeping cattle. 2nd: that of Ṭām-aśayyas, or Cheṭtis, i.e. merchants, who support themselves by trade and merchandise. 3rd, that of Pū-vaiśyas or Veḷḷār, i.e. husbandmen, whose work is husbandry.

The Šādāras are servants of the three classes of Vaiśyas aforesaid, and are divided into two castes, viz.:

1. House servants, named Kuṭimakal, and 2. out-door servants. The house servants are eighteen in number, viz.:

1st. Nawidar, (Nāvīyar). i.e. barbers.
2nd. Oacher (? Vāchar) who announce the weddings and deaths of the Vaiśyas.
3rd. Tattār, i.e. goldsmiths. 4th. Kollār, i.e. blacksmiths. 5th. Tachchar, i.e. carpenters. 6th. Kannār, i.e. brass founders. 7th. Katsipper, i.e. bricklayers or masons. These five castes are known by the common appellation of Kamā̀r, i.e. craftsmen.
8th. Vaiśyar, i.e. deer and hare catchers with nets.
9th. Pannar, i.e. tailors.
10th. Engal-vaiśyar, i.e. oil-mill workers.
11th. Šupṣāmbu-vaiśyar (Cuṇḍambu-kārār), i.e. limeburners.

12th. Uppu-vaiśyar (Uppu-kārār), i.e. salt makers.
13th. Pūmālai-kārār, i.e. flower sellers (and garland makers).
14th. Illevaly, i.e. watchmen of the fortresses.
15th. Vēṭiyār, i.e. Pānaiyar, tom-tom beaters, who likewise are weavers, and bear the corpses of the dead, (and grave-diggers).
16th. Kossevar (Kuśavaṇ), potters.
17th. Vīraka-diyār, i.e. chank blowers at weddings and deaths.
18th. Vauṇār, i.e. washermen.

The out-door servants among others are—

1st. Kōṇattiyar, a low sort of traders.
2nd. Salapar, also a low sort of traders.
3rd. Aṃgambādiyar, a low sort of husbandmen.

20th. Ejutta-kārār, i.e. painters.
21st. Sayekārār, i.e. dyers.
22nd. Eleyvaiśyar, i.e. betel vendors.
26th. Šemmār, 27th. Šakkiliyar: Shoemakers of different kinds.
28th. Tūrumbar, i.e. washermen of the lowest caste.

All the above castes have special virudu, (banner), i.e. arms and rights, different one from another. Those among the Šādāras, who of old by the Kāshāttriyas, or Vaiśyas, on account of some reasons and merits were entitled to and favoured with new arms and states above their own, are called Valankaikyar, i.e. those of the right hand; but all the other Šādāras, Idaikyar, i.e. those of the left hand.

Besides the above castes, there are, in the province of Jaffnapatam, three regular sorts of castes, viz.:

1st. Madapalle, who are the offspring of the natural children of former kings of Jaffnapatam.
patam by their concubines, and who are called by the common name of Madapallis, which word signifies ‘a kitchen,’ as the work of the said concubines was to attend the kitchen, and to serve at the table. The said kings were the offspring of a Brâhman from Manravey in Râmanâdhaapuram, and thus of the race of Aryar.

2nd. Malayâlar, a kind of Vellâlar, who arrived from the kingdom of Malabar.

3rd. Paredâsâr, who are partly strangers and partly emancipated, of which castes nothing can be said with certainty.

In ancient times when the Island of Ceylon lay waste and uninhabited, there came a certain prince named Sinahakumârâ, a son of Sojan, king of Sojamaândalam (Coromandel) of the race of the sun, accompanied with princes and officers in vessels from the said Solumandalam. He being delighted with the beauty, fertility, and salubrity of the climate, and desiring to settle himself here and to establish a kingdom, gave information thereof by a letter to the king of Madura, or Pañjâyamaândalam, of the race of the moon, requesting him to send from his kingdom different families of all sorts of castes to colonize the island, soliciting at the same time the princess his daughter as a bride; which the said king having voluntarily agreed to, sent his daughter the princess with a great train, together with their families, as requested; and the Prince and Princess were solemnly married and crowned as king and queen of the land; from this it is that the emperors of Ceylon, who are of the race of the sun, cause the princesses aforesaid of Madura, being of the race of the moon, to be brought from thence for their brides.

The Island then having been peopled in ancient times aforesaid, it happened that from the mixture of Telungu or (Telinga,) the mother tongue of the said first prince, and his train, with Tamil, the language of the abovementioned princess, and of all her train, and that of the families of all kinds of castes, a third language was produced; and as the marriage united a Telungu and a Tamil nation, another kind of people there arose called after the name of the aforesaid prince Singakumârâ, Singâli; and thence arose also the worship of Buddha, which was at that time prevailing in Madura or Pañjîyamaândalam; and to this the said princess and her attendants adhered, and introduced it into the Island.

This short and concise relation of the arrival of the first prince Singakumâran, who was afterwards crowned as Emperor of the Island of Ceylon, of the peopling thereof, the origin of the Singhalese language and nation, the introduction of the worship of Buddha into the Island; is tediously written in the Singâli books, Râjaratnakâri, Râjanaî, Râjavanâli, and many others, although with many superstitious and fabulous stories.

Philip De Melho.

Jaffna, 25th July, 1788.

THE CHONG-LUN OR PRANYAMULA-SÁSTRA-TIKA OF NĀGĀRJUNA.

By Rev. S. Beal, M.A., Rector of Wark.

I shall here give a translation of the 25th section of the Chong-Lun Sûtra or Pranyamula-êśatra-tika, by Nâgarjuna, on Nirvâna.

1. If all things are unreal,
   Then how is it possible to remove
   From that which does not exist
   Something, which, being removed, leaves Nirvâna?

This section argues that if all things are alike empty and unreal, then there is no such thing as Birth and Death; consequently there can be no removal from sorrow, and the destruction of the five elements of existence (limited existence), by removal of which we arrive at Nirvâna (what is called Nirvâna).

2. But if all things are real,
   Then how can we remove
   Birth and Death, real existence,
   And so arrive at Nirvâna?

This section argues that we cannot destroy that which has in itself real existence, and therefore, if all things have this real being, we cannot remove Birth and Death, and so arrive at Nirvâna; therefore, neither by the theory of Bhava, nor by the theory of Sûnyata (emptiness), can we arrive at the just idea of Nirvâna.

3. That which is not striven for or "obtained,
   That which is not "for a time" or "eternal,
   That which is not born, nor dies,
   This is that which is called Nirvâna.
"Not to be striven for," that is, in the way of religious action (achārya), and its result (fruit).

"Not obtained" (or "arrived at"), that is, because there is no place or point at which to arrive.

"Not for a time" (or not by way of interruption) [per sallum] for the five skandhas having been from the time of complete enlightenment proved to be unreal, and not part of true existence, then on entering final Nirvāṇa (anupādikāsa Nirvāṇa).—

What is there that breaks or interrupts the character of previous existence?

"Not for ever," or "everlasting," for if there were something to be obtained that admitted of distinctions whilst in the possession of it, then we might speak of an eternal Nirvāṇa, but as in the condition of silent extinction (Nirvāṇa) there can be no properties to distinguish, how can we speak of it as "everlasting"?

And so with reference to Birth and Death.

Now that which is so characterised is what we call Nirvāṇa.

Again, there is a Śāstra which says, "Nirvāṇa is the opposite of 'Being' and 'not Being'; it is the opposite of these two combined, it is the opposite of the absence of 'Being', and the absence of 'not Being'.

So, in short, that which admits of no conditions such as are attached to limited existence; that is Nirvāṇa.

(4) Nirvāṇa cannot be called Bhava; For if so, then it admits of old age and death, In fact both "being" and "not being" are phenomena.

And therefore are capable of being deprived of characteristics (lakshanam).

This means that as all things which the eye beholds are seen to begin and end, and this is what the Śāstra calls "Life" and "Death" (or birth and death). Now if Nirvāṇa is like this, then it would be possible to speak of removing these things and so arriving at something fixed—but here is a plain contradiction of terms—for Nirvāṇa is supposed to be that which is fixed and unchangeable.

(5) If Nirvāṇa is Bhava (existent), Then it is personal; But, in fact, that which cannot be individualized Is spoken of as not "personal."

This means that as all phenomenal existence comes from cause and consequent production, therefore all such things are rightly called "personal."

(6) If Nirvāṇa be Bhava, Then it cannot be called "without sensation" (anuvṛtta); For non-Being comes not from sensation, And by this obtains its distinct name.

This means that as the Śāstras describe Nirvāṇa as being "without sensation" (anuvṛtta), it cannot be Bhava; for then Abhava would come from sensation. But now it will be asked, if Nirvāṇa is not Bhava, then that which is "not Bhava" (abhava), surely then is Nirvāṇa. To this we reply—

(7) If Nirvāṇa be not Bhava, Much less is it nothing (abhava). For if there be no room for "Being," What place can there be for "not Being."

This means that "not Being" is the opposite of "Being." If, then, "Being" is not admissible, how can we speak of "not Being"? (its opposite).

(8) If again Nirvāṇa is nothing, How is it called without "sensation" (anuvṛtta), For it would be wonderful indeed if everything not capable of sensation, Were forthwith spoken of as nothing.

If then Nirvāṇa be neither "Being," nor "non-Being," what is it?

(9) By participation in cause and effect Comes the wheel of continual existence, By non-participation in cause and effect Comes Nirvāṇa.

As by knowing a thing to be straight we also know that which is crooked, so by the knowledge of the elements of finite existence comes the knowledge of continual life and death. Do away with those, and you do away also with the other.

(10) As Buddha says in the Śāstra,— Separate "Being," separate "not Being," This is Nirvāṇa, The opposite of "Being," the opposite of "not Being."

"Being" here alludes to the three worlds of finite existence. The absence of these three worlds is "Not Being." Get rid of both these ideas, this is Nirvāṇa. But it may now be asked, if Nirvāṇa is not "Being," and if it is not "Absence of Being," then perhaps it is the intermixture of the two.

(11) If it is said that "Being" and "Not Being," By union, produces Nirvāṇa, The two are then one; But this is impossible.

Two unlike things cannot be joined so as to produce one different from either.

(12) If it is said "Being" and "Not Being" United make Nirvāṇa, Then Nirvāṇa is not "without sensation;" For these two things involve sensation.

(13) If it is said that "Being" and "Not Being," United, produce Nirvāṇa,
Then Niveda is not Impersonal; for these two things are personal. (14) "Being" and "Not Being," joined in one, how can this be Niveda? These two things have nothing in common, Can Darkness and Light be joined? (15) If the opposites of "Being" and "Not Being," is Niveda, These opposites—How are they distinguished? (16) If they are distinguished, and so, by union, become Niveda.

Then that which completes the idea of "Being" and "Not Being" also completes the idea of the opposite of both.

(17) Tathāgata, after his departure, says nothing of "Being" and "Not Being." He says not that his "Being" is not, or the opposite of this. Tathāgata says nothing of these things or their opposites. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that Niveda is identical with the nature of Tathāgata, without bound, and without place or time.\(^1\)

AN AMERICAN PUZZLE.

About seven months ago, the Pioneer, in a letter headed "From All About," proposes a problem, called the "American Puzzle," the attempted solution of which is said to have driven several people nearly mad. The problem is to arrange the sixteen consecutive numbers from 1 to 16, in four rows of four each in such a way that the total of every line and group of four will amount to exactly thirty-four. The puzzle admits of several answers, and one is—

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 8 & 10 & 15 \\
12 & 13 & 3 & 6 \\
7 & 2 & 16 & 9 \\
14 & 11 & 5 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

In the above group every line of four, every possible group of four forming a square, and the sum of the four corner numbers amounts to 34.

The problem is, however, by no means a modern one, dating, as it does, far back into the history of Indian Astrology. To prove what I say, I append the following extract from the Jyotisāttattva:

\[\text{पंचरेखा: समुलिस्य ति पिराईकर्मण हि} 1
\text{पपदिन पापोधापा नेकमाधे मुमां वच} 2
\text{नवधे सम दयानु वर्ग प्रथमेष तथा} 3
\text{हितिः पवित्रमेघं धर धितिः हि} 4
\text{पानस्थे मुर्ति} 5
\text{एकादिना सम मेघांस्करात्वी विक्रोणके} 6
\text{ददा दानवहृदपूः स्मरेतः} 7

The above instructions are briefly as follows:—

Draw five lines perpendicularly, and five lines crossing them horizontally. These will form a large square enclosing sixteen smaller squares in four rows of four each. In the first of these squares write 1, in the seventh 3, in the ninth 7, and in the fifteenth 5. Now, to the right of each of these write whatever number is sufficient to make the total of each of these pairs up to nine. We thus get:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 8 & 3 & 6 \\
7 & 2 & 5 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

Now take any even number, which we may call A, and fill up the remaining squares by writing the difference between half A, and the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up. Thus, supposing A = 34, then, under 3 we must write \(\frac{34}{2} - 1\) (which is the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction upwards and to the left from the square below 3); \(\frac{34}{2} - 1 = 17 - 1 = 16\); and we must therefore write 16 under 3. Again, to fill up the vacant square under 2, we first note that the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction upwards and to the right from the square below 2, is 6. ... 7 - 6 = 11, which number must be written under 2. Or, as another example, to fill up the square immediately above 6, we must subtract, from 17, 2, which is the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction downwards and to the left from the square to be filled up, we must therefore write 17 - 2 = 15. It must be observed that, as there are only four

\(^{1}\) The Oriental, October 9, 1875.

\(^{2}\) Raghunandana's Jyotisāttattva Prakoroshm Samāsthānam, p. 47, Asiatic Society of Bengal's MS.
squares to a row, there can never be more than one, and there always is one, square which will fulfill the condition of being next but one in a diagonal direction from any given square. This direction may be either upwards or downwards, or right or left, as the case may be. In a similar way we can fill up the remaining squares, and we finally get:

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<th>1</th>
<th>8</th>
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It will be observed that the Jyotistattva does not calculate upon only making up a total of 34. By altering the value of A to any figure desired, the total of every line and group of four will always equal A. In each case, however, the numbers used for filling up the half of the squares last filled up will differ: and 34 is the only value of A which uses up the sixteen digits from 1 to 16 and no others.

These squares are recommended by the Jyotistattva as charms to be gazed upon and carried about. According to the value of A, the charms are of various efficacy. Thus:

When A = 32, the charm is useful to a woman in childbirth.

When A = 34, it is to be used when setting out on a journey.

When A = 50, it is to be used for casting out devils.

When A = 100, it is for women whose children have died.

When A = 72, it is for a barren woman.

When A = 64, it is to be used in the tumult of battle.

When A = 20, it is to be used in cases of poisoning.

When A = 23, it is to be used when paddy is attacked by insects.

And when A = 84, it is recommended for hushing children when they are crying.

George A. Grierson, Madhuban, Darbhanga.

NOTE ON SOME COIN LEGENDS.

As reading the legend on a coin so often depends on a knowledge of what the usually almost illegible letters ought to represent, I send the following note (found in a local vernacular work) on the legends of some coins formerly current in India, as it may prove of some interest and perhaps valuable.

I. Coin of Jehangir current in Akbaranagar (? Agra) in H. 1014 = A.D. 1605—

Legend obv. ज़ियातुल ख़ाफदार नवेंद्र बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा

rev. सुन्दर नवेंद्र बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा

II. Coin of Jehangir current in Agra—

Leg. obv. सकर ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

III. Coin of Jehangir current in Lahore in H. 1018 = A.D. 1609—

Leg. obv. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

IV. Coin of Jehangir current in Ahmadabad—

Leg. obv. सकर ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

V. Coin of Jehangir current in Burhanpur—

Leg. obv. सकर ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. ब्रह्मचारी शाही नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

VI. Coin of Jehangir issued in the name of Nur Jahan Begam—

Leg. obv. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

VII. Coin of Nadir Shah—

Leg. obv. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

VIII. Coin of Shah Alam—

Leg. obv. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

rev. बुद्धि प्रभुतात्मा नवेंद्र प्रभुतात्मा

IX. Legend on a coin of Jehangir current in Burhanpur—

R. C. TEMPLE,
Firuzpur.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
MAHÁBHÁRATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., C.I.E.
(Continued from vol. IX, p. 142.)

PROPER TREATMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN.

Mahâbhârata, v. 1407.

To others never malice bear,
But kindly for their welfare care;
Nor only by thine acts be friend,
But ne'er by angry words offend.
Thy spouse with care and kindness treat,  
With honied accents always greet. 
But whilst thou soothest women, ne'er 
Permit them o'er thee rule to bear.

"Let a man be free from malice, and guard his 
wife; let him speak kindly and pleasantly; and 
use sweet words to women, but never become 
subject to them."

**EULOGY OF WOMEN.**

*Mahābhārata*, v. 1408.

All honour to those women bright, 
Whose presence fills the house with light, 
Who, noble, virtuous, loving, pure, 
The fortunes of their homes assure. 
Their lords should love and guard such wives 
The joy and solace of their lives.

"Those pure and virtuous women who are the 
lights of the house, who are called the goddesses 
of fortune, should be honoured and specially 
guarded."

Passages to the same effect occur elsewhere, of 
which I give prose versions:—

*Manu*, v. 26. "In men's houses there is no 
difference whatever between women who are blest 
with progeny, worthy of honour, and the lights of 
their houses—between such women—and goddesses 
of fortune" (*Śrīvyas*).

*Mahābhārata*, xiii., 2498. "Those goddesses of 
fame called women should be kindly treated by 
him who seeks to prosper. A woman who is 
cherished and controlled is a goddess of fortune."

From the occurrence of the word "controlled" 
in the last passage, it would seem to result that the 
word "guard," also in the first passage, is to be 
understood as intimating that women, how highly 
sover esteemed, were regarded by the writer as 
requiring supervision on the part of their hus-

**A GOOD KING, ACCORDING TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.**

[In lines xii. 3346ff, the writer gives us a lofty 
idea of what a king ought to be. Unless the 
desire of his subjects' approbation, and the love 
of renown, recommended to him in vv. 3349ff, be 
considered to lower the ideal conception of disinter-

interested virtue,—he seeks to place a philosopher, a 
Titus who mourns that he had lost a day, or a 
Marcus Aurelius, on the throne.]

*Mahābhārata* xii. 3345ff; 2079ff.

That king rules well whose arm defends, 
His friends from aliens, these from friends, 
Whose sway o'er every class extends; 
O'er all whose realm his subjects roam,— 
Like sons within a father's home,— 
Securely, whether weak or strong, 
And insult never dreads, nor wrong.

Nor ever need their wealth to hide, 
But, undisturbed, in peace abide.

The wise declare this self the root 
From which all human actions shoot. 
This self a prince should, therefore, guard. 
Lest haply it should e'er be marred 
By unobserved and veiled assaults 
Of passion, breeding active faults; 
Himself should ever strictly ask— 
'Do I fulfil my kingly task? 
'Do vices in my nature lurk, 
'Whose power obstructs my noble work? 
'Do all the men my acts who know 
'Of these their admiration show? 
'And does my virtue's fame extend 
'O'er all my realm, from end to end?'

I add a prose version of the lines:—

*Mahābh.* xii. 2079ff. "He is the best of kings in 
whose dominions men can move about like sons 
in their fathers' houses, and whose subjects, dwel-
ing in his country, do not conceal their wealth 
and understand what is wise and unwise action."

xii. 3346ff. "Protecting strangers from those 
within his palace, and these again from strangers, 
strangers from strangers, and your own from your 
own, preserve men continually. 3347. The king 
who in every respect guards himself, can be the 
guardian of the earth. This entire world has its 
root in [is dependent upon] the soul or self. So 
the wise declare. 3348. Let the king constantly 
consider what flaw is there in me, what attachment 
(?) avasānyāt? What is there that I have not 
overcome (avasānyāt)? From what quarter can 
blame attach to me? 3349. He should cause enquir-
y to be made all over the earth by secret approved 
emissaries into this? 'Do men applaud or not my 
action of the past day?' 3350. If they know it, do 
they applaud it or not? Shall my renown shine in 
all parts of the country? "

**ANCIENT INDIAN IDEAS ABOUT WAR.**

(1.) CONQUERORS SHOULD KINDLY TREAT THE 
VANQUISHED.

*Mahābhārata* xii. 3347ff.

He who a foe has seized in fight— 
A foe whose deeds were fair and right— 
That foe with due respect should greet, 
And ne'er through hatred harshly treat. 
Who acts not thus is hard in heart, 
And fails to play a Kshatriya's part. 
He who in war has gained success 
Should seek to soothe his foe's distress; 
Should on him kindly, blandly smile, 
And thus his downfall's pain beguile. 
When thou hast caused another woe, 
Thou should'st him more thy kindness show,
Though hasted now, if thou begin
By friendly acts his heart to win,
Ye shall not long remain estranged;
The foes shall soon to friends be changed.

(2.) Kshatriyas (raffuts) should fight fairly,
And spare the vanquished, &c.

Mahābh. xii., 3541 ff., 3557 ff., 3569 b, 3675 ff.
A Kshatriya fairly ought to fight,
And ne'er disabled foe men smile;
His foes on equal terms should meet;
Men worse equipped should scorn to beat.
Whoe'er unfairly victory wins
Destroys himself—he basely sins.
'Tis better far to lose thy life,
When waging honourable strife,
Than live and overcome thy foe
By artifices mean and low.
A beaten foe who takes to flight,
Unfit again to turn and fight.
Disheartened, hopeless, faint, oppressed,
Should never be too hardly pressed.
A warrior brave should hate to slay
The man who throws his arms away,
And humbly cries, "Great victor, save
From death thy vanquished, prostrate slave.
Thyself a wounded foe man tend,
Or to his home for succour send.
Ne'er ask a captive maid to wed,
Before a year its course has sped.

(3.) Needless warfare condemned.

Mahābh. xii., 2618, 3222, 3581, 3706.
A Kshatriya's function is the worst
Of all men's tasks—the most accurst.
For whether warriors fight or fly,
The fate of many is to die;
And so a battle-loving king
On men must direful misery bring.
Hate, prince, thy hands with blood to stain;
Seek other things thine ends to gain.
Ne'er risk the chance of battle fell—
Of which the issue none can tell—
Nor e'er, till gentler measures fail,
Thyself of arms and force avail.
By offers fair, in accents smooth,
Thine angry enemy seek to soothe;
And so adjust the cause of strife,
Which else would waste full many a life.

Of a quite different and immoral tendency are the following lines, which are enthusiastic in praise of fighting, and promise to warriors slain in battle the forgiveness of all their sins, and the low delights of a sensual paradise.

1 The measures or devices recommended with the view of avoiding war, not all of them honourable, are śākṣa or śākṣāthe (conciliation), dāna or prādāna (giving gifts), and śhāda, (seeking to excite treachery among the enemy's adherents). Mahābh. i. 5566, xii. 2619, and Matsi. vii. 196. A show of force is also recommended; or a combination of pacific and terrifying measures; xii. 3275—3279.

2 This is not explained by the commentator.
with the success which he can gain, by conciliation, by gifts, and by causing dissensions."

xii. 3522. — "A king should extend his conquest without fighting, victory gained by fighting is declared to be the worst." See also xii. 3581, 3768ff., 3770ff.

On the other hand, we find such passages as the following:

v. 1425. — "An enemy who has fallen into your power and is exposed to death, is not to be let go. Let him, lowly bending, serve, or let him who deserves to be slain be smitten. For, unless he be slain, he soon becomes a source of apprehension."

x. 63. — "The host of an enemy is to be smitten when it is fatigued or torn asunder, or at a meal (? . . . or when it is asleep, at midnight, or when it has lost its leader," &c. &c.

i. 5564. — "An enemy is not to be let go, though he speaks much that is piteous; no mercy is to be shewed to him; let the wrong-doer be smitten."

This is repeated in substance in xii. 5293ff.

The following passages pronounce encomiума on those who die in battle:

2295. — "The ancients do not praise the act of that Khatriya who returns from battle with his body free from wounds."

xii. 3600. — "Be not the father of those base men who abandon their comrades in battle, and go home in safety. The gods headed by Indra work him evil who by forsaking his comrades seeks to save his life. Every such Khatriya should be slain by staves or clubs, or burnt in a fire of dry grass, or slaughtered like a beast." 3693. — "That Khatriya acts contrary to his duty who dies in bed discharging phlegm and urine, and moaning piteously. The ancients do not approve the conduct of a Khatriya who dies with his body free from wounds. The death of a Khatriya at home is not commended. It is a poor and timid violation of duty for proud heroes. Such a man groans, 'This is suffering, this is great pain, and most miserable,' with dejected look, fetid, lamenting his kinsmen, he envies those who are free from disease, and again and again longs for death. A proud haughty hero ought not to die such a death. A Khatriya ought to die after fighting in battle surrounded by his relations, and wounded by sharp weapons. For a hero, impelled by desire and anger, fights fiercely and never feels that his limbs are smitten by his foes.'"

Similarly in xii. 2900, A king mentions it as a merit that there is no space of two fingers in his body which has not been pierced by weapons while he fought from duty.

xii. 2946. — "Reverence and blessing be their lot who sacrifice their bodies, when restraining the enemies of the Brähmāyās . . . Mana declared that those heroes attain to heaven and conquer (for themselves) the world of Brāhma."

xii. 3505. — "Let a king who is devoted to his duty die in battle."

xii. 3591. — "The celestials do not behold on earth anything superior to him who, fearless, scatters his enemies, and receives their arrows. He attains to as many undecaying worlds, yielding all objects of enjoyment, as his body is pierced by weapons in combat, with the blood which flows from his body in battle; and occasions suffering, he is delivered from all his sins."

xii. 3555. — "Do not lament a hero slain in battle, for he enjoys blessedness in heaven. They do not seek to supply the slain man with (?) food, or water or bathing, or (regard him as ?) impure: hear of what kind are the realms to which he attains. Thousands of fair Apsarasas run up to the hero slain in battle, crying 'be my husband.'"

xii. 3666. — "The great Janaka, the king of Mithila, who knew all truths, showed his warriors heaven and hell. 'Behold, these are the shining worlds of the fearless, filled with the maidens of the Gandharvas, yielding all enjoyments, and undecaying. These are the hells which await those who flee (in battle).'" &c. &c.

The preceding passages, as will have been seen, abound in chivalrous sentiments in regard to the treatment of vanquished and captive enemies, though some written in a different spirit have been cited. This difference may be due both to the fact that these opposite sentiments are ascribed to different characters, and also to their proceeding from authors of different ages, and different feelings, who contributed the portions of the great epic poem in which they occur, a work which must have been repeatedly interpolated with new additions from the pens of successive writers.

J. MUIR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. Gugdā or Gurū Guggā, said to have been a disciple of Goraknāth, and apparently a saint of the Chauhān Bājputs, the principal pīr or saint of the Chūrhā (Mehtar, sweeper) castes in the Panjāb. Any notice of him in vernacular works or information about him is solicited.

3. Notices in vernacular or other works of the saint Shēkh Farīdā, Farīd, Farīd Shakar Ganj, Bābā Farīd or Shēkh Farīda'd-dīn as he is variously called, are solicited. In the Panjāb the State of Farīdkhōr is named after him, and there is a tomb and fair in his honour at Pāk Paṭān. I believe there also is a tomb of him somewhere in Central India. He appears to be popular in Central India and N. W. Provinces as well as in the Panjāb.
4. Bānsā Rāni, Queen of the Fairies, is commonly believed in in the Panjāb: she is said to be worshiped in the Kāṅgrā district as a goddess. She is apparently a forest or jungle goddess, and the name may represent the Sanskrit form Vaṇā-rājī. Information required.

5. Any information from officers in the Panjāb that may throw light on the following points will be most thankfully received:—Origin, history and habits of the Chamāras, Bāwariās, Gandhelas or Gandhillas, Sānsīs, Hārsns and Māns. Extracts from any District or Settlement Reports which may contain information relating to these castes and tribes, will be most useful, excepting from the Firozpur District Settlement Report, which I know.

R. C. Temple, Firozpur.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIII, part i. (Jan. 1881). The first paper in this part is Prof. Monier Williams’s on ‘Indian Theistic Reformers,’ already noticed (ante p. 55). The second is ‘Notes on the Kawi Language and Literature,’ by Dr. H. N. van der Tunk, of Bali,—a paper communicated by Dr. Rost from letters received in 1878 and 1879. The Kawi or Old Javanese manuscripts having been transcribed by Balinese to whom Javanese is a foreign language, are disfigured by numerous misspellings. The language contains both Indian and Malayan words. Among the works in the language is a Tantrī, which must be derived from some Indian collection of fables, but the greater part of the stories are unlike those in the Pancharatha or the Hitopadeśa. The names of jackals and dogs occurring in the poem are partly Sanskrit, partly Malayen. Of the Tantrī there are three recensions,—one in prose called Kamandaka, which is the least complete of the three, and two in verse. It is hardly possible yet to say whether many Prākrit words have found their way into Kawi. The Brahmanḍa-purāṇa introduces at the commencement a king Daśākṛṣṇa or Diśākṛṣṇa, and the two bhagawāns Romaharṣana and Nemisheya, who are interrogated by him about the Manuṣākrama. Then follows a tedious account of Brahma’s creation of four Rāṣis, who would not marry; then he created the gods; next the nine divine Rāṣis were born; and then Brahma created Siva. Of the eighteen pāros of the Mahābhārata only eight have been preserved, viz., Aśīpārva, Virūḍhapurva, Udyogapurva, Bhishmaparva, and the last four. Among the most important poems of the Kiṃdung class are the Malat, the Vasā, and the Wamān Widyaya—three voluminous compositions on the exploits of the Prince of Koripan after his loss of the Princess of Daha. Another popular poem is the Bhāmdasvarga relating the liberation of Panḍu from hell (Kawah) by Bājīma. Navamuchi relates the treachery of Drona towards Bājīma. One of the Buddhist kākawin class of poems is the Arjunawijaya which mentions Amitābha, Amoghasiddha, Waichana, Akshobhya, and Ratnasambhava. Some of these names are also found in the Sutasoma, and also in invocations or charms where they are called bhaṭṭāra (bhaṭṭāra).

A few Tamil and Persian words are found even in the earliest Kawi; thus, pāne or paney a kind of jar to grow the lotus in, is undoubtedly Tamil; jōn, tarajū zū, and guld (Javan: juld, throat) are Persian.

The third paper is by the Rev. Dr. Edkins on the Nirvāṇa of the Northern Buddhists. The Nirvāṇa of the Indian Buddhists is a doctrine of death suited to a monkish system which declares all the joy of life to be deception, and looks with philosophical pity on the grandeur of kings and the glory of heroes. All things are born but to suffer and to die. Even death does not, without the aid of Buddha’s wisdom, extricate them from the wheel of successive births and deaths in the wider world of which this world forms a part. From this evil destiny the Nirvāṇa sets them free for ever. The Tibetans and Mongols exchanged their old religion for Buddhism with its hope of the Western Paradise Amitābha and its Nirvāṇa. The Lamas accept the Buddhist denial of the reality of the world, and receive the Nirvāṇa. The inferior Lamas and the common Tibetans and Mongols believe in the metempsychosis and in the souls of faithful worshippers being conveyed to the Paradise of Amitābha; and this doctrine tends very much to keep the Nirvāṇa out of sight. The same is true of the Ghorkhas. In China Buddhism has been much kept in check by Confucianism; in Corea, Confucianism is strong and Buddhism is despised by the educated; in Japan, Buddhism is stronger because it was favoured by the Siguns, in the time of whose rule the Paradise of the Western Heaven was much thought of,—and this once accepted the belief in Nirvāṇa has become dim. The use of animal food in China and Japan has acted against the belief of the soul ever transmigrating into an animal body. In Cochin-China, Buddhism is an offshoot from that of China. The three Southern Buddhist nations in Birma, Siam, and Ceylon have the doctrines of transmigration and Nirvāṇa as articles of faith and universal education. These southern peoples are more readily
content with annihilation, with which more sinewy and vigorous races are not so pleased. The author then gives some account of how Nirveda is regarded in Chinese books and in modern monastic life. The idea of it is that “salvation is found in extinction”: it is Ātmanya: it is the triumph of the ascetic life over the body.” But there is a strong realism in the account of the entrance on Nirveda of Śākyamuni as worked out by the northern school, indicating a belief that in a certain way he is still supposed to be possessed of consciousness. And among the multitude, realism triumphs, and Buddha is regarded as a mighty living power. “The early compilers of the Śāstras and Śāstras made Buddhism abstruse and metaphysical. The promoters of popular Buddhism have made it more like what the part it was to perform as one of the world’s great religions required to be. If the first is orthodox Buddhism, the second is practical Buddhism.” The author thus concludes:—“It may be said respecting the views held on the Nirveda by the Northern Buddhists, that they comprehend all varieties. They have a popular teaching, and a higher Gnosis. They teach the metempsychosis, but do not insist on it. If it suits your state of mind, well. They will show you how by Buddha’s wisdom you may reach the final escape from the delusion of existence in which you are enthralled, and leaving the sea of misery arrive at the Nirveda’s peaceful shore.” And “if you are sceptical, they have a higher Gnosis, the Mahāyana. You must submit to a pitiless argument to prove that nothing exists which men think exists, and that annihilation is desirable. You must learn to look on life itself as painful. The moral feelings and convictions are founded on an intellectual weakness. Love, piety, and benevolence are but delusive elements in the great delusive whole to which the unenlightened at present belong. In proportion as you can recognize this, do you approximate to the Nirveda, for in that there is no distinction of life and death, of good and of evil. But then comes again the inextinguishable consciousness of future existence. The disciple will not be content with this pitiless logic, and the Mahāyana finds for him a suitable doctrine—that of the Western Paradise.”—“Those who long for heaven have a heaven provided for them. This however is only a means to an end. The higher Gnosis knows only annihilation, and bases it only on what is held by its advocates to be metaphysical necessity.”

The fourth paper is ‘An account of the Malay Chiri, a Sanskrit formula,’ by W. E. Maxwell. It is known that there are many purely Sanskrit words in the Malay language. The Surat chiri was a written charm on the possession of which the kingdom of Perak was believed to depend. It is written in Malay-Arabic character, and runs thus:—

Bi-smi-llahi-r-rahmani-r-rahim.

Sasta saattab prayam paharaha paharaha paramakha paramakha sojana sojana buana buana bakunam bakunam sawarna sawarna bangka baichara tongkah tingi dari darandah dari darakata mahara Mahadea bupala beiram beidaram nilam palam mura dam durakam kulum sawarna manikam shakara Allah badan badan Allah, tajila jibarn samista parwaban saman awina kurti nagari nugarri Srg Saguntang Maha Miru dipaketa izna payanti Aho sawasti maha sawasti Maharaja Indra Chandra bupati bahutu anu karunia nama anu tawat jiwat pari purnata te gop menegokan setra bagi kohabu duli paduka Sri Sultan Adil-ullah wahli kahyabak di layatukhan Allah karaja-an Paduka Sri Sultan Mozafir Shah Zil-ullah filalam bigyarhamati kaya-rahmanun-r-rahimun.

This document is looked upon by the Perak Malays as a solemn form of oath, and is always read when investing any important state officer. A similar practice exists at the court of the Malay raja of Brunei (Borneo), but most of it is in Arabic. The Perak Malays say the chiri was introduced by their first Raja who came down from Indra’s heaven on the mountain Saguntang Mahā-Meru and appeared suddenly at Palembang, in Sumatra, riding on a white bull, and manifested himself to two women Pak and Malini. The Sura Malaya says,—“Now there was a certain cow, the support of Wan Pak and Wan Malini; in colour it was white like silver. By the decree of God most high this cow vomited forth foam, and out of the foam there came forth a man. Bhat was his name. And he stood up and repeated praises and his praises were after this wise . . . . The Raja received from Bhat the title of Śri Tribhavana. It is the postern of the Bhat who have been the readers of the chiri from the days of old (even until now).” The hiatus containing the formula of praise is filled up in some copies thus:—“Aho susanto (or suwanto, paduka sri maharaja Sarina (or sarit) sri sifat buana surana buji pakrama naganlang (or sakam lang) krama (or karta) magat rana (or ratna) muka tribhavana parasang (or parasang) sakarita bana tongka dama uma besaran (or dama rana sharana) katarana singhaha sana wan (or rana) wapramawan (or wadat) runah (or ratna, or runei) palawa dika (or palawika) sadila dewa dida prawadi (or prabadi) kala mula mulai (or kala mulai) malik sri dama-raja aldi-raja (or raja-raja) paramisuri.”

1 Malay and Arabic words are in italics.
Mr. Maxwell then cites the Ain Akbari, K. Forbes, and Wilkes relative to the position of the Bhāts in Gujarāt and elsewhere. Crawford and Leyden were inclined to think that people from Telinga or Kalinga, the 'Klings' of the Malays, had introduced Hinduism into the Malay peninsula, but there are very few Tamil or Telugu words in Malay, and no tradition or other notice of connection. In the Sajjara Malayu, the earliest incident is the conquest of the Peninsula by Rāja Suran of Amal Nagura, which seems to refer to Gujarāt, and Javanese tradition says a large colony went from Gujarāt to Java in S. 525 (A.D. 603-4), under a chief called Sāvīḍa Chāla. They were soon joined by others from the parent country, and "from this time Java was known and celebrated as a kingdom; an extensive commerce was carried on with Gūrāt and other countries," &c. The author points out that the story of the founding of Anahilapattana, bears a remarkable likeness to that of the founding of Malakā by Isakandar Shāh; and notes the similarity of the alphabet of the Valabhi plates and Kawi. The subject deserves further investigation.

The 5th article is on 'The Invention of the Indian Alphabet' by Mr. Dowson. It combats the theories of Weber, Burnell, and Thomas on the Sanskrit derivation of the Devanagari alphabet, and argues that it is not of Dravidian origin. The Aryan-Pāli came in across the Indus, and it is not to be believed that the Indian-Pāli also entered by the same route: it "probably had its origin near the central course of the Ganges, from whence it worked upwards and overwhelmed its rival." Mr. Dowson believes "the Indian alphabet was a Hindu invention," and he concisely states his reasons for so doing.

BOOK NOTICE.


Some years ago the Government of the North-Western Provinces resolved to publish a series of local memoirs of the various districts constituting that Province. The Memoir under review is one of that series; and it is unquestionably the fullest and most valuable of all that have been hitherto published. Its value is sufficiently shown by the fact, that this is already the second edition after the short interval of six years; the first edition having been published in 1874. Good as the latter was, the value of the second edition has been much increased by the addition of new and important matter. The best of these additions undoubtedly is the last chapter of the first part, which treats of "The Etymology of Local Names in Northern India, as exemplified in the district of Mathurā." Mr. Growse has certainly succeeded in proving his general position that "local names in Upper India are, as a rule, of no very remote antiquity, and are primae facie referable to Sanskrit and Hindi rather than to any other language," though some of his derivations perhaps will not meet with general acceptance. Another valuable new chapter is the fourth, which gives probably the fullest extant description of the Holi festival of the Hindus; and the eighth, which gives a very detailed account of some of the most important Viṣṇu reformers. Of the older portions of the Memoir, the most interesting are the two historical and archaeological chapters; one of which narrates the fortresses of Mathurā during the period of Muhammadan supremacy, while the other relates what is known of the history of that city and its famous monasteries and stūpas in the early centuries of our era, when it was almost wholly given over to Buddhism. The extremely interesting remains of this period, the discovery and preservation of which are mainly due to the indefatigable exertions of the author of the Memoir, are carefully and minutely described. The whole work is divided into two parts, and the second is wholly devoted to statistical information, which, though unreadable to the general public, will, of course, be extremely useful to Government officials. The requirements of the former are liberally consulted by the first and much the larger part, which contains separate chapters on probably everything of interest connected with Mathurā. This may be seen from the following list of subjects: the conformation, extent and divisions of the district at different periods; the character of the people and their language; the history under the Muhammadans; the story of Krishna; the Holi festival; the Buddhist antiquities; the Hindu city; the European institutions; the Viṣṇu reformers; the temples of Brindābāna, Mahābāna, Gokul, and Baladeva; Gobardhāna, Barsāna and Nandgāna; the Etymology of Local Names. Not the least of the merits of the book consists in the many beautiful photographic and other illustrations of the most notable persons, buildings and antiquities of Mathurā. Altogether it is a model of what a District Memoir may be, and the author is to be congratulated on the success which he has achieved.
OLD SLAB-STONE MONUMENTS IN MADRAS AND MAISUR.

BY LIEUT.-COL. B. E. BRANFILL.

The accompanying plans and sketches shew a peculiar kind of slab-stone monument found in the districts of Madras and Mâisûr bordering on the Eastern Ghâts, where dispersed cemeteries of rude stone circles, with and without enclosed slab-stone kistvaenæ or cubical vaults, abound, frequently accompanied by jar and sarcophagus interments with old pottery. The peculiarity of these consists in having several circles of erect thin stone slabs alternately round, and flat-topped, arranged in concentric rings close round the enclosed kist or cubical chamber, as shewn in the plan, section, and view accompanying, of some at Írâlabândâ near Palmanerî, N. Arocot (Àrkât). The usual form is for the central chamber to have four round-headed slabs set up parallel to its four sides at a distance of 2 to 4 feet, or the amount by which the roof-slab or capstone projects beyond the walls of the kist, and sometimes so as to fit together neatly. These four erect slabs vary in height from 10 to 15 feet, in width from 7 to 10 feet, and from 3 to 6 inches in thickness. The capstone is thicker, but seldom exceeds 8 or 9 inches. The four corners are closed by flat-headed slabs chipped to fit the vacant intervals between the four great roundheads, up to the spring of their semicircular tops.

The second row is a more regular ring of some 16 slabs, alternately round-headed and flat-headed, the former 5 or 6 feet high, and the latter only as high as the commencement of the rounded portion of their fellows. The third and outer tier or ring consists of some 24 small erect slabs about 3 feet wide, half of them with semicircular heads and nearly 3 feet high, with low flat-topped slabs between them, forming a circle nearly 30 feet in diameter.

The spaces between the three rings of slabs are about a yard wide, and roughly packed with loose pieces of stone to a height of from 2 to 4 feet, the highest in the inner space; most of the monuments have fallen from the settlement of this packing, but some of them have little or no packing above the ground level, and have become ruined for want of support. ¹

¹ At Ánguttahlî in Mâisur, the wall-slabs are banked up on the outside with neatly-laid stones so as to form a somewhat rounded or conical mass.
small that they could not have been intended
for the entry or exit of human beings in the
flesh, being only 4 or 5 inches in diameter.
Sometimes there are three or four holes behind
one another, one in each row, but not in a line so
that the rising sun could shine, or any one
see, through them all at once. More usually,
however, the outer row or two rows have no
hole, but merely a semicircular depression or
notch in the easternmost slab of each ring. Most
of the slabs are very thin, from 2 to 4 inches
thick only, except the capstone which may be
from 5 to 9 inches. They bear no trace of
the mason’s chisel, but have been very cleverly
split from the bluish-grey gneiss rock which
abounds in the neighbourhood, and then neatly
chipped into shape. The quarry was appar-
ently on the spot, from the great quantities
of fragments strewn about or collected in large
heaps. Modern villagers and stone masons
have drawn upon them largely for big slabs,
and ruthless demolition has, in many cases,
completed natural dilapidation in the course
of time.

All the slab-surrounded monuments at ɪ r a-
lə bəndə are not of the semi-round-headed
pattern described above (fig. 1), but differ only
from them by having all the erect slabs in each
circle of the same height, as shown in fig. 2;
neither are they all so regular as these exam-
pies, but some have the slabs of the inner and
highest circle irregularly placed and the eastern
slabs considerably higher, as in fig. 3.

The plan, section, and front view or eleva-
tion of one of these slab-monuments restored,
(figs. 4–6) are drawn from the average of several
of the least dilapidated. Of the largest round-
headed sort above described, there are probably
a score or more still standing, incomplete and
ruined, and as many more of the flat-topped
pattern. But dividing the tombs in this cem-
tery into three classes, 170 were counted of the
biggest, 210 of the second, and 200 of the third
or smallest sort, a simple kist made of slabs
from 2 feet square and upwards, more or less
buried in the earth and without any circle of
surrounding slabs or stones at all. The necrop-
olis probably contained many more than 600
tombs within an area 500 yards long by 300

**Footnotes:**

1 One of the ruined kistvaens at licted he has but one very small hole (3' in diameter), and that is in the round-topped slab still standing on the north side of the chamber.

2 The dimensions of this kistvaen were,—interior 10' 7'-
E. to W., 8' 9'- N. to S., 8' 5½'- high. Capstone or roof-slab
15' by 13'; entrance hole, in the east end, rudely enlarged
to 3' 6'' high by 7' wide.
I. SLAB-STONE MONUMENTS AT İRALABANDA-BAPANATTAM, N. ARKAT

CAPT. C. STEWART R.E. DELT
FROM COL. SKEAR'S SKETCHES.
II. SLAB-STONE MONUMENT AT İRALABANDA-BÁPANATTAM, N. ARKAT.
(RESTORED)

EAST-FRONT ELEVATION.

PLAN.

SECTION.
In a small unroofed kist tomb, half-full of solid earth, two of the terra-cotta many-legged troughs were found with pottery and bones as usual, and a few beads of a necklace lying on the floor-slab near the remains of a skull. All or nearly all the pottery was marked with the usual scratches, (the arrow point \(\rightarrow\), the asterisk or double cross \(\ast\), the two triangles \(\Delta\), \(\triangle\),) and amongst it was the fragment of a little bowl with some writing on it, apparently Tamil (\(\text{தைத்து} \)) of “Chatuṭ”. I found no more writing here, but on some pieces of small pots taken from some stone circles near Old Arki, a short time since I found some other scraps of writing. From the shape of the Tamil letters it appears that this writing can be of no great antiquity, three to five centuries perhaps.

In fig. 2 may be seen a stone slab standing in front (east) of a flat-topped slab-monument at the distance of a few yards. It has a rounded top with a curved notch in it. Several of these tall notched slabs are to be seen standing about, mostly single in front of the tombs, but here and there in groups, as if they had formed an enclosure from 20 to 30 feet in diameter. Two such circular enclosures remained almost complete, in one case of nine or ten flat-topped slabs about 6 feet high, 2 or 3 feet wide, and 2 or 3 inches thick, all of them notched in the middle of the top: the other of eight slabs, 7 feet high and 5 feet wide, with double notches on top of each. In both instances the tall slabs alternate with low flat-headed slabs which complete the circle. Another pair of large half-buried slabs shewed a projecting spike, tenon, or pivot point, one on the top of each, out of the centre.

The Irabalanda-Bapanattam necropolis, or tomb-field, is on the highlands above the Eastern Ghats, and in the Palmanari taluk of the North Arki district. The spot is marked Yerlabandak on the Indian Atlas Sheet No. 78. It lies some 6 miles by bridge path, east from Bai reddipalle (via Nellipatta), whence there is a road to Palmaneri, 15 miles distant.

This is not the only necropolis of the kind, but perhaps the most interesting one yet brought to notice.

Ten or twelve miles to the S.S.W., at or near Nāyakāneri (Naickenmerry of Ind. Atlas, sh. 78) is a group of two or three score of the same kind of slab-stone monuments, mentioned, with a sketch by Colonel Welsh in his Military Reminiscences (1830), an extract of which is given at p. 160 vol. V of the Indian Antiquary (May 1876). I sent messengers who had visited Irabalanda to examine and report upon the Nāyakāneri group. They state that the monuments at the latter are much like those at the former, only they are fewer and more ruined: also that the curves of the round-headed slabs were rather flatter than a semicircle.

When examining the extensive tomb-field at Sāvandurga, 23 miles west of Bengalur, last summer (1879), I first noticed some single half-round slabs pierced with a hole, set up in front of some of the kistvaens there: and they seemed so singular that I enquired diligently for more, and sent messengers in search, having never heard or read any mention of them, or seen a sketch. After some time I heard of an extensive tomb-field with many of the round-headed slab-stone monuments still standing, and being very accessible, I visited it. The site is at Āneguttahalli (Elephant-rock-village), nearly four miles, or about an hour’s walk, south from Tyakkal or Takkal on the line of the Madras-Bengalur Railway. I found a very extensive necropolis, but, as usual, most of the monuments have been destroyed by the country stonemasons. I saw no boulder circles, but all the tombs seem to have been of the round-topped slab-stone kind, only not quite so large as some of those at Irabalanda.

Most of the Āneguttahalli kistvaens are vacant, but on opening one that seemed intact, it was found to contain an internment of human remains with a little pottery, and two of the many-legged terra-cotta coffers, of precisely the same kind as those found so frequently to the eastward in N. and South Arki. I have not heard of any further west as yet. One peculiarity was—that a pan of incinerated fragments of human bones was found deposited in the porch immediately outside the entrance hole of the sepulchral chamber. There was the same scarcity of iron in the deposit that I noticed at Irabalanda.

The fifth place where I have found this type of slab-stone monuments, is Govindreddi pall near Gāzulapalle, some twelve miles Madras; and of the Āneguttahalli monuments from Mussoorie, Orr and Barton, Bengaluru.
N. W. from Chittur, N. Arkat. I have not seen them, but my messengers report from ten to fifteen of the round-topped slab-monuments just like those described above.

A sixth place at which they are found is at Devanur-Kollur, near Tirukovilur on the Ponniyar or South Pennar River, discovered and described by Mr. J.H. Garstin, C.S.I. (see p. 159, vol. V, Ind. Ant., May 1876); and I have heard of a few others in the wild hill country between Mayur, Selam, and North Arkat.

ANCIENT PALM-LEAF MSS. LATELY ACQUIRED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNE.

After some months of hard work I am enabled to give a short account of the collection of ancient palm-leaf MSS., which it has been my good fortune lately to acquire for the Government of Bombay. It has not been an altogether easy task to reduce to something like order more than 12,000 leaves which for hundreds of years have been hidden away unread and uncared for, and so to arrange them as to make the works which they contain generally accessible and useful to my fellow-workers; but the result has amply repaid any little trouble which has been undergone.

The collection will be particularly welcome to those who specially devote their energies to the elucidation of the history of the Jain religion, but it also contains some works which are sure to interest Sanskrit scholars generally. Its acquisition gives rise to the hope that the liberality of the Government of India will enable us to continue the examination of the ancient libraries of this country which has already yielded most valuable and unhapte-for results.

There are several works in the collection which hitherto were either unknown or of which only imperfect copies were accessible, but what renders these MSS. specially valuable, and the one point in which they excel all MSS. of the principal European Libraries, is their great antiquity. The oldest MS. of the Berlin Library is dated Saivat 1435 (A.D. 1378), and I cannot be far wrong in saying that the London and Oxford Libraries contain few MSS. written before the 16th century. Those of the palm-leaf MSS. which are dated give the years when they were written as stated below, and there is evidence to prove that those which contain no dates were written about the same time, viz., from six to eight hundred years ago. The dates actually given are:

Saivat 1138 = A.D. 1081.
Saivat 1145 and 46 = A.D. 1068 and 89; during the reign of Karnadeva.
Saivat 1179 = A.D. 1122; during the reign of Jayasingha.
Saivat 119 (?) = between A.D. 1133 and 42.
Saivat 1218 = A.D. 1161; during the reign of Kumarpala.
Saivat 1234 = A.D. 1227; during the reign of Bhimadeva.
Saivat 1294 = A.D. 1237.
Saivat 1300 = A.D. 1243.
Saivat 1304 = A.D. 1247.
Saivat 1315 = A.D. 1258.
Saivat 1332 = A.D. 1275.
Saivat 1340 = A.D. 1283.
Saivat 1342 = A.D. 1285.
Kaliyuga 4398 = A.D. 1297; during the reign of Rama Chandradeva.
Saivat 1359 = A.D. 1302.

Reserving for my Report to Government any further remarks I may have to offer and a more accurate description of the MSS., I now proceed to give the titles of the works which they contain, together with the names of the authors, where they are mentioned, and the number of leaves of each MS.:

1. Anekârthasañgraha by Hemachandra; 99 ll.
2. Achârârya-yuktâ; 32 ll.
3. Uttardâhyoyana-sûtra; 64 ll.; Saivat 1342.
4. The same; 175 ll.; Saivat 1332.
5. The same, incomplete; 134 ll.
6. Uttardâhyoyana-adhikâra-sûtra; 394 ll.; 12,000 Gr.; Saivat 1342.
7. Upadesakanda-kaviti by Bâlachandra; fragments of 250 ll.
8. Upaminâbha-prapancha Katha; 355 ll.
9. Rishikâlottâdartha by Gunarpala; 155 ll.; written during the reign of Bhimadeva.
10. Oshanâtâdr; 110 ll.; 1162 Gâthâs.
11. Kandaliyopaana; fragments of 150 ll.
12. Karmastavaśīkā by Govinda-gaṇi; 47 ll.; Saṁvat 1179.
13. Kalpachārnī, on the Brihatkalpasūtra; 281 ll.; 16000 Gṛ.; Saṁvat 1218, during the reign of Kumārapāla.
14. Kalpadutre; 130 ll.
15. Kaviḍarpanaśī, incomplete; 85 ll.
17. Gāḍāvaka, Kairāyalamchhapasa Vappairāyassa; 111 ll.
18. Chatuthopāṇiṭhapadasaṅgrahaḥ by Abhayadevasūri; 17 ll.
19. Chatuyavandanaśākara by Jina kulaśūri, incomplete; 169 ll.
20. Chatuyavandanaśākara by Haribhadra; leaves 60-143, and fragments.
21. Lalitaśvarapancikā by Śruminichandrasūri; 249 ll.
22. Chaṇḍakavyanahśī Kadānyamahādevī, in 20 Sargas, by Hema-chandra; with marginal notes; 189 ll.
23. Jatakapachārnī by Siddhasena; 85 ll.
24. Jatakapachārnī with Vivaraṇa; 79 ll.
25. Jainaśākaraśākara-sabdānaravāchandrikā by Somadeva; incomplete; 280 ll.
26. Jyotisvaratīkā by Lalla, the son of Bhāṣa of Trivikrama; 200 ll.
27. Triparyaparītuddhi by Udayana; incomplete; 240 ll.
28. The same; fragments of 100 ll.
29. Damayantikāthā by Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa; with marginal notes; 179 ll.
30. The same; 75 ll.; last leaf missing.
31. Dvādashaśāyī by Vimala; 90 ll.; 830 Gṛ.
32. Navaratyacārīya; 111 ll.
33. Nīlakṣaṇadhikāya by Ananda-gaṇi; 118 ll.; Kaliyuga 4398, during the reign of Rāmacandra-deva.
34. Nīlābhāsūra; 15 ll.; Saṁvat 1145.
35. Nīlābhāsūraṇārāmi viśeṣaṇāmālī, Uddeśākas XIV-XX, by Jina-dasa-gaṇi, and Bhāṣya; 415 ll.; Saṁvat 1145 and 46, during the reign of Karnadeva.
37. The same, Udd. XI-XX; 353 ll.; Saṁvat 1294.
38. Naishadhaśāstra by Śrīharsa, Sargasa I-XII; 179 ll.
39. Nyāyapravṛtta by Haribhadra, incomplete; 51 ll.
40. Pankavastu; 97 ll.; 1700 Gāthās; Saṁvat 1179.
41. Panjikāmārgapadadātadhvaḥ, a commentary on Trikočanādāsa's Kātantravṛttivivaraṇa, by Jina prabodhāsūri; 232 ll.
42. Pākehikāvṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛttivṛt...
Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.

By J. F. Fleet, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 67.)

No. XCIV.

About three miles away over the hills to the east of Bâdâmí there is a temple, or rather a collection of temples, known by the name of Mahâkâtâ. The presiding god of the locality is Mahâkâtâ-vara, or Śiva of the mountain which has a high summit, or perhaps of the temple which has a high pinnacle. The style of the buildings, though they are of no architectural beauty, as well as the inscriptions, stamp it as a place of considerable antiquity. And the local tradition, as recorded in the Mahâkâta-Mâhâmya, is that this was the scene of the destruction of the demon brothers Vâtâpi and Ivâla by the saint Agastya, which myth is allotted in the Purânas to some unspecified place in the Vindhyâ mountains. This much is certain, that the name of Vâtâpi is in some way or other most anciently connected with the locality; for it was the name of Bâdâmí itself when it was first acquired by the Western Chalukyas, and when it was held by the Pallavas before them. And it is possible that in this legend of Vâtâpi and Ivâla, neither of which words has an Áryan appearance or sound, and for neither of which a satisfactory Sanskrit derivation can be found, there are preserved the names of two aboriginal kings who held this part of the country when Áryan civilisation first made its way into it from the north.

The temples are in a courtyard, the chief entrance to which is at the north-east corner of it. On each side of the gateway there is a large, almost life-size, figure of a Pithâkha or demon, sculptured in accordance with the usual Hindu conception of those beings,—one on each jamb of the portal; they are still known by the names of Vâtâpi and Ivâla, and are intended as statues of those persons.

About ten yards to the east of this gateway there lies a large close-grained red-sandstone monolith pillar. It is about 1' 9½" in diameter, and has sixteen sides or faces. It measures about 14' 6" in height, exclusive of the kâlásâ or capital. The latter lies close by; it is about 1' 7½" high, and is of a circular shape, about 2' 6½" in diameter, with thirty-six deep flutes all round it, and with a square top. For about 3' 9½" up from the bottom the pillar is covered with an inscription in Old-Canarese characters of the sixth or seventh century A.D. There are seventeen lines of writing, evidently running all round the pillar; the letters are about an inch high, and average four on each face of the pillar. The inscription is too much abraded to be read on the stone; an ink-impression of it would probably give good results; but neither could I raise the pillar, nor had I the means of taking an ink-impression at my visit.

Inside the courtyard, towards the east end of it, there is a large sacred masonry tank called Vrishu-pushkârāṇi, or the lotus-pool of the god Vishnu; it measures about seventy-three feet long by forty-six feet broad, and has a stream of running water always passing through it. Not far from the steps on the west side of the pool, there stands in the water a lingâ-ahrine, with a pañchamukhâlinga, or five-faced lingâ, inside it; there are four rather well executed human faces round the top of the lingâ, and the
fifth face is the flat surface at the top of the stone. I could not satisfy myself as to the traditional names of the five faces; the only names that I could get were those of Brahman, Vishnu, Rudra, Savarā, and Sadāśiva. At the southwest corner of this tank there is a small underground temple, the only entrance to which is a small door under the water. I was told that there was an inscription in this temple; but the man who went in to explore for me could not find it.

Scattered about the courtyard, there are a number of small linga temples, including two in the northern style. And in one of a row of three cells towards the west end, there is a somewhat notorious and very indecent headless stone figure of the goddess Pārvati under the name of Lajji-Gauri. It is probably not a very ancient figure. The story about it is that Pārvati asked Śiva what was the meaning of the term ‘adultery.’ Śiva replied that he would shortly show her what it meant, and then, looking at Pārvati, richly apparelled, in a room, went away. After a little while Pārvati found that all her clothes had been torn by mice, and was at a loss to know what to do. Just then a tailor appeared, and offered to mend them all on the condition, to which Pārvati rashly assented, that she should grant him whatever reward he might ask for. On finishing his task, he demanded to have intercourse with her. Pārvati, however, knew that the tailor was really Śiva himself, and, though with reluctance and fear, consented to what he asked, and laid herself down in the proper posture for it. But Śiva then assumed his own real form, and Pārvati, overcome with terror and shame, and unable to hide her face, caused her head to sink down into the ground and so to disappear.

The only two temples of any size in the courtyard are those of Mallikarjuna and Mahākāñcēvara. The former stands in the south-east corner of the courtyard; it is, perhaps, the older of the two, but there are no inscriptions about it. The temple of Mahākāñcēvara, at which the following three inscriptions are, is near the west end of the compound; it is built partly of black-stone and partly of red-sandstone, and is not of any particular architectural pretensions.

The first of them is in the porch of the temple, on the east side of the door, and on the west side face of a pillar which is an integral part of the building. The writing covers a space of 2' 3½' high by 2' 1½' broad.

It is an undated Old-Canarese inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Vijayaḍitya. The date of it, therefore, is between Śaka 618 (A.D. 696-7) and Śaka 655 (A.D. 733-4). It records that one of his concubines, the harlot Vināpoṭi, caused a pedestal of rubies and a silver umbrella to be made for the idol, and granted a field for its support.

Transcription.

Vijayaḍitya-Satyāṣraya-śripiṭhiv-

Vinaḥpotigal=envoi=sūle-
mudataby=Revamanaḍalgar=avarā-
magalu=Vinaḥpo-

Translation.

Hail! The heart's darling of Vijayaḍitya-Satyāṣraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme lord, was the harlot named Vināpoṭi.

(L. 4.)—Her grandmother was Revaṃchal,—whose daughter was Kuchipoti,—whose daughter, Vināpoṭi, having at this very place bestowed the entire gift of a hiranyagarbha, and having made a pedestal for the god with

Probably maddaily does mean 'great-grandfather.' But in this part of the country, 'grandfather' is aja or mutta, and 'grandmother' is ajja or muttavi, i.e. muttavane, muttave, or, as here in its oldest form, mudatavi. We have the same root, muda, in mudda, mudak, 'an old man'; muddi, muddari, 'old, ancient'; &c.
rubies, and having set up its silver umbrella, gave the field called Maṅgalkulė, (of the measure of) eight hundred. May he, who destroys this (grant), be guilty of the five great sins!

No. XCVI.

The accompanying inscription is on the front or north face of another pillar, which also is an integral part of the building, on the west side of the door in the same porch. There is very possibly a similar inscription on the front face of the corresponding pillar on the east side of the door; but it is blocked up by a more modern pillar built up in front of it to support the beam and bracket of the roof.

Transcription.

[1] Puṭṭimaṇāṅgā-kaṇhāṅgā
[2] gata(m)ta(m)
[3] äde(d)do m-a(a)ñg-ñšanā
[4] yan-Eṛevā-maṅhasāṁanta-
[5] n-ntamagāla
[6] goppe puṭṭidobir-a-
[7] gāhāram(?)
[8] tala-vidīdu
[9] kālegado
[10] kiti sāsirad-ō[m]bāy-nū(m)āra ā[r]a*[v]a(ta)
[12] āl[1*]

No. XCVI.

The accompanying inscription is on the east face of a pillar inside the same temple. This pillar is a later addition, built up in front of the original pillar to support the bracket and beam of the roof. Opposite to it there is a similar double pillar, on which there is a Canarese inscription of one line of eleven letters near the top, and another of four lines of about eight letters each lower down; neither of them is of any historical importance.

The inscription now published covers a space of 2' 6½" high by 2' 11½" broad. It is an Old Canarese inscription, recording a grant made to the temple by the Mahāsāṁanta Bappuvarasa in Śaka 856 (A. D. 934-5), the Jaya saṁhata. From the inscription, he seems to have been the ruler of the country of Kāṭaka, or Cuttack. Who the Gopāla mentioned in this inscription was, I am not at present able to say.

The inscription is unfinished. It was probably intended to record the name of the engraver of it; but, for some reason or other, it breaks off quite abruptly.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti
[2] hasāṁanta
[3] bhavaśaktā
[4] pāla
[5] nāa śrīmat(d) Bā(ka)ppuvarasa (sa-) Sşa(ś)a kanripakil-āñtha-
[6] sa[m]yātara-śatañgā-senstu-m(n)ya
[7] ārāneya
[8] kā sa[mi]valṣarada
[9] ka pāknu
[10] yuvāṇi koṭṭ[ra*]

---

1 P. S., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 51.
2 P. S., and O.C., Inscriptions, Nos. 50 and 59.
ON A PILLAR INSIDE THE TEMPLE OF
MAHAKUTA, AT BADAMI.
Translation.

Hail! On Wednesday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Kārttika of the Jaya saṃvatāra, which was the eighth hundred and fifty-sixth (year) of the centuries of years that had expired in the era of the Saka king,—the glorious Bappūvarasā, the Mahāmrutta, who had attained the five mahāsabdas; he whose glances were (as bright) as jewels; he who was famous in the van of war; he who was the sun of (the country of) Kaṭāka; he who was the hero of the resplendent Chandramayya (?); he who was a very Bhaireva on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gāpaḷa; he who was a very sun to the neighbouring countries,—came to the temple* and bestowed three rice-fields at (the village of) Nandikēśvara.

(L. 11).—The son of Njābbe, who was the daughter of Sinda, . . .

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA.

BY PANDIT BHAGWANLĀL INDRAJI.

The labours of learned Oriental scholars such as Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf, Kern, and others, have grown considerable light on the rock inscriptions of Aśoka. Owing, however, to the very scanty and insufficient means at their command, the translation of these important records has been performed in so incomplete a way that they still afford a field for the investigation of our best scholars. If these inscriptions were carefully re-examined and re-translated in a systematic way, I have no doubt they would furnish interesting and as yet unexpected results bearing upon the language and paleography of different provinces of India, as well as on the history and religion prevailing in the time of Aśoka.

The necessity of re-examining these ancient records arises from the fact that the facsimiles made hitherto are more or less erroneous, and consequently cannot be thoroughly depended on for the purposes of deducing such results as might be gathered from them. Even the lithographed copies published with so much care and trouble in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum by the able and experienced scholar and archaeologist General A. Cunningham are not of a quite satisfactory character, although, in justice to the learned author, it must be admitted that they are far better than those which preceded them, and that they form the first collection of all these records in one volume, neatly printed and easy of reference.

For purposes of re-investigating these inscriptions, I think the Gīrār inscription should be taken in hand first, because it is in splendid condition, from its being deeply engraved on a fine close-grained and smooth stone. It is, however, much to be regretted that a portion of it, which contained the very valuable and long edict No. XIII, has been broken off, and nearly three-quarters of the edict carried away. After this inscription, two others, one at Kāla and the other the Bactro-Pāli inscription at Kāpurē-digārhi, should be examined. Both of these are also in very good preservation and complete, notwithstanding their being slightly injured by the effect of time and weather on the shallow cutting and rough surface of the stones on which they are engraved. They are indeed in such a condition that any one practised in reading such inscriptions and acquainted with their language can trace out every letter in them with considerable ease and accuracy. The Gīrār inscription would serve at the same time as an aid in some doubtful parts. After these, the remaining two inscriptions at Jaulgādā and Dhlāuli should be gone through. These inscriptions, although they are much broken, would be of service in assisting the work of investigation, for the portions of them that still remain intact are in excellent preservation.

It may be mentioned here that the edict No. XIII, which has almost altogether disappeared in the Gīrār inscription, is fortunately in a very satisfactory condition in both the Kāla and Kāpurē-digārhi inscriptions, and thus the most valuable information it contains is left to us, which otherwise would have been quite lost. But we are as yet quite in the dark regarding it, for no translation of any value has been

* Lit. 'to the tiara (of the god).' Or, perhaps, mayūsa is here a corruption of maḥāsabda.
attempted with the exception of an incomplete one given by Prinsep.

In this edict, King Aśoka, in the eighth year of his reign, expressed his mingled feelings of sorrow and joy, sorrow at the bloodshed of a hundred thousand of his warriors and of an equal number of those of his opponents in the battlefield, and of joy at the glorious victory he achieved in religious matters in his newly-conquered kingdom of Kalinga. He valued his achievement of religious success more than his political victory. He mentions with the greatest satisfaction that Antiochus, the Yavana king, who resided in a far-off country, lying at a distance of 800 yojanas, and his four tributary kings, as well as other kings of surrounding Indian countries, followed the precepts of his religion.

The two separate edicts in the Jaugada and Dhau li inscriptions also have not been correctly translated as yet, and the translations of other edicts are incomplete.

I give below, as an example, a transcript and translation of the first edict. This transcript was made by me after a careful personal examination of texts on their respective spots.

I think it proper here to draw attention to an important fact in Indian Palaeography, which we obtain from the Girnar inscription, in regard to the compound letters, more especially those compounded with ra. It must be observed that the Indian alphabet is first presented to us in the Girnar inscription and among the Aśoka records. In it the letter ra is always represented with a zigzag or wavy vertical line thus । and when any other letter is joined with it, this is done by giving a zigzag form to the straight line of the said letter, as we see in the following instances:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kr} & \text{a in the word parākrama (edict vi, line 14).} \\
\text{tra} & \text{ as sarvatra (ed. ii, lines 3 & 6), and also in other places.} \\
\text{pra} & \text{ in praśhita (edict i, line 3),} \\
\text{pro} & \text{ in prati (edict iv, line 2),} \\
\text{pra} & \text{ in prati (edict i, line 9),} \\
\text{pri} & \text{ in priya (edict i, line 9).}
\end{align*}
\]

From this it will be seen that this system of joining letters together is irregular and quite distinct from that in use in the Western India Cave inscriptions, which are of a period subsequent to this. The system observed in later times was to join the letters according to the order of pronunciation. But this is not the case in the Girnar inscription. The method observed therein seems to be simply that of joining letters in the manner that seemed most convenient for the purpose without regard to the order of their succession in pronunciation. Thus we have rva and vragh in the words sarvatra and vragh, written in the same way.

Again, this want of system is not confined to the compound of other letters with ra, but prevails universally in all compound letters; as for instance, in writing tya in vyāpta and vyanjana, it is put together thus या, which in the usual way according to the later system would be read yva. This is also the case in respect to sta in the words tistanta and others. From these examples, however, it should not be inferred that the system has always inverted the order of the consonants; in several cases they are correctly combined as pta in the word vyāpta, sta in astī, and dva in dedasa, &c.

This extraordinary mode of combining consonants leads us to think of two questions, viz., (1) whether it was owing to the alphabet being only newly introduced when the inscriptions were engraved, or (2) whether it was merely a mistake on the part of the writers. The latter, however, does not seem to be the cause, for we know that so important a task as that of engraving such religious edicts must have been entrusted as usual to some minister of religion, (Dharma Mahāmatas,) by King Aśoka, and so it is highly improbable that such mistakes as these could have escaped his notice.

\[\text{delayed. M. Senart and Pandit Bhagwanlal are thus independent discoverers, but M. Senart has had the priority in publication. The Pandit's facsimile of the first edict from Kapure-di-garh is a most important addition to our knowledge. — Eo.}\]
### Transcript and comparison of the first Edict of Asoka's rock inscriptions at Girnār, Kāli, and Kapure-di-gaṅghī.

#### Girnār.

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#### Notes:

8 According to Sanskrit rule, the verb अस्ति, which is in the singular number, and governed by the nominative एकं, which is in the plural, should also be plural, अस्ति; but when it is taken as an averse, it does not change its form in plural. So in this case it is probably used as such.

9 Pithe (Sanskrit Pithe) is in the 6th case, but in Sanskrit it is not in general use; according to the Sanskrit rule it ought to be in the third case, as Pithe Krisna. However in all Prakrit dialects which have taken root from the Sanskrit, the practice of using 6th case in such matters is very common.
Translation.

This edict of religion is caused to be written here by King Piyadasi (Priyadarśī), beloved of the gods. No rite of making burnt offerings is to be performed by putting to death living beings and no convivial meetings should be held. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, certainly perceives much evil in convivial meetings. Convivial meetings held by (the) father of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, are believed to be unobjectionable (by him). Formerly several hundreds of thousands of animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchens of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, for the sake of soup, but now, when this edict of religion is written, only three animals are killed for the sake of soup, two peacocks and one deer; the deer, however, not always. These three animals, even, shall not be killed thereafter.

Remarks.

In the Girnār inscription the word "līpī" is written with ſ long, and the adjective "iyam" prefixed to it is in the feminine gender; as in the words "iyam dhana-līpī," but further on, in the same edict, this adjective is put in the masculine, in the words "yadu iyam dhana-līpī." This circumstance shows that the word "līpī" was used both in the feminine and in the masculine genders in the Saurāshṭra dialect, while throughout the Kālī inscription the word is used only in the feminine gender, and in the Kapure-di-garhi one it is masculine throughout.

The title Devānapīya or Priya means "beloved of the gods," but it was usually applied to great kings in early times. It was also, it appears, used as a common name for kings, as is the case in Edict VIII of the Kālī inscription. It occurs in the Girnār inscription thus: "Atikšahāya antaravī Rājadiv vikṛtyādham samyaksu," i.e., "since long ago, Devānapīyas were going out on pleasure trips," for which in the Kālī inscription we read: "Atikšahāya antaravī dēva nāmāppiya nītā dēva nīkhatā." "Since long ago, Devānapīyas were going out on pleasure trips." In some of the Sūtras of the Jainas, we find the title Devānapīya used for great kings, which is no doubt a corruption of the word Devānapīya. In the Uydi (Sansk. Aupapddikau) Sūtra this title is applied to the name of king Konika, son of Bimbisāra or Śrenika, thus:—

In place of "the king beloved of the gods," as changed thus, in Kālī: "Xa kichhi jīva dhūkkhita-gotahātā nipūyā," and in Kapure-di-garhi: "so kichhi jīva arthātā pratychātā,"—"no burnt offerings of living beings should be made by putting them to death."

In the Girnār inscription "evil" is in the singular number, while both in the Kālī and Kapure-di-garhi one is plural; also in the Kālī and Girnār versions the phrase is "—evil in convivial meetings."" Sūryabhāya is derived from Sanskrit sūryabhāya, which means "for the sake of soup."
occurs in the Gîránâr inscription, it is only "the beloved of the gods" in the Khâsl one, the word "king" being omitted in it.

Instead of *idha*, i.e. "here," in the Gîránâr inscription, the Khâsl and the Kapûrû-di-garhî ones have *hidha*. *Idha* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *astra*, which is corrupted into *âra* in the modern Maharâshtrî dialect, and *hidha* appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *ikha*, which has become *hidha* in the modern Kachchhî dialect.

In the Kapûrû-di-garhî and Khâsl versions the words "for the sake of soup" are omitted.

In the Khâsl copy in place of the phrase *so pi maga*, i.e. "the deer however" of the Gîránâr inscription, the phrase *so pi ye mîge*, i.e. "the one which is the deer however" occurs.

In the Kapûrû-di-garhî inscription, the numbers of the animals slaughtered daily in the king's kitchen are given in figures also thus: "Peacocks two, deer one."

It is to be particularly noted that the peacock, a very common bird in India, is excluded from the list of birds to which Asoka has given a promise of safety in his *Sâlî edicts*. This circumstance seems probably to have some connection with the surname Mûrâya of his family. On account of some particular ancestral rite of sacrificing peacocks, a rite which Asoka could not have given up so easily. We see in the above edict that he could do without sacrificing a deer sometimes, but not a single day without killing peacocks.

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**INDIAN TRAVELS OF CHINESE BUDDHISTS.**

**BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.**

There is a Chinese book in two parts called *Kîn-fa-lo-sâng-chîan*, which contains brief memoirs of Chinese Buddhist priests who visited India during the early period of the Tang dynasty (618 A.D.—907 A.D.)—written by I-tsing of the same dynasty.

Altogether there are fifty-six names recorded in the index of the work, and I will proceed to give a brief summary of the history of each name, though not always in the order of the Chinese record.

I. *Yuân Chaû.

The Doctor Yuân Chaû, a Shaman, was a native of Sien-chang of Tai-chou. His Indian name was Prâkâśamâti. He was of distinguished descent both on his father's side and that of his maternal grand-father. Arrived at manhood he determined to forsake the world, and become a priest. He purposed to visit the sacred places existing in India, and for the purpose of preparation proceeded to the capital to attend religious lectures there. And so in the middle of the Ching-kwan period (638 A.D.) he proceeded to the Ta-hing-shing Temple, and there in the place where Hûa-ne Chîng had taught he gave himself to the study of Sanskrit literature.

Then taking his religious staff he wended to the west, purposing to visit the spot where Buddha taught in the Jetavana Monastery.

Leaving Kîn-e-hau (Lan-chow) he crossed the "drifting sands," and passing through the Iron Gates, he ascended the snowy peaks till he reached the Fragrant Lake; and then pressing forward with fixed determination he passed through Shâ-lî and the Tu-khâra country, and so through Tibet, where Wên-shing-kung ruled, he traversed North India, and gradually arrived at Jâlannâra. But before reaching this place they were threatened by robbers in a narrow pass. But by the influence of some sacred words, the robbers were put to sleep, and so they escaped. Passing four years in the Jâlannâra country, the Mûng king (Mongol king) earnestly pressed the pilgrim into his service, and during that period studied with him Sanskrit literature. After this, passing southward he arrived at the Mûnâbodhi district (Magadha), where he spent four years. Deeply regretting that he was not permitted to meet the immediate person (of Buddha), he nevertheless paid reverence to all the vestiges of his presence, and after studying various books he went on to the Nâlânda monastery. Passing three years in this place he met two priests, one called Shing-sien, the other Ratna of Ceylon, (or it may be "a priest of Ceylon"). After this, ascending the Ganges, the king of the Mûng (Shan for Mûng in the text) detained him in his capital at the temple called Sin-e-hâ, for three years. Finally, in consequence of the Chinese ambassador Wang-yun urging his return, he went back to Lo-yang by way of Nepâl and Tibet, having traversed more than 10,000 lîs. Once again, in the middle of the Lîn-thî period (665 A.D.), he set out to Kâsîmîr in company with a Brahman
Lo-ki-a-yi-h-to and others. Narrowly escaping death by robbers, he arrived in North India, and there again met the Chinese ambassador, who commissioned Yüan Chau and his companion Lo-ki-a-yi-h-to to go to Western India, to the country known as Lo-tú.1 Passing through Balkh they came to the Nava Vihāra, where they paid reverence to the water pitcher of Buddha and other relics. Passing thence through the region of Sin-tu and the Dard people, they remained for four years with the Mung king, after which they went to the district of the Vajrāsana (Magadha) and also the Nalanda Temple. Thence returning through Nepāl and Kapisa, owing to the difficulties of the road during the period of hostilities with the Arabs, they went back and traversing India again Yüan Chan finally died in the country of Amarāvat in Central India, aged 60 and odd years.

II. Hwui Lun.

Hwui Lun, a master (of the law), was a native of Sinko (Corea). His Indian name was Prajñāvarman. He quit his own country inflamed with a desire to perform a pilgrimage to the sainted spots of his religion. Taking ship he arrived in Fuhkeń, and thence gradually journeying forward came to Loyang. There he was commissioned by the Emperor to follow the steps of Yüan-chu, who had gone to the Western Countries, and, having found him, to attend him as servant.

Having undertaken this, he went from place to place, paying homage to the sacred spots of his religion. He dwelt for ten years in the convent called Sin-ché, in the country of Amarāvat (or Amaraβid?). Thence going eastward he visited the convent called Tou-ho-lo-soo, belonging to North India. This temple was originally built by the Tou-ho-lo peoples (the Tokhari?) for the accommodation of their fellow countrymen. It is very rich and well supplied with all necessaries for food and convenience, so that no other can surpass it in this respect. The temple is called Gandhāra-sama. Here Hwui Lun remained for the purpose of studying the Sanskrit language.

All priests who come from the North occupy this temple, as the Superior of it is a man of great learning. They call the Temple Ta-hsiao (i.e. 'Great learning'). To the west of the temple is another belonging to the country of Kapisa. This temple is also very rich, and celebrated for the learning of its priests, who excel in the Little Vehicle. Buddhist monks of the North also dwell here. This temple is called Gunacharita. To the N. E. of the great Boddhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Chālukya.

This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Chālukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates. In more recent times a king called Jih-kwan ('Sunnary?') built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the South take their residence. In short all the different districts (of India and its neighbourhood) have temples erected for the entertainment of priests belonging to the respective countries—all, except China, which has none: and so we pass and return under great difficulties.

Forty stages or so to the eastward of this we come to the Nalanda Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mrigāśikhavāna Temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain—it is called the China Temple. The old story goes that this temple was built by Śrīgupta Mahārāja for the use of priests from China. At this time there were some Chinese monks, twenty or so in number, who, having wandered away from Szechuen by the road known as Ko-yang (?) came out near the Mahābodhi and there offered their worship. The king, moved with reverence on account of their piety, gave them a village of considerable extent, where they might remain and finally settle—twenty-four places in all. Afterwards the Tang priests having died out, the village and its land attached came into the possession of aliens, and now three persons belonging to the Mrigāśikha Temple occupy it. This occurred about 500 years ago or so. The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarma.

1 The Larik of Ptolemy, the Lār of the Arab writers, and Lātipēsa of the Hindus, corresponding to the Northern Koskam.—Eu.
He has given back the temple and its land to the villagers to avoid the expense of keeping it up, as he would have to do, if many priests of China came there.

The Vajrasana Mahabodhi Temple is the same as the one built by a king of Ceylon, in which priests of that country formerly dwelt.

Going seven stages or so to the N. E. of this temple we come to the Nalanda Temple, which was built by an old king, Sri Sakyadiyita, for the benefit of a Bhikshu of North India, called Rajabhaga. This temple has been completed by a succession of kings, and is now one of the most splendid in India.

### CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 90.)

VI.

We have seen how, on the death of Yesugei Khan, the Mongols, led by the Taijut under their chief Terkutai Kiriltuk, deserted his young son Temujin. Anbakhai the chief of the Taijut had formerly been the supreme ruler of Mongolia, and it was natural that his descendant should now succeed to the broken heritage; but, as we have seen, none of the Taijut chiefs were anxious for this honour, and it would seem that a very considerable power in consequence passed to Chamukha, the head of the Jajirat or Jurait tribe, who joined with the chief of the Kirais in helping Temujin to recover his wife. He seems to have become the most important chief on the river Onon, and, as we are expressly told in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, had control of the proper subjects of Temujin himself. The latter now went to live with him. They were apparently both young, and had long been close friends, so close that Chamukha is constantly referred to as Chamukha anda, anda meaning a life-and-death friendship among the Mongols. It is ratified solemnly by an exchange of presents, &c. In this case the friendship had begun when Temujin was eleven years old. The two had been playing together on the ice on the Onon, when Chamukha gave his friend a stone from the musk deer, Temujin returned a ball of copper(?). Afterwards when the two boys amused themselves with archery, Chamukha gave his friend an arrow, having a point that would rattle, made out of cows' horn, while Temujin presented him with one made of cypress wood, and so they became anda. The pact was now renewed, and Temujin put a golden scarf he

1 A so-called besson stone or perhaps merely a lump of musk.
2 I.e., the crafty or far-seeing. Erdmann, Temuudecha, p. 225. Abdulhaji says it means in Mongol and Uzbek one

had obtained among the Merkit about his friend, and also presented him with a mare which had been sterile for some years. Chamukha gave him in return a similar scarf he had taken from the Merkit Dair Ussan and also a white horse. They had a feast together at Khorkhon Akhjubur under the thick trees, and afterwards slept under the same blanket. The two friends lived thus together for about a year and a half. One day, as they were sitting together in front of a kibitka, Chamukha used an enigmatical expression which it is difficult to understand, and which was not understood by his companion. He said, "If we stop at the mountain the horses will get forage, if at the ravine the sheep and lambs will get it." Temujin, who was perplexed by the words, rode up to his mother to ask her to explain them, but before she could answer, his wife Burtet intervened, and said: In regard to this Chamukha, people have said that he loves the new and hates the old. He is tired of us. His words conceal some illwill against us. It is better we should not stay; we had better get away during the night." The fact was that a natural jealousy had arisen between the two chiefs who were both ambitious. Temujin had doubtless designs of his own. He could not forget the position his father had filled, and to which he was the natural heir, and he had no doubt spent the previous few months in securing the adhesion of a large number of partizans. This we gather from what followed. Chamukha, on the other hand, was naturally of an envious disposition, and was, in fact, styled Sechen. Rashidu'd-din has preserved some Sagas about him. He tells us that Tokhtoa

who is witty, and is equivalent to the Arabic akil and the Tajik (i.e. Persian) be-khai. In his day, he says, it was applied to a good speaker (op. cit. ed. Descriptions, pp. 79 and 80).
Biki of the Merkit once harried his camp. For a while he wandered about with but 30 companions, and at length in his distress sent an appeal to Tokhtoa, offering to acknowledge him as his father. The latter accepted his offer, undertook to protect him, and restored him his followers. He often deceived his amirs by his smooth words, so that they were astonished at his skill. Once having noticed a sparrow sitting on its nest in a willow, he marked the spot. The next day he went as if by chance, and took the amirs with him, and said: Last year I passed this way, and noticed a sparrow building its nest in this very willow, let us look and see if there is a nest there again, and if it contains any young ones. He looked into the bush, when out flew a sparrow, and there assuredly was a nest with young ones in it. The amirs who, we must confess, must have been rather naive, were astounded at his apparently extraordinary memory in recognizing the identical bush.

On another occasion he presented himself on a day when, according to custom, no one was seen by Tokhtoa Biki, and when, therefore, the guards were negligent. He entered his tent with 30 men and found him alone. Tokhtoa was very much afraid, and felt he was at his mercy. He therefore asked him why he had come with his men, as his guard knew nothing about it, and were not on the look-out. He replied he only went to see whether the latter were in fact vigilant or not. At these words Tokhtoa was still more disconcerted, and he accordingly administered to Chamukha a solemn oath in which, according to custom, the latter poured kumix out of a golden bowl on to the ground and promised never to hurt Tokhtoa, who then restored him all his family and property, and he once more returned to his yurt. Such was the person with whom Temujin now commenced a long and bitter feud. We are told in the Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi that on leaving Chamukha's camp on his way homewards he passed through that of the Taijut who were afraid, decamped and joined his rival. His people captured a boy named Kokochu, whom they had left behind, and gave him to Temujin's mother Khoilun.

Temujin was now joined by a number of chiefs with their followers, who are enumerated in the Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi. They comprised the three brothers Kha-ch'iu-n, Karakhai and Karaldai, who belonged to the clan Tokhuran (the Tukran of Rashid u'd-lin) of the tribe Jelair, Khadaan, Daldurkhan and five others of the tribe Tarkhu. From the tribe Kian there went to him Mungetu, with his son Urgur and others, and also people from the Chan shiuat and Bayan. From the tribe Balura there went to him Khubilai and Khudusi. From the tribe Mankhu (the Mankut of Rashid) he was joined by Jeda and Dokholku. Rashid associates the Mankut with the Nuyaks or Nutakins and Urut. He tells us that in the time of Temujin the two latter were the allies of the Taijut. The chief of the Urut at this time was Ulot Berdut, who often fought with Temujin. One of his principal amirs was Jeda Noyan. The Mankut sided with the Taijut, except Khulinid Seshen, whom Erdmann calls Khunuldai Sajan, and who went over to Temujin with his clients and dependents, and they became anda. Of Jeda Noyan Rashid says it was reported as follows. Among the Urut there were three brothers. Two of them formed the resolution to join the Taijut. The third, however, who did not see that there was any cause of quarrel with Temujin, refused to join them, whereupon his eldest brother fell upon and shot him and his slaves, and appropriated all his property and children. One of his wives of the tribe Bargut, who lived close by, had a suckling whom she managed to secrete and to preserve from damage. When the Taijut were conquered by Temujin, she gave him the name Jeda, and sent him to him. He was well received, and was made the overchief of the Urut and Mankut, over which tribes his descendants continued to rule till the 14th century. He was one of the great amirs of


* No doubt the Berulas of Rashid, who tells us one of these chiefs in the time of Chinghis was Khubilai noyua, ed. p. 224.

* The name Bargut or Barghut of Rashid u'd-lin is also read Tergut or Torgut by Beresine and Von Hammers, and this may be the tribe here meant.

* So Erdmann (pp. 219) reads it: Beresine makes it two names Odot and Bodot (op. cit. vol. I, p. 190).

* I.e. the Jedai above named.
the right wing, and was styled Jed a No yan.\textsuperscript{11} There can be little doubt that the Jed a of this notice is the abovenamed Jedai of the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. Let us now return to the list of Temujin’s allies as given in the latter authority. These comprised a younger brother or relative of the Alura (the Arulut of Rashid-u’d-din) Boorchu Ogelian. From the Urianhake came the younger brothers of Jelmi, Chaurkhan and Svnbat. The latter became very famous in later days and is known to the western writers as Subutai Behadur. From the tribe Besu (the Baisut of Rashid-u’d-din)\textsuperscript{12} came Digai and Khachan. Rashid calls them Teke or Dega and Kujour, and says that their father having been killed by the Taijut their mother Baidu Khatan brought the orphans to Temujin. The former was given charge of the stallions and the latter of the mares of the Imperial stables. The latter was also given the title of Terkhan. Their mother superintended the Imperial kumig.\textsuperscript{13} To return to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. We read that there came from the tribe Saldu, Chulgutai, Taki and Daichindai. From the tribe Jelair, Sechidomokh and Arkhai khasarbala with his two sons. From the tribe Khuanbhotan (the Khongkhoit or Kungekhat of Rashid-u’d-din) Saeikutu, Suike, Jegai, and Khuanbador, with their children Sukegai, Juen, Neudai and Chakhannahgula; Kingiyada came from the tribe Olkuna, to which Temujin’s wife Burté belonged; Sechir from the tribe Khorola or Karula, to which his mother belonged; Mochibedun from the tribe Dorbé and Buta or Buda from the tribe Ikiresun, i.e. the Ikuras or Anciras of Rashid-u’d-din. About Budu we read in the work translated by DeMailia who calls him Podu, that he lived near the river Ergene,\textsuperscript{14} and was renowned as a famous archer both on foot and on horseback. Temujin wishing to secure his alliance sent him one of his trusted followers named Churchean. Podu received this envoy with honour, killed a sheep to entertain him, and as his horse was wearied with its journey, he provided him with a fresh one from among his own. Temujin was so pleased with this reception that he determined to bind him closer to himself, and offered him his sister Tiemulun i.e. Tuman in marriage. Podu was flattered, and he sent his relative Yepukiai with a courteous message, in which he compared Temujin’s friendship to the glory of the sun breaking from behind a bank of clouds or a sprig balmy breeze breathing over wintry ice. Temujin having learnt that Podu had thirty horses, and intended one half of them as a present for himself as an equivalent for his favour, said to Yepukiai: To speak of giving and taking when we are making an alliance, is to use the language of traders. Our old folk say it is difficult to unite two hearts and souls into one. It is this which I propose to do. My purpose is to subject all the hearts of this district and to extend my conquests even further, and that the tribe of Kieies,\textsuperscript{15} of which Podu is chief, will help me faithfully. This is all I ask. He thereupon sent Podu his sister. Some time after Tatsiatai, (Tj. Jaijrat) Tacheh and Toyei having marched at the head of 30,000 men against Podu, their neighbour, he sent to inform Temujin, but meanwhile succeeded in defeating them himself, and compelled them to range themselves under his banner. His ally was about to march to the rescue, when he heard of his victory.\textsuperscript{16} To continue our list of Temujin’s allies from the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. We are told he was further joined by Junshai from the tribe Nauykin, by Jurkhoo from the tribe Orona,\textsuperscript{17} by Sukhasechan and Kharchar with their families from the tribe Barulas. From the tribe of Barin there joined him Khorchi, the old Usun, and Kokososi with the whole clan of Menan Barin, Rashid\textsuperscript{18} says that in the time of Temujin the chief of the Barins was Nabaj or Nayaaka Noyan, who in his youth was called Oba or Baba Jusur. Jusur, he says, means a hyacinth and an insolent barefaced man. He lived to a very old age, and died over a hundred years old, in the days of Ogotaikhakan. He was perhaps the old Usun just named from the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. He was in the service of Temujin with his two sons, Naya or Baba and Alak. Alak had a son Kuku, who was probably the Kokososi of the above notice. The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi says that when Khorchii joined the young Mongol chief.

\textsuperscript{11} Berezine, vol. I, pp. 189 and 190; Erdmann, pp. 219-220.
\textsuperscript{12} So read by Erdmann: Berezine, vol. I, p. 207, reads the name Est.
\textsuperscript{13} Berezine, vol. I, pp. 212 and 213; Erdmann, pp. 229 and 230.
\textsuperscript{14} i.e. the Arun which springs in the Kuling lake and falls into the Onon.
\textsuperscript{15} i.e. the Inkirasai.
\textsuperscript{16} De Mailia, vol. IX, pp. 18-14, Gastal, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{17} i.e. the Urn of Rashid’s-din.
\textsuperscript{18} See Berezine, vol. I, pp. 193-5; Erdmann, Temudechin, p. 222.
he remarked to him that Budunisvar was the common ancestor of himself and Champukha by one wife, and that it was therefore perhaps natural that he should have clung to the latter, but he had had a dream in which he saw a white cow attack the yurts and kibitkas of Chamunka with its horns, and break one of them in doing so. It then tore up the ground before Chamunka, and bellowed out to him to restore its horn. Thereupon a strong and hornless bull came along from the road along which Temujin’s kibitka was travelling, and roared out that heaven had decreed that the latter should be the ruler of the empire. This dream had determined his decision. He then went on to say, If you make yourself the ruler of the empire, what will you do for me? Temujin replied that if he in fact became the ruler of the empire, he would make him a temnik, i.e. a governor of 10,000 houses. Khorch replied that a temnik’s place was but a poor reward for such an important piece of news as he had given him, and he asked that in addition he might be allowed free choice of 30 lovely maidens and to have whatever he asked besides.

To revert again to the list of his friends, Temujin was also joined by Khuji and others from the tribe Genigesy and by Darilai Ujigen from the tribe Jada. He was Temujin’s uncle, and the tribe Jada was probably a clan of the Mongols proper. Rashid tells us he at first joined his nephew, but afterwards, as we shall see, separated from him. From the tribe Sakau there joined him Makhkhalhku. The Sakau formed a section of the Barins. When Temujin made Biki the chief of the latter tribe, a free angkan (which was apparently a position like that of a terkhan, involving special privileges), he was privileged to sit in the court above the rest, and, like the royal princes, took his position on the right side. His horses were mingled with those of Temujin. As he reached a very great age, Temujin ordered that a Sakau should always stand beside a horse when Biki wished to take a ride, so that he might be more easily mounted, whence the Sakaus were called the Biki’s squires. They repudiated this expression, however, and urged that the whole thing was a joke. In Temujin’s army two brothers, belonging to the Sakau, named Uker Kulji or Kilji and Gudor or Khudun Kulji or Kilji, commanded hazars in the left wing. Temujin was also joined by Sor-khatuchjirki with his two sons, Sacha-bik and Dajch, belonging to the clan Jurki; by Khachar Biki, the son of Nigrun Taishi; and by Altan Utigen, son of Khatula or Khitugh Khakan—all three near relatives of his own.

The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi tells us the various allies and friends above named joined Temujin when he was encamped at the little river Kinsars in the district of Aitkharakhana. Thence he moved his camp and reached the place Gurilgu near the river Sangur, and finally halted at Kharaajunga close to lake Kokonar. This lake I cannot find on the maps, but it was probably north of the Kerulen and near the river Sanghir. He now seems to have had a very considerable following, and proceeded to organize the nation in an elaborate manner. According to Rashid he divided it into tamans, hazars, sadaks, and dehas, and altogether they formed 13 gurans or brigades. Rashid uses the name guran for these divisions, and tells us it was equivalent to khalkhan, which meant a ring, circle, or mass of men under a leader. The gurans answered according to Von Hammer to the rings among the Avars. Erdmann compares them to the Greek phalanxes and the solid squares of modern tactics. Over each guran was set a gurkhan. The thirteen gurkhans with their followers are thus enumerated by Rashid:

1. Oluin Eke, or Khoilun, Temujin’s mother, with her immediate relatives and dependents. After his father’s death Temujin married his mother to Menglik Echighe of the tribe Urna, and appointed him a commander of the Right Wing.
2. Temujin with his amirs and following.
3. Rashid-u’d-din assigns this guran to Bura-jn Bakudas, the descendant of Sam-Khajun, brother of Khabul Khan who com-

30 Palladian suggests that the title is of Khitan or Jurchi origin.
31 Erdmann, Temuchih, p. 252.
32 The Sakatu of Rashid.
34 Vide supra.
35 I.e. the Sanghir, vide ante.
37 Erdmann, op. cit., note 80.
38 Bercin, vol. 1, p. 188; Erdmann, pp. 233-234.
39 Erdmann reads the name Tulaiau Behadur.
manded the Jirkins, a section of the Kirais. With him were Mukhrur Khuran and Bakari with the Adarkins or Hederkins and Charga or Jaurkhar with the Khuralas. The Huang-yuan assigns the division to the descendants of Khajulaya, (i.e. of Khajuli, brother of Khabul), Bentaich-bada, Tubugê-i-din and Murkhu-khao-lan, with the tribes Atargin, Chakhnian and Kholula.

4. The children of Sorgodu or Surkatu Noyan, Derengé and his brother Kuridai who belonged to the Nirans and Kiats. They led the Niran tribe Budst. The Huang-yuan says the son of Siantun-kun Nayan Dilian with the tribes Kholitai and Batakha.

5 and 6. The children of Surkhatu Yurkior Burgi, Sacha Biki, and his brother Taichu, with the Jelairis. The Huang-yuan apparently omits these two gurans, which accounts for its list describing only 11 although it says there were 13 gurans in all.

7. Otojuhu Durlaugi also a Kiat, with his people. This name is apparently corrupt. Erdmann reads it Utuju-khudu-Ardengi. The Huang-yuan says this guran comprised the people of Jukhar and Akha.

8. The children of Monggetu or Mungda Khan, Jenkshti and his brothers who led Temujin's relatives, among others was Ungur who commanded the Darlegin tribe Bayant. The Huang-yuan assigns this guran to the children of Khudutamu Naran, Mung and Kejurge.

9. Daritai Utjigin Temujin's uncle, Kuchar his cousin the son of Nigan Taishi, and Dadu or Daln, one of his relatives, with the Dogolats a Nirn tribe, and also the Darlegin tribes Nukuz, Khorkhan, Sagait and Ujin or Bjin. The Huang-yuan says Tashantai Khochar, with the tribes Khudolan, Nigus, Kholukhan and Sakhai, formed this guran.

10. Juchi Khan the son of Khutlugh Khan and his followers. The Huang-yuan calls him Jochi the son of Kulantoki Khan.

11. Altan called Antan in the Huang-yuan, also a son of Khutlugh Khan with his people.

12. Dakhu Bakhadur of the Nirn tribe, whose name is spelt Khgeegkhozyat by Berezine and Kunegkiat by Erdmann. With him was the Nirn tribe Saken or Sukat. The Huang-yuan assigns the guran to Khulan and Toduan.

went within a bowshot, whereupon the eagle dictated to him the divine laws, which are called yasa and gave him the title of Chanc Ghaian. 24

A similar story again is told by Ssanang Setzen, who says the proclamation was made by the Avulad on the banks of the Kerulon. Before it took place, a five-coloured bird in the shape of a lark went for three mornings, and sat on a squared stone in front of the Royal yurt, and screamed out Chinggis Chinggis! which Temujin accordingly adopted as his middle name, his full title being Sutu Bogd a Chinggis Khaghan, by which he was everywhere known. The stone upon which the bird had alighted thereupon suddenly flew asunder, and disclosed in its midst the famous seal Khas Boo, which was a span in length and breadth, and bore a tortoise on one side and on the other two interlaced dragons, the whole being beautifully wrought. 25

In regard to the etymology of the name Chinghiz there have been many theories. It has been connected with tenghi, a sea or great lake, and with ghakhai a pig. 26 Rashidud-din gives several explanations of it. In his account of the Urnaat he says the word ching is equivalent to the Arabic muote kekem, 27 and that chinggis is the superlative or plural of ching. 28

Again, in his account of the Kurlait of the year 569 Hej, he says: ching means strong, powerful, and chinghiz is the superlative of the same word. Lastly, in his account of the Kurlait of 602 he says the title Chinghiz was equivalent to that of Shahan Shah among the Persians. He also says ‘it was equivalent to Gurkham,’ i.e. strong and mighty Padishah. 28

Khuandemir uses a copulet in these words: —

"Notice that in the Mongol tongue the name of Chinghiz Khan means king of kings."

Schmidt in discussing the name says that ching does not in Mongol mean strong, but is an

adverb, meaning ‘fast, immovable,’ and he explains it by the phrase ching bishire, i.e. the immovable faith. 29 Erdmann adopts this etymology, and styles his work "The history of Temujin, the immovable or firm," and compares this title with that borne by O no-wei, a chief of the Yen-Yen, whom I have elsewhere identified with the Kalmucks, who was styled Sō-lun-ten-ping-tu-fa-khan, i.e. the Khan who has conquered and holds fast. 30 I cannot adopt this etymology. Schmidt, who was a profound Mongol scholar, says distinctly that Chinghiz has no meaning at all in Mongol. 31

This agrees with the statement of Gaubil, who says "Chinghiskese n'est pas un mot Mongon, ce n'est qu'un son qui exprime le cri dont j'ai parlé," 32 and of Visdelou, the profoundest Chinese scholar among the French Jesuits, who, after mentioning the etymology for the name Chinghiz suggested by his Mongol friend as above mentioned, goes on to say: "Cela me fait croire que ce titre fut emprunté d'une langue étrangère et incomu aux Mongols, dans laquelle il avait le sens que les Chinois l'ont donné."

Heprovisely says that the Chinese explained the name as meaning Tien-si, i.e. given by heaven. 33 These facts make one the more readily accept the suggestion of the late Dorji Bansarof, who was a Mongol by birth and a scholar, and who urges that when Temujin proclaimed himself Emperor he adopted the title used by the former sovereigns of the Hsüng-Nu, namely Chenyu or Shau-ya, of which Chinghiz was a corruption, in confirmation of which he adds that the Hsüng-Nu also styled their chief Tengri-kubo, i.e. son of heaven. Erdmann argues against this conclusion 34 of Bansarof, but it is accepted by Palladius, who says that any one who knows how incorrectly the Chinese transcribe foreign names into their own tongue will not be surprised that Shau-ya should become Chinghiz. The

as above. It was reported of him that he used to sit naked on the ice in the winter in a place called Udan Keruen or Udan Garwan, the coldest in those parts. The Mongols believed that he could fly to heaven on a white horse. (Bernex, vol. i. p. 158; Erdmann, p. 204.)

24 Op. cit. p. 71. The Persian writers who date the adoption of the name in 1201-2, tell a different story. Juvenci, the author of the Ishun Kashar, tells us that at the Kurlait held in that year a Shaman called Gugus, also named But Tengri or the Image of God, who for several days in the severe winter had been running over the mountains and steppes naked, and that God had spoken to him and declared he had given the whole earth to Temujin, and had also given him the name of Chinghis Khan. Juvenci reports this on the testimony of a Mongol amir who had told the story to himself (Erdmann, p. 690). Rashiduddin tells us Gugus or Kuku was the son of Menglip, to whom Chinghis gave his own father in marriage after his father's death. He tells us that Kuku communicated to Chinghis himself the message he professed to have received from heaven

25 Id. pp. 692-693.
26 Quatrième Hist. des Mongols de la Perse, p. 247, note 76.
27 Erdmann, op. cit. p. 379.
28 Erdmann, op. cit. note 378.
29 i.e. one firmly fixed in his authority.
30 Erdmann, p. 601.
31 Erdmann, p. 601.
32 Erdmann, op. cit. note 378.
33 Erdmann, op. cit. p. 379.
34 Erdmann, Tumuluschin, etc. p. 356.
35 Ssanang Setzen, p. 379.
36 Erdmann, op. cit. 12, note 1.
37 D'Herbelot, Suppl., p. 354.
etymology is also remarkably confirmed by a correspondence of Chinghiz Khān with the Taoist philosopher Ch'ang-ch'ūn. In a phrase in one of the former's letters we read: "It seems to me that since the remote time of our Shanya such a vast empire has not been seen." In a note Palladius adds that the expression proves that Chinghiz considered the ancient Hūn g Nū as the ancestors of the Mongols. This view he seems to deprecate on the ground that Klaproth shewed the Hūng Nū to have been Turks," but I believe Klaproth's position in this matter is untenable. In support of the contention here urged I may add that according to Schmidt the titles Sūn Bogda given by the author of the Altan Topshē and Sanang Setzen to Chinghiz Khān are the same in meaning as Tēngri Kūn, the title given to the chiefs of the Hūng Nū.

Su, or, with the guttural pronunciation, gu or ku, signifies the incarnate emanation of the Deity which is supposed to dwell in great monarchs, and bōyda means divine.

Palladius says that Khūbīlaī gave the Kin emperor Tai Tsu in the temple of the ancestors the style of Chinghiz, which again confirms this contention.

In regard to the date of the proclamation of Chinghiz Khān there is apparently great contradiction among the authorities, and it would seem that he was in fact twice so proclaimed, once by his immediate followers, and again when he had become master of the greater part of the nomades of Mongolias. Rashidu'd-dīn apparently only refers to the second of these proclamations, which he dates in 1202 or 1203. The Yuan-shē dates it in 1206, but we there also find a reference to a previous proclamation. De la Croix suggests that he became emperor or Khakan in 1203 and adopted the title of Chinghiz in 1205.44

Abulfaraj dates the commencement of the Mongol dynasty in the year 599 of the Ḥejra, i.e. 1202-3. Marco Polo has the words "it came to pass in the year of Christ's Incarnation 1187 that the Tartars made them a king whose name was Chinghiz Khān."45 Sanang Setzen dates the event in 1189, when he was 23 years old.46 This variation shews the uncertainty of the chronology of the early life of Chinghiz. I am disposed to accept the dates given by Marco Polo and Sanang Setzen as approximately fixing the earlier proclamation of the great Khān.

Having been made Khākan, Chinghiz, according to the Yuan-ch’au-pi-shē, appointed Ogelai, the younger brother of Boorchu, Khachian, Jedai and Doholkhā, the four bowbearers. They were styled Khorchī, and were attached to his person as his immediate bodyguards. Vangurn Sūeiketu and Khadarsandaldurkhān were appointed superintendents of the commissariat. Degai was made chief shepherd. Guchagurn was given charge of the kibikas or baggage wagons and Dodi of the domestics. Khubilai, Chilgutai, Kharkhaitokhurun and his own brother Khazar were nominated sword-bearers. His other brother Belgutai with Kharaldaiokhurun were made herdsmen over the horses and stud masters. Daichindaikhutia, Morichi and Mutkhalkha were made overseers of the pastures. Arkatkaizar, Takhai, Sukigham, and Chaarkhun were appointed adjutants. The brave Sabutai undertook to give his services generously to his patron, he said he would lay up stores for him as an old mose, fly like a crow, cover like a horse-cloth and shelter like a felt. Boorchu and Jelmi, who had been faithful to him in his great distress, he appointed his own deputies. Chinghiz now addressed the crowd, and told them how he would make fortune shine on them for having left Chāmukhā to join him. He then dismissed them to their houses. He sent Takhaya and Sukighaya to inform his old friend the Kīṛāī Tūghru of his elevation, and similarly deputed Arkhaitakur and Chaarchān to go and inform Chāmukhā. The former was apparently pleased, and remarked that they could not have got on without a Khakan, and advised them to be faithful to him. The latter asked how it was that they had not proclaimed him when they were together, and made them reassure Temujin, who, he suggested, was ill-disposed towards him.

44 Bretschneider, Notes on Chinese Medieval Travellers, p. 122.
45 Id., note.
46 See article Hūn, by Henry H. Howorth, Encyclopaedia Brittanica, vol. XI.
47 Sanang Setzen, p. 379.
48 Yuan-ch’au-pi-shē, note 184.
49 Douglas, op. cit. pp. 33-34.
50 P. 37.
51 The History of Genghizcan the Great, pp. 74 and 88.
READINGS FROM THE BHARHUT STŪPA.

By Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

PART I.

The Bharhut Stūpa affords special facilities for study to the philologist and archaeologist; and, thanks chiefly to General Cunningham's splendid work on that ancient monument, with its beautiful photographic illustrations, and his happy thought of purchasing and dispatching the best and most valuable of the sculptured remains to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, where, under the direction of Dr. Anderson, the indefatigable Superintendent of the Museum, they have been carefully set up in close imitation of their original position in the Stūpa. Thus, with General Cunningham's unerring photographs to read from, and the original stones close at hand to refer to, in case of need, the first great desideratum of the philologist is at once supplied—a trustworthy text. This is a great point gained in reading the ancient inscriptions on the Bharhut sculptures.

But a not inconsiderable difficulty yet remains. There can be no doubt that we have the exact text as the masons wrote it on the stone; but that does not necessarily mean that we have got the text exactly as they meant to write it. Masons were illiterate men in those days no less than they are now; and there is no reason to place absolute correctness in the correctness either of their spelling or their grammar. No doubt, in the case of most of these inscriptions, especially the longer ones, the mason's work consisted merely in copying from manuscripts supplied to them by others better educated than themselves. But even supposing the original manuscript to have been correct, where is the accuracy for the accuracy of the mason's copy? Where, moreover, is the security for the accuracy of the original writing? The inaccuracy of the natives of India, even among the literate classes, is almost proverbial. It is so now; and there is no reason to assume that it was different formerly.

But further, supposing this initial difficulty overcome, and an accurate text supplied or restored, there comes, in many cases, the second great difficulty—to determine what the text of the inscription means and what the fact or event is which it chronicles or describes. Fortunately, in not a few cases, the sculptured figures or scenes which the inscriptions are intended to explain, are so well executed that they, on their part, serve to explain, or at least confirm, the meaning of the inscription. Even so, the story, a portion or the substance of which is represented by the sculpture and expressed by the inscription, must in some cases remain but very imperfectly known or understood. In making this remark, I have specially in view those scenes which refer to "Jātakas" or "Chaityas," about which our knowledge at present is exceedingly small and inaccurate. The publication, however, of the Jātakas, which has been commenced by Fausboll and Rhys Davids in Trübner's Oriental Series, may be expected to remedy this defect. The legends which occur on the coping-stones, and which I shall discuss in this paper, will afford illustrations of each of the above-mentioned difficulties.

(1.) The first inscription which I take up is the second in General Cunningham's arrangement of photographs; it is on No. 4 of Plate XLIII, and No. 10 in the transcriptions on Plate LIII. On p. 94 it is given as mīgasamadikā chaitya and explained to mean: "Chaitya under which lions and deer ate together."

This is hardly correct. The inscription, letter for letter, reads mīgasamadikāvai caitaya.

Neither consonant d nor f carry any vowel-sign (i); they must accordingly be read da and to. After ka there is a distinct anusvāra; though there is none after ya. The words, I think, should be translated: "The deer-crushing chaitya." This is confirmed by the sculptured scene, which shows a deer crushed under the platform of the chaitya, while five other deer and two lions are looking on. The latter may be mere "staffage"; they certainly are not represented in the act of eating. Caita is an incorrect spelling for chātīya. The anusvāra is not uncommonly omitted; though properly this is only allowable when it is conjoined with a consonant, as in dada, for davinda, chakram for chavikam (see No. 7, plate XLVII). But the omission of the vowel-sign i on t, is simply an error of the mason's. Double consonants, as is well known, are always represented single on these ancient inscriptions. Hence the legend, written in full and correctly, would run: mīgasamadikāvai caitya.

Whether or not this is so, it is impossible to say, so long as the Jātaka has not been identified. The identification suggested by Gen. Cunningham, on p. 75, can hardly be considered quite satisfactory. In passing, it may be noted that this is the only inscription (on the copying) in which the word jātaka is correctly spelt; it being jātaka in all others.
maddakavi chetyahi, and be equal to Sanskrit mrigasena-maradakavi chetyahi.

(2) The third inscription, on No. 2 of Plate XLIV, and No. 20 on Plate LIII, is explained on p. 96, where it is given as Rejja Janako Sivaki Devi. The actual letters of the legend are

Janako rayja sivala devi.

The consonant l has no vowel-sign (a), and therefore reads la. The name intended is clearly evatt (Skr. etalt), as the Burmese story quoted by General Cunningham has it. There is, therefore, here the same mason’s error, as in the preceding legend: here la for ti, as there ta for ti.

Another error is the omission of the vowel sign (a) in rayja which ought to be raija. Further, in sivala and devi the long vowel a is not distinguished; though, probably, this is not an error, as distinct marks for long and short vowels were not always used; in the Kaithi alphabet they are not used to the present day. The legend, then, spelt correctly, would run janako raija sivala devi, and translated “King Janaka (and) Queen Sivala.”

(3) The fourth inscription, on No. 9 of Plate XLV, and No. 21 on Plate LIII, is explained on p. 94, where it is given as chituo-pada-silva, and said to mean “split-rock,” the word pada being left untranslated, and the word chitu being taken as an error for chhitu. Even allowing the possibility of the mis-spelling, the word ought to be chitua (not chitutu), the past participle chitua “split” of the root chho, I suppose, being intended. I would suggest that chitupada is one word meaning “four-sided,” and refers to the draught-board depicted in the sculpture. Spelt correctly and fully, it would be chitupadu (Skr. catuspadu). Doubts pp. is, as usual, written singly (p); and the vowel i, for a, is perhaps not so much an error as a provincialism. In modern Hindi we have chitua or “on all four sides,” chitolaras “on one hundred and four,” &c., which seems to show that the vowel a of chatur always had a tendency to be changed to i by the illiterate. However, as the marks of the vowel u and of the subjoined r are much alike, it is not impossible that the word intended may be chitrpadu, which means, “divided into various parts.” In that case, it would also refer to the playing-board.

Either word, chatuspadu or chitrpadu, would be a very appropriate name for a square gaming-board consisting of 36 compart-
ments, such as the sculptured scene shows. But I am not sufficiently acquainted with Indian games to say whether there actually exists a game called by either of these two names. The name of chaturanga, however, is not unlike it. The other word may be read as intended for either sild “rock” (Skr. sild) or silu, “practice,” “habit.” The whole legend, then, would mean, either “the rock with the gaming board” or “devotion to the gaming board.” “The practice of gambling.” In any case the word sild is inaccurately spelt. Among the Jatakas, there is one which narrates the birth of Buddha as a gambler, and the sculpture possibly refers to this story.

(4) The sixth inscription, on No. 8 of Plate XLVI and No. 15 on Plate LIII, and referred to on p. 76, reads sechha-jataka, or, as it would be in full, sechchha-jataka. I would propose to translate it, “the prospector—or, novice—Jataka”; taking sechchha to be an alternative form of the more usual sekhha (Skr. sakshya). The closely-cropped hair on the head of the two men in the sculptured scene would seem to indicate novices.

(5) The eleventh Inscription, on No. 2 of Plate XVIII and No. 2 in Plate LIII, and referred to on p. 78, reads

maghdderiyam[?], jataka or as it would be in full, maghdderiyam jatakam.

After the ya, the stone shows a very shallow indentation, apparently indicative of the anuandra, too slight to be seen in General Cunningham’s photograph, but just recognizable on a squeeze taken by me. The meaning is: “the Jataka referring to Maghadeva.” The latter name has been very ingeniously, but probably correctly, identified by General Cunningham with that of King Ma kha de v a of Miyula, or rather (according to the Dipawani III, 34, 35) of Mythila, one of the early famous ancestors of Buddha, of whom it is said:

“When he had reigned 252,000 years, he saw the first grey hair, upon which he resigned the kingdom to his son and became an ascetic.” The sculpture represents the moment when the first grey hair was found. The King Ma kha de v a is seated on a throne, attended by two servants, who assist him in his toilet; the usual knot of hair is opened, and the long hair depends to the shoulders, on both sides of his head; one of the servants had been attending to it; with one hand he holds the royal

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1 See Spence Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism, p. 102.
2 Skr. akh usually becomes ka in Pali, but sometimes also, chkh, e.g., Pali akkh or sakhkh “eye” for Skr. akkh; see E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik.
tresses, with the other he shows to the King the first grey hair which he has just discovered and pulled out; the King has also taken hold of it with one hand and slightly turns his head sideways to inspect it. The other servant stands by, looking on, with folded arms, in a respectful attitude. It should be noted, as confirming the interpretation, that the inscription has magha (not magha, as given on p. 78 and in the transcript, No. 2 on Plate LIII), which agrees with the Pāli mahākāla (also with d). The change of kh to gh is unusual; but a similar change is dh for th, as in Madhurā for Mathurā (Dīgavāsi III, 21). The occasional change of the hard aspirates into the corresponding sonants is especially noticed by Chandā in his grammar of the ancient Prākrit (III, 11, where Madhurā is given as one of the examples). This view would be supported by devi, if it may be taken to stand for devīka; for according to Chandā III, 34, the surd k may be occasionally elided, and, according to III, 35, the euphonic y interposed between the hiatus-vowels. Though, of course, devi may be merely an inaccurate spelling for devīka.

(6.) The twelfth inscription, on No. 4, of Plate XLVIII and No. 3 on Plate LIII, reads daghata-pāsīne annusatī. It is explained on p. 97, where the words are divided daghata-pāsīne annusatī, and said to mean “Dīghatapasī instructs the female Rāgis.” This meaning, however, does not agree with the figures on the sculptured scene, which represent, not female, but male disciples. It is also questionable whether female disciples could at all be designated as “female Rāgis.” Moreover, the words as divided above are ungrammatical. The nominative singular of daghata-pāsī would be either daghata-pāsī or daghata-pāsa, and the accusative plural of īti or ītī would be īti or ītī, but īti. The words should clearly be separated

\[ \text{daghata-pāsī} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{annusatī} \]

i.e. “Dīghatapasī instructs (his male) disciples.” In full the words should be spelt 

\[ \text{daghata-pāsīnā} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{daghata-pāsīnānā} \]  

Dīghatapasī would represent the Sanskrit form Dīghatapasī (nom. sing. of Dīghatapaśīnā). This, no doubt, is a somewhat unusual form of the well-known name. But there is no need to deny its possibility, unless one should prefer to assume a mason’s error of incising “i” instead of “o.” Grammatically, the form 

\[ \text{daghata-pāsī} \]

is analogous to 

\[ \text{daghata-śī} \]

“far-seeing,” dagha-śī (Skr. dagha-strī) “long-haired,” “tedious.”

(7.) The thirteenth inscription, on No. 6 of Plate XLVIII and No. 4 on Plate LIII, is referred to on p. 94, where it is read abhode chetyāvan, and explained to mean “the chayata mango tree.” The tree in the sculpture may be a mango tree; but the inscription can hardly be so translated, as that wholly omits the syllable de; ambo chetyāvan would be “the chayata mango tree.” Letter for letter, the inscription reads

\[ \text{abhode chetyāvan} \]

The latter word, no doubt, is a mere mason’s error for chetyāvan, the small horizontal line at the top of ch having been drawn to the right instead of to the left. The word abhode I would propose to read abhode, and to take as the locative singular of abhode-abhode=Skr. arbuda, the name of the famous holy Mount Abū, where, according to Colonel Tod (Forbes’ Rās Māla, vol. I. p. 267), “the mango is abundant.” The inscription then would mean “The Chayata on (Mount) Abū.” The change of u to o, though not common, has analogies in parīśā = Skr. parīśa “old,” or parīśa = Skr. parīśa “man,” etc.

(8.) The fifteenth inscription, on No. 9 of Plate XLVIII and No. 18 on Plate LIII, is correctly read on p. 96, as

\[ \text{Vajuka katha dohāti nāhogā pavate,} \]

but not translated. The words, I think, must be divided as above given, and for katha and pavate the full spelling should be kathān and pavate. Vajuka I take to be the name of the person represented in the sculpture in the ludicrous act of “milking” from a leather bag (a sort of mashaḥ) which is suspended from some bamboo stalks. Under the form vajuka, the same word occurs as the name of a king in the Dīpavāmi (XX, 27). Nāhogā pavate is an ablative (or rather, locative) absolute. The whole sentence may be translated: “how is Vajuka milking, when there exists lotus-stalk-water,” i.e., what is Vajuka thinking of, that he attempts to “milk” water (from the leather bag) when there are lotus-stalks by which he might obtain it. The word nāhogā, I believe, to be a proverbial expression, which is probably founded on the following story, called the Nalapana-jātaka. Once on a time Buddha was born as the king of monkeys in a forest, in which there was a pool inhabited by a water-ogre who devoured all that came down to drink of its waters. Buddha had warned his followers of 80,000 monkeys not to drink of any unknown water in the forest. So, one day, being thirsty and coming to that pool, they sat down waiting for Buddha’s arrival. Buddha, coming up to them, enquired why they did not drink. They replied that they were waiting for

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12 See E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik, p. 27.

MISCELLANEA.

CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF SANSDKRIT TEXTS.

In my review of the Kālikā Vṛtti (ante, vol. IX, p. 305f.), I gave a short extract from the 39th chapter of I-tsing’s Nan-kai-kwei-chou’en, containing the titles of several grammatical works which I-tsing knew and studied during his stay in India 673-95 A.D. Most of these titles are much disfigured in their Chinese transliterations, and, with regard to several of them, I was unable to give their Sanskrit equivalents. I have since received some communications on this subject from Mr. S. Beal and from Mr. Kasawara which enable me to restore, at all events, one more name with tolerable certainty. On the second of the so-called Kālīs, which Mr. Kasawara had rendered by Man-cha, I cannot say that I feel satisfied even now. By the side of Askhadhatu, explained as declension and conjugation, and Unddi, the well-known title of the irregular nominal suffixes, Mancha could hardly be anything one should think, but a treatise on the regular nominal suffixes, the so-called Krit. However, Mr. Beal called my attention to a note of Stanislas Julien’s in his Index to Hiouen-Thsang, where (vol. iii, p. 514) Men-cha is explained by Mandaka. Hiouen-Thsang mentions Men-cha (vol. i, p. 166) as one of two classes of words, the other class being Unddi. But, though Stanislas Julien tells us that Prof. Spiegel approved of this interpretation, I cannot find any place where Prof. Spiegel has treated of mandaka and traced it back as a technical term to some corresponding suffix of Sanskrit grammarians. Mr. Kasawara’s translation was:—

"Mancha treats of the formation of words by means of combining (a root and suffix, or suffixes). One of many names for tree, for instance, is vriksa in Sanskrit (that is to say, the word vriksa is made

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[From The Academy, Feb. 19, 1881.]
up of ekā and a). Thus a name for a thing is formed by mixing the parts together, according to the rules of the book, which consists of more than twenty sentences (or feet of śloka). Undā is nearly the same as the above, with a few differences, such as what is full in the one is mentioned in brief in the other, and vice versa.

Mr. Kasavara now informs me that Mancha may be meant for maṇḍa, possibly for maṇḍaka, but I do not see that even this would help us much. Maṇḍa means to adorn, maṇḍa is used for cream on milk, also for gruel, but all this, even if we admitted the meaning of mixing, would not yield us a technical name for the formation of words by means of joining a suffix with a root. At all events, I have never met with maṇḍa, or any of its derivatives, in that technical sense. I thought at one time that maṇḍa might be meant for maṇḍaka, because the Maṇḍūkikya were famous by their grammatical works (see History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 146), and one of these might possibly have been used by Jñānaśuri when studying the Kriśnā chapter. But I do not think this likely, even if, as I am told, the Chinese trans literation should admit of it.

But while we must leave this point unsettled, we are able to identify another title—namely, Jñāna or Chūna, given as the name of Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya. Mr. Beal informed me that this might be read Chūraśi, and Chūrasi, a general name for commentary, as in Jitakapā-chūraśi, a Prākrit commentary on the Jitakapāsūtra of the Jainas, &c., is more especially the name of Patañjali’s commentary, Patañjali himself being called Chūraśi rīt.

There is every reason to hope that a more accurate study of the Buddhist Chinese literature will be of great help in determining the age of a number of Sanskrit works the dates of which are at present floating about between several centuries. And there is another advantage likely to accrue from that study which has not yet been pointed out, and to which I should like to call the attention both of Chinese and Sanskrit scholars.

When we have literal translations of Sanskrit texts, these translations help us, not only to fix the date of the Sanskrit originals, but also to determine the ancient readings of the Sanskrit texts. Of course there are translations and translations, and we know now that the translation of a Life of Buddha ascribed to Kāśyapa Mātanga and Chūrāśī (76 a.d.) does not prove, as Stanislaus Julien thought, that this was a translation of our Lalita-vistara (see Selected Essays, vol. ii, p. 191). But when we have to deal with literal translations, some of them so literal or mot-a-mot as to defy all rules of Chinese syntax, then we are able to find out what the Sanskrit text must have been which the Chinese translators tried to render into their language, and we may thus succeed in occasionally correcting the text as handed down to us in Sanskrit MSS.

But here a very curious phenomenon presents itself. There are mistakes in the Sanskrit text of our MSS. which it is easy to correct, particularly when they occur in metrical passages. For instance, in the Lalita-vistara (ed. Cal. p. 543, l. 8) we read:

Chākuraśi anāmam adhvareṣu tatha krotaṅkṛtām aññām jihedāpi,
Kāya-mana-dvākāma satama api viktaṃ saubhāvām naṃ.

Here the metre shows clearly that we must omit jihedāpi in the first, and kāya-mana in the second, line. They are additions, and very natural additions, to the original text. But when we take Divākara’s translation, the Pāng-kwa-ta-chōnchyan-king, which was made about A.D. 685, we find both jihedāpi, “also the tongue,” and kāya-mana “body and mind,” reproduced, and we find exactly the same in the far later Tibetan version.

In the same chapter (p. 527), after Upaka had asked Bhagavat how he could bear witness of himself, and claim for himself the names of Arthan and Jina, Buddha answers:

Jñāna hi uddhāya jñeya ye pṛthī∥ dāravakṣhayam
Jītā me dāpakā dharānds tenopajina hy aham.

Here the last pāda is clearly wrong in metre and matter. There is no such word as upajina, and the Pāli version of the same verse (Mahāvagga, vol. i, p. 8) shows that the Sanskrit text must have been tenopaka jīna hy aham, the sense being: “Those who like me have reached the destruction of all frailties are to be known as Jīna’s; all evil dispositions have been conquered by me, therefore, O Upaka, I am a Jīna, a conqueror.”

Here, again, there is no trace of the vocative Upaka, O Upaka; in Divākara’s translation, and, whatever the Chinese translator may have had before him, it could hardly have been tenopaka jīna hy aham.

This shows how little assistance we can hope for from existing Sanskrit MSS., towards a restoration of corrupt passages in the Lalita-vistara. There are few Sanskrit MSS. as old as the Tibetan translation; none as old as Divākara’s Chinese version. Yet, what seem to be palpable blunders must have existed when these translations were made. What hope, then, is there of our finding a meda for these wounds from existing Sanskrit MSS., unless they come from totally different localities, and had branched off from the general stream before the seventh century of our era?

F. Max Müller.
BOOK NOTICES.


The principal efforts of Zoroastrian scholarship have been naturally for a long time directed towards the Avesta texts, as embodying the older form of Zoroastrianism, and being the main source of its further development. The Pahlavi language was only studied so far as it helped directly to a better intelligence of the Zend books, and the only Pahlavi texts much sought after in Europe were the commentaries on the Avesta and the Bundahshih, which chanced to be translated in the last century by Anquetil Duperron. The bulk of the Pahlavi literature was left to sleep in the dust of libraries, and curiously condemned as modern, worthless, and unreadable. There is still a school of Avesta scholars whose motto might be: Pahlavi est, non legitur. It was not until within the last twenty years that the full value of the Pahlavi literature at large began to be recognised, chiefly owing to the exertions of the late Dr. Martin Haag and Dr. West, and it is now so well acknowledged that the able editor of the Sacred Books of the East has thought it necessary to give a place, and that not a small one, in the collection, to those records of the later periods of Zoroastrianism.

The book before us contains translations of the Bundahshih with extracts from Zdd. Siparam, the Bahman Yasht, and the Shayast la-Shayast;—more than two-thirds of which texts are still unedited.

The Bundahshih has always been a favourite with European scholars, and has already been translated twice, once into French by A. Duperron, and twice into German by Windischmann and Justi. The new translation by Dr. West, though it contains not a few improvements on the last, still derives its principal superiority from its representing a more complete text than the one known in Europe. It appears that the latter is only an extract from a much larger work, containing twice as many chapters, a copy of which is in the hands of Mr. Tahmuras in Bombay. The happy possessors of that MS. kindly communicated a few of the extra chapters to Dr. West, and the interest of the contents, as here translated, will certainly cause all Pahlavi scholars in Europe to join with Dr. West in urging their fellow-scholars in Bombay to have a lithograph of the whole of the MS. published. The additional chapters translated by Dr. West give us many details of importance on the mythology and legendary history of Iran, and what is more, just those data of which the want has made itself most felt up to this time: I mean historical data on the age of the Bundahshih. They contain a list of Mopeds who were contemporary with the author or last reviser, and among the names given is that of Zdd. Siparam, the author of what Dr. West calls a paraphrase of the Bundahshih. Now, according to Dr. West, Zdd. Siparam must have had the Bundahshih before his eyes, as he deals with the same subject, often in the same words, but generally in a style more involved and obscure, which seems to imply that the Bundahshih was older than Zdd. Siparam's treatment of the same matter. Dr. West draws thence the inference that the writer of the text, as found in Mr. Tahmuras' MS., being older than Zdd. Siparam, is likely to have merely re-edited an old text, with some addition of his own. As Zdd. Siparam is known to have been living in the year 881, and as the allusions to the Arabian dominion found in the Bundahshih show that it is not anterior to the conquest of Iran, it must have been written between the middle of the 7th century and the year 881. Dr. West's main reason for making Zdd. Siparam posterior to the Bundahshih lies in his style; which makes it difficult to give a definite judgment on his inferences, until the text itself is published; still, in any case, whatever may be the true relation between Zdd. Siparam and the Bundahshih, whether he borrowed from the Bundahshih or the reverse, or whether both borrowed from a common source, the identity between the two works is a proof that the ground-work of the Bundahshih, as far as the matter is concerned, is as old as the 9th century.

The Bahman Yasht is still unedited, with the exception of a short extract published by Prof. Spiegel. It belongs to that long series of 'Revelations' which were so numerous among the Jews, the Christians and the Persians. Zoroaster is represented in it as receiving from Ormazd an account of the future history of Iran from his own time down to the last days of the world and the resurrection. It is interesting both as being the fullest account yet published of the Parsi theory of the last days of the world and as being a historical work. It alludes to the rule of the Turks and Turanians being broken by other fiends, the Kitiash; as this is a name of the Christians (Neriozengh, Ad Yshba 5, 75; from Κηθίης), one can hardly help seeing in this an evident allusion to the Crusades, the more so as the author seems to see in their coming the fulfillment of an old tradition that the last invaders must have red banners, red weapons and red hats; the red cross of the Crusaders may have been an appropriate answer to that expectation.
As the oldest MS. of the Bahman Yasht was written about five hundred years ago, and this is most certainly not the original, the composition of the book must have taken place between 1009 and the middle of the fourteenth century, and very likely nearer the former than the later date. I may mention here that the Judaism-Persian 'revelation' known as The History of Daniel (Qissas-i-Dwili), which was written in the year 1099, immediately after the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, offers striking analogies with the Bahman Yasht.

We come now to the Shdyast id-Shdyast, "a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general." It consists of two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, of nearly the same age, to which the editor has added a third part consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of somewhat similar character, which are found in the same MS., but which cannot be attributed to the same writer or the same age. The matter treated of in the Shdyast is nearly the same as in the Pahlavi commentary to the Vendidad on the one hand, and in the Persian Ravaest on the other. Its authors borrowed freely from that commentary, and it was not less freely borrowed from by the authors of these Ravaest. Its age is shown by Dr. West with tolerable certainty to belong to the seventh century. Any editor, either of the commentary to the Vendidad, or of the Ravaest, will find in this book the best and an indispensable help for his task.

The translation is preceded by an introduction in which Dr. West gives a clear account of the Pahlavi scriptures and language, of the extent and importance of the Pahlavi literature, and in which he sums up the contents of the several treatises translated, and all the facts he has gathered from them as to the date of their composition and their bearing on the Pahlavi literature in general.

As to the value of the translation, the name of Dr. West is as good a warrant as can be desired in a matter of such uncertainty as the translation of a Pahlavi text. There are points, of course, in which all translators would not agree with him. For instance, page 63, it may be questioned whether vdd staf is anything to do with the Persian shiftstan, to hasten ("the wind rushed"), as it appears from Minohkhol 52, 19, compared with Vendidad iii. 42, that vdd staf is only a clerical error for vdd elikaf (a strong wind); the phrase: "The fire Frŏbak was established at the appointed place...which Yim constructed (bdr karfiti) for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frŏbak from the hand of Dahak" would, I think, be better translated "the fire Fărobak was established at the appointed place, and when Yim was saved; the fire Frŏbak saved the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahak," as bdr karfiti is just the word used (Bund. 77-9) to express that Dahak and Spityura saved Yim in two (in Zend Yima-karfi, Yasht xix, 46); with regard to the second part of the sentence, in the Sanskrit translation of the Nyāyīśa, an allusion is made to the struggle between the fire Frōbak and Dahāk (Abaraṇ yav samān Dahākena prativādam akarot), a myth corresponding to, although different from, the one in Yasht xix, where it is told how the glory of Yima was saved from Dahāk by Mithra. In the same and the following pages, the word hamāk translated 'continually' may safely and ought to be left untranslated, as it is nothing more than the exponent of the present and imperfect, and is used in exactly the same way as the Persian hant.

But whatever objections may be made to passages here and there, this book as a whole is such a one as I doubt whether any other Pahlavi scholar would have been able to do as well or to do at all, and it supplies the largest and best digested mass of documents that the student of the Pahlavi literature has ever been presented with at one time.

Paris.

JAMES DARMESTETER.


The first fifty volumes of the Calcutta Review were not only scarce and difficult to obtain, but so bulky, that the idea of reprinting the most important articles ought to be hailed with pleasure by all who know the value of the information imbedded in these early volumes—bearing on the history, religion, science, civil and military administration, &c. of India. The names of writers such as the late Sir John Kaye, Rev. Dr. Duff, Sir H. Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwards, Sir Henry Durand, Mr. J. Marshman, Dr. Oldham, &c.—not to mention authors still living,—are a sufficient guarantee for the literary and scientific value of the papers to be reprinted. The first monthly part of these Selections contains, in 152 pages, four articles from vol. I of the original Review; they are—1. Kaye's long and striking article on Lord Teignmouth; 2. The same writer's paper on the Ameers of Sindh; 3. The Rev. Dr. T. Smith's able and interesting account of the Astronomy of the Hindus; and 4. Kaye's on Lord William Bentinck's Administration. If in the succeeding parts the papers are as judiciously selected, the publication will deserve general support.
THE KAHĀŪñ INSRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

BY BHAGWĀNLĀL INDRAJ PANDIT AND THE EDITOR.

The Kahāūñ Inscription of Skandagupta was noticed by Dr. Buchanan, but was first brought to the notice of Mr. J. Prinsep in 1837, by Mr. D. Links, who sent him a description of the pillar with a copy, and afterwards an impression, of the inscription.

The village of Kahāūñ is in the Selampur Majomi pargana, about 46 miles in a straight line south-east from Gorakhpur, the principal town of the district. The pillar, which stands to the north of the village, is about 24 feet high above ground, and is formed of a compact sandstone, the letters of the inscription being deeply and clearly cut. The base of the pillar, to the height of four and a half feet from the ground, is a square of 1' 10''; at 4' 6'' it changes into an octagon for a height of 6' 3'', and it is on the three northern faces of this portion of the shaft that the inscription is found. Above this a section 5' 10 1/2'' in height has sixteen sides, then it is circular for 2' 11 1/2'', over which is a square member 9'' thick, and 18'' square,—the pillar tapering slightly up to this. On a circular neck, 4 1/2'' in height, rests the capital which is of the Peripolitan type employed in other Lātas, is 2' 14'' in height, the principal member being bell-shaped and reeded. This is surmounted by a square block with a small niche on each side containing standing figures of naked Tirthankaras. Into a circular head, 6'' in height, over this square block, is inserted an iron spike which probably supported some symbol of the Jaina religion. The magnificent monolithic column in the court of the Indra Sabha Jaina Temple at Ellur, which may be regarded as analogous to this, supported a Chaumukha or figure of four Jinas. Similarly the Buddhists, we know, placed lions, singly or in groups of four, on their stambhas, and the Śivas a Triśalā. On the western side of the base of this pillar is also a naked figure of Pārvanāth—the snake being coiled up behind him in the fashion usually represented in Jaina sculptures with its saptaphams spread out as a canopy for the head of the Jina, while two females kneel at his feet.

Prinsep was the first to translate the inscription, but he made the date cut as "30 and 2 and 1 plus 100" or "133 after the decease of Skandagupta." Gen. Cunningham in 1854 understood it to give the date of the death of Skandagupta in the year 133 of the Guptaš. Dr. FitzEdward Hall in 1855 noted the error in the date, and later (in 1859) he read "The month of Jyeshtha having arrived in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skandagupta...being quiescent, &c.," but in the following year, he gave this up, and published, as a more tenable version—"The month of Jyeshtha being current, the empire of Skandagupta...being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year," &c. Dr. Bhau Daji (1864) read it correctly—"In the month of Jyeshthā, in the year 141, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta." Lastly, Rājendralal Mitra after a long discussion decides on taking the troublesome word śakte along with vairāke, and alters Hall's reading to—"In the empire of Skandagupta...the year 141 having passed away, and the month of Jyeshthā arriving," &c.

All these differences of rendering turned on the meaning and construction of the word śakte, and Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indraj in the following version and remarks, which I have rendered into English for him, supports Dr. Hall's first rendering and Dr. Bhau Dāji's.

The lithograph has been prepared from an impression which he took of the inscription in 1873, when he went to copy the Aśoka inscriptions at Ludiya and Āraja.—J. B.

Transcript.

सित्मुंक

3 See Ferguson's Ind. and East. Archit. p. 54; there is a small sketch of the pillar in Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VII, pl. i, p. 27; and another in Cunningham's Archi. Sur. Reports, vol. I, pl. xii, p. 32.
4 I have availed myself, in these details, of General Cunningham's measurements, Archi. Rep. vol. I, pp. 81 ff.
6 Jour. Amer. Or. Soc. vol. VI, p. 530.
7 Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. XXX (1861), p. 38, where he gives a long note justifying his rendering of śakte, &c.
9 J. As. Soc. vol. XXIII, p. 371.
10 Read विन्याय
11 Read धिन्याय
12 Read धिन्याय

1 Biblioth. Topogr. p. 164.
Translation.

To the perfect one! He—the floor of whose audience hall is swept by the breeze of the bowing heads of hundreds of kings, born of the Gupta race, whose glory is wide expanded, prosperous beyond all others, like to Śakra, and master of hundreds of sovereigns,—in this Skanda-gupta’s peaceful reign, in the year a hundred and forty one, when the month of Jyesṭha was come, in this jewel-like village, known to people as Kākubha—purified from being associated with the good: the great-hearted Bhatīsomā, who is the son of Somīla, a store of many good qualities, and whose son Rudrasoma is great in mind and in glory, and is otherwise called Vṛāghra, whose son was Madra, kindly disposed, especially to Brahmans, Gurus, and ascetics. Being afraid on seeing this world to be evanescent, he made a heap of merit, and for his own and other people’s welfare, having established, of stone, fifteen chief Ādiktātrīs (Tirthānakaras) in the path of the ascetic Arhats, he set up this fame-conveying stone-pillar, which is beautiful and like the summit of chief of mountains.

Remarks.

The differences in previous renderings of the first śloka of this inscription have all turned on the word śante, which means both ‘peaceful’ and ‘expired,’ but it was correctly construed by Dr. Hall in his first version, and by Dr. Bhaṇḍāji. Dr. Hall’s second rendering of 141 years after the extinction of the empire of Skandagupta is untenable on paleographic grounds alone, as the characters do not belong to a later age than that of the Guptas. Then the Girnār inscription of Skandagupta’s governor Parnadatta, is dated ‘in the year 136 calculated from the time of Gupta (Gupta-vṛṣṇi ṛṣaṅgaraṇaśāla vidheya),’ and it is well known that the coins and all other dated inscriptions of the Guptas show no other era but this. Rājendraśāh Mitra connects śante with the date which commences in the following pada of the śloka, and makes it express that the ‘year’ was ‘expired,’ but such a construction is unusual.

The remainder of the inscription has not been translated since Prinsep’s time.

The inscription states that one Madra, whose pedigree is given up to his great grandfather, set up “five principal originators in the path of the Arhats,” and then this pillar. The Jains call their Tirthānakaras by the name of Ādiktātrīs; but five of them, it is well known, are special favourites, viz.:—Ādinvālā, Sārintālā, Nemināthā, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra. These are oftenest represented in their temples, and addressed at the beginning of Jainas books. These are doubtless the “five lords” (pañcāhāra) spoken of. The pillar we know from the sculptures on it to be Jain, and though there are no temples near it now, there are traces of brick foundations in the ground about 25 feet distant from the pillar on the north, on which must have stood a Jain temple in former times. Besides this, there are ruins of two temples on the east side of the pillar, at a distance of about 200 yards, which were standing in the time of Buchanan. In one of these ruins there is still a Jain image of Pārśvanāth in Kāyotsarga Moodra.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 105.)

No. XCVII.

The accompanying inscription, partly in the Sanskrit, and partly in the Old-Canarese, lan-

gage, is edited from a black-lead impression taken by Mr. R. B. Joyner, Executive Engineer, Kalāḍgi, from a stone at Bījāpur which, with

13 Literally “thirty, ten, and one over a hundred.”
14 Dharmikdharṣana, literally “made of a mountain,” but employed here to mean simply ‘of stone.’
15 Pañcāhāra is an adjective to Ādiktātrī,—‘five chief’ or ‘five lordly.’
Some others, was exposed by some excavations made by him in July 1880. The stone, however, though lost sight of in the interval, had previously been brought to notice, as there is an incomplete copy of this inscription in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I, p. 232. Mr. Joyner's description of the stone is:—"It is built into a wall on the left hand of a pathway leading into the citadel of Bijapur. It was evidently built in by Musalmans, and does not occupy its original place. The stone is basalt. It is adjacent to other Hindu remains, which were built into a gate-house by the Musalmans, probably in the early part of their occupation of Bijapur,—say A. D. 1500."

The inscription is in well-formed and excellently preserved Old-Canarese characters of the period. It covers a space of about 3' 3½" high by 2' 6½" broad. The only emblems at the top of the stone appear to be the moon over the commencement and the sun over the end of the first line.

The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Chalukya king Bhuvanaikama II or Vikramaśītīya VI. It contains no historical information.

Transcription:


2. Ilāḥa mahārājā-dhirājā paramaśvāra paramabhaṭṭāraka Saṭyāśraya-kula-tilaka Chañjuṣyā-bharaṇaṁ śrīmad-Bhuvanaikama[-]

3. Ilādēvārā viṣṇya-vājra-uttar-ottar-ābhivṛميدɦi(ddhi)-pravrddha(ha(rddha)h)manavā-čau/angular-ar ḍrīka-tārāṁ salutram-[||*] Tat-pāda-padam-śpayi


6. Sukhadin-ścchivātmat-tiruddu Sa(sa)ka-varṣhaṁ 996oreya Anāmaṇa-saṃvatsarasadas Pūṣya(shya) su(sa)ddha(ddha) 5 Bṛi(bri) haspati-vārad-āmḍi-

7. N-uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-parvya-nimittam-saṁ Vaiṁ(baṁ)kupuradene-viḍine Śri-\n
8. Balavarasaragyā bhūmapati-geyu ṛājadhaṅī-Viṣya-


11. Jeylyamāṇa-śruta-tapaḥ-prabhaṁ vākāṇa-āva-mhādevaṁ Kāḷa-

[18] árūmad-Bhujaṅgadévācchāryyā-ābhidhānāḥ sa ñha vijayatā | yath khalv-ēvaṁ guru
parāparatān (tō) mahā-mahimā-mahānyata.

[19] yā śrūyatā || Yasya=bdetti samādhi-saunāṣṭhavā vadād brahmāṇa-khaṇḍat-param jyōtira
yasya nirakrit-ākṣaṭa-jā.


[21] dāmaṇistra-yogināḥ || Yogena prati-maṇḍalāṃ vido hartatū (tā) satyās tanūṣā|m* satām
pratyabhīlayī (pi) pa(na)kṣata khaṇḍād-anikataṃ ājñāhāśīṣvarā.

[22] dvādaśa | sthānyā-pramukha|m* prasiddha-vishayēsv āścharyyataṃ kurvatā yēn-āsau
prathātē Bhujaṅga-muniṇaḥ Kālāmu-

[23] kh-āgrēṣarāḥ || Aṣṭini-ādi-gaṇ-opetāḥ karmma-nirnāṃja-kṣhamaḥ mukti-
lakṣāṁ (kṣaṁ)-piṇyās=tasya santānē muni-puṇi-

[24] gavāḥ || Tasya śīṣyaḥ | Sāṅgē veda-chatushtayē pravimāla-Śrī-Śākun-āpt-āgamē
tat-prākṛt-āca (cha)raṇāpajā-jagad-āścharyya-

[25] prabhāv-ōnnatau Tāl-ābhāla-viśchāna-prakāṣakām lōkā vadaṁītīti yō Bhujaṅga-
ābhuvā Tālīchāna īti khyātāḥ sa vi-

[26] ta-spri(spr)̄hāha || Tasya śīṣyaḥ | Prajak-pātava-pātītam hridaya-jañ mōḥ-ābhidhānām
tamō vāg-nishpratāyat=ō|m*nya-vādi-ja-

[27] nāta-gaṇa-āṇḍhakāraṃ hataṃ unmūlikeṭtam=ūrjājaīs=su-charitārī=ddēsh-aḍvē
ūtvāntaṃ bālyē yēna

[28] sa Bālaṣūrya-muniṇaḥ=Tālīchāna bhrājātē | Tadāyasa ta śīṣyaḥ | Lōk-ānugrah-
hētuṇā bhagavātī Vā-

[29] g-devatāśv-ōdītā dērō v=śpī Mahēśvarē=dadhad=atha śrīman(n)m- ma(-ma)nuṣya-ākṛtiṃ
ētvat khalv śakyatē budha-jaṇaḥ Kā-

śīṣyaḥ | Punah Śrī-Śākun-

[31] prāle(la)yākāla-Śhāivapānā śitādāvō yasya=āyaṁ samākhyā || Mūmānś-ābhāla-sūlaḥ
sugata-jaṃmaruka-ūtvāna-ūtvānta-

[32] dhriśyad-vādi-svāntō viśēṣha-Ṭri(tri)nyaya-bhaya-krit(t) kā(-kā)pīl-ōdyat-kāpālē
nyāya-praddāma-gahāntā dāvani-ladhirīta-dig(g)-

[33] vyō(=vyō)mabhuṃyāntariṛā dhattē-sau vādinaḥ Tatpuruṣa-śuṇapatiś-chētasā
Bhāivavatvān || Anuḍ(d) grīl-grīlō bālībala-sada-

[34] si n=ṇaṃbha-karaṇa kṣamā-rūpaś=chāyaṁ satatām-atha viḍvata(t) pra(-pra)bhu-
sabhe || (a) a(b)āl-ābhāla-Ṭri(tri)nyaya-karaṇ(t)-da-

[35] maruka-sa-vaha-ābhā|m* vācaka prakatāvayati bhā|m* Bhāivav-muniḥ
Samadāyā Tālī-kāla-paṇika-prakāṣāna-kṣama-

[36] charitra-pavitra-mūrtti|m* | Yogēśvarō bhuvana-viśruta-śuddha-kirttīr=Ggaṅg-
pravahā iva bhūri-Himāḍri-madhyē ||

[37] śe Bhikhats-akulam-akālajya sakalaṁ saṁsāra-jalām bāl-ōnml-ōnmuljita Ṛp(a)(ha)
yēna mahate saṅkata-jañma-drumaḥ ||(1) kānt-āpāṛga-

[38] viḷōkan-āṃṛita-maśar-āvīrbbha(rbbha)vat-pallavaḥ Śrī-Yōg(g)ēvaṃ-pañjītō vijayatē
śo=yaṁ muniśāṅd-dōttamaḥ || Nīṣhtā-kalatra-nīrataḥ sukri-

[39] ta-prarōṣha-kshērīkṛita-prathī(?) tap(a)-naḥ-paṭa-dānbugōtāḥ || | adhīdā samṛ-
dūha([dha]rha)-rasi-tati-kāmadēnum=Yōg(g)ēvaṛō nana grīhā-

[40] stha iva=sahā chitrāma || Svasti Yama-niṣya-saṇā-praṇāyaṃ-pratyāhāra-dhyāna-
dhārānu(m) saṁmahī-śaṃpaśūnaraṃ vibudha-prasun-

[41] mā(na)roṇi | sūkti-udhā-saṁtarppita-samasta-lōkaraṇa ṛjitu-vivēkarānu | Kālāmaṃkha-
ku-la-kamaṇa-vanā-rājāhāmsararuṇa Sarvasatī-

[42] karpṇ-āvataśvaraṇa śrīmat[-T]īlōchana-dēva-labdhā-vara-prasādaruruṇa sakala-vidyā-
vinīcāruruṇa ni[m*]jepr(i)hra-mahā-mahim-ōpētaruṃ

[43] charit-āvadātāmm śaṅkha-jan-ābhēṣṭha-phāla-dāya karāruṇa muni-nāyakaruṇa || árūma-
Vādipnaḷ(la)ya-Bhāivapāmāṇīṭadēva-pāl-āra.
Translation.

Śrī! Reverence to (the god) Śambhu, 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! Victorious is (the god) Hara, who destroyed the pride of the fire that arose from the churning of the ocean; who has the crest-jewel of (the god) Sūrendra reflected in the mirror of the nails of his feet; whose (garment of a) lion’s hide is besprinkled with drops of trickling blood; and whose necklace is a serpent, placed on his mighty chest, and glittering like a parrot!

(L. 3.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Bhuvanaikamalla-deva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyāsraya, the ornament of the Chālukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as the moon and sun and stars might last;—

(L. 5.)—He, who subsisted, (as if he were a bee), on the water-lilies which were his feet, viz. the glorious and most bold Daṇḍandya-akāmakṣa, the Mahāśāntādhipati, who had attained the paṇḍopānabhadra; the most bold Daṇḍandya-ga; the giver of boons to learned people; the sun of the white water-lilies which were the class of the Brāhmaṇas; he who was true to his promises; he who was the support of literary men; he who was a very Yudhishtīr in truth; he who was a very Āśīanya in distinguished merit; he who was a very Brihaspati in respect of religious duties; he who was the philosopher’s stone of his retinue; he who was a very lion to the elephants which were those who deceived his master; he who was the moon of the blue water-lilies of his own family; he who was a very ocean of piety; he who was a very Hanumanta to the Rāma who was the glorious Bhuvanaikamalladēva,—

(L. 9.)—While happily enjoying the (district called) the Tāddevādi Thousand, punishing the wicked and protecting the good;—

(L. 10.)—On the occasion of the sun’s commencing his progress to the north, on Thursday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Pushya of the Ananda saṅvatsara, which was the Śaka year 996,—

(L. 11.)—Preferred a request to Śrī-Ballavara-ra at the capital of Bānkapura, and caused to be built a temple of the god Śrī-Srayainbhu-Siddhāśvāra of the capital of Viṣayāpura, and, saying that it was to provide food and raiment for the ascetics and for the bhātīyas who were the pupils of Śrī-Yogēśvarapanditadēva, the dāhārāya of that temple;—

(L. 13.)—Hail! Victorious is he who has the

1 Lit., one who sees as he speaks.
2 The context is in lines 37 and 43, “having saved the feet of the glorious Śrī-Yogēśvarapanditadēva, &c., allotted (to) him), as a sarvanamaś-grant,” &c.; all the intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.
glorious name of Bhujaṅgadévāchārya, the reported efficacy of whose penances is perpetually sung by the people of the whole world; who is the forehead mark of the face which is the Kālāṃkha (seed); the hairs of whose body stand erect through the happiness produced by his own religious observances; who is the foundation-pillar of the habitation of the sportive play of the goddess of the fortunes of that family; who has laid aside all hypocrisy; and who is verily said to be worthy to be honoured by the very greatest on account of the linear succession of his spiritual preceptors. He, the holy saint Bhujaṅga, the most excellent of those who practise the yōga, and worthy to be praised, —whose lustre rises preeminent to either portion of the brahmāṇḍa, which has been brought under subjection by the excellence of his religious contemplation; and whose mind despises the frivolity of universal sovereignty over the whole world,—attained the immovable condition of being possessed of religious incantations which could make subject to him the lovely woman who is final emancipation. Famous is the saint Bhujaṅga, the foremost of the Kālāṃkhas,—who assumed, through the yōga, a hundred forms at once in as many different realms, and caused to be established in an instant, far and wide, twelve (liṅga) forms (of the god Śiva under the name) of Jāniṃgēśvara, the chief of which was the local one, and who thus caused astonishment in many famous regions.

(L. 20.)—In his lineage there were many eminent saints, endowed with the superhuman power of becoming as small as atoms, and with other good qualities; capable of eradicating (the effect of) actions; and dear to the goddess of final emancipation.

(L. 21.)—His disciple was that man, destined to covetousness, who was renowned under the names of Bhejarāgabhuvana and Tri-kēchana, and who, people say, displayed (three) eyes, as terrible as those of (the god) Śiva, in (his knowledge of) the four Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, in (his acquaintance with) the most pure traditions that he had received from Śrī-

Lākula, and in the eminence of his dignity which evoked the admiration of the world through the religious observances that were preached by him.

(L. 23.)—His disciple.—Glorious is that saint, Bājaṅgā-Tri-kēchana, by whom, in his childhood, the intellectual darkness called delusion, born in the heart, was penetrated by his talent, and by whom the darkness of the pride of his opponents in argument was destroyed by his eloquence, and by whom the darkness of faults was eradicated by his excellent good actions.

(L. 25.)—His disciple was Kāśiṇa, the chief of wise men, in respect of whom learned people verily argue that (it was as if) the goddess Vāch had been born, for the sake of conferring a favour on mankind, and as if the god Mahēśvara had assumed a human form; who, then, that has not a thousand mouths, is able to praise him properly?

(L. 27.)—His disciple, again, was Śrī-Vēdīmāhā-pālayakāla-Bhairava-pālīdēvā, of whom this is the reputation. He, this saint Tatpurāsah,—whose terrible trident is the Mūndūdēvd; who disturbs the caverns which are his arrogant opponents with the sound of his double drum which is the Sugata (doctrine); whose forehead is crowned by a mass of matted hair which causes fear even to (the god) Triqēchana; and who makes the interstices of the regions and the sky and the earth deaf with his huge bell which is the Nyāya,—assumes, by his intellect, the condition of being a very Bhairava to disputants. Not lifting up his neck and not displaying any arrogance in the assembly of the strong or of the weak, and always capable of tolerance in the assembly of learned men and lords, the saint Bhairava makes manifest the glory of the goddess of speech the lustre of which is his own mark, viz. the double drum, which is a skull, of (the god) Triqēchana who is terrible by reason of his trident.

(L. 32.)—In his lineage there was born Yōgēśvara, whose form was purified by actions which were capable of washing away the mud of the Kali age, and whose pure fame was renowned in the world, like the stream of the 

pramukh-śrīṣadā-bhūtāyaḥ, and translates "and who thus caused astonishment in unknown regions ruled over by towns," e. g. "in unknown regions and in the towns ruling over them."

* "The meaning of abōḥ is not apparent, unless it is for abad, pointing downwards, held downwards."
(river) Gaṅgā in the centre of the great (mountain) Himādri. Victorious is he, Śrī-Yogā-varaṇaṣṭita, the best of saints, by whom, being so mighty, this tree of love, which displays fresh sprouts through the juice of the nectar of the side-glances of lovely women, was entirely uprooted by his strength, when he took into consideration that the whole mass of worldly existence is pervaded with loathsomevess. Verily this householder Yogāvara is a marvel,—being devoted to his wife who is perfection; having the waterlilies which are the feet of his famous lord made the field for (the growing of) the young sprouts of his good actions; and being possessed of a cow of plenty which is the abundance of his speech which is of perfect quality:—

(L. 37.)—Hail!—Having laved the feet of the glories Yogāvaraṇapāḍitadēva,⁶—who was conversant with the practice of the yama, niyama, āsana, práṇidhāna, pṛatyāhāra, dhyāna, dhyāna, and samādhi; who was kindly disposed towards learned people; who gratified all people with the nectar of the Sūkṣti; who was a very śājāhava among the waterlilies of the Kālāmukha family; who was the ear-pendent of (the goddess) Sarasvatī; who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Triśaṃcana; who delighted in all learning; who was endowed with the exceeding greatness of being free from envy; who was pure in his actions; who granted the rewards desired by excellent people; who was the foremost of saints; who performed obeisance to the feet of the glories Vādipralaya-Bhairavāraṇapāḍitadēva, and who captivated the mind of the lovely woman final emancipation,—allotted (to him), as a sarvāmassya-grant, with libations of water, 300 mātras of land, by (the measure of) the staff of the temple of the god Māyikēvara, in the lands of (the village of) Bijjanahali, which is included in the Kannuvurī Twelve.

(L. 42.)—Hail! While the glorious Tribhuvanamalla dēva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyārāya, the ornament of the Chālukya as,—was continuing with perpetual increase at the capital of (the city of) Kālīyāna, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 45.)—He, who subsisted, (as if he were a bee), on the waterlilies which were his feet, viz. Tryambaka, who was possessed of the deeds of Kṛitayuga, and who was the moon of the great ocean of truth and goodness, made the Kāliyāna pure with the nectar of his fame which was as bright as the waters of the river Gaṅgā in such a way that the earth was pleased,—just as the moon, with its mass of rays makes very pure the night which has been overspread by the mass of the darkness. By being besprinkled with the water of the nectar of the good qualities of Tryambaka, the creeper of excellence,—which, to look at, was as if it had withered and wasted away, before and behind, through the scorching heat of this wicked Kulī age,—now again recovered and put forth new shoots on high and excellently acquired a variegated beauty in the world like a chitra-creeper. As the . . . . . . (shine) in the water, and as the rows of lunar mansions (shine) in the sky, and as the digits shine in the full moon, so all the sciences shone in Tryambaka.

No. XCIII.

The accompanying Old-Canarese inscription, in well-formed and fairly well preserved characters of the period, is from a black-stone tablet which was found lying in a field, Survey No. 258, away from any building, in the lands of the village of Humašikāṭi, about four miles in a south-easterly direction from Mugutkhān-Hubji in the Sampgaum Taluk of the Belgaum District. The stone is about 4' 0" high by 2' 5½" broad, of which the inscription covers a space of only 2¾" high by 2 ²" broad. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a seated Jīnēdra, facing full front, in the usual attitude, with the legs crossed and the hands in the lap; on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them, and a crooked sword or dagger beyond them; and on its right, towards the upper part of the stone, the moon, partially effaced.

The inscription is of the date of the Western Chālukya king Bhālōka malla, or Sōmeśvara III, and is dated in the sixth year of his reign, the Śākharāna saṃvat-sara, i. e. Saka 1062 (A. D. 1130-1). It gives us Koḍaṇa-Pūrva dava I, or the ancient

⁶ See note 5 above.
hamlet of Koḍa, or perhaps of the waterpot', as the ancient name of Muṇḍūkhaṇ-Hūbli,—

Transcription.

[¹] Svasti Śrīmad-Bhūlākamalladēvara
[²] āra Ṛṣi
[³] Ṛṣi
[⁴] mānśāṅkha
[⁵] leya-Pārṇavāṇadhēvara
[⁶] gaddeya śimyayu guḍde

Translation.

Hail! On Sunday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna of the Śādārāṇa saṅvatṣara, which was the sixth year of the glorious Bhūlēka malla dēvā, the Mahāmallaśālāvarā Mārṇaśāhēvara.

A NOTE IN CONNECTION WITH THE WESTERN CHALUKYA KING VIKRAMĀDIMITA I.

BY J. P. ELSLET, BO. C.S., M.E.A.S.

At page 37 above, Mr. Rice has questioned the correctness of my rendering of a Sanskrit passage, as to the meaning of which I differ from him. In several of the Western Chālukya inscriptions, there occur, in the description of Vikramāditya I, the words avanipati-tritaya-antaritām sva-gurūḥ iriyam ādasāt-kṛṣṭya(tva), which I translate by "having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings," but which Mr. Rice translates by "making his own the wealth which his father had won, together with that inherited for three generations," or "together with that transmitted by a succession of three kings." I should have thought that there could be no two opinions as to the proper meaning of so simple a passage. But,—as Mr. Rice still maintains the correctness of his translation of it, and still refuses to accept mine; and as the proper rendering of the passage is of some importance in connection with the history of the Western Chalukyas,—it seems desirable to show clearly once for all which of the two translations is to be accepted as correct.

Mr. Rice's translation is at the best inaccurate; as there is nothing in the original text to represent the words "had won" and "together with that." To justify his full translation,

¹ This repetition of the syllable ma is a mistake.
² Gudde, "a heap."
³ Vol. VI, p. 70, l. 15; Vol. VII, p. 239, l. 11 (a spurious grant); Vol. VIII, p. 36, l. 15; and Vol. IX, p. 127, l. 11.
⁴ Vol. VIII, p. 27; Mysores Inscriptions, p. 299; and p. 37 above.
⁵ Page 37 above.

the text ought to run avanipati-tritaya-kramāgya-tva-sahitam sva-gurud uparjitaṁ iriyam ādasāt-kṛṣṭya(tva). But the real point lies in the words avanipati-tritaya-antaritām; and we need only concern ourselves with them.

Mr. Rice contends that the meaning of them is "inherited for three generations," or, again, "transmitted by a succession of three kings."

Now, antaritām is the accusative singular feminine of antarita, the past participle passive and intransitive of the root i, 'go', in composition with anīr, 'between'. The meanings which Westergaard, in his Radical Language Sanskrit, allot to the compound verb antari are 'intermeanre' and 'seponere'; and the meanings which Professor Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, allot to the same are 'to come between, to stand in any one's way, to separate, to exclude from, to pass over, to omit, to disappear'. And the meanings which the Professor allot to antarita are 'gone within, concealed; departed, withdrawn, vanished, dead; separated, detached; impeded, hindered'. Another common derivative from the same root is antaraṇa, antaraṇā, to which the Professor allot the meanings of 'intervention, obstacle, impediments'. There is nothing whatever in either of these authorities to justify antarita being rendered by 'inherited' or 'transmitted'.

182 THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [May, 1881.
It is, on the contrary, perfectly plain, from the very etymology of the word, that it can mean nothing but—1, 'that which has gone in between other things, and so has disappeared';—or 2, 'that which has been gone in between by other things, and so has been separated, impeded, or interrupted'.

Turning next to the word tritaya,—the meanings given to it by Professor Monier Williams are, as an adjective, 'consisting of three parts', and, as a substantive, 'a collection of three, a triad.' The more usual word is traya, the meanings allotted to which by the Professor are, as an adjective, 'threefold, consisting of three, divided into three parts, of three kinds', and, as a substantive, 'a triad, three collectively, a triplet, three.' Similarly, from dva, 'two', we have, with precisely analogous meanings, deva and devya; and from catur, 'four', we have chaṭuṭya and, in certain compounds, chaṭura. As used in composition with words expressing divisions of time, these words do convey the meaning of succession and consequentiveness; thus, dasa-devya, 'two (consecutive) months'; varsha-traya, 'three (consecutive) years'; and sahu-traya, kada-chaṭuṭya, 'four (consecutive) centuries of years.' In fact, unless there is a distinct indication that two consecutive months, &c., are not intended, it is impossible to translate such compounds without the idea of consequentiveness and succession. And so, taking rājya in the sense of 'reign,' which carries with it the idea of the lapse of a division of time, rājya-traya would mean 'three (successive) reigns.'

But, in composition with other words, devya, deva, &c., convey no such meaning of consequentiveness, but only the meaning of collectiveness, with some bond of similarity or other connection; thus, gō-devya, 'a couple of oxen,' viṭa-traya, 'the three Vedas,' and samudrachāṭuṭya, 'the four oceans.' And so, taking rājya in the sense of 'kingdom,' rājya-traya would mean 'three (synchronous) kingdoms,' or a 'collection of three kingdoms.' And avanipati-tritaya, without the use of some additional word or words to indicate explicitly that it means 'three kings in succession,' or 'three generations of kings,' can only mean 'three (contem-
being formed against, or being overthrown by, Vikramaditya I, — the first point to be noted is that, in the earliest inscription in which the words avanipati-trilag-antaradvan &c. occur, — the very inscription which, through Mr. Rice’s strictures on my interpretation of it and my remarks on it, has been the cause of this note,—these words are followed immediately by kritakaldhikshhit-dipasha-vyaya-bhavan, i.e. "having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, he made the burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by one (sovereign)." The contrast here is very marked and peculiar, and speaks for itself; he conquered three kings, and then made himself sole monarch. Further, the inscriptions of his son, Vinayaditya, record that Vikramaditya I "rent open (like Indra), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the proud summits of the haughty peaks of the three mountains which were the three kings of Chôla and Pândya and Kērâla." Later inscriptions, it is true, add "the Kałabhra and other kings", and record that he "subdued (like Indra), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the mighty tumult of the mountains which were the Pândya and the Chôla and the Kērâla and the Kałabhra and other kings." But the earlier inscriptions, as I have said, mention only three kings — of Chôla and Pândya and Kērâla. We turn next to the Pallavaas. It is recorded that Vikramaditya I "seized the city of Kâñchi, after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavaas, who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family, which was as pure as the rays of the moon," and again, that he "had the waterlilies, which were his feet, besprinkled with the waters of the watering-pot which were the rays of the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down before no other," and, with a slight difference of expression, that he "had the waterlilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down before no other." Again, the inscriptions of Vinayaditya record that "at the command of his father (Vikramaditya I), he arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavaas, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions, as Sêhâni (did arrest) the power of the Daityas (at the command of his father) Bâlendusâkhara." And the later inscriptions make the same statement, except that, for trairájya-Pallavaas, they read trairájya-Kâñchkipati. Now, neither is trairájya a proper name, as Mr. Rice takes it; nor does trairájya-Pallava or trairájya-Kâñchkipati mean, as he translates it, "the Pallava king, or the king of Kâñchi, who had three reigns, or who formed a triad in himself." But it does mean, as I have translated it, "the Pallava, or the lord of Kâñchi, (who had three kingdoms, or) whose kingdom consisted of three component parts." The expression points distinctly to there being three well-defined and recognised divisions of the Pallava dominions. They may have been each ruled by a separate king of a separate branch of the dynasty; or they may have been under one monarch, with a vicerey in each of the three provinces. But, in either case, — having regard to the natural and inveterate enmity that existed between the Chalukyas and the Pallavaas, — the three Pallava kings, or the three viceroys of the Pallava monarch, would as a matter of course combine to resist a Chalukya invasion. In a footnote, apparently overlooked by Mr. Rice, to the inscription which has been the origin of this note, I pointed out what I have now said at length,—that the three confeederate kings either were the kings of Chôla and Pândya and Kērâla, or belonged to the Pallava dynasty. It must of course remain a moot point for the present which of the two views is the correct one, and, more so, whether the introduction by the Miraj plates of Nañamari and Adityavarna into the genealogy,
between Pulikēśi II and his son Vikramaśītva I, connects them with those two kings, by tradition, in a sufficiently reliable manner to justify us in assuming that they were two of the three confederate kings. But, whatever opinion may be held as to these two points, we have the clearest evidence that there was a confederacy of some three kings, which interrupted the Chalukya supremacy for a while, at least over part of their dominions, after the death of Pulikēśi II, but which at length was broken by Vikramaśītva I.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY E. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

VII.

We have now reached a period of Chinghiz Khan’s career when other authorities begin to be of value. Of these I would especially refer to three, all of them of Chinese origin. The first of them is entitled Huang-yuan-sheng-wu-ku-lin-chung-lu, i.e. “a record of Chinghiz Khan’s warlike doings.” This work has apparently never been printed, but the Archimandrite Palladius to whom we owe it that the Yuan-chao-pi-shi was made accessible, possessed a MS. copy from which he published a translation in the Russian Oriental Record, vol. I, 1872. The work was apparently compiled from Mongol documents in the first half of the 14th century, but its author is unknown. A friend of mine has favoured me with a translation of Palladius’ version. I shall quote it by its two first words as the Huang-yuan. The work just cited is frequently quoted in a much better known work, namely the Yan-shih-lo-tu-pen, an abridged Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty, published in 1609 by Kialian in 42 chapters. Bretschneider remarks in reference to it that although only an extract from the Yuan-shih, it is a very valuable book for reference, as the learned author has added a great deal of interesting matter drawn for the greater part from rare works of the Mongol period. The first ten chapters comprising an extract from the Pen-ki (Annals) of the Yuan-shih were translated into French by Gauthier, and published in 1739 with the title Histoire de Genghiscan et de toute la dynastie des Mongols, 1739. Gauthier of course lies before me, as does a third and possibly a more important work, which I have already frequently quoted as an independent authority, namely, De Maille’s History of China. It is well to explain why it deserves this distinction. Joseph-Anna Marie de Moyrin de Maille was a French Jesuit attached to the Peking Mission. He translated a famous history of China called Tong-hien-kang-nu, whose composition he has described at some length in his preface. It was originally composed by Fa-ťu-yu (president of the Tribunal of History) and So-ma-kuang, and extended from the year 208 B.C. to 960 A.D. To it were afterwards added the histories of the Sung and Yuan dynasties. The work was held in such high repute for its accuracy and solidity that in the last century the emperor Hāng-hi had it translated into Manchu, and De Maille tells us that his text is derived from a collation of both the Chinese and Tartar editions. The part relating to the Lin, Kin, and Yuan dynasties in this work was not very satisfactory, these dynasties being those of foreigners, and when he came down to them De Maille had recourse to other authorities. Shun-shi, the father of Kung-ji, had caused the histories of these three dynasties which had been composed by Charbuhai, Nautu, Hokitou, Léon-hong-yu, and others to be translated into Tartar. This history was drawn up very carefully from authentic documents, and was of equal authority with the Tong-hien-kang-nu. De Maille therefore translated it in its entirety, and incorporated it in his work. The whole was edited under the superintendence of M. Deschanteayres and the Abbé Grosier, and was published at Paris in 13 volumes in the years 1777-1785. We will now resume our narrative:

We have seen how a rivalry arose between Chinghiz Khan and his distant relative
Chamukhā for supremacy among the Mongols. The former's position now becomes very prominent. As we said, he was the chief of the Jajjerat or Juriat, but he did not control the whole tribe. One section had deserted the Tajuț, of which larger tribe the Juriat were a subordinate section, and had gone over to Chinghiz Khān. This is not mentioned in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, but is reported in the Yuan-shii, in the Huang-yuan, by De Mailla and by Rashid-ud-din. In the Yuan-shii we read that the Juriat who were related to the Tajuț used frequently to meet Temujin's men on hunting expeditions. On one occasion Chinghiz proposed that they should camp together. Their chief replied that he was willing to do so, but that he had 400 followers, and even if he sent half of them home, he would not have enough to eat for them, so he could not well accept his hospitality, but the Mongol chief pressed his invitation, and gave him and his followers some food. The next day the two parties joined in hunting, and Temujin treated the Juriat like his guests, and ordered the game to be driven towards them so that they captured a large quantity. As they returned to their camp they spoke to one another, saying, although the Tajuț are our brothers, they nevertheless seize our carts and horses, and rob us of our food. At present we have no one to rule over us, but if we are to have a ruler, let it be Temujin. The yoke of the Tajuț now became very heavy upon them, so that their chiefs Yu-lih and Takhai Dadu rebelled. The rebellion was not successful, was put down with a heavy hand, and the Juriat ceased to be a separate tribe.6 De Mailla says Temujin offered to cede to the two chiefs whom he calls Yulu and Tahaitula as much land as they could enclose with the traces of their carts, but meanwhile they were hard pressed by the Tajuț, and were both killed, and the Juriat (whom he calls Chaoliei) were completely dispersed.7 Rashid reports the story at considerably greater length. He calls the place where the hunt took place "the hill Ugel Jejmen or Jelmec."8 He says that when the hunters returned home they addressed themselves to their chiefs Ung Behadur and Makhni Bedanah (Berezine reads the names Uluk Bakhadur and Baguymi Badaganoi), and proposed that they should go over to Temujin Khān. The latter objected, saying that although the Tajuț had used them badly, yet they were their relatives, and what would come to them if they separated from them. He therefore refused to fall in with their plans, but Ung Behadur (the Yulu of the Chinese notices) and Taghai Talu (the Tegni-i-Ulu of Berezine and the Tahaitula of De Mailla) went to Temujin with the following words:—"We come to you like wives without husbands, like great cattle without a leader, and small cattle without a herdsman. The sons of great ladies have robbed and ill-used us. We wish to draw the sword as your friends and to kill your enemies." Temujin addressing Ung Behadur replied, "I was like one sleeping when you pulled me by the gugul, i.e. the topknot or bunch of hair on the crown of the head, the root of the Russian khoököl meaning the same thing,"9 and awoke me. I sat sorrowfully at home, you have comforted and supported me. I will do all I can for you," and he in fact did them many services, but eventually the Juriat princes became his enemies and harried his people until the Merki Khudun Urjane (called Khodon Orjeng by Berezine) killed Taghai Talu and the Juriat were dispersed.10 In the Huang-yuan we are told that the two parties were hunting in the usual Mongol fashion, i.e. enclosing a large space within an extended ring of beaters, &c. The lines having gradually approached one another, Chinghiz invited his friends to camp together. The chief of the Juriat thereupon sent home one-half of his men to make this possible. The place where the latter was hunting is there called Oja-lama-i. Ung Behadur is called Yilyibadu, and we are told that with the other elders of the tribe he addressed another chief named Mar-yana-dana, i.e. the Makhni Bedanah of Rashid's-din, and tried to persuade him to desert the Tajuț. As he would not, Yilyibadu and Takhai-talu went over to Chinghiz and urged that if their wives were without husbands and their horses without pastures, it was because the Tajuț had taken them from them. Chinghiz offered to help them if they rebelled, but eventually Takhai-talu was killed by Khushu

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6 The name is written both Chamukhā and Chamukhā in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, but the former is probably more correct.
7 Berezine calls them Choriat, and Douglas, Chaver.
8 Douglas, op. cit., pp. 11-13; Hucinthe, pp. 8-10.
10 Berezine, vol. II, p. 96; Erdmann, p. 263.
11 Erdmann, Temudshin, note, p. 56.
12 Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 263 and 264.
Khurjan and the tribe of Jaoli, i.e. Juriat, was destroyed.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit.}, pp. 154 and 155.}

Notwithstanding this defection of the Juriat we find Cha m u k h a who was a Juriat chief, acquiring by his skill and knowledge a great ascendancy among the tribes on the Argun. He now comes forward as an important power, while the Taiut and their chief Terkutai Kiriltuk quite fell into the background. Cha m u k h a soon came into conflict with Ching hish Kha n. On the dispersion of the Jelairs\footnote{\textit{Video ante}, vol. IX, p. 240.} many of them became the slaves and herdsmen of the Mongols. Among these we are told was Juuchi Darmala (written Jokhi by Hyacinthe, Choki by Douglas, Sukhi by De Mailla, Juji Termileh by Erdmann, and Juuchi Termela by Berezine, who lived with their masters in the district of Saali,\footnote{\textit{Id.}, p. 81.} In another place the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi refers to this district as Saarikheer.\footnote{\textit{Erdmann}, <\textit{Tumshubin}, p. 260> D'Ohsoss, <\textit{vol. I}, p. 41.>\textit{Hyacinthe}, loc. cit.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit.}, p. 153.}} Rashid calls it Sarikeher.\footnote{\textit{Tom. IX}, pp. 10 and 22.\textit{Op. cit., p. 117.}} The Yuan-shi calls it Sai gol, i.e. the river Sai l i.\footnote{\textit{Quatremer}} The Huang-yuan also calls it the river Sai l i.\footnote{\textit{Pallas}, <\textit{Voyages, &c. tom. IV}, p. 543.>\textit{Hirschneider}, <\textit{Notices of Med. Geog.}, note 329.}\textit{De Mailla} styles it Sai li ho, meaning the same thing.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 117 note.}} He also calls it Sai li hor.\footnote{\textit{Pallas}, <\textit{Voyages, &c. tom. IV}, p. 543.>\textit{Hirschneider}, <\textit{Notices of Med. Geog.}, note 329.}

Quatremer has given a learned note upon the name in which he quotes a MS. gloss of Gaubil's who calls the place Sai kor or Sali-koure, and adds the Chinese have called the place Sali-choen. "Kourê," he says, "means a place where there are many lakes and springs, and which is surrounded with water. The word is Mongol; choen in Chinese denotes generally a watered district."\footnote{\textit{Quatremer}} The Kourê of the above extract is doubtless the well-known Keke meaning a plain in Mongol, and Sari Keker as the name is correctly recorded by Rashidu'd-din means the Yellow Plains, by which name Chinghiz Khan's special home is frequently apostrophized, and notably in the funeral dirge which we shall quote further on. These yellow plains were apparently watered by a river Sari and were situated near the Onon, and Quatremer suggests that the Saritei, a stream which Pallas met with near the Onon, is the Sari of the above extracts. This seems very probable. The Saritei is a tributary of the


Dr. Bretschneider says that on the ancient map of Mongolia found in the \textit{Yuan-shi-let-pien Sa-li-kheer} is marked south of the river Wa-nan (i.e. the Onon), and close to the name is written the note "Here was the original abode of the Mongols."\footnote{\textit{Quatremer}} We may take it therefore as exceedingly probable that the camp of Chinghiz at this time was on the upper waters of the Aga. Cha m u k h a, we are told in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, lived at the mountain Ja-ha-na in the district of Olegaibulakha.\footnote{\textit{Hyacinthe}, p. 9.}\textit{The Yuan-shi} calls the place Iru-gol, i.e. the river I r u. The Huang-yuan calls it the sources of the river Yilyege. Rashid gives the name as Ulagai bulak. Ulagai in Mongolia means red and Bulak a spring, stream or canal. There is according to Pallas a vitriolic stream seventeen versts north-west of the settlement of New Zurakhaitu on the Argun which is still called Ulan Bulak by the Tunganese and Krasnoi Kiyush by the Russians, which, he adds, both mean the same thing, i.e. the Red Spring.\footnote{\textit{Tumshubin}, p. 260.} The various allies of Cha m u k h a chiefly came from the Argun, and we shall find him presently proclaimed Gurkhan on that river, whence it seems probable that the stream here mentioned from Pallas is the one referred to in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, and not the Ulangui, a tributary of the lower Ingoa as suggested by D'Ohsoss.\footnote{\textit{Hirschneider}, p. 9.}\textit{Tom. IX}, p. 41.\textit{Note.}}

We will now revert to our story. We have seen that the Jelair Juuchi Darmala was engaged as one of Chinghiz Khan's herdsmen on "the yellow plains of the Onon." One day a younger brother of Chamukha, named Tai-chai, or Tagachar, made a raid upon the cattle in his charge. Juuchi's comrades did not dare to pursue, but he himself went after them, and overtook them at nightfall, and shot Tai-chai in the spine with an arrow, killed him, and drove his horses home again.\footnote{\textit{Pallas}, <\textit{Voyages, &c. tom. IV}, p. 543.>\textit{Hirschneider}, <\textit{Notices of Med. Geog.}, note 329.}} The Huang-yuan says that when the raid was made, Shiochi Tarmakha, as he calls him,
having hidden among the horses, furtively shot the intruder.\(^{31}\) The death of his brother or relative aroused the bitter animosity of Chamukan, who marched at the head of his people, altogether 13 tribes, forming three tumanos or 30,000 men, and crossed the mountain ridge of Alau-turkan, and with the intention of attacking Chinghiz Khan, who was encamped at a place called Gulyalgu.\(^{32}\) The Huang-yuan says Chamukan entered into negotiations with the tribes Daicha, i.e. the Tajut, Iklisai (i.e. the Inkiras), Yulu (i.e. the Urut), the Nali (i.e. the Nayaksins), the Balusai (? a section of the Tartars), and the Balin (i.e. the Barins), and went against Temujin with an army of 30,000 men. The latter was then with his people in the district of Talan-ban-chuen.\(^{34}\) The Yuan-shi tells us Chamukan on this occasion was at the head of the Tajut, and that Chinghiz Khan was encamped at a place called Durben Chou.\(^{35}\) Rashid’ud-din says that Chamukan was at the head of the Inkiras, the Kurulasses (both of them branches of the Turkish Kungnai) and also of the Udat or Urut and the Nayaksins or Bukkains.\(^{36}\) He also tells us that Chinghiz was encamped at Talan Baljus. Talan is the Mongol word tala, a plain or stretch of pasture, and D’Ohsson and Erdmann\(^{37}\) are both agreed that by the phrase is meant the plain of Baljus a already named, and which was close to the head waters of the Aga above assigned as his quarters. Although the Inkiras were in alliance with Chamukan, one of their chiefs named Botu, who, as we have seen, was Chinghiz Khan’s brother-in-law, when he heard of his rival’s intentions, sent off Bohaudai and Molititu to warn his relative, and himself attacked Toa, who was in alliance with Chamukan, slew his people, and seized his wealth. This we are told in the biography of Botu in the Yuan-shi.\(^{38}\) The Toa of this notice is probably the Toghai above named, some confusion having arisen as to the account of his death. The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi calls the two messengers who warned Chinghiz, Malikotak and Boboldai.\(^{39}\) The Huang-yuan calls Botu the son of Nikyun, and says he lived in the hills of Kyulining. His messengers it calls Buntaya and Muge, and it says that after crossing the hills Alau and Tulau they met Chinghiz. De Mairas makes out that Botu, or Pudu as he calls him, was attacked by the three allies Taslia, Tsachna, and Toyai, at the head of 30,000 men, and that it was Chinghiz who was marching to his aid when he succeeded in defeating the allies alone.\(^{40}\) Rashid’ud-din tells the story somewhat differently. According to him there lived at this time an Inkiras named Negun, who although he had intercourse with the Tajut, i.e. the Nikyuni of the Huang-yuan, yet because of his son Butu, i.e. Botu, who was in the service of Temujin, and to whom he was, therefore attached, he informed the latter of his enemy’s plan through the medium of two Berulasses named Mulke and Totak, who had gone to him on business, and who found him on a road between two hills called Alanturant, or as Von Hammer reads it in the MS. of Rashid at Vienna in a pass between the hills Alaut and Turant,\(^{41}\) and informed him of his danger.\(^{42}\) This story is clearly the same as that related above from the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, the Yuan-shi and Huang-yuan. When Chinghiz Khan heard of Chamukha’s intention he also collected his people, consisting of 13 tribes, also divided into 3 tumanos, with whom he rode out to meet him. They met one another at Dalanbaljus, i.e. the plain of Baljus already named. At this point the authorities vary, the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi says that Chinghiz, pressed by the forces of Chamukan, retired towards the Onon and encamped in a defile in the district of Cherin. Thereupon Chamukan returned and seized some of the princes in Chinas, which Palladius (note p. 199) says was the name of several places, in one of which, according to a poet of the Yuan period, was the Daordo or Great Horde. There it is also said it was the name of a mountain. It probably refers to the ordinary camping place of Chinghiz Khan. Chamukan ordered his prisoners to be boiled in 70 cauldrons, and he decapitated Nendaichakhan and fastened his head to his horse’s tail, after which he rode home.\(^{43}\) The

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\(^{32}\) Probably the ridge dividing the drainage of the Argun and the Onon.

\(^{33}\) Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, loc. cit.


\(^{35}\) Hyacinthe, p. 9; Douglas, p. 11, writes it Tarpurchowat.


\(^{37}\) See Erdmann, op. cit., p. 48, note.

\(^{38}\) Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, p. 135, note.

\(^{39}\) Op. cit., p. 64.


\(^{41}\) Gesch. der gold. Horde, p. 92, note 6.


\(^{43}\) Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, p. 54.
Yuan-shi declares on the contrary that Chamukha was completely overthrown. De Mailla tells us that in the fight Purchi (i.e. Boghorji) dismounted, and having made a girdle of the halter of his horse, almost emptied his quiver, and received a shower of weapons from the enemy without abandoning the foremost post which had been assigned to him. Temujin praised his valour after he had gained the battle. Rashiduddin also says the victory was won by Chinghiz Khan, and assigns to him the boiling of the prisoners. So does the Huang-yuan, which makes the Mongols eat as well as boil the captives.

It is not easy to decide between these varying authorities, but in this case it would appear as if the copy of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi consulted by Palladius was a faulty one. At all events it is strange that directly after the struggle we find several tribes detaching themselves from Chamukha and joining his rival. Von Hammer compares the boiling of the prisoners on this occasion with the similar boiling of the followers of the robber Skaitan Oghli (i.e. the Devil's son) by Shiah Ismail three hundred years later. Mirkhavend, whose authority at this period is really of no value, and who has a very jejune account of the early period of Chinghiz Khan's career, here inserts one of his favourite sagas:—He tells us that when he defeated the Taijut on this occasion Chinghiz had a wonderful dream, in which it seemed as if his hands became very long, and that he held a sword in each of them, the two points of which reached out to the furthest East and West. At daybreak he told his mother this dream, who said he would rule over the East and the West, and that the traces of his sword would be visible in both directions. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi says that on the departure of Chamukha, Churchudai of the tribe Uruut, and Khuyukidar of the tribe Mankhu, each with his people left him and joined Chinghiz. There also went over Mullik from the tribe Khunakhutan with his seven sons. Chinghiz, greatly rejoicing that he had been joined by so many supports, gave a feast on the banks of the river Onon to his relatives. At this

he first filled a cup or leathern bag of mare's milk for Khoilun (i.e. for his own mother), for Khazar (i.e. his brother), and for Sachabiki, then another for Ebegai, the young wife of Sachabiki. Thereupon the grand ladies Kholichin and Khurchin (evidently piqued at what they considered some slight) remarked, Why was not milk sent to us before? They therefore set upon Shikur (who was the manager of the feast), and beat him till he bled. The latter said "Yessugei Bator and Nikuntaishi (i.e. the father and uncle of Chinghiz Khan) are dead. This is why they beat me." To understand this it must be remembered that the two ladies who felt themselves aggrieved were apparently the step-mothers of Chinghiz Khan, and that Khurchin was the widow of Khutuktu Jurki, the only son of Ukin Barkakh, eldest son of Kabul Khaban. By him she had had two sons Sachabiki and Taichu, who were the leaders of the tribe Jurki, and represented a senior branch of the house than Chinghiz himself, to whom, in fact, as we have seen, they surrendered the office of Khaban when he adopted the title of Chinghiz. Khurchin was therefore senior to Khoilun, Chinghiz Khan's mother, and of course claimed precedence over her own daughter-in-law Ebegai.

In the Yuan-shi only one of the old ladies is mentioned, and she is called Hoo-ur-chi-chi. The Huang-yuan calls her Khurjin Khudan. De Mailla calls her Kuacstsin, and Rashiduddin Khurjin Khutan.

Ebegai is called Iboigil by Hyacinthe, and E-pilh-kik-lil by Mr. Douglas, both founded on the Yuan-shi. She is named Yebegai in the Huang-yuan; Tepiekie by De Mailla and Nemugai by Rashiduddin. The Yuan-shi, the Huang-yuan, De Mailla's authority and Rashid all call her a step-mother of Chinghiz Khan and not the wife of Sachi Biki. The first of these in describing the feast says Chinghiz gave it to his kindred, including Sihichin Taicha and Sih-chin Ph-ki who came with banners flying and carts bearing khuni to the river Onon. De Mailla calls the two Sechin-puo and Sechin-tacheon, and says they were

the Chinese pi a prince.—D'Ohsson I, p. 54, note.

Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 61 and 65.


The latter is written Sechén bosin by Hyacinthe.

Douglas, p. 18.
Chinghiz Khan's half-brothers on the father's side, which is of course a mistake, their fathers were first cousins. He says the cause of the quarrel was that the portion sent to Khurtcin was for herself and all her family, while that sent to her rival was for herself alone. Shikhiur he calls Sigiri. Rashidu'd-din says the feast was attended among others by Chinghiz Khan's mother Olun Ekhe by his brothers Juchi Khazan and Utjigin Noyan by his step-mothers, and by the descendants of Ukin Barkakhch, the eldest son of Kabul Khakan, and he assigns as the cause of Khasurin's jealousy that Nemagai was presented with a second helping of kumis, while she had only had one offered her. The quarrel just described was soon inflamed by another incident. We read in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi that during the feast Chinghiz Khan ordered his brother Belgutai to go and catch some horses, which, it seems, were in charge of Buri-boko, the son of Khatutrku-Mangur, the son of Kabul Khakan. He was chief of the Jurkis, i.e., of the tribe of Sachabiki. A man belonging to this tribe, Khadjin, had stolen a bridle, and was arrested by Belgutai. Buri-boko, who took his man's part, struck the latter, and wounded him on the shoulder. Belgutai took little notice of the blow, but when Chinghiz Khan saw the blood flowing, he asked him how he could allow himself to be thus ill-used. He replied that he was not much hurt, and that it was not worth while that they should discuss such a trifling matter. (In the biography of Belgutai in the Yuan-shi it is said that he was seriously wounded.) He persuaded Chinghiz not to punish the offender, but the latter, not listening to him, took out a wooden pestle with which mare's milk was beaten and fell upon the Jurkis (i.e. the people of Sacha-biki) and overcame them. He also seized Kholichin and Khurchin. Afterwards the Jurkis went to sue for peace, and the two ladies were restored to them. The Huang-yuan says Belgutai was the superintendent of Chinghiz Khan's horses, and Boli (i.e. Bori) similarly had charge of Sacha Biki's. According to this authority it was the followers of each who came to blow with the pestles used in making kumis, and Belgutai's party being successful took the two ladies Khurchin and Kholichin prisoners, and took them before Chinghiz. In the Yuan-shi it is similarly said that it was Belgutai's followers who fell upon the rival shepherds when they saw how their master had been attacked, and that afterwards Sihchin Pihri sued for peace. De Mailla tells the story in a similar way. Rashidu'd-din calls the thief Khataki Bai of the tribe Khatakin, and says he was page to the Tajut Burun, a friend of Sacha Biki, and that he stole a chestnut stallion. De Mailla has a paragraph about the Jurkis chief Taichu, Sacha-Biki's brother, which contains some statements not mentioned elsewhere. He says he was one of the most powerful princes of his family on account of the number of his vassals. Inter alios he was joined by a dependent of Chinghiz Khan's, called Wei, who went over to him with his people. Wetar, Wei's younger brother, tried to dissuade him, and when he failed informed Chinghiz. The latter did not seem surprised, and merely said "Why have you not followed the example of your elder brother?" Afraid that he was suspected, Wetar took an arrow, and broke it, expressing a wish that he might be treated the same way if he should prove faithless. Chinghiz Khan was much pleased at this, changed his name to Sechin, and treated him thenceforth as his friend. This Sechin is apparently the Sacha Biki of the above accounts.

We now reach a notable event in the life of Chinghiz Khan. The emperor of the K'in dynasty who ruled over Northern Chins sent his Ching-sang er minister Wania Siang to repress a revolt among the Tartars (i.e. the Tartars properly so called, who lived near Lake Bayar). The chief of the Tartars was called Monggin Soltu. The Huang-yuan calls him Menjin Saolut (op. cit., p. 157). Hyacinthe gives it as Monggin Seritu, De Mailla as Mekuchin sekul, and Rashidu'd-din as Menjin Sulta. According to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi the Tartars had refused to submit in the same way in which the Mongols had already submitted. Palladius says that the war measures adopted by the K'in and the building of another wall or rampart 'beyond the Great Wall' at the end of
the 12th century must be explained by this outbreak. When Chinghiz Khan heard of the march of the Kin troops he remarked: "We owe the Tartars revenge for the bloody affront they committed in that they destroyed our relatives and killed my father. This is a convenient opportunity, and it will be well to attack the Tartars on two sides." He therefore sent a messenger to Tughrul, the chief of the Kirgis, saying "The Kin have sent Wanian, who is pursuing Megjin and other Tartars along the river Ulja." They are hostile to us and killed my ancestor and my father. Father help me to make war on them," a request which, as Palladius says, shows the strength of the Tartars. Tughrul agreed to assist his friend, collected his men, and in three days set out to join Chinghiz. The latter had also sent a messenger to Sacha Biki and Daicha his relatives, who ruled over the Jurkis, and with whom, as we have seen, he was not on the best terms, explaining to them his wish to avenge his wrong, and asking them for help. He waited six days for them, but they did not arrive. Thereupon, in company with Tughrul, he led his army along the river Ulja, and in conjunction with Wanian attacked the Tartars. The Tartars, we are told, had built a fortress in the place called Khanta Suiltayan, which was captured and demolished by Chinghiz and his friend Tughrul, and they also killed the Tartar leader Megjin Sunlu and others. The Huang-yuan says the fight took place at Silatashitu and Khulatashtsu. The Chinese commander Wanian was much pleased with the conduct of his allies. He gave Chinghiz the title of Jankhur. Palladius explains this by Chao-tao-shu, meaning "the supreme war commissary on the frontier." He adds that Chinghiz was merely given the title without any real authority. Hyacinthe gives the name as Cha-tu-tu-lu, and says it means "General leader against the rebels." At the same time Tughrul was given the title of Wang, i.e. prince. (Palladius says "prince in a limited sense," Khaol and Tzio in the sense of a prince of the Kin Empire.) Thenceforward he was styled

Wang Khan. Wanian told Chinghiz he should report to his master what he had done, and try and persuade him to confer on him the still grander title of Jaotaoguan. Palladius says that now this title is equivalent to that of Chankhuri, but formerly it may have been different in meaning.

Wanian and his friends now returned home. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi tells us that the followers of Chinghiz found in the camp of the Tartars a boy who had a gold ring in his nose and a stomacher lined with sable and with golden tassels, whom the Mongols handed over to their chief's mother Khoolun. She said "he is probably of some family of consequence," and gave him the name Shigikan Khudukhu. She adopted him as her sixth son. Rashidu'd-din says that it was a silver casket with a coverlet of cloth of gold which the Mongols captured, and with which they were much astonished, for they had never seen such precious objects before, and they made a great noise about it. The Huang-yuan describes the prize as a pearl embroidered corselet and a casket with a silver canopy.

While Chinghiz was on this expedition, it would seem the Jurkis made an attack on his people who were encamped on the banks of the lake Khali, called Khalaanto in the Huang-yuan (?lake Kulun). They stripped 50 of them of their clothing, and killed 10. The Yuan-shi and the Huang-yuan, and the authorities translated by De Mailla, say that during Chinghiz Khan's absence the Naimans plundered some of his tributaries, whereupon he sent 60 of his people to Sacha Biki to demand his help against them, but the latter, to revenge himself for his recent wrongs, set upon them, killed 10 of them, and sent the rest back naked. Rashidu'd-din says that it was the messengers whom Chinghiz was sending with a present of a portion of the Tartar booty who were waylaid by a party of Jurkis, in alliance with some enemies. The Mongol chief was naturally enraged when he heard of this act of treachery, and recalled their other acts of hostility in the attack upon Belgutei and the refusal to assist him in his war with the Tartars. He accordingly led his troops against them. He came up with
them at Doloan Boldai near the Kerulon, and overcame them. Sacha-biki and Taichna fled to the gorge De-le-ta, called Ta-li-ta in the Yuan-shi, and Tie-lee-to by De Mailla, but Chinghiz overtook and captured them. He asked them what they had promised him formerly (i.e. when he was elected Khakan). They both replied, we have not kept our promise, and therefore extended their necks, and Chinghiz killed them. He then went to the camp of the Jurkis, and carried them off. De Mailla says that Chinghiz crossed the river Saki, and instead of pursuing the Naimans fell upon Sacha-biki and Sacha-taichna, who fled; a month later he captured them at Tielieto, and put them to death. Rashidu’d-din calls the place where the two chiefs were put to death Tulan Buldak.

As Quatremero long ago suggested, this is doubtless the birthplace of Chinghiz—Deligun Buldak.

In the camp of the Jurkis the Mongols captured a boy named Boroi, whom they made over to Chinghiz Khán’s mother. This was the fourth boy he had adopted, the other three being Guechu, Kokochu, and Shigikankhutukhu. In the quaint words of the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi she put them on the same footing as her other sons, supervised them with her eyes by day, and with her ears by night, and educated them.

The same work tells us that the Jurkis originated in a corps of the boldest and strongest and most skilled of his men whom Kabul Khakan had selected, and made over to his eldest son Ukin Barkhabh, and gave them special privileges. From Ukin Barkhabh they passed to his son Khutukhtu Jurki, who perhaps gave them their name, and from him to Sacha-biki and Taichna. The tribe was now completely disintegrated. Chinghiz Khán had a double motive doubtless in crushing its two chiefs. Not only had they been uncivil and behaved badly to himself, but they stood somewhat in his light, for as representing the eldest son of Kabul Khan they had better claims to the Khanate than he had. Their followers are called Jurkis in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, Yurkin by Berezine and von Hammer, and Yorkin by De Mailla. D’Ohsson and Erdmann have followed a false reading in giving the name as Burkin or Burgin.

The Jurkis were clearly a mere sub-clan of the Kiat Mongols, i.e. the Mongols specially subject to Kabul Khan and his family.

At this time, according to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, a man belonging to the tribe Jelair, called Telgetu Boyan, having three sons, ordered the eldest Guunnua with his two sons Mukhal and Bukha to go to Chinghiz Khan with the message “Let them always be thy slaves, if they separate from thy doors, draw out the veins from their legs, and cut out their hearts and livers.” He also told his second son Chilann Khaiuchi, the Shiligen Bayan of the Huang-yuan, with his two sons Tungi and Khashi the Khushibadu and Tarkutaya of the Huang-yuan, to go to him with the message “Let them take charge of thy golden doors. If they do not cling to thee, put them to death.” Lastly, his third son Chobkhe he gave to Khazar, the brother of Chinghiz. Of the supporters who now joined the Mongol chief, one occurs frequently in his subsequent history, and became very famous. This was Mukali or Mukali who was decorated some time after with the Chinese title of Giiwang or Kiwang. He commanded the left wing of the Mongol army, and when Chinghiz Khan marched on his famous expedition into the West, as we shall see, he was left behind to conduct the campaign against China. According to Rashid he belonged to the section Jait of the Jelairs.

The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi now introduces one of those anecdotes which have much local colour. We read that “Chinghiz Khan ordered Buri-Boko, the son of Khutukhtu Mangur, the third son of Kabul Khan, whom we have already mentioned, to wrestle with his brother Belgatei. Generally speaking, when the two wrestled, Belgatei managed to throw his opponent, and made him lie motionless. On this occasion Buri-Boko, pretending he was yielding to the strength of Belgatei, fell to the earth, Belgatei pressing upon him turned to Chinghiz, who bit his lower lip: Understanding the signal he pressed his knees into Buri Boko’s

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back. Thereupon the latter seized him by the neck with both hands, but in pulling back with all his strength he broke his own back. He then explained that he could have won if he had liked, but that he feared Chinghiz, and had purposely lost, but now his life was sacrificed. We are further told that Boko had separated himself from the descendants of Bartan Baghatur, i.e. Chinghiz Khan's grandfather, and had associated himself with the descendants of Barkha, i.e. as Palladius argues (note p. 224) of Ukin Barkakh. He was, as we have seen, a protegé of Sachabik, and it is hinted that his death was brought about purposely as a punishment for his support of the rebellious Jurkis."

**Sramañas.**

BY NARAṆAYANA AIVENGA, SHIMOGA.

I have read the Rev. S. Beal's remarks on the word Sramaṇa published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. IX p. 123 for May 1880. In support of the conclusion arrived at by him from a survey of Greek and Buddhist works that Sramaṇas were not exclusively Buddhist priests, I attempt to show here that the ancient Brāhmaṇa themselves have used the word in such a sense as would preclude the idea of a Buddhist being thereby meant. The word occurs in several places in the Raṇḍāyaṇa.

In the Balakanda in describing the feeding at the sacrifice performed by Daśaratha, this āloka occurs:

Brāhmaṇa bhunjate nityam nāthavantakha bhunjate.
Tāpaśa bhunjate chāpi Sramaṇa bhunjate tathā.
Every day Brāhmaṇa eat, the well-to-do also eat, Tapaśa eat, and Sramaṇa also eat.

The commentator says Sramaṇaḥ digambardā yogena chaturlaṅkarnāmā.

In sarga 38 of the Ayodhāyakāda Daśaratha plaintively asks Kaikēyī:

Iyam hi kasyaparorini kinchit tapasvinī rāja-varasya kanyā.

Yd chāram āsāya janasya madhye sthitā
visamjñā Sramaṇaś ca kāchit.

"What harm has this Tapasvinī (Sitā) done, who now stands sadly amidst the people wearing a bark cloth like a Sramaṇī?"

Commentator: "Sramaṇī tapasvinī śrama tapasi khaḍe cheti ēdhātuḥ."

In sarga 73 of the Aranyaka, Kabandha tells Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to go to Matāṅgasrama, "where," he said, "lived pious Rishis, the disciples of Matāṅga, and although they went away (died), their long-lived female servant (paricharini), a Sramaṇī named Sābharī, is still seen there. On seeing you, Rāma, who are godlike and venerated by all creatures, she will go to Śvarga." The brothers accordingly went there. She fell at their feet and offered them padagha and ācharama. Rāma asked her if she fared well in her tapas. She said: "By seeing you I have this day secured the fruit of my tapas—śvarga." Then she shewed them the different parts of the dērama, and having kindled a fire, threw herself into it, went to Śvarga, and obtained that happiness which Rishis obtain. Here also the commentator has construed the word Sramaṇī to mean Tāpasā.

Vālmiki condemns Chārvākas in no measured terms, and if Sramaṇas were Buddhists, who rejected the Veda and ridiculed the Vedic rites, it is improbable that he would have honoured them with a dinner at a Vedic sacrifice, and would have considered a female Buddhist to be worthy of Śvarga and of that bliss which Rishis there obtain. Sābarī burns herself to death,—a practice which is often aluded to in the literature of the Brāhmaṇa, as having been observed by them. It does not appear that the Buddhists ever observed the practice. Matāṅga, whose disciples Sābarī served, was a great Rishi. It is to be noted that Rāma was saluted by Sābarī although she was a Tāpasī; but the reason seems to be that she was a servant and of inferior caste. Amara classed the Sābarī among Mlecchhas. It therefore appears that at the time when the Raṇḍāyaṇa was written, other than Brāhmaṇa females were also members of the Sramaṇa form of asceticism.

In sarga 18 of the Kishkindhā Kanda, in which Rāma justifies his killing Vāli, the following āloka is addressed by Rāma to Vāli:

Āryaṇa māma Mādādhūrā vyasanaṁ ghoram ēspitaṁ |
honour you?' The Rishis replied to them—
'Tell us of some means of purification whereby
we may become sinless.' They (the Śramaṇas)
saw those hymns (śūktas): Yad devā . . . .
Yad adityān . . . . Ayush te . . . . With
these (mantras) do ye offer ghee and with the
mantra-Vaisvānareṇa . . . . worship (the fire)
and free yourselves from all sin short of构思
killing!' They (the Rishis) sacrificed with
these, and became sinless. In the beginning of
sacrificial acts (karma) one should sacrifice with
these, and, purified, he obtains the worlds of the
Dēvas."

The mantras quoted are to the present day
used in a ceremony called Kūhkmāṇḍa homa,
and the sāmkalpa, or the object of it, is repeated
in the following words being the same as set
forth in the Aranyakas:—Bhrūmāhatyā vārūni
chi yadevanty evānmi mahi sambhavaṇti távān
enasad niśtāyarte Saʻkhmāṇdare kṣhadyāni.
It is not necessary here to quote the mantras
themselves in full as they are in praise of Agni
and other Vedic deities. It will be seen that
in the Aranyakas Śramaṇas are held in high esteem,
and recommend to Rishis the performance of
a Vedic ceremony. Surely Śramaṇa here
cannot mean a Buddhist.

The word also occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa
11th skandha 2nd adhyāya and 20th śloka:

Nāradyāvan mahābhāgavatamanyo by artha
śāmaṇāḥ Śramaṇāḥ vaśitāsūvāt asmavāṇyāvi
kāṇāḥ.

The next śloka names the nine Muniśa:
Havis, Hari, Antariksha, Prabuddha, Pipa
danyāna, Avichatra, Dramila, Chamasa, and
Karaḥājana.

Commentator: arthaśāmaṇāḥ paramārtha
śāmaṇāḥ Śramaṇāḥ Śramaṇaṇaśa Śramavāṇa
Ātmāhyāse kriteraya ityarthah vātāśāmaṇa
diśamambhārāḥ.

Although in the 7th act of the Mrichhakatika nāraka simply Śramaṇa is mentioned
(as an ill omen, if met in the road), still in
the 2nd act in which the character is first
spoken of, the word Śākyaśramaṇa occurs,
—aham etena dyuṣahkarvāṇamena Śākyaśrama
nau bhavishyāmi. The qualifying word Śākya
is rather noteworthy, and would be superfluous
if Śramaṇa was exclusively Buddhist.

From the uncertainty about the date of the
Rāmdyaṇa, it cannot of course be presumed that

* The above is copied from a manuscript here. It is
recited by the Yajurvedins.
named in Bhāgavata X. 2, 20, are stated in V. 4 of the same, to have been nine of the one hundred sons of Rishabha, and also thus: 'These are the nine Mahābhāgavatas, the expounders of the Bhāgavata dharma, whose history (charitam) illustrative of the greatness of god and occurring in the dialogue between Vasudera and Nārada will be described by us by and bye.'—The charita occurs as far down as the 10th skandha, which is in poetry, while the story of Rishabha is in prose, and it may perhaps be suspected that the story was added afterwards, but no conclusive inference can be drawn that its author was different from that of the other portions of the Purāṇa. We have therefore in this work the Jainas denounced as heretics, and the Śramanas spoken of as holy men. The different ślokas which Nārada puts into the mouth of each of the nine Śramanas in the 10th skandha teach bhakti. On the theory that Śramaṇism gradually developed itself into Jainism and Buddhism, it is not improbable that before the development took place, it was not decidedly antagonistic to the Vedas; that on account of the pious life it taught, even Brahmanas counted its leaders as great men and accepted their teachings, and that the author of the Bhāgavata had a tradition of that period, though the particular bhakti doctrines attributed to the nine Śramanas may have been the work of imagination.

The word Śramaṇa occurs also in Arjunavanandaparava of the Mahābhārata (idiparva, adhyāya 214). The following classes of men followed Arjuna: Brāhmaṇa veda-pāragāh (1) Vedasendravatvādiśca, tathāśc eva bhūtaścavādiaśc eva, Rāja, Śramaṇa, vanavasī | Divyadeśaśca eva vāravatvādiśc eva, (2) Rāja, Śramaṇa, vanavasī | Divyadeśaśca eva vāravatvādiśc eva, (3) Here Śramanas are made to honour a Brahmanical hero with their company in his journey to holy places, along with Brahmanas. It is also to be noted that the Śramaṇas, are stated to be dwellers of forestas, vanavasīs.
their parents, who play upon a musical one-stringed instrument. These small beggars both dance and sing after the fashion of dancing girls. The person standing behind them may be either a man or a woman; sometimes both attend; they both play and sing along with the dancer. A piece or a handful of grain or old clothes satisfies them.

ROPE-DANCERS.

Men, women and children exhibit their skill in balancing on the rope. It is hardly possible for one who has not seen them to form any conception of the agility, distortion of limb and pliability of body of these people. They represent almost all kinds of animals, in doing which several bodies are so interlaced that the different individuals can scarcely be distinguished. They all perform feats of strength, and one man will bear on his shoulders six others standing two and two above each other.

GOSAVIS.

Varthena makes mention of Jogi fights. The Jogi king (1450-1510) went about every three or four years with three or four thousand of his followers carrying a little horn suspended from their necks, and which they blew when demanding alms. They also carried an iron ring, chakra, which they hurled from a string at anyone they wished to hurt, and hence whenever they arrived at a city every one tried to give them more than his neighbour. When Varthena came across the Jogi the second time he had with him three thousand followers. They slew two Portuguese with the chakra, and are said to have ran upon them and cut open the veins of their throats, and with their hands they drank their blood." Niebuhr says the Gosavis travel about armed and in troops of several thousands. Forbes, in his Memoirs, says the Gosavis march in large bodies and levy heavy contributions. They are sometimes hired as auxiliaries, being an athletic race, brave, and hardy, seldomenced with drapery, and often entirely naked. In 1789 Māhadji Sindia, among other changes in the constitution of his army, enlisted large numbers of Gosavis, formed them into a distinct body, and placed them under the charge of Himat Bahadur, who was both their commander and priest.

Some of the Gosavis carry a mendicant's staff in their hands, and at their initiation are said to inflict a small incision on the inner part of their knee, and present the blood as an offering to Śiva. They call themselves Brāhmaṇas and are notorious as sturdy beggars.

The Kānpatas, so called from having their ears bored and huge rings inserted in them, worship Śiva and carry a tiṅga in their head-dress. They smear themselves with ashes, and dress in a red ochre-coloured frock. They pretend to tell fortunes and cure diseases. They play upon fiddles and sing both Hindustani and Marāṭhi songs in praise of the gods. They teach animals tricks and carry about a monkey or snakes.

Then there are Uṛdabahuns, distinguished by disgusting deformities. They extend one or both arms above their heads so long that the muscles get rigid and they remain of themselves thus elevated, and they allow their nails to grow till they completely perforate the hand. They tie round their waist a thick hemp or coir rope, or a thick iron chain, and partially cover their privities with an oblong copper covering tucked behind. Not very long ago a Gosāvi, seating himself on a post in the Mumbālēvi tank, refused to come down unless £500 was given him to feed a number of Brāhmaṇas in Banaras. Only very recently a nearly naked Gosāvi stood on his head with one leg upright in the air and the other doubled back at the knee. These people are said to remain in the same position for days together.

In Bombay Gosavis and Bairagis are usually without any fixed habitation, living in dharmasālās, or on the banks of tanks attached to Hindu temples. At particular seasons there is a great influx of wandering beggars, who doubtless find it profitable to take Bombay on their way to Haridwar, Rāmāswar, Dwarkā, Jagannāth, and other places of pilgrimage. Many of these have entered the British army. They make excellent hamāls or palanquin-bearers, a considerable number of them being in the service of Europeans. They are degraded idolators, being regarded as outside the pale of
Hinduism, and are not allowed to pass the threshold of the temples. These beggars, even at this moment, are greatly feared, and it is seldom that one leaves a Hindu house without receiving alms. (To be continued)

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.


(Continued from p. 82.)

No. 8.—Folk-Tale.

The Son of Seven Mothers.

Once upon a time lived a king who had seven wives but no children. At last one day, an old faqir came and said “Your desire shall be fulfilled, and each of your seven wives shall bear a son.” At this promise the king was greatly rejoiced, and made great preparations for appropriate festivities throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom. The seven queens lived in a splendid palace, and were attended by hundreds of servants and feasted on sweetmeats and confectionery. Now one day the king went out hunting, and before he left the palace the Seven Queens said to him: “Dear lord! do not hunt towards the north today, or evil will befall you, for we have dreamt bad dreams.”

The king set spurs to his horse and followed, soon leaving his suite far behind him. On, on, he rode till he came to a ravine in the hills where there was nothing to be seen but a small hovel: he was tired with his long ride, so he stopped, entered the hut, and asked for a drink of water. An old woman, ever so old, who was sitting spinning, bid her daughter bring a drink, and when the girl came and held the vessel of water to the king’s lips, he looked into her eyes, and knew instantly that she was none other than the white hind with the golden horns and the silver feet.

Then he said to her,—“Come home with me, and be my wife.” but she laughed, saying, “You have seven wives already.” Then when he begged and prayed her to be his, she said, “You talk brazenly of your love. Give me the eyes of your seven wives, then I will believe you.”

So the king went home and had the eyes of his seven wives taken out, and then threw the seven poor blind creatures into a strong tower whence they could not escape. After that he took the fourteen eyes to the White Hind, who strung them as a necklace, and threw it round her mother’s neck, saying, “Wear that, little mother, as a keepsake when I am gone.”

So the king took the White Hind home as his bride, and gave her the Seven Queens’ clothes and the Seven Queens’ jewels, and the Seven in great sorrow before him, and told him he had 7 wives and no child, and begged for an heir to his throne. Whereupon the jōgi threw up a stick to knock down some mangoes and told the king he would have as many sons as mangoes fell. Seven mangoes fell, which the jōgi told the king to give to his wives—one each. The king did so, and seven sons were born, one from each wife. Six of the sons died, only one survived, who became the Son of the Seven Mothers. Jōgis are supposed popularly to have the power of granting offspring to childless persons, as it is seen that all the saints or holy personages, according to the popular traditions. R. C. T.

1 Told by a Pūrāṭā boy. The ending is not, I think, correct. The narrator hesitated a good deal and seemed to forget. It is certainly lame.—F. A. S.

2 faqir properly a Musalām, devotee, from Arabic فتir, poverty, austeritv, but used in the Panjab for any devotee, Musalām or Hindu. The Hindu synonym would be properly Skāhā (Sansk. सदावCRY) a religious devotee; or प्रमदात (Sansk. प्रमदात) a saint, devotee. A variation of this portion of the story is as follows: A jōgi (see below note?) was sitting under a mango tree when the king happened to pass. The king knelt down

3 See vol. IX. p. 302—Story of Princess Aubergine.—R. C. T.
Queens' palace; so she had everything that even a witch could desire.

Now soon after their imprisonment, the first Queen's baby was born and the six other Queens were so hungry that they killed it, divided it into seven portions, and each ate their share.

The next day the second Queen's baby was born, and they did the same with it, and so on every day till the last Queen's baby was born on the seventh day. Now when the other Queens came to the young mother, and said, "Give us your baby to eat as we gave you ours," she answered, "Not so! See here are the six pieces you gave me as my share untouched, eat them, but leave me my child, you cannot complain."

The other Queens were displeased, but could say nothing. They were jealous nevertheless that the young Queen should have preserved her baby's life by her self-denial and forethought.

At first, too, they disliked the handsome little boy, but they soon found out what a treasure he was: before he even began to walk he used to sit in one corner of the prison courtyard and scrape away at the wall. In an incredibly short space of time he had scraped a hole large enough for him to creep through.

Out he went, and soon returned laden with sweetmeats and confections, which he divided equally amongst the Seven Queens.

As he grew older he made the hole bigger and slipped out two or three times a day to play with the little nobles in the town; and he was so funny, so full of tricks and antics that he was sure to be rewarded by some present or other, and whatever he received, he took home to his "seven mothers" as he called the Seven Queens.

At last one day, when he was quite a big lad, he took his bow and arrow, and went to the palace where the White Hind lived in splendour and magnificence.

Pigeons were fluttering round the white marble turrets, so taking good aim he drew his

\[ \text{bow and shot one dead. It came tumbling down past the very window where the White Hind was sitting. She got up to see what was the matter, and looked out. There she saw a handsome young lad, and the moment she set eyes on him, she knew by her arts that he was the king's son—for she was a witch.} \]

She became furious at the sight, and at once determined to destroy the lad. She therefore sent a servant to fetch him, and asked him to sell her the pigeon he had shot.

But the lad answered "Not so. This pigeon is for my seven blind mothers, who live in the dark tower, and would starve unless I brought them food."

Then the white witch said, "Oh poor soul! if they could only get their eyes again! Give me that pigeon, my dear, and I promise to give you back your blind mothers' eyes." At this the Son of Seven Mothers was delighted.

The White Hind then said: "My mother will give you the eyes, for she wears them as a necklace. Take this message from me and she will give them without fail."

Then she gave him a bit of broken potsherd on which was written "Kill the bearer at once, and sprinkle his blood like water."

Now as the boy could not read he took the potsherd cheerfully, and set off to find the White Hind's mother. On the way he passed through a king's city, where every one looked very sad.

"What ails you all?" asked he. Then the people answered, "The king's beautiful young daughter will not marry, so there will be no heir to the throne when the king dies. Every young man in the kingdom has been shown to her, but she will have none but the Son of Seven Mothers. Who ever heard of such a thing? However the king has ordered that every stranger who comes to the town shall be brought before the Princess; so come now with us." Accordingly they led him into the presence, and no sooner had the Princess caught sight of him than she blushed saying, "Dear father, this is my choice."

Everyone rejoiced immensely at these wel-
come words, but the Son of Seven Mothers said, "I cannot stay now. First I must fetch my mothers' eyes, and then I will return for the wedding."

Now the princess was very learned and clever, so when she heard his story she said, "Show me the message." When she saw the treacherous words written on the potsherd she said nothing to any one, but quietly took another potsherd, and wrote on it, "Take care of this lad, and give him all he desires." Then she gave this to the Son of Seven Mothers, and kept the other potsherd herself.

So the Son of Seven Mothers set off to find the White Hind's mother.

She was a hideous old creature, and grumbled a good deal when she read the potsherd, but at last she took off the necklace of eyes, and gave it to him, saying "I'm sorry, there are only thirteen of them, but I was hungry last week and ate one."

The lad was only too delighted to get any at all, so he hurried home as fast as he could, and gave the eyes to his seven mothers. Two a piece to the six elder Queens, but only one to the youngest, saying, "Dear little mother, I will be your other eye always."

Then he set off to join his princess, but as he was passing the White Hind's palace he saw some pigeons on the roof. He drew his bow, and shot one; it came fluttering past the window, and the White Queen looked out, and lo! there was the handsome lad alive and well!

She was furious, and sent for him to tell her what had happened.

When she heard how he had brought back the thirteen eyes, and given them to the seven blind Queens, she nearly died of rage and spite. However, she said she was charmed to hear of his success, and told him that if he would give her this pigeon also, she would reward him with the Jogi's Wonderful Cow, whose milk flows all day long, and makes a tank as big as a kingdom.

The lad, nothing loth, gave her the pigeon, while she in return bid him go and ask her mother for the cow, giving him as before a potsherd on which was written, "Kill this lad without fail and sprinkle his blood like water."

So the Son of Seven Mothers set off on his errand, but first he went to see his dear Princess. She read the potsherd, and gave him another as before.

Now when the lad reached the old witch's hut, shewed her the potsherd, and asked for the Jogi's cow, she grumbled dreadfully, saying "My daughter must be mad to give all her treasures away." However she told the boy how he was to get the cow, bidding him above all things not be afraid of the eighteen thousand demons that kept watch and ward over the treasure.

So the boy set off boldly. By and bye he saw a milk-white tank guarded by the eighteen thousand demons. They were frightful to behold, but he plucked up courage and whistled a tune as he walked through them looking neither to the right nor to the left. At last he came to where the Jogi's cow stood, white, beautiful and tall, while the Jogi himself, who was king of all the demons, sat milking her day and night, and as he walked the milk streamed from her udder and filled the milk-white tank.

Then the Jogi scowled and said "What do you want here?"

The lad answered as he had been told to do by the old witch:

"I want your skin, for Raja Indra wants a new kettledrum, and says your skin is nice and tough."

Then the Jogi began to shiver and shake, for no jogi or jian or witch or demon dares disobey Raja Indra's command. So he fell

* There seems to be a mixture of mythology here. The narrator of the tale could tell no story connected with this cow, and evidently used it in a general sense like the ma-lakh necklace, etc. The modern jogi is properly a Hindu devotee, the representative of the classical yogi, the devoted seeker of ypsa, the union of the being with the sublime soul. There are yogis, however, who are accompanied by snakes, and are popularly supposed to have supernatural powers, like the jogi of the tale, who is explained to be a supernatural being, much in the same way as the jinn. This jogi is said in the tale to be subject to Raja Indra, and his wonderful cow that gave a tank full of milk every day is probably a Kândhera, the ancient Kândhera, Indra's cow, who grants all desires. Kândhera or Kândhera is now commonly applied to any cow giving an unusual quantity of milk. It is possible that the supernatural character of the jogi here may represent the yogi, the eight sorcerers or female demons attendant on Durgâ. — R. C. T.

* See story of "Sir Humble," ante, p. 46. — R. C. T.

* This is against mythology. Indra was king of heaven, a ruler of gods, angels or fairies but not of demons: of beneficent and not of malignent spirits. Among the Buddhists Indra as Sakra became the chief of the angels. — R. C. T.
at the lad's feet, saying "Spare me, and I will give you anything you desire, even my beautiful cow." At first the boy pretended he would not listen, but after a while he said, "Well! give me the cow, and I daresay I shall find some other tough old skin that will answer my purpose as well as yours."

Then the Jogi overwhelmed him with gratitude, and the Son of Seven Mothers drove off the cow.

He marched home as fast as he could, and gave the cow to the Seven Queens, who were delighted to possess so marvellous an animal. They toiled from morning till night making curds and whey, and selling it to the confectioners, and still they could not use all the milk, so they became richer and richer day by day.

Then the prince set off once more to join his dear princess, but as he passed by the White Hind's palace, he saw some pigeons cooing on the turrets, and could not resist sending a bolt after them, and one fell dead just beneath the window where the White Hind was sitting. She looked out, and lo! there was the lad alive and well. She grew whiter than ever with rage and spite. She sent for him, and when he told her how kindly he had been received by her mother she nearly had a fit, she was so angry and furious. However she only smiled sweetly, saying, "I kept my promise, did I not? Give me but this pigeon, and you shall have everything the world contains, for I will give you the million-fold rice that ripens in a night."

The young lad was delighted at the very idea, gave her the pigeon, and received in return a potsherid on which was written—"He has escaped you twice. Kill him this time without fail, and sprinkle his blood like water."

The Son of Seven Mothers set off to find the old witch, but on the way he went to see his dear Princess. She as usual read the potsherid, and gave the lad another in its place, on which was written, "Once again care for the lad, for his blood shall be your blood."

The old hag burst out into a rage when she saw this, and heard what the lad was to get. However, she dared not disobey her daughter, so she bid the lad go towards the north till he came to a rice-field full of golden rice guarded by eighteen millions of demons. "Do not be afraid of them," she said, "look neither to the right nor to the left, but go straight to the very middle of the field, and pluck the tall ear of rice which grows in the centre. Do not take more or less, and above all do not look round."13

The lad did as he was bidden, and soon found the field of golden rice guarded by the eighteen millions of demons. He looked neither to the right nor to the left, but walked straight to the middle of the field, plucked the high golden ear which grew in the centre, but as he was returning soft voices called to him saying "Take one more; oh please take one more!" and one voice was so sweet that he turned round to see whence it came. No sooner had he turned than he became a little heap of ashes.

The old hag was terribly frightened when the lad did not return, and dreading her daughter's anger, set out to search for him.

She very soon came upon the heap of ashes, and knowing by witchcraft what had happened, she gathered the ashes together, moistened them with water, and shaped the paste into the image of the lad. Then she put a drop of blood from her little finger into the mouth of the image, and immediately the lad stood before her alive and well. She scolded him soundly for disobeying her orders, adding "I save you this time to please my daughter, but don't try these tricks any more if you please."

Then the Prince went home with the millionfold rice that ripens in a night, and gave it to the Seven Queens, who became so rich that their wealth was noised abroad all through the city. Then the Prince went back to his dear Princess, and married her. When the bridal ceremonies were over, she said, "Take me to your own house, and I will restore you to your father's favour." So he took her home to the Seven Queens. Then she bid him build a palace exactly the same as the King's palace, and when it was finished she bade him ask the King to a feast. The King, who had heard much about the mysterious Son of Seven Mothers, came determined to find out the truth of the matter. What was his astonishment when he found himself in a palace exactly like his own. It was only to be

11 I have been unable to trace the allusion here. This rice is spoken of in the same way as the nine-inch necklace as something every one knows. — R. C. T.

13 I have been unable to ascertain the origin of this golden rice also. — R. C. T.
equalled by his wonder when he was received by the young Prince as a revered father, and conducted at once into the presence of the Seven Queens. He was dumb with amazement till the young Princess, his daughter-in-law, stepped forth, and with much grace related to him the whole story. The King’s heart was moved, and what with the sight of his Queens’ sorrowful faces, and his handsome young son with his beautiful bride, his anger rose against the wicked witch who had wrought all this mischief, and he ordered her to be put to death. 

So they buried the witch and ploughed up the ground and the Seven Queens walked over her grave into the palace, where they lived ever after.

The Mother of Seven Sons.

Another similar story current in the Punjab is the following:

There was a Rāja who had no children. A faqir came and sat down in his garden, where on the same day the Rāja in great grief was lying on a dirty and dilapidated old bed. The faqir asked him why such a great Rāja as he was lying on such a dirty old bed. The Rāja answered “What are you asking, reverend Sir?” The faqir said “Explain.” The Rāja again asked “What are you asking?” Again the faqir said “For the third time, Rāja, tell me the truth.”

Then the Rāja said “I have no children.” The faqir said “Take this stick, and knock down the fruit of that mango tree. The first time five mangoes will fall, and the second time two.” The Rāja threw the stick, and the first time five mangoes fell, and the second time two. The Rāja, being very covetous of children, threw the stick yet a third time, when the stick remained in the tree and all the fallen mangoes went back. The Rāja then went to the faqir, who asked him where the stick was, and the Rāja said “It is in the tree.” Then the faqir said “You must have been throwing the stick more than twice to get a lot of children. But go back, and you will find the stick on the ground.” The Rāja went and found the stick on the ground. He took up the first stick, and then threw it at the mangoes—the first time five fell, and the second time two. He took the mangoes and stick, and went with them to his home. At that time six of his Queens were at home, but the seventh had gone out. He gave each of the six Queens a mango apiece. The seventh mango he put away into a recess, and a mouse bit it. A few moments afterwards the seventh Queen came home, and asked the other Queens what they were eating. They answered “We have been eating a mango each.” Then the seventh Queen asked “Where is my mango?” They said “It is in the recess,” and she took it out, and ate it. After nine months each of the six Queens had a son, but the seventh Queen had only half a son, who was therefore called Adhiā or The Half. One day the six brothers went out shooting together, and Adhiā asked his mother’s leave to go out shooting too. But his mother said “You are only half a boy—how can you go out shooting?” Adhiā answered, “I’ll go and play at shooting.” The mothers of the six sons made them some sweets to take out shooting, but Adhiā’s mother said she didn’t know how to make them, and told her son to go to the other Queens for his sweets. So the other Queens made sweets for Adhiā too, but they put ashes inside and covered them with sugar, and gave them to Adhiā. The six brothers and Adhiā went off to the jungals, and on the road they felt hungry and began to open their sweets and eat. When Adhiā began to break his sweets he found nothing but ashes inside, and so he went to his brothers, and asked for some of theirs, but they would not give him anything. Poor Adhiā said nothing, but went on. They at last reached a field of melons. Adhiā broke down the fence and went inside, but the others could not get inside. Adhiā began to eat the melons, and when his brothers asked him for some, he said, “Remember the sweets, and when you would give me none.” But they entreated him very much, and he threw them the unripe and sour ones. So the brothers shouted and called the owner of the field, who came and caught Adhiā, and tied him up to a tree. The brothers left him and went on. Then Adhiā said to the rope: “Break, rope, for my companions have gone on.” The rope broke at once, and Adhiā came up to his brothers. Next the pity of passing faqirs, who are supposed to be able to help the sufferer.
they came to a plum tree. Adhiā climbed up, but the others could not. They asked Adhiā for the fruit, but he would not give any, saying "Remember the time of the sweets." Again they shouted and called the owner of the plum tree, who seized Adhiā, and the six brothers went on. Then Adhiā called to the rope, "Break, rope, my companions have gone on." The rope broke and Adhiā joined his brothers. Next they came to a well. Adhiā said "I am thirsty," and began to draw water, but the brothers pushed him from behind, and he fell in. They left him there, and went on. In the well there was a one-eyed demon, a pigeon, and a serpent. In the night the three began to talk and Adhiā listened. The demon asked the serpent "What is your power?" The serpent said "I have the treasure of seven kings underneath me." And the serpent asked the demon "What is your power?" The demon said "A certain Rajā's daughter is possessed of me. She is always ill." The demon then asked the pigeon "What is your power?" The pigeon said "Whosoever eats my dung will be cured of his disease whatever it is." Meanwhile the day broke and each of them went off to his own haunt. During the day a camel-driver came and sat down by the well, and went to get water from it. Adhiā caught hold of the rope, and the camel-driver looked into the well. Adhiā called out "I am not an evil spirit, but a mortal man: take me out if you are kind." The camel-driver took him out. Adhiā took the pigeon's dung out with him, and went off to the Rajā's city, where the princess was lying ill, and proclaimed that he was a physician. The watchmen stopped him, and asked him, "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where are you going?" Adhiā said, "I am a physician, come to cure the Princess." The watchmen said, "Be off! A great many doctors like you have come here to lose their heads." And they showed him a string of their heads, but Adhiā was not at all frightened, and said, "If I cannot cure the Princess, then take my head. If I care her, then marry me to her and give me half the kingdom, as the King has proclaimed." Adhiā gave her the medicine, but first made his conditions sure. In a few days the Princess got well and was married to Adhiā, and he got half the kingdom. The six brothers heard of this, and came to the Rajā and told him a wicked story about Adhiā, and said "Adhiā is of low caste." The Rajā, hearing this, ordered him to be turned out of the kingdom. But Adhiā said "I am a king's son, and have the treasure of seven kings. Come with me and I'll show you." The Rajā gave Adhiā miles to fetch the treasure, and Adhiā went and fetched the treasure. The King was very pleased, and gave him back his share of the kingdom. The six brothers then began to say to each other, "Adhiā got the treasure by falling into the well, so let us throw ourselves in too." So they threw themselves in, and in the night the serpent, the pigeon, and the demon came together. The pigeon saw its dung was not there, and said "Feel round and see if any one is here." The six brothers were found inside, and the demons said, "These are the thieves!" and ate them up.

B. C. T.

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12 The word used for demon here is curious. It is सेन्ट्री santri, our "sentry" with a regularly formed plural सेन्ट्रियाँ santrīāṁ. In this connection I may mention another peculiar word ḍhedā with the suffix -kā, "quarters, barracks, used in sub-Court Cases.

13 When the brothers tricked Adhiā by saying he was of "low caste," the word used is चुमूर chūmuṛ (Hindi चुमूर chūmūr—any worker or dealer in leather), a leather-dealer, but frequently in the Panjab a sweeper, scavenger, low-caste creature.

14 As before remarked, the narrator of this tale, too, seemed to forget towards the end, and said there was something about a witch which he could not remember. The fact is, I think, that there are current several tales with incidents like those in the present one, which have either become mixed up or have been fastened on to this "Seventh Son." The title "The Mother of Seven Sons" is that given by the narrator, who insisted on the title of the tale being in his terminology "Stī Besāyāṇ dāṇa Mānti," A more appropriate title would be "Adhiā or the Seventh Son."
BUDDHIST CHRONOLOGY.

It is generally assumed that the chronology of the Southern Buddhists, according to which the Nirvāṇa of Gotama Buddha fell in the year 543 B.C., is sixty or sixty-six years at fault, and that Nirvāṇa is an equivalent for death.

The earliest Buddhist texts, however, show that Nirvāṇa does not mean ‘death,’ but the ‘cessation of lust, delusion, and ignorance.’ We learn from the Budhavaṇṇa and other books, that Gotama led a householder’s life for 29 years, then set out and attained Nirvāṇa under the sacred tree. The Budhavaṇṇa further states that Gotama did not live to a hundred years.

The difference of 60 years in these two chronologies may be therefore explained in this way—that in the rock inscriptions the date given is that of Gotama’s death, the date of the Southern chronology being that of his attaining to Nirvāṇa.

We have thus three dates fixed in the history of Buddhism—viz.,

Gotama’s birth in 572 B.C.
His Nirvāṇa in 543
And his death according to the inscriptions in 483

Oxford: March 14, 1881. OSCAR FRANKFURTER.

BUDDHAGOSHA AND THE MILINDAPAṆHA.

In the preface to the MilindapaṆha, the learned editor makes the following remarks respecting the date of his author:—“It [the MilindapaṆha] is older than the beginning of the fifth century, for it is quoted by BudhagaṆa, who, besides it, mentions no writings but those of commentators, and to have acquired sufficient authority it cannot then have been of recent production.” Doubtless Dr. Tréouckner is in a position to be able to furnish chapter and verse in support of his interesting statement; but it seems a pity that he did not give, in a footnote, the exact passage in which Budhagosa quotes the MilindapaṆha. In the absence of any such reference, it may indeed be open to doubt whether Budhagosa ever makes mention of any writing or composition by the name of MilindapaṆha. That acute commentator may merely refer to some traditional conversations between the sage Nāgasena and king Milinda, much in the same way as the Proverbs of Alfred were once quoted, long before, perhaps, there was any written collection of sayings bearing his name.

Dr. Tréouckner promises us a supplement to his edition, which will, no doubt, supply the lacking reference. In the meantime it may not be deemed presumptuous on the part of one who has learnt much from the MilindapaṆha to call attention to a conversation between Nāgāsenā and Milinda quoted by Budhagosa in his commentary on the Brahmadāya-sutta (Majjhima-nikāya ii, 5, 1) and which I identify with the substance of the conversation recorded on pp. 168, 169, of the MilindapaṆha:—

“Na mahārāja Bhagavā guhayam dasseti, cha-yyam Bhagavā dasseti ti’ Commentary—(Turnour MS. fol. n, line 64). “Na mahārāja Bhagavā guhayam dasseti, iddhiyā pana cha-yam dasseti ti” (MilindapaṆha, p. 169). Two other similar passages on p. 169 might be quoted, but the identification is complete without them. It is noteworthy that no mention is here made of a work called the MilindapaṆha; all that Budhagosa says is “vuttam etam Nāgāsenā-heron’eva Milindarāhā puṭṭhena” (fol. n, line 46).

The Brahmadāya-sutta deals with the thirty-two superior characteristics of a great man. (See Hardy’s Manual, pp. 384-87.)

The quotation from the MilindapaṆha treats only of one of these characteristics. (See Hardy, p. 382; Burnouf’s Lotus, p. 572.)

The subject is one that does not admit of any fuller discussion in the pages of the Academy.*

RICHARD MORRIS.


CURIOUS CAVE NEAR KANDAHAR.

It is called the Garh Semesh, and is situated about sixteen miles to the south-west, in the Panj-hai range of hills, close to the left bank of the Arandah river. The entrance is about 300 feet above the water. Near to the entrance the cave gets narrow, but after passing this it widens out into an ample space. In places there are deep chasms, where a stone, if thrown down, sounds as it falls from side to side in its descent. In some places the roof is fretted as if carved by the human hand; in other places there are masses of stone which, although described as natural, are so like figures, that the natives call them “buts,” or idols. Streams of water run through parts of this far-extending cave. The tradition connected with this cave will be of interest to those who study the subject of Serpent Worship. The people of Kandahar believe that in former times a great serpent lived in the hills, and devoured the people. Haarsat Ali, whose name the Muhammedans have connected with everything wonderful in Afghanistan—and that too in spite of its being impossible he ever was in that part of the world—having heard of this scourgé, came to destroy him. As soon as the serpent saw Haarsat Ali, he desired to

* From The Academy, March 19, 1881, p. 299.
hide himself from the godlike gaze of the holy man, and forced his body into the hill, making a passage through to the other side, at which he came out. Here Ali was ready; it seems, with his eye, and the serpent gave up the contest, and became stone, his body in this form still remaining on the top of the rock. Hazrat Ali then went over to the Khaibar district, and on his return he converted all the people of Kandahar to the faith of Islam. The name of “Garh Sansed” attached to this shows that it had a legendary character before the time of the Muhammadans, and the name of the hills, “Panch-bhai,”—that is, the Five Pandu Brothers, which the Hindus associate with all natural wonders—is in itself clear evidence that they also had traditions connected with this very remarkable cave. The celebrated Begging Bowl of Buddha is said to be preserved at Kandahar. This sacred vessel became a kind of Sangrail to the Buddhist, and was kept at one time in Peshawar. The reputed bowl at Kandahar might require the eye of faith to accept it as the veritable dish, for it is made of porphyry, and is four feet wide, and two feet deep. Bells, in his work, From the Indus to the Tigris (p. 143), describes it, and says that under the rim there is an indistinct inscription of two lines, in Persian, in which can be made out the words Shahrepid (or Prince) Jaldul’d-sin, also the word târikh or “date.” That is on the inside; the outside is covered with Arabic letters in four lines. It is kept in the shrine of the Sultan Wais. Kandahar is supposed by some to have been derived from Sekandar, the name by which Alexander the Great is known in India, and that he built the city, and that it was called after him; but Gandhara is a name we find on the Indus in the Buddhist period. The district round the present Peshawar has this name, and it is more probable that Kandahar comes from this word than any other.—*Correspondent, Daily News, August 2, 1890.*

**NOTES AND QUERIES.**

3. **Sheikh Farid Shakar Ganj** (ante, p. 93). In vol. II. p. 448 seq. of the Akbar-nâmah (Lucknow lithogr. Ed. printed by order of the Maharaja of Pataial) there is a notice of Sheikh Farid Shakar Ganj, to whose tomb at Pák Pattan the emperor Akbar himself also paid a visit in the 15th year of his reign. The heading of the notice is this:

*هَدَّرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ لَهُ سَدَرُ شَهِيدٍ L. E. Rehatser.*

6. **Cinerary Urns, Ancient or Modern.**—In Gen. Cunningham’s Archaeological Report, vol. VI, Mr. Carlelyle gives the following account of the finding of some urns at the foot of the Bairat rock (p. 100):

“I have now to mention a curious discovery I made in the ground immediately in front of the rock on which the inscriptions are, and close under the larger inscription. There were two large boulder stones half-buried in the ground, directly under the larger inscription; and as the lowest line of this inscription was at the height of only one foot from the ground, I found the boulder stones very much in my way in standing to take an impression of the inscription. I consequently ordered my men to dig the earth away from the boulder stones, and then to roll them out of the way . . . . I found a layer of smaller boulder stones beneath them, amounting to perhaps half a dozen or more altogether. After removing these smaller stones I came to earth; and finding a small fragment of old pottery, I dug still deeper into the earth, and at a depth of about 2 feet below the original position of the bottom of the larger boulder stones, or about 2′9″ to 3′ below the surface of the ground, I discovered four earthen vessels, which, on examination, I found to be cinerary urns containing human bones. These vessels were placed regularly in a line, all on the same level. Two of these earthen vessels were large and wide-mouthed; another was smaller or middle-sized, and had a narrow neck; and the fourth was very small, and very narrow-mouthed. Could it be possible that these cinerary urns and human bones might be in some way connected with the purpose of the inscriptions immediately above them?”

Mr. Carlelyle then states his reasons for thinking the boulder stones could not have been placed there by human agency, but by some flood, “and consequently that the cinerary urns and bones may be of very great and unknown antiquity.”

It is to be feared that antiquaries are occasionally led by a lively imagination into mistakes similar to Jonathan Oldbuck’s. The placing of cinerary remains in earthen vessels and burying them in some well marked spot until they can be taken to the Gauges, is a well known practice among Hindus. They may remain so buried for two, three or even more years, but it is a solemn duty of their surviving relatives to carry these remains at length to the sacred river. Were not these urns, dug up at the Bairat rock, then, the temporary burials of the preceding 3 or 4 years? Probably they each bore rudely scratched writing indicating whose son, brother, or wife each contained the remains of. That they were such is borne out by the testimony of the neighbourhood, villagers who complained shortly after of the sacrilege committed by the white visitor who dug up the relics of their dead.”

The Gazetteer volume under review is certainly the worthiest of notice in these columns which has yet appeared in Bombay. Of the previous volumes, only that on Ahmadabad has dealt with so interesting a region or been nearly so well compiled. And contributors and editor have in this instance had advantages denied even to those who described the Queen of Gujarāt.

The opening passages on Physical Geography are weak. Take, for instance, the unscientific treatment of the basin of the Tapti, as a part of the Deccan plateau and the curious description of the south-eastern (Barar and Nimār) frontier as not having any marked natural boundary; whereas the greater part of it is defined by the deep and wide Purnā River and the bluff face of the Hatti Hills.

The paragraphs upon the Flora and Fauna which follow are also meagre, and in places inaccurate,—which is the more to be regretted, as the field is very rich.

But when we come to the ethnology we find a great deal of careful compilation, and some very valuable and original remarks, especially those relating to the Ahir basis of the population, now for the first time published.

In Archeology and History the writers of this volume have been fortunate, not only in their province, but in the fact that part of it has been recently worked over by the Archaeological Survey and Mr. Griffiths of the School of Arts. They are much to be congratulated on having overlapped their official boundary so far as to include Ajanṭā, Ghatotkach and Asigarh in the scope of their work; and it is only to be regretted that they have not extended the trespass to the caves of the Pitalkhār; to which they were equally entitled upon geographical grounds; and because, until the arrival of the Archaeological Survey, all our knowledge of these remains was due to Khandesh officers. These caves are only incidentally mentioned; and the detailed account of the caves of Bhāmēr is poor, and it is only from a casual remark that we learn their true value as Jain remains.

Caves are mentioned at Balsāne in Nizāmpur, but not described. When the present writer was there nine years ago, he found none. But there ought to be some in the neighbourhood, as there are two villages called Vehergāmā; a name which in many cases indicates the former existence of a Vihāra.

The truth is that the more remote parts of Khandesh still remain to be explored in an archeological sense.

But the present volume is welcome as showing how much has been done in the interval alluded to; and above all, for the great improvement in the manner of treating such subjects in official papers visible by a comparison of it with, for instance, the Bombay Census Report for 1872.


This pamphlet was written as an article for the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, but the treatment of the subject being too minute and detailed for the purpose of that work, the article has been issued in a separate form. The author does not profess to have advanced much that is new or original; but if he has not contributed new matter, he at least deserves the credit of having written a careful and accurate digest of the results which have been reached in a department of philology which has only quite recently engaged the attention of scholars such as Trumpp, Hoernle, Beames, and Kellog, and in which very much yet remains to be done.

The relation of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars to the Sanskrit and the Prakrit, and the influence which non-Aryan languages have had on their development, are interesting subjects of study to Indian philologists. It is the historical development of one of these vernaculars, viz. Hindustani, which Mr. L'Yall discusses in his sketch, and we can heartily recommend the perusal of it to all students of this very important and widely spoken Indian language. Hindustani, as the term is used by Mr. L'Yall, includes both Hindi, or, as it is called in its literary form by the natives of India, Bhādha, and also Urdu, which is substantially the same as Hindi in its grammatical structure, but derives a large number of its vocabularies from the Persian, and through the Persian from the Arabic. Taken in this wide sense, Hindustani is the mother tongue of no fewer than one hundred millions of the people of India, while no other language spoken in that country can claim more than one-third of that number.

Of Hindi there are twelve typical dialects all spoken at the present day, while there are others no longer spoken, but preserved to us in the poetical works of Chand, Kabir, Sūr Dās, and Tulsī Dās. Many of these spoken dialects have no literature, and it is mainly to the literary Hindi, or the high Hindi as it is called, and to
Urdu, that reference is made in this sketch in discussing the formation and development of the Hindustani. It is not consistent with the limits and purpose of this notice to enter into details. For this we must refer our readers to the sketch itself. We may, however, remark that in the first half of his pamphlet, Mr. Lyall discusses the numerous and important phonetic changes which have taken place in the organic structure of Hindi words, derived from the Sanskrit and Prakrit. The comparative philologist will find much that is interesting here, and also in the latter half of the sketch, in which the author discusses the changes which the grammatical forms, chiefly as seen in the inflexion of nouns and conjugation of verbs, have undergone. We warmly commend the pamphlet to all interested in the vernaculars of India.

R.


In this little volume the veteran philologist presents us with fourteen papers on various subjects connected with Vedic and linguistic studies, which were originally published in the Göttinger Nachrichten during the last four years; and all of which will no doubt prove more or less interesting and instructive to Sanskritists and comparative philologists. Though some few of our readers may have seen the papers, as they originally appeared, scholars generally will be glad to get them in their present collected form, and will probably concur in our wish that the example set by the author and a few other scholars, in throwing together, from time to time, papers contributed by them to different journals, were more generally followed. This would no doubt enable a considerable number of students who rarely have an opportunity of seeing foreign journals, to keep up to some extent with the progress of philological and comparative research. Thus, we have often wondered why Professor Roth and Dr. A. Kuhn have never thought of reprinting, in a collected form, their important essays on mythological and philosophical subjects which have so materially contributed to our knowledge of Indian and Indo-European antiquity, and most of which can scarcely be said to be accessible, except to comparatively few scholars. How many students had ever seen any of the late Professor Goldsticcker's papers, before they were republished after the author's death, that is, in the case of most of them, some fifteen or twenty years after they originally appeared in periodicals and encyclopedias?

In one of his papers, Professor Benfey deals with the problem of the origin of language from what may be called the naturalist point of view. To him—and in this a good many linguistic scholars will probably go with him—the difference between articulate human speech and inarticulate animal language generally is merely one of degree, and not one of kind; and is much the same, as for instance, that between the upright gait of man and the horizontal gait of animals. Hence, in regard to the origin of language, we should not have to deal at all with a special human problem, but the solution should be sought for much further back, and the question becomes rather one of a higher or lower development of organism. As to the first beginnings of articulate speech, Professor Benfey seems to be inclined to assign it to an interjectional, or emotional, origin.

Another paper deals with the interesting question as to the original accentuation of the present indicative of the verbs as (००, ००) to be, and bhi (००, ००) to shine or speak. Professor Benfey's opinion is that these, as other verbs, had originally the accent on the radical syllable; and not, as in Sanskrit, on the radical syllable in the singular (or gunted), and on the personal terminations in the dual and plural (or weak) forms. We very much doubt, however, whether his argumentation will convince many linguistic students, and whether they will not rather adhere to the prevalent opinion that in this respect, as in many others, the Sanskrit has preserved the original state of Indo-European accentuation. Professor Benfey seems to us to lay far too great stress on the accentuations of the third person plural in Greek, where the original termination dnti has practically been reduced to syllable ci; and to the second person singular imperative (which in Greek has irregularly the accent on the penultimate), since this form, like the vocative of nouns, might easily be assumed to be liable to an exceptional treatment on account of its quasi-interjectional nature. Like Professor Benfey, we consider the personal terminations as enclitics; but we further believe that the dual and plural, as well as the middle, terminations containing (at least) two pronominal elements, an accentual law similar to that applying to Greek enclitics, asserted itself, and that the first of the two pronominal elements received the word accent. Professor Benfey's suggestions in regard to single passages and words of the Rigveda killed, most of them, probably met with general approval; but we must forbear at present to enter on any other of the questions raised by the author.

J. E.
A NEW KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTION.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.LE.

The new Kshatrapa inscription which I publish below, was discovered last year by Major J. Watson, President of the Rājasthānīk Court of Kāthiavād, whose services to ancient history I have had to acknowledge so frequently. The stone on which it is incised, was found at Gūnda in Kāthiavād, at the bottom of an old unused well. Major Watson caused it to be taken to Rajkot, and an eye-copy as well as a transcript into Devanāgarī to be prepared by his able assistant, Paṇḍit Vallabhāchārya. The Paṇḍit had done his work so well that when Major Watson sent the inscription to me for consideration, I could find but one important mistake, which occurred both in the copy and the transcript of the passage containing the date. This he had rendered as . . . yuttarasatavarah varaśika, etc. I at once informed Major Watson that varshē devyuttarabah sahīḥ (102) had to be read. On comparing the passage again with the original, the Paṇḍit admitted the correctness of my conjecture, and later, when I received a paper impression of the first three lines of the inscription, I personally satisfied myself that the signs following . . . iate are really . . . i.e. Sa(u) 102, while the first portion of the combination devyuttarabah is very indistinct. I have now hesitation in publishing the document, though I am not able to furnish a facsimile, and thereby to settle the exact spelling of a few words, and to show exactly the stage which the Kshatrapa alphabet had reached in the year 102. As far as I can judge from the eye-copy, the letters resemble those of the Jāśān pillar inscription much more closely than those of the Junagadh edict.

The preamble of the new inscription confirms the information given by the three already published Sāsanas regarding the first four Kshatrapa rulers. We have again the same order,—

1. Cāshṭana,
2. Jayadāman,
3. Rudrādāman,
4. Rudrasimha.

and the assertion that each of the three last kings was the son of his predecessor. The only difference observable lies in the spelling of Rudrasimha's name. The form śhē is, however, a very common substitute for Śhika.

The date Sa(u) 102 is not a new one, as it occurs on several of Rudrasimha's coins. It must be noted that no earlier year has hitherto been found on the coins of this king, while the latest is Sa(u) 117. It is, therefore, very probable that our inscription was incised soon after Rudrasimha's accession to the throne. Provisionally the date may be referred with Mr. Bhāvi Dājī and others to the Saka era and be taken to be equivalent to 180 A.D.

The fact that the person who caused the inscription to be incised, Śenaṭhī (general) Rudrabhūti, son of Śenaṭhī Bāhaka, was an Ābhir by caste, possesses some interest, as it shows that the Ābhiras, though belonging to a tribe which the Brāhmaṇas pretend to despise, rose under the Kshatrapas to high offices, and that they assumed distinctly Aryan names.

Transcription.

1. Śiṃti roha1 Rudrāpati Sāmāyuddadvideśikā
2. Rudrāpati Sāmāyuddadvideśikā
3. Śiṃti Ṛṣi Ṛṣi Ṛṣi Ṛṣi
4. Śiṃti Śiṃti Śiṃti Śiṃti
5. Puṣṭhān Śiṃti Śiṃti Śiṃti Śiṃti

Translation.

Hail! In the year one hundred and two, Sa(u) 102, of the king Kshatrapa Śvāmī Rudrasimha (Rudrasimha), son of the king Mahākshatrapa Śvāmī Rurdadāman, grandson of the king Kshatrapa Śvāmī Jayadāman, and great-grandson of the king Mahākshatrapa Śvāmī Cāshṭana, on the fifth day of the light half of the month Vaiśākha, on the lunar day (called) Dvānya, in the Śravāna-nakshatra-

L. 1, read श्रीसस. L. 2, read श्रीसस. L. 3, read महावर. L. 4, read श्रीसस.
SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT KINGS.

NO. I.—THE DOHAD INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KING JAYASIMHA-DEVA.

BY H. H. DHRIYYA, B.A., DAKSHINĀ FELLOW, GUJARAT COLLEGE;
WITH NOTE BY DR. O. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

During the late famine in the Panch Mahāls, when relief works were carried on at Dohad and other places, some small Jain images were turned up at the Chāhānā tank with two or three lines of inscription at their feet, bearing date Saṃvat 1231 (a. d. 1175).

Thus No. 1 reads:—|| Ṛṣaṭva 1231 अवह | देशी नेमनाधस्य करावितः

2. प्रतिमां परमाचार्य | आनंदसुरी [हूरी] परिभित्तिः हर्षमुर [हूरी] वेरोहित । नव्या ।

They were fixed on the bank of the tank in a prominent position, and the discovery of these led to that of an inscription, lying unnoticed, and almost buried in a heap of rubbish, by a nephew of the Māmulatārā's, Mr. D. P. Derasari, who prepared copies of it for me. I also personally visited the place and made rubbings and tracings of the same.

The inscription is lying close to the Āvānā, or sluice of the tank. It is about a foot and a half or so high, and carved on a stone-pilar, buried in the embankment, among a mass of cattle dung. But, protected as it is almost on all sides by the high banks from exposure to the eflicing action of the rains, it has suffered but little. The only effacements we find are about the close of the line 3, and the middle of lines 5 and 6, but they are not at all serious.

It is in plain Sanskrit, with no touch of the grandiloquence so usual in such cases. About a half of it is in metre, the verses being all अनुरूप except the third, which is an ṛgā measure; and the rest is in prose. The characters are clear, bold, Kāyastha-Nagari.

The language is correct, with some few irregularities in grammar in lines 3 and 6. The first I am inclined to read as proposed by Dr. Bühler, ैश्वर ैश्वर्य मानिषा. ैश्वर (Gujarati ैश्वर) is the remnant of the offerings to a deity, distributed among the worshippers as a Prapāṭhi—a special gift of favour, which they touch their foreheads with, and treasure up as sacred. Then आज्ञा means 'commands, behests,' Gujarati āṇa, which Col. Tod in his Rajasthan translates, by the phrase, oath of allegiance, indicative of the suzerainty of the King whose āṇ it is—a mark of his supremacy,

"the Northern Kings are made to bear on their heads like the sacred Āsā (असाम श्रव्य श्रव्य साहित्य उत्तरेण निर्मय), with which it is compared."

The second irregularity is in l. 6. Prof. Kāthi-vāte is inclined to read it ैश्वर्यप्रेमाप्रपाट, where the form aprāṭhi is used in the active sense,—of aprāṭhi, which it cannot have, being the passive form of the aorist of aprāṭhi; and it has the sign of the aorist a before the preposition apra of the verb अप्र, which is not grammatical. The writer may have taken aprāṭhi—though wrongly—as one word. But the mark over ma—probably an anuvṛtta disfigured, inclined me to read नव्या मञ्च मदि. And the reading pra instead of ैसा is perhaps countenanced by a like form of ैसा—which is very frequently a mislecion for ैसा—observable in Dr. Bühler’s Mālarāja grant. And with this reading the second irregularity disappears, though the grammar of the verbal form aprāṭhi is faulty in sense.

In the latter part of the line 9 there occurs godra-haketa-ैश्वर मानिषा, &c. The tyā is an affix indicative of place. The whole may be considered a compound—Godra-haketa, formed like manāni, &c., or it may be taken as a derivative like anātya, ैकातित्या, ैप्राप्य, ैसाकात्या, formed by tyā with Godra-haketa. In that case Godra-haketa may stand as an attributive to Mahānāsālandevar, &c., meaning the great Mahānāsadēva, or Vice-roy of Jayasimhabādeva, stationed at Godra-haketa (Goḍhra). I was inclined to read it as Godrahaketa, &c.—

"at Goḍhra, this day, Saṃvat 1202, Rāpā"
with the favour of the Viceroy, &c." But I am not positive about it. It may be read so, or the other reading be preferred.

The inscription purports to be a grant of land—three ḫaldas, (ploughs,) a measure frequently met with in the Chanukya grants,—by a Rāṇa towards the religious services of a temple of the god Goga Nārāyaṇa, instituted six years previously by Governor resident at Dadhipadra (Dohad) for the well-being of his mother. This Nārāyaṇa may be placed in the same category with Ballāla and Rāṇa Nārāyaṇa of Visaldēva's Inscription, No 11 of Dr. Bühler's Chanukya grants. The site of the temple is reported to have been at Govālīo-chotro,—at the confluence of the Kāhrō and the river Dehmāl, at a short distance from the Chāhīnā Tank. Such Chotras may be seen scattered all over the country. The Chotra in question marks, as the people report, the remains of a temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, and it corresponds with the indications in the inscription. Godraḥakā is obviously Godhra written in Gujarati, Gohāra, the dhrakā of it having for its vernacular dhrā. This town is mentioned also in a Valabhi grant noticed by Dr. Bühler, and

in the Kirttīkaumāda recording the history of Viradhavāl, and his ministers. Dadhipadra is our modern Dohad—Dohad not being a derivative of the Sanskrit form, though it means "Of the two frontiers," situated as it is on the skirts of Gujarāt and Mālwa, the vernacular representative of Dadhipadra being Dehvadā—Dāhoda. The name has a parallel in Sāthoda near Dabdī which Ṣāstrī Vrijāl Kālidas traces to Sanskrit Skhat-padra, and which gives its name to the community of Sāthodrā Nāgarā. Dadhad is also called Dadhipura in the inscriptions of the last two centuries found there. The town is like Ahmadabad, rich in traditions about the Rishi Dadhipurī of mythic celebrity. Its Paurāṇik topography may be gathered from the Harisvandhara Purāṇa, which I chanced to see there. The district of Ubhādā takes its name from the modern Abhād, about twelve miles from Dohad. Āśviliyā is perhaps represented by the modern Nāmanilā Rābhdāl, and Kodgrā by the present Gadoi,—a kos or so to the south of Dohad. Kāhravahā is the stream Kāhrō, and the Dadhipurī the river Dehmāl.

The Dohad Inscription of Jagjāhūnā-deva.

[1] के नमः भागवते बाणुदेशय || श्रीभद्रिकर्मेव ॥
[2] पै गृहाकोष || येन कारके किंसा सुरास्ययक्षाती || ॥
[3] अत्यंतुकात्तिन्य येन सिन्तुराजनाय नुपुय|| आपरा तिरिस्त्रि ब्रजव (sic) ॥
[4] हिता उद्धेरे नुपुयः ॥॥ आपरातिकान्तरं सर्वदेवराधिकारणीय-मार्गी || परश्वाति राजत्राजी राजारथ्याय रामस्य || ॥
[5] यात्रा केथि शान्ति अथिहती || तेनपरिकर्म (sic) दध्यदिनिमंडले ॥॥
[6] अन्तर दध्यपरिकर्मकेन मित्रिकल्लक || गोवामर्यां चक्चे जन-न्यायः || अत्रं केथि यथेऽन्तर ॥॥
[7] अपरातिकर्मकं महान् १२९६ श्रीगोवामर्यां-डेन्य क्रिष्टिन || चत्वार स्तवाय मं १२०२ महाशिवराहमं || ॥
[8] लेण्यीस्वायस्वादसादादादायमभं ॥ राणो तांकरलोहिन बुध-भुध- || लोष्टकस्थवे अतिनिष्ठ आधिकार धेरादी नहर्वस्य भुमिः प्र- ||
[9] ददना || अस्म्यास्तां || दिग्धिदिय तामि नदिये उत्तरमये दि- ||
[10] वित्सारभ ||

1 Line 3 ought to read श्रेद्धमिह.
1 (a) सुश्रूषाय-जापिवानस्थितामालाय श्रेष्टिः मदन-धिनी शैल-कन्त-मिवर्याः नायत्तिहास्यः नायत्तिहास्यः (Verse 330, Canto III, of Kuṇḍapāla bhūpala Charita Mahākāvyā of Śrī Jayaśimhaśvara Śūria) and also (b) तद्गात्रयं तद्गात्रयं ब्रवीद्वयाय तद्गात्रयं तद्गात्रयं (sic) tvam Śīhe Śāhkhramāta. V. 80, Canto VIII, of the same. The above can be rendered thus:—
1 (a) "The King planted, paced, or deposited his aśāh-ana on the head like the Śēhō or Sekhi."
1 (b) "Do thou cause his aśāh to be borne on the head, having them come up to him."
The poem is an old poem by a Jaina writer. I have lately laid my hands upon it. I hope to give some day an analysis of it.—H. H. D.
Translation.

Om! Om! Salutation to the worshipful Vāsadēva! (1) The Illustrious Jayasimhādēva is the ruler in the land of Gūjāra, who threw into prison the Lords of Surāshṭrā and Mālavā. (2) He who destroyed other kings as Sindhu-rāja and others, (and) made the Kings of the North bear his commands (respectfully) on their heads, like the Seshā—the remnants of offerings.* (3) He, whose metropolis is the city Anahilapātaka, in which city the temples of the gods are so high as to obstruct the path of the horse of the Sun, as Ayodhyā is that of Rāma! (4) There Vāhinipati Keśara obtained from the King the commission (?) of a Senāpati over the provinces of Dāhipadra, etc. (5) The wise and good Mantri, appointed by him at this Dāhipadra established (the temple of) Goga-Nārāyaṇa for the good of his mother.

The divine Goga-Nārāyaṇa was instituted in the year Saṅvat 1196 of King Vikrama's era (A.D. 1140). In Saṅvat 1202 (A.D. 1146) Rāṇa Saṅkarasāha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the Mahāmaṇḍalesāra Śrī Vāpanādeva, residing at Godrahāka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Āviliyakoda, in the district of Ubhod, for (the expenses of) the worship of this god. The land is bounded on the east by the River Dādhimati and on the north by the Ksharavāhā.

Again there is a prāṇabīti on the Arjuna-bāri of the Sameḷa Tank at Warnaṛgadh (Vadnagar) said to be dated in Saṅvat 1208, by the court poet Śrīpāla, who styles himself—

भूराद्यान्तपालनमयं:
धृतष्ठानामा कवितकलम्

But of this inscription anon. The present one furnishes us with a contemporary record of the extent of the conquests of Śrī Jayasimhadeva. He has already cast into prison the rulers of Surāshṭrā and Mālavā, destroyed the kings of Sindhu-dēsa—and others, and has for his feudā vassaled the kings of the North! Keśara his commissioner for Dāhipadra and other districts is in military command at Dohad, Saṅvat 1196 (A.D. 1140),—and appoints a Mantri under himself. There is a

Viceroy at Godrahāka (?) Śrī Vāpanādeva, Saṅvat 1202 (A.D. 1146). Feudatories like Rāṇa Saṅkarasāha are also on the best terms with his agents and representatives in the conquered provinces. There is general peace about this time. The version of the inscription may be read in the light of the account of the reign of the king by Samēsvardēva, the author of Kṛttikasamudrā which Prof. Kathvate of the Gujarāt College is now editing—from which the following verses (sarga ii) are here transcribed:

अभिलाभायायो रामो दासरायादिव
पुनः श्रीपरमाराग्मवकायतेन सामाजी श्री वासुकिनित्रि पुनः पुजितानि सीता विधुया वेन भुजानि || २१ ||

विविहानां पुरुषार्थोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

अपरापोराधोजाते ब्रह्म गृहमात्रम्
शैवार्धवत्वानाहो यो शैवार्धवत्वानाहो यो || २१ ||

अस्वस्यपरितिपुरुषां प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

ब्रह्मानां रचायते तृतीयोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

अत्यंतरण शनी कृत्यान्तरण बलवत्वानि मुनि || २१ ||

अग्रहोदयः स्वयं विद्यामुद्यः यो || २१ ||

गृहीताः दुहिताः तृतीयोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

दशकृतेन शुभार्थोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

प्रवेशानां दशकृतेन शुभार्थोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

मालाक्षेत्रमयोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

कोशरापाती राणाधिकारकार्याः
काल्पन्यकार्याः कीर्तिसाहित्यिः नीतिविवादः || २१ ||

एकीकारं तथार्थगतां नरसेवांमयोऽवत्तेन प्रकाशितानि मुनि || २१ ||

Verse 23.—"From him (King Karna) was born a son, the glorious Jayasimha, the conqueror of the world, a world of the most excellent qualities, like Rama from Dasaratha." v. 24.—"He, who out of anger reduced to vassalage the slanderous kings, excelling even when young the heroism of Sunasira." 25.—"He, who reduced to atoms in war the very imperious King of Soraṭ, Khangara, of abundant valour, as

* Offered to a god and distributed among his devotees, that cannot be refused and that are received with great respect.

** Here mark the parallel simile of Rama and Jayasimhadeva as in the inscription, verse 3.
the lion does the elephant.” 26.—“Either he or the Lord of Vaiḍeḥi bound the Lord of the Sīndhus or rivers," or the lord of Sīndhu-dēsa, with a countless host of Varis’ (i. e. cavalry,) casting down many bhūtriṣṭi, or kings.” 27.—“Not relenting in his mind in the matter of the hostile king’s rise”—he like the sage Agastya instantaneously dried up or destroyed Arṇo Rāja.” 28.—“This was the only difference between him and Vishṇu. The daughter of Arṇorāja—(the ocean)—Lakshmi was taken to wife by Vishṇu, and Arṇorāja the king gave her in marriage to him.” 29.—“Seeing the decapitated heads of enemies lying at his feet the lord of Śākambhari (Sambhar) too, out of fear, bowed down his head to him.” 30.—“He beat down in battle the Paramāras, another Māra, Para māra, as he was, the betrothed of the regal fortune of the ruler of Mālva.” 31.—“He threw the Lord of Dhārā into a wooden cage like a royal parrot, and at the same time he made the royal swan of his fame enter the cage of the universe—all the directions.” 32.—“He took but a single Dhārā, the city of Naravarman—but he gave thousands of dhārās (streams) of tears by it to his wives.”

We thus see how closely the two accounts of the acts of Jayasiṃhadeva agree with that of the contemporaneous inscription and the poem of a century later or more.

So this Inscription notes that in Sm. 1202 (A. D. 1146) “king Jayasiṃhadeva was alive.” The date of the death of the same king according to the Rāṣṭa Mālā is Sm. 1199, while Tod mentions Sid Rae as ruling over Gujarat from Samvat 1150 to 1201. In the Kumārāpāla inscription that Tod quotes in an appendix the year is read as Sm. 1207, while it is mentioned in the work itself as bearing date Sam. 1206.

So far as the present inscription goes, we may safely hold that King Jayasiṃhadeva was the ruler of Gujurat and other countries in Sm. 1202 or A. D. 1145-6.

I have only to add here the expression of my

obligation to Dr. Bühler for his valuable suggestions and assistance, and also to R. S. Oehårav Rām Mādhavārām, late Māmatīrām of Dobad.

In Goga Nārāyaṇa, Goga appears to be a name of some one of the ancestors of the Mantri, the founder of the temple; as Goga is a name very common with the Rajputs of the times, such as that of the Goga who with his forty-seven sons fell fighting bravely in defending the passage of the Satlej against Mahmut’s invasion; a short notice and a representation of whose statue we have in Tod’s Rājathāna, Vol. I, p. 720. And giving names to gods or temples of gods newly-instituted by the founder from his own name or from that of his ancestor is a practice not uncommon in this country.

NOTE ON THE DOHAD INSCRIPTION.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

Mr. Dhruba has rendered an important service to those interested in the history of Gujrāt by the publication of the Dohad inscription given above. The inscription not only reveals the ancient name of the western frontier town of the Panch Mahaḷs, but throws some light on the connexion of the Chaulukya rulers with the whole Zilla. We learn that in the twelfth century, just as now Godhrā (Godrahaka) was the chief town of the district and the seat of a Mahāmanḍalēśvara, a great feudatory or baron, under whom Thakore, like Rānsa Sākara-sīha of Ubhiloṭ, held smaller districts. We, further, hear that the Chaulukya lord paramount appointed a Senāpati or military commander to the district, including in that charge the town of Dadhīpadra (Dehvad-Dohad). This fact indicates that the Mahāmanḍalēśvara of Godhrā was not left altogether free, and that, very probably, Thāḍ, held by Chaulukya soldiers, existed all through the district. The object of this arrangement is not doubtful, if it is borne in mind that one of the great routes from Gujrāt into Mālvā passes through the Panch Mahāls, that Dohad lies just on the frontier of Mālvā, and that the relations between Mālvā

so till he returned, beret as Vindyā was of his Pakasas or wings.
11 Lord of the waters in the case of Agastya, a king of that name in that of Jayaśinītha.
13 Ibid. pp. 256 and 363.
and Gujarāt were during the whole period of the Chaulukya rule exceedingly hostile.

From the reign of Chāmuṇḍa down to the times of Visalādeva, the chronicles and inscriptions speak of constant wars and inroads of the Pramāras into Gujarāt and of the Chaulukyas into Mālvā. During the reigns of Bhīmdeva I, Karṇadeva I, Jayasimha and Kumārapāla the Chaulukyas had the best of it in this contest, and succeeded almost in destroying the Pramāra power and annexing their country to Gujarāt. If we now hear that Jayasimha appointed a sendpatis for the province of Dāhipadra and other districts, it is clear that he did it in order to protect the highroad to Māndū and Dhar, to keep it clear for his own troops and to guard against incursions from this side.

This is, in my opinion, the chief value of the inscription. I do not agree with Mr. Dhrusa in thinking that it throws a new light on the length of Jayasimha's reign, and proves him to have been living in Saṅvat 1202. Merutunga states in the Prabhavanḍhachintamani that Jayasimha died in Saṅvat 1199. In the Vīchāraśrepi the same author gives the date of Jayasimha's death as Saṅvat 1199, Kartika sud 3, and that of his successor's coronation as Saṅvat 1199 Margaśaṅkha sud 4. These detailed statements of a writer who drew his information from the writings of Rāma Chandram and other contemporaries of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla can, in my opinion, be discounted only by much stronger evidence than that furnished by the Dohad inscription. The latter contains two distinct parts, a metrical and a prose one, and two different dates, Saṅvat 1196 and Saṅvat 1202. The statement that 'The illustrious Jayasimhadeva is king of Gujarāt,' occurs in the metrical portion which treats only of the dedication of the temple of Goga-nārāyaṇa in Saṅvat 1196. Considering the repeated statements of Merutunga regarding Jayasimha's death, it seems me advisable to connect the sentence 'The illustrious Jayasimha is the ruler of Gujarāt,' with this date only. This can be done without imputing to the author of the inscription any laxity in the use of the tenses, by assuming that the first part of the inscription down to pratiṣṭhītāḥ (1.10), was originally a separate document, written in 1196, to which the second part was added in 1202 when Rāṇa Sāṅkarāsīhā made his donation. Similar instances of additions to older documents are not uncommon, and they are made either by simply adding a few lines to the older inscription or by copying the latter afresh together with the addition containing the new facts. A careful examination of the stone and of the letters would be necessary in order to decide if the pillar on which the Dohad inscription is engraved belonged to the temple of Goga-nārāyaṇa or not, and if the letters of the last lines show any little differences from those of the first ten. But, however this may be, I feel no hesitation in giving it as my decided opinion that we have here an inscription consisting of two parts composed or written in different years, and that the inscription asserts nothing more about Jayasimha's reign, but that he ruled over Gujarāt in 1196 Vikrama, a statement which quite agrees with Merutunga.

In conclusion I must state that I differ from Mr. Dhrusa in the interpretation of v. 5, and that I translate it as follows, 'The virtuous (man) who was appointed to this (town of) Dāhipadra and made a Mantri by him (i.e. Jayasimha) built for the good of his mother (the temple of) Goga-Nārāyaṇa.' In my opinion sendpatis Keśara was the builder of the temple, not some underling of his. Mantri dīkhita means either mantri anu dīkhitaścā, 'who was a Mantri and a Dīkhita (Soma-sacrificer or a descendant of a Soma-sacrificer)' or mantrītīre dīkhitaḥ, 'who was initiated as i.e. made a Mantri (by the king).' Mr. Dhrusa's rendering does not seem to me admissible.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.
BY J. F. FLEET, ESQ. C.S., M.E.A.S.
(Continued from p. 182.)

No. XCIX. Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, was, though not a capital city, a place of considerable importance

1 The rubbing shows no marked difference, but it is apparently made with a pencil, and is not quite satisfactory. - Er.
in the time of the Western Chalukyas. It is situated in lat. 15° 57' N. and long. 75° 52' E., on the left bank of the Malaprabha, in the Badami Taluk of the Kaladgi District, about eight miles to the east by north from Badami. As regards its ancient name,——paśada means 'of the (regal) fillet or turban,' i.e., as we should say, 'of the crown,' or 'of the anointing (of the king),' i.e., as we should say, 'of the coronation.' Holal or holalu means 'a city.' And, in Kusunolai, the first two syllables may perhaps be kisal, 'a ruby.' In the Bidi Taluk of the Belgum District, there is a village called Mañikavada, i.e., Mañikavadi, 'the town of rubies'; and, according to inscriptions, the ancient name of Maunugali, the 'Mungolee' of the maps, in the Indi or the Bagawadi Taluk of the Kaladgi District, was Maunigavall in Canarese and Mañikavalli in Sanskrit, both meaning 'the hamlet of rubies'; and probably many similar names might be found by searching the maps. In the modern name, Paṭṭadakal, kal is probably, not an abbreviation of Kusunolai, but kallu, 'a stone,' which enters into the names of so many villages in the Canarese country; and the word then means 'the stone of the anointing or coronation.'

The architectural remains at Paṭṭadakal have already been described by Mr. Burgess in the First Archaeological Report, pp. 28 &c. In the present paper I shall give an account of all the inscriptions known to be extant here, nearly all of which were examined by me in person in the season of 1876-7.

The largest, though not the oldest, temple is that of the god Virupaksha, or, as we learn from the inscriptions, originally of Lōkāśvara. And the present inscription and the next tell us that it was built by the Saṅgahlāra Gupta for Lōkāramahādevi, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II. in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kāśchī, or the Pallava king whose capital was at Kāśchī.

The present Old-Canarese inscription is in the eastern gateway of the courtyard of the temple, on the front face of a pilaster on the right or north side of the doorway. The writing covers a space of 3' 3" high by 2' 14"

A facsimile, from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith. From the type of the characters, the engraving of the inscription was evidently synchronous with the building of the temple. Dr. Burnell has stated that 'a feature common to all the later inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas, but which does not occur in any others, is a marked slope of the letters to the right. The Eastern Chalukya character is, on the other hand, remarkably square and upright; this distinction is quite sufficient, after A.D. 650' (Śaka 572) 'to show the origin of an inscription.' This slope of the letters to the right is certainly a characteristic of the Western Chalukya copper-plate grants. After about the above date. But the facsimiles which I am now publishing show that, as regards the inscriptions on stone, it depends entirely upon the idiosyncrasy of the individual engraver, and that, therefore, even in the copper-plate grants, it is not to be taken as indicating any radical change in the type of the Western Chalukya alphabet. In stone-tablets, for instance, it is discernible in No. Cl. below, an inscription of Vijayaditya and Vikramāditya II., and in Nos. CII. and CV. below, other inscriptions of Vikramāditya II. But it is not discernible at all in the present and the next inscription, or in No. LVIII. at Vol. VIII., p. 285, which are inscriptions of the same king; or in No. XCIV. at p. 102 above, and in No. LVII. at Vol. VIII., p. 284, which are other inscriptions of Vijayaditya; in these instances the characters are of the square and upright type which Dr. Burnell considers to have become, at that period, the distinctive characteristic of the Eastern Chalukya alphabet.

In addition to recording the name of Guṇḍa as the builder of the temple, this inscription, as also the next, seems to be intended to record the readmission into caste of the artisans of the locality, who had been outcaste for some act which is not stated. The purport of this portion hinges entirely upon the meaning to be given to the word bālgīvārtē, or perhaps, as it is written in line 6 of No. C, bālgīvartē. It is not a dictionary word, and I cannot find anything approaching to it in the dictionaries. Therefore,—though Mr. Venkat Rañgō Kaṭṭī...
says that it sounds to him like the Dravidian equivalent of the Sanskrit balaśikāra, and conveys to him the meaning of that word; and though this meaning suits the context,—yet this interpretation must not be accepted as altogether certain.

**Transcription.**

[1] Svasti
[2] pri(pri)thivivallabha-mahādhēvi-
[3] yara dāgalāmī
[4] Śrī-Guṇḍa
[5] ge mume-perjjerep-pattamu Tribhuvanaḥchāri-
[6] y-endu pesar-ittu prasīdah-geyda pr(pri)dhi(hi)viyā
[7] binnāyigālā ballīgavārto illa dōsigā-
[8] na kavarddd-uljordge parīha(re)m [u *] Idān alī-
[9] von Vāraṇāsiya nisirā kvileyinm sāśirvva-
[10] rppārvarumā nkonōna(ṇ) lokkakke sandon-akk[u][m*] [u*]

**Translation.**

Hail! There is no excommunication from caste of the skilful people of the world who have attained the favour (of the god), having given the potṭa called mūme-perjjerep (and) the name of Tribhuvanaḥchārya to Śrī-Guṇḍa, whose (observance of) the established rules of conduct was unimpeached, the Sūtrākārī who made the temple of the queen of Viṣṇu māḍiṭya, the favourite of the world; (and there is) immunity to the others who united themselves with the guilty man.  

(L. 8.)—May he who destroys this, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmaṇas of Vāraṇāśi!  

No. C.

The following Old-Canarese inscription is in the corresponding position to the preceding, viz. on the front face of a pilaster on the left or south side of the doorway in the eastern gateway. It was uncovered by me for the first time, having been previously almost entirely concealed by a rubble masonry wall built up in front of it as an additional support to the roof. The writing covers a space of about 2' 8½' high by 2' 4½' broad. A facsimile, from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith.

In addition to recording that the temple was built for Lōkamahādēvi in celebration of her husband Viṣṇu māḍiṭya II. having three times conquered Kānchi, and to recording the admission into caste of the artisans of the locality, this inscription gives several titles of the builder of the temple. Among them is that of Sarasasidhi-Achārya. The Sarasasidhi-Achāryas are mentioned again in No. CXIV. below, and seem to have been some celebrated guild of architects or builders. The characters of this inscription are of the same standard as those of the preceding; and, in both cases, they are of the same bold and deep type, with the edges rounded off, as those of the inscription, No. XCIV. at page 104 above, in the porch of the temple of Mahākūṭa near Bādāmi.

**Transcription.**

[1] Svasti
[2] bhataa-mumme Ka(kā)mchiyan-mūme pari-
[3] jisidora Śrī-Lōkamahādhēviyār
[5] mume-perjerep geyda-balikke 1 viha-
[6] yada vianaligālā ballīgavārteyanu-ujī

---

8 Balligavārte.  
Sanderson gives bīmāna as an Old-Canarese word meaning 'care, affection, skill,' and bīnāmā, (the second syllable short) as an Old-Canarese word meaning, 'a clever man; cleverness, skill, ability,—and also vimāna as a Canarese word meaning, 'worthy; worth.' And C. P. Brown gives viṃśa as bīmāna, meaning properly as a corruption of the Sanskrit vijñāna, as meaning capacity, dexterity; art, skill, craft, cunning; grace, beauty; graceful, handsome.  
Friedel or Sanderson is from the Sanskrit vijñāna, 'possessed of vijñāna, or knowledge, science, wisdom, business, employment, &c.' Sanderson gives to vijñāna the special meaning of 'acquainted with painting or architecture,' but I do not know what authority there is for this; it is not borne out by Prof. Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.  
9 Pāñcāra.  
10 Dāsiga or dāshikā.  
11 P. B., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 66.
IN THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL.
ON A PILLAR IN THE EAST PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF
VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL.
[1'] pida áchárya pesar-ivan-ārini[2'] [1*]  
[2'] Svasti Śri-Sarvasvidhi-áchári sakala-gup-āraya  
[3'] anēka-rapu(ṣc. pūra)-rāstu-Pitāmahan sakala-niśākala-sū-  
[4'] kṣhmn-ātibhāshtān va(ṣc.)ṣtu-prāśāda-yān-āsana-am(a)ya-  
[5'] na-mañimakula-rataanachudāmaṇi te[ṁ]*kāna di-  
[6'] śeṇa sūtradhāri ["*]

Translation.

Hail! Let it be known that these are the names of the Áchárya who averted the excommunication[13] of the skilful people of this district, after that they had given the nāme-parjñepu to the Sūtradhāri who made this temple of Lōkēśvara of Lōk amahā dēvī, (the queen) of Vīkramadītīya, the worshipful one, who three times conquered Kānti:-

(L. 8.)—Hail! —Śri-Sarvasvidhi-áchárya; the asylum of all virtuous qualities; the Pitāmaha[2] of many cities and houses; he whose conversation is entirely perfect and refined; he who has for a jewelled diadem and crest-jewel the houses and palaces and vehicles and seats and couches (that he has constructed); the (most eminent) Sūtradhāri of the southern country.

No. CI.

In an open cell in the back or western wall of the courtyard of the same temple, I have had placed, for safety, a rather roughly-shaped red-sandstone tablet that was found in the fields about half a mile away to the west of the village. The tablet is 4' 10" high, of which the writing covers 2' 9", by 1' 3½" broad. A facsimile,[14] from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith. The only emblem at the top of the stone is a figure of Nandi, couchant to the proper left; this is the earliest stone-tablet known to me that has this emblem on it. And it is, in fact, the earliest stone-tablet but one, known to me, that has any emblem at all; the exception is the stone-tablet of the Western Chalukya king Vīnasāditya and the Sēndraka king Pogillī, which has at the top an elephant, standing to the proper left.[15]

The inscription is in the Old-Canarese language, and is of the time of the Western Chalukya king Vīnasāditya and his son Vīkramadītīya II; it is therefore not later than Śaka 655 (A.D. 733-4), and is of a somewhat earlier date than the preceding two. It records the grant of apparently a stone throne or pedestal and of a bracelet or bangle to the idol of the temple of the god Lōkāpalēśvara, which had been built by Ānanta-guṇa. If any traces of this temple now remain, they cannot be identified. Lōkāpalēśvara is probably the same god as Lōkēśvara, under a slightly different name. They are both names or forms of Śiva.

Transcription.

[1'] Svasti Śri-Vījayādīya  
[2'] śrīprithu(thi)vīvallabha mahārāj-āhīrāja  
[3'] paramāvara bhātārāt koṭṭha datti A[na]-  
[4'] ntagunārā dēgulakke koṭṭhudu datti  
[5'] A[rjuna]āchāryaya-bhagavantarā cīhā-  
[6'] namā=Deviechārya-bhagavantaraggā koṭṭhā  
[7'] Śri-Lōkapālēśvarakam-pāre balli ["*] ["] [Sva]-  
[8'] datta(tā)m[ñ] para-datta(tā)m and yō hārēti(ta) vasundhā[rāṁ]  
[9'] shashti(m) varisha(ṣc. varsha)-saḥarāṇī vi[ṣṭa]-  
[10'] yān jāyatē krimi[h]* ["] ī dharmmakkhe a(hi)taṁ-  
[11'] bevṛṇo=Vāra[n]aṁjīyā śāśi[r*]vṛṇ[r*]paṁvṛṇa[r*]  
[12'] sāsira kavileṭuṁ kondo lōkakke sa-  
[13'] n[do]n=akkum ["] ī dharmmakkhe a(hi)taṁ-bevṛṇo-paṁcha[ma]-  
[14'] háptatakan=akkum ["]

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[13] This letter me is on the countersunk surface of the pillar, not on the shaped part of it that stands out in relief and contains the body of the inscription.

[14] Brahmā; i. e. "the creator, the maker."


Translation.

Hail! The grant that was given of Śrī-Vijñāditya and Viṣṇumāditya, the favourites of the world, the great kings, the supreme kings, the supreme lords, the worshipful ones,—the grant that was given to the temple of (the architect) Anantasāga,—was a stone seat (?) and a bracelet (?) to the temple of (the god) Śrī-Lokapālaśvara, after having given the office of the holy Aṇjanāchārya to the holy Dāvāchārya.

(L. 7.)—He is born as a worm in order for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! May he, who does harm to this (act of) religion, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand Brāhmaṇas and a thousand tawny-coloured cows of Vāraṇasi!

May he, who does harm to this (act of) religion, incur the guilt of the five great sins!

No. CII.

The majority of the inscriptions at the temple of Lokaśvara or Viṣṇupāksha are in the east porch. The present is on the front face of the front pillar in the right or north side of the porch. The writing covers a space of 1â′ 8″ high by 2′ 2″ broad. A facsimile, prepared under my own supervision from the estampage taken by Mr. Burgess, is published herewith.

It is another Old-Canarese inscription of Viṣṇumāditya II., and records that his queen-consort, Lokaṭabhādevī, confirmed the singers of the locality in the enjoyment of the grants and privileges that had been conferred on them by Viṣṇumāditya.

Translation.

[1] Svasti Śrī-Vijñāditya-Satyaśraya-śrīśrīśriyau(thi)vivallabha-mahā-
[2] ṛjādhiraja-paramesvarana-bhūṭatāra
[3] siddā pūrvvam-mahyadegalān Śrī-Viṣṇu(kra)māditya-bhūṭa-
[4] rārā Lokaṭabhā(hā)dvīyār gāndharvavrgge nittār [n*]
[5] Idānāśiva Bāvānāśaya sāsira kavile-
[6] yun sāśivvar pāivvarumān konda lōkakke sa-
[7] ṇdon-akkuṇ [n*] Ereyadi Śrī-Guppāddugga Duggamāra idā[n*]
[8] paṇḍār [n*]

Translation.

Hail! Lokaṭabhādevī, (the queen) of Śrī-Viṣṇumāditya, the worshipful one, confirmed to the singers the covenant of former times, which had been granted to the singers by Śrī-Vijñāditya-Satyaśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the worshipful one.

(L. 5.)—May he, who destroys this, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmaṇas of Vāraṇasi!

(L. 7.)—Duggamāra, of Śrī-Guppāddugga in (the country of) Ereya, obtained this (concession).

No. CIII.

On the same pillar, below the preceding inscription there is the following short inscription in characters of about the ninth or tenth century A.D. The language appears to be Old-Canarese; but the meaning is not apparent, except that it seems to record the name of a certain Dhuiliprabhu, who may have been a visitor to the temple. The writing covers a space of 10′ high by 1′ 8″ broad.

Translation.

[1] Śrī-Kelavaraḥ-Dhuiliprabhu-
[2] dāvā goṣṭha(?) deraniṭti e
[3] dūnban [n*]

No. CIV.

On the corresponding back face of the pillar, on the front face of which is No. CII. above, there is the following inscription, consisting of two Sanskrit verses in praise of Achaladv Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition. The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D.


For the meaning of the Sinda inscriptions, see Sanderson’s Cenarese Dictionary, under pāṭ and pāṭa.

The Sinda inscriptions may mean either the ‘office’ of the priest of the temple, or the ‘locality’, i.e. ‘allotment of land’, belonging to the holder of that office.

P., S., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 54.

This translation of the last two lines is not altogether satisfactory; but it is the best that I can offer.

P., S., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 55.

ID., No. 56.
ON A PILLAR IN THE EAST PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. PURDOM.
ON A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF SAMGAMESVARA, AT PATTADA KAL.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. Fleet, R.G.I.

ON A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF SAMGAMESVARA, AT PATTADA KAL.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. Fleet, R.G.I.
Transcription.

[1] Bharata-nata-vachana-mahanā-viradhita-natn(ta)-sērya-
[3] bhavatya-sēva [[* Nāta-sēva-Bharata-nata-yata-patutuka-
[5] spu(sphu)[it-anata-mastaka]=patati [ ] Achalada [ ]

Translation.
The elephant, blind with rat, which is an actor of another school, is deprived of his frenzy by the lion's roar of (the rules) that are to be observed of actors, framed in accordance with the arrangement of the celebrated sentences of Bharata. The mountain, which is an insincere or proud actor, falls down, having its summit (which is the actor's head) broken open and bowed down by the thunderbolt, which is a most skilful composition imbued with the opinions of Bharata, which are worthy to be followed by actors. Achalada.

No. CV.

This inscription is in the corresponding position to No. CVI., above viz. on the front face of the front pillar in the left or south side of the east porch. The writing covers a space of 1' 10" high by 2' 3" broad. A facsimile, prepared under my own superintendence from the escamper made by Mr. Burgess, is published herewith.

It is another Old-Canarese inscription of Vikramādiya II., and records the grant, to the temple of Lōkēśvara, of the district called the Nareyaṅgal Fifty, and of a contribution of grain. This Nareyaṅgal is in all probability the modern Narēgal in the Dharward District, about twenty-five miles almost due south of Paṭṭalakal.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti
[2] yarā Lōkēśvarādā
[3] galān-sītta samayam-or-mattargē
[4] jōlaṅ kuḍārdu [ ][*]
[5] rāja-parashūraṇe pugil-illa

Translation.
Hail! At the time of giving the Nareyaṅgal Fifty, (which was the grant) of the temple of Lōkēśvara of Lōkamahādēvi (the queen) of Vikramādiya, the favourite of the world,—(it was settled that) people will give two kuṭas28 of millet on (each) one mattar (of land). There is no preperatory demand,29 there is no (obligation of) presenting cattle;30 there is no right of perquisites31 (allowed) to the king's servants.

(L. 5.)—May he, who destroys this,—whether he be a Brāhmaṇ, or whether he be a heretic,—be as one who kills a thousand tawny-coloured cows of Bāraṇāṣi.

No. CVI.

On the north or inner face of one of the pillars on the south side in the same porch there is the following short inscription,32 in the Old-Canarese language, and in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. It seems to record the names of two visitors to the temple.

Transcription.


Translation.
Hail! Dhūli, (the disciple at) the foot of Śrī-Sakarēsivādi, saw the excellence of the temple of Lōkēśvara. Āditya, the son of Śrī-Hājadēva.

No. CVII.

On one of the front pillars in the north porch of the same temple of Lōkēśvara or Virupāksha,
there is an undated Old-Canarese inscription\textsuperscript{23} of the reign of the R\textsl{a}sh\textsuperscript{t}\textsl{rak\textsuperscript{k\textsuperscript{a}}ta} king Dh\textsl{r}\textsuperscript{a}varsha, Ka\textsl{riv\textsuperscript{l}}\textsl{abhi\textsuperscript{a}}, or Dh\textsl{ru\textsuperscript{a}}, whose date was about Śaṅka 700 (A.D. 778-9). This will be published in detail by me in a separate paper on the R\textsl{a}sh\textsuperscript{t}\textsl{rak\textsuperscript{k\textsuperscript{a}}}ta dynasty.

Over a figure of the god Śiva, near the west end of the north face of the temple, there is one line of writing in the Old-Canarese and Sanskrit languages, and in characters of the seventh or eighth century A.D. It was not shown to me at my visit; but a lithographic copy of it has been published elsewhere.\textsuperscript{24} The lithograph is not a good one; but it suffices, two syllables only being doubtful, to show that the original runs,—Śri-Pullappa Śrī(?)-Mād(J)-nādāvā-kha(ks)ita-pratimā—Śri-Pullappa; the image made by (?)Śri-Māṇalāvā. The reference is evidently to some sculpture on the temple, and Pullappa is probably for Pulaha, the name of an ancient sage, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, and also a name of Śiva.

No. CVIII.

On the south or front face of a pillar in the west side of the south porch of the same temple, there is an Old-Canarese inscription of three lines, in characters of the eighth or early in the ninth century A.D., over the sculptured figure of some god. It was late when I saw this inscription, and I had no time to copy it, and the photograph\textsuperscript{25} does not enable it to be read with any accuracy; but it contains nothing of historical purport.

No. CIX.

On the south face of the same temple, there is an Old-Canarese inscription\textsuperscript{26} in two lines, in characters of about the same age, under a figure of Śiva, who is represented with very bushy hair and with his left foot on the back of a dwarf figure.

\textit{Transcription.}

\textsuperscript{[1]} Śrī-Chēmu(?) veṇ(?)gamma i prātīme-

\textsuperscript{[1]} yaṁ kāṭtiḍeṇ [ \# \# ]

\textit{Translation.}

Śrī-Chēngamma made this image.

No. CX.

Finally, inside the same temple of Lōkēṣvāma or Virūpākṣa, on the south side of the nave, there is a pillar\textsuperscript{27} with four compartments of sculptures representing scenes from the Rāma-yāṇa. Each compartment has a line of writing above it, in characters of about the period of the building of the temple, giving the names, usually in corrupt or Prākrit forms, of the figures represented in the sculptures.

\textit{Transcription.}

\textsuperscript{[1]} Kara\textsuperscript{28}-Dūḥaṣpām Suppaṇa\textsuperscript{29}i Lakkana\textsuperscript{30} Suppaṇa\textsuperscript{29}i Lakkapaṇ Rāma Site\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{[2]} Rāvaṇa Suppaṇa\textsuperscript{29}i Karā-Dūḥaṣpān Rāma Lakkapaṇ Site

\textsuperscript{[3]} Pochchari\textsuperscript{33} Rāma Pochchari Rāma Pochchari Lakkapaṇ Rāma Site Marīčchana\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{[4]} Sapārīva\textsuperscript{32} Rāvaṇa Jātāyu Rāvaṇa Site Rāvaṇa Site Lakkapaṇ Site Site Lakkapaṇ Site

No. CXI.

On the north side of the enclosure of the temple there is the house of Parappa Pujāri, in which there stands a monolithic pillar, apparently of red-sandstone. The pillar is called Lakṣaṇak\textsuperscript{k}ambha, or "the pillar of the goddess Lakṣaṇī," and is worshipped as a god. The result of this delicate attention is that it is very much smeared with oil, and the two inscriptions on it have been rendered very difficult to decipher. I had the pillar cleaned to a certain extent; but chemical means, with which to clean it sufficiently to make the inscriptions legible enough for editing, or even for exstam- pages to be successfully taken, were wanting.

The upper part of the pillar is octagonal. The north-west, west, south-west, and south faces, have on them a Sanskrit inscription in the early Old-Canarese characters. It consists of twenty-five lines of writing, each line commencing on the north-west face, and running round to the south face; each face of the pillar-

\textsuperscript{23} Id., No. 60.

\textsuperscript{24} First Archæological Report. Plate xlv, No. 27.

\textsuperscript{25} P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions, No. 62.

\textsuperscript{26} Id., No. 65.

\textsuperscript{27} Id., No. 64.

\textsuperscript{28} Rāha—A brother of Rāvaṇa. Dūḥaṣpaṇ was one of the generals of Rāvaṇa.

\textsuperscript{29} Sūrpanakha, or Sūrpanakhl,—the sister of Rāvaṇa.

\textsuperscript{30} Lakṣmaṇa.

\textsuperscript{31} Sitā.
INSCRIPTION ON THE FRONT FACE OF THE
TEMPLE OF PĀPANĀTHA AT PAṬTADAKAL.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY J. F. FLEET, NO. 28.
SCALE 1/4 OF ORIGINAL.
ON THE SIDE WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF PAPANATHA, AT PATTADAKAL.
has about eight letters in the line. Enough of 
the inscription was made legible to show that 
it records that a large stūpa temple of the god 
Lokśāvara was built by the queen-consort 44 of 
Vikramādiśya-Satyārāya or Vikra-

ramādiśya-deva, the son of Vijaya-

ādiśya-Satyārāya,—that she was of the 
Hāshayā family,—that the temple so built 
was placed on the south of a temple of the god 
Vijayēvara, which had been built by Vijaya-

ādiśya-Satyārāya,—and that certain 
lands, measured by nivarṇamas, were granted to 
it.

The south-east face of the pillar is blank. 
On the east, north-east, and north faces there is 
another Sanskrit inscription, of twenty-eight 
lines, of eight or nine letters in the line on each 
face. The characters are an early form of 
Devānāgarī, somewhat like No. 7 of Plate 
XXXIX. of Thomas’ Edition of Prinsep’s Anti-
quities, Vol. II. This inscription has been still 
more injured than the other, and so little light 
falls on it that I could not decipher much of it. 
But I made out the same names as in the other 
inscriptions, and the general purport of it 
seems to be the same.

Below the octagonal part of the pillar there is 
a square four-sided division. On the west face 
are remains of twelve lines of about twenty-one 
letters each, apparently in continuation of the 
inscription in Old-Canarese characters above. 
And on the east face are traces of eight lines of 
about twenty-one letters each, apparently in 
continuation of the Devānāgarī inscription 
above.

No. CXII.

We learn from the preceding inscription that 
the temple of Lokśāvara or Virūpaksha

was built on the south of a temple of the god 
Vijayēvara, which had been previously built 
by the Western Chāluṅka king Vijaya-

ādiśya. This latter temple still exists, and is 
identified by the inscriptions inside it, as well 
as by its position, though it is now known as 
the temple of Saṅgamēvara. 45

At this temple there is a large stone-tablet, 
with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, which 
stood originally in a dark corner against the 
west wall of the centre hall of the temple, on 

the south side of the door leading into the 
shrine. Col. Biggs had it brought outside, for 
the purpose of photographing it; but I had it 
taken inside the building again and placed 
against one of the pillars. The tablet is 
8'64" high, of which the body of the inscription 
covers 4'64", by 2'6" broad. The stone is 
then blank for about two inches. Then comes 
another short inscription, which is very illegible, 
in the original as well as in the photograph; 
it seems, indeed, to have suffered a good deal 
from exposure to the weather since the time 
when the photograph was taken. The emblems 
at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a 
Indiya and priest; on their right, a figure of 
Nandi or Basava, with the sun above it; and 
on their left, a cow and calf, with the moon 
above them. I have edited the body of the 
inscription elsewhere. 46

It is a Sind inscription, of the time of 
Chāluṅka II., the feudatory of the Western 
Chāluṅka king Taila III. It is dated Śaka 1084 for 1085 
(A. D. 1163-4), the Subhāhu saṅgamēvara, and 
records grants made to the temple of the god 
Vijayēvara of Kiscovala or Paṭṭada-Kiscovala, 
by Chāluṅka’s chief wife, Dēmaladēvi, and his 
eldest son Āčha II., who were governing at the 
capital of Paṭṭada-Kiscovala.

On a stone in the west wall of the centre hall 
of the temple, on the right or north side of the 
door leading into the shrine, there is an inscription 
of seven lines of about twenty letters each, in 
characters of about the period to which the 
construction of the temple belongs; but the 
stone was so besmeared with grease and dirt 
that I found it impossible at my visit to clean 
it sufficiently to read the inscription, or to take 
an estampage successfully.

On the corresponding stone in the wall on the 
left or south side of the same door, there are 
the traces of another inscription of six lines of 
about thirty-five letters each, in characters 
of the same period. But this inscription has 
at some time or other been intentionally defaced 
with the chisel and mallet, so that it is now 
almost entirely illegible.

On the north face of a pillar on the south side 
of the nave in the centre hall, there are the 
words Saṁti Śrī-Vijayēvarā kṣabha, in char-

44 It is the temple mentioned by Mr. Burgess in the 
First Archæol. Report, p. 33, para. 4.
acters of the same standard as those of the inscription now published, but rather better engraved, marking it as the votive pillar of a certain man named Vidūjāśīva.

On the east face of a pillar on the north side of the nave in the centre hall, there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile is now given from the estampane taken by myself. The pillar is an original one, an integral part of the building. The writing covers a space of 4' high by 2' 0' broad. The inscription speaks of this and some other pillar as the votive offering of a certain Mātibhadrama.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrī-Bhi(vijayēśvārā)rādaya [II*] Mātibhadrama-

Translation.

Hail! The house of the temple of (the god) Śrī-Vijayēśvara, Pāka (pāsa) the fashioner of the ornamentation of these two pillars of Mātibhadrama.

No. CXIII.

On the north face of another pillar on the south side of the nave in the centre hall of the same temple, there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile is now given from the estampane taken by myself. This pillar also is one of the original pillars of the building. The writing covers a space of 8' high by 2' 1½' broad. The inscription speaks of this and some other two pillars as the votive offering of Chalabbe, a harlot of the temple.

Transcription.

[*] Svasti Śrī(śrī) -Bijēśvarada(ṛc. Vijayēśva- rada) sūle Chalabbeya
[2] kamba mu(mū)ru [II*]

Translation.

Hail! The three pillars of Chalabbe, the harlot of the temple of (the god) Śrī-Vijayēśvara.

No. CXIV.

At the south-east corner of the village is an elaborately sculptured temple of the god Pāpanātha, which Mr. Burgess considers to be one of the oldest structural temples yet examined, and which he seems inclined to attribute to the fifth century A.D.

Many of the sculptures on the north and south faces of the temple represent scenes from the Rāmāyana, and have the names of the characters engraved over or against them, usually in a corrupt or Prākrit form,—such as Rāman, Sīte, Sīte, Lakkāna, Jājaśu, Saugrīvan, Balī, Aṅgajān, Ravanā, Suppaṇaka, Kar- Dusāna, Bhīmasēna, Śrī-Baladēva, Nājān, Viḥhihaṣaṇ, and Kumbhakarna. The characters do not seem to me to be as early, by at least a century, as Mr. Burgess considers.

On the face of one of the pilasters in the north wall of the centre hall of the temple, there are a few letters in Old-Canarese characters, but I could not make anything out of them; they at any rate contain nothing of historical import.

High up on the front or east face of the temple, on the south side of the door, is the following short Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile is now given from the estampane taken by myself, is published herewith. The writing covers a space of 10½' high by 9' broad. The characters seem to me to be not much, if at all, earlier than the seventh century A.D. The inscription is in praise of a certain Chāṭṭara-Revadi-Ovāja, who, it is said, 'made the southern country', i.e. who was the builder of the most celebrated temples in the southern country. It is hardly to be doubted that it is implied that he was the builder of this particular temple. We find, also, that he was of the guild of the Sarvasiddhi-Āchāryas, to which, as we learn from No. C. above, the builder of the temple of Lākēśvara or Viḥhihaṣaṇ belonged.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrī-Silēmaddara
[2] marmmān Sarvasiddhi-Ā-
[3] chārjya(rīya)ra Chāṭṭara-Rev-
[4] di-Ovajār teṇika-
[5] ṇa diā máḍidora [II*]

23 Khara-Dāhsana. 24 Viḥhihaṣaṇ.
25 Kumbhakarna.
26 P., S., O.-C., Inscriptions, No. 63.
Translation.

Hail! Chaṭṭāra-Revadi-Ovajjā\(^{22}\) of the Sarvavādhisthā-iṣṭāryg, who was acquainted with the secrets of the Śrī-Silāmadas\(^{22}\) made the southern country.

No. CXV.

The last of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions is the following one, in Sanskrit, on three stones in the north face of the same temple of Pāpanātha. A facsimile\(^{23}\) is published herewith, from the stammap, taken by myself. The characters are of much the same age as those of the preceding inscription. The writing covers altogether a space of 1' 3½" high by 1' 1½" broad. I could not find any sculpture to indicate what the inscription refers to.

Translation.

\[1\] Bhō bhō purusha-ārdha[rddh(ā)lilih*] parvatah gandha-mā.
\[2\] mātañān... gāṭrāṇī kēna mē sūkaraṁ mu[khaṁ]\(^{[2]}\) [[*]]
\[3\] Mayā dattānī dhā(ā)-
\[4\] nānī bahūnī vividā(ā)-
\[5\] ni cha adattam-āduraṁ-ākhyā[m]\
\[6\] tēna mē sūkaraṁ mukhaṁ [[*]]
\[7\] Gandhamātan [[*]]

Translation.

Hol, ye tigers of men, on the mountain... bodies...; why have I the face of a hog? Many and various gifts were given by me, but that which is called (the gift to commemorate) a time which is not one of misery was not given; therefore have I the face of a hog. Gandhamātā.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 143.)

VIII.

We have seen the rivalry between Chinghiz Khān and Chamukha arose, and how the former controlled the tribes living upon the Oron, the kernel of the Mongol race, while the latter's influence was apparently chiefly confined to the tribes living on the Argun. We must now turn to the results of this rivalry, which eventually led to Chinghiz being accepted as their master by all the tribes of Northern Mongolia.

We are told in the Yuan-ch'ou-pi-shi that in the year of the Hen, i.e. in the year 1201 A.D., the Ulussen Khatagin and others, to the number of eleven altogether, assembled at Alkhainun, and after consultation agreed to ask Chamukha to be their head. Having killed a horse and sworn a pact, they set off down the river Argun, and at the island of the river Kan Murum they proclaimed Chamukha as their ruler, and determined to make war upon Chinghiz and Wang Khan.\(^{1}\) First, let us consider the locality of these proceedings. The Alkhainun of the above notice is called Arubulak in the Yuan-shi, as translated by Hyacinthe, and "The Alai Springs" in Mr. Douglas's translation. It is clear it was near the Argun, and I am disposed to identify it with the Uro-balak, which falls into the Argun near New Zarukhaita.\(^{2}\) Palladius quotes a suggestion of Sia Sun that it is a feeder of the Argun called Inn, which at its outfall is called Jou, i.e. island,\(^{3}\) but I would remark that a river falling into the Argun on its right bank near New Zarukhaita, almost opposite the Uro-balak is called Garan or Huan.\(^{4}\) In the Yuan-shi this river is said to be in the district of Khulan-ergi, i.e. the Red Cliffs.\(^{5}\) Hyacinthe reads this last name Tula-biri, i.e. the river Tuna,\(^{6}\) while Gaubili gives it from the Yuan-shi-let-pien as Tula-pir, and identifies it with the Toropina, a tributary of the Nonni in Northern Manchuria. I prefer to follow Palladius's reading.

Having fixed the localities, let us now turn and

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\(^{1}\) Op. cit., pp. 92 and 70.
\(^{2}\) The river Kan of the Yuan-ch'ou-pi-shi is called Keen by Rashidudd-din. The Yuan-shi calls it Keen; Douglas, p. 23.
\(^{4}\) Palladius, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 627; Petermann, Mittheilungen, 1861, map 16.
\(^{5}\) Palladius, 280, note.
discernment who the confederates were who sided with Chamukha. In the Chinese translation of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi these are given as "the Khagatgin with others, 11 Uluses altogether," but in the original Mongol text, according to Palladius, the names are set out as follows:—The Khagatgin, Sajju, Dorbihan-Tatar, Tatalun, Ikileun, Ungula, Kholola, Naima, Merki, Oia and Daiihi. Palladius says very truly that only some of these tribes, namely, the Khagatgins, Saljut, Taijut, and Uirat were of Mongol blood.

The Tatalun of this notice are probably to be identified with a section of the Tartars named Tutankelint by Rashidud-din, who are said by him to have been the most important section of the race, whence a male Tartar was styled sometimes Tutukaltai, or Tutukhelina, and a female one Tutukaljin. We are further told that they took part with the various enemies of Chinghiz Khán, and that the race was nearly exterminated.10

In the Yuan-shi the tribes mentioned as supporting Chamuka were the Ha-ta-kin, Salchoo-tih, Too-urh-pun Ta-ta-urh, Eke-la-sze, Hung-kel-la, and Ho-ur-la-sze, i.e. the Katagin, Saljut, Durban-Tatar, Irikisses, Kongarut and Khuralas, which comprise merely the tribes on the Argun. Rashidud-din also only names the Katakins, Saljut, Durban-Tartars and Konugarut as the supporters of Chamukha. The Yuan-shi-lei-pien, however, expressly says that the league formed by Chamuka was much fortified by the adhesion of Pu ta, king of the Naimans, while the mention of Buiruk by name in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi as assisting Chamukha, makes it tolerably certain that the Naimans formed part of the confederacy. The Naimans were a very important race at this time in Central Asia, and we must make a digression to describe them. Rashidud-din tells us they were divided into several tribes, some of whom living in the plains and steppes, and others in the mountains. He says they occupied the districts Eke or Yeke Altai, i.e. Great Altai; Karakorum, where Ogotai afterwards fixed his capital; the mountains Alui Sracra and Kuk Irtish or Gul Irtish, where the Kankalis also lived, the Irtish Muran, i.e. the river Irtish; the districts referred to it and the country of the Kirghises, (where they were often at strife with Wang Khan) and as far as the steppes which border on the land of the Uighurs; that is, they occupied Northern Sungaria, from the upper waters of the Irtish to Karakorum. They were powerful and their army was well appointed. Their customs and mode of living were similar to those of the Mongols. I have argued in the first volume of my History of the Mongols that they were Turks, a view which is now generally held. The Naimans form to this day the most important section of the middle borde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and an important branch of the Uzbeks, and I believe that these Naimans are directly descended from the Naimans, who occupied Northern Sungaria in the days of Chinghiz. Abulghazi tells us, I don't know on what authority, that they once had a ruler named Karkish, who left his throne to his son Inat.11 Rashidud-din says their ruler in former times was called Kusiltuk, i.e. powerful and mighty, and also Buiruk, i.e. commander. They acquired this latter title from the fact that their Padiashah or ruler ruled equally over Jins and men, and acquired such power that he could milk the Jins, and used to make thick and sour milk and kuwai from what he got from them, which he drank. Besides these titles, their princes had also personal names. The earliest of their princes, whose name is recorded by Rashidud-din, was Inanji Belgeh Buku Khán, or as Berezine reads it, Inanji Eke Tuka Khán. Inanji, according to Rashidud-din, means a believer. Belgeh is probably a corrupt reading; if Eke be right it means merely great, and Buku Khán was a title borne in early times by the rulers of the Uighurs and other peoples.

Inanji's eldest son was called Babin a, but bore the Chinese title of Tai Wang, i.e. Great King, which was corrupted by the Mongols into Tayan. His second son was called Buiruk. On their father's death they quarrelled and

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1 i.e. Saljut.
2 i.e. Ikikeris.
3 Kongarut.
4 i.e. Khorlay or Khuralas.
5 i.e. Naima.
6 i.e. Taijut; op. cit., note 227.
8 Douglas, op. cit., pp. 26 and 38.
9 Berezine, op. cit., vol. II., p. 130.
10 i.e. the Buiruk of other authors.
11 Vide infra.
12 i.e. Lake Irtish, the modern Lake Saisan.
16 Or spirits.
separated. The former occupied the steppe-country, and the latter the mountains. They had a long strife. Their father described Buirak as "a lion which does not bestir itself until a wolf has torn out half its loins." It was this Buirak who was now in alliance with Chamaun. With the Naimans are mentioned the Merks and also the Uirat. The last of these were led by their chief Khatukha or Khetuke Biki, who was a dependent of Buirak, the Naiman chief. Rashidu'd-din tells us the Uirat formed several tribes, each with a separate name. Although he says their language was Mongol, it was slightly different from that of the other Mongol peoples. Thus they called a knife, which in standard Mongol was called kutuga, khudga, etc. etc.

The Uirat still survive as a powerful community. Schmidt says the favourite name the Kalmuks of the Volga give themselves is Uirat or Mongol-Uirat. Durkan Uirat, or the Four Uirat, is the name by which the Kalmuks were known to Sanang Seten, in whose pages they occur very frequently. He also speaks of the Uirat Burjat and the Gol Minggan of the Uirat. The Chinese writers of the Ming period call the Kalmuks, Wala, which is their transcription of Uirat, the Chinese having no letter t. Rashidu'd-din says they lived on the Sekiz Muran. Sekiz, in Turkish, means eight, and Muran in Mongol means river. The name, therefore, as Abu'lghazi says, means the eight rivers. These eight rivers, he says, fall into the Angara, which is the head stream of the Kem or Yenissei. This is confirmed by the names of the eight rivers as given by Rashidu'd-din and Abu'lghazi. Thus the Ukhur Muran is doubtless the Irkut, the Uk Muran is no doubt the Oka. The Chaghlan Muran, or white river, doubtless survives in the Biela, which is a new name given to one of the tributaries of the Oka by the Russians, and which means white. The Jurja or Khorkha Muran is probably the upper Tunguska, the Mongols call the Tungus of Manchuria Jurji. Of the other four rivers the Kara Ussun is still the name of a tributary of the Oka. The On Muran is probably the modern Ungu. The Kok Muran or blue river and the Ibei Ussun Sijitan or Sanibkan, I cannot identify, but these will suffice to fix the district called Sekiz Muran by Rashidu'd-din. This author says the Tuman, by whom, as I shall show further on, he probably meant the Burjats, formerly occupied this area, but had moved further on, and it is not improbable that the Uirat, who were clients of the Naimans, lived at this time about Lake Kosso Gol. Their name is interesting. Pallas and Remusat both say it means allies, Durkan Uirat meaning the four allies. Bansarof explains the name as derived from Ouarat, meaning forest people or woodlanders. Vambery would give it a Turkish etymology, and says ouarat means a grey horse, which has a plausible support from a statement of Marco Polo, who says that the Kuan, i.e. Khu bili, kept an immense stud of white horses and mares, more than 10,000 in all, and all pure white and without a speck. The milk of these mares was drunk by himself and his family, and by none else, except by those of one great tribe that had also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by Chinghiz Khan on account of a certain victory that they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe was Horiad. Abulfaraj calls them Averathaei, and says they excelled the rest of Chinghiz Khan's subjects in valor. He accordingly honoured them, and made a law that the daughters of their chiefs should marry into his family, and vice versa, which he says was the rule when he wrote. This is confirmed when we find that Turalji, the son of Khatuka Bagi, their chief, married a daughter of Chinghiz Khan, whilst Turalji's sister married Mangu Khakan. The form of the name as given by Abulfaraj reminds us of another etymology, to which I in fact lean. The name in Uirat, I believe, is merely the form of the plural. The rest of the word is then similar in form to Avar or Var, as the name occurs in the Byzantine authors. There are many other considerations which favour the identification of the Kalmuks with the Avars, which we cannot enter into here. This will suffice at least.

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28 Erdmann, p. 249.
29 Beresine, vol. 1, p. 79; Erdmann, p. 158.
30 Forsch. in Geb. der alt. rel. etc., der Volk. Mitt. Asien, p. 42 note.
31 Up. cit. pp. 97, 139, 140, 145, 146, 152, 155, 156, 157, 167, 169, etc.
32 Beresine, p. 79; Erdmann, p. 157; Abu'lghazi, p. 45.
to point the way. It is not our suggestion, but one made long ago by Fischer, the historian of Siberia. Let us now revert again. The only important Mongol tribes in the confederacy controlled by Chamukha were the Khatsagins and the Saljuqt, who would seem to have had an independent organization from early times, pointed out in the genealogies, by their being made to descend from two several sons of Alun-Goa, and not from her eldest son, Budantsar. Rashidu'd-din has a curious statement about them, etc. that, some years before this, Chinghiz Khan had sent an envoy to them asking for their alliance. It was the fashion, he says, among the Mongols on these occasions to send enigmatical messages framed in artistically arranged phrases. Such was the message Chinghiz Khan now sent them. They could not understand it, but a young man volunteered to explain it as meaning that as Mongol tribes who were strangers had united themselves with him, it was the more reason why they, who were relatives, should also be his friends. They did not heed these advances, treated the messenger with contempt, and having boiled a sheep’s intestine filled with blood into a sausage, stuck it over the face and ears. Chinghiz Khan was naturally enraged at this treatment of his envoy, but he postponed his revenge.

Let us now revert to our narrative. Rashidu’d-din and the Yuan-shi make the confederates first swear a common purpose and then swear allegiance to Chamukha. The former tells us that in the former instance they killed a stallion, a bull, a ram, a dog and a he-goat, and striking with their swords said: “Heaven and earth, listen to our oaths, we swear by the blood of these animals, which are the heads of their kinds, that we wish to die like them if we break our oath.”

The Yuan-shi tells us they gave Chamukha the title of Gurkhan, and in swearing allegiance to him on the banks of the river Keen said, “Whoso betrays our plans, may he be broken like the hands of this river and cut down like these trees,” and as they repeated the words, they stamped down the banks and cut down the trees with their hatchets.” Let us now turn again to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. When the confederacy was formed against Wang Khan and Chinghiz Khan, that Kuridai, who belonged to the tribe Khurulas, went to the latter’s camp at Gulyalgu, and informed him. He in turn sent to inform Wang Khan, who collected an army and joined his friend. They went down the Kerulon together to meet Chamukha. Chinghiz Khan sent on his relatives Altan, Khunchar and Daritai to reconnoitre, and Wang Khan similarly despatched his son, Sankun, with two companions. They went forward as vistettes, and explored the districts of Yenegi-gai-litu, Cheksal and Chukhurkhu. When Altan reached Ukitia or Utkia, those who had gone out to reconnoitre at Chukhurkhu returned with the news that the enemy was advancing, and it was speedily discovered it was Chamukha. Anchubatur the chief of the Tajut, and others. It was then late. The following day the two armies approached one another at a place called Koitian. Thereupon Buur, (i.e. the chief of the Naimans) and Khudukha, (i.e. the chief of the Uirats), two of Chamukha’s allies, proceeded with their incantations to cause wind and rain, but contrary to their expectations the elements went against their own people. The air became dark, and Chamukha’s soldiers, not being able to see, fell into holes. Thereupon remarked that the heavens were unpropitious and his army scattered. The Naimans and other tribes, eleven in all, went home to their own wields. The Yuan-shi makes two campaigns out of this one, in one of which Dain, a Kongrut chief, i.e. Dai Setzen, his father-in-law, informed Chinghiz Khan of the impending danger, who thereupon attacked the enemy at Bail-gol, and completely defeated him. Rashidu’d-din also speaks of two fights. He tells us that Chinghiz Khan was warned of the plot by his father-in-law, Dai Setzen, the chief of the Kongrut. He also speaks of the two allies setting out from Khutun Nor or Lake Khutun, near the Onon, and says the fight took place at Boir Nur, no doubt the Bail-gol of the Yuan-shi and the well known Lake Buyar, into which the river Khalkha falls. The Khutun lake is perhaps lake Tarei. According to the Yuan-shi, after this fight Dain Noyan set out with his people to join Chinghiz Khan, when the latter’s brother, Khazar, unaware of

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24 Erdmann, Terra incognita, p. 276; D’Ohsson, tom. I. p. 61 note.  
26 Douglas, p. 28.  
27 Douglas, p. 28.  
28 Chekkar.  
29 Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, pp. 70 and 71.  
30 Douglas, p. 28; Hyansho, p. 19.  
31 Beresina, vol. I, p. 120.  
32 Id.
his purpose, attacked him, and plundered his tribe, whereupon he joined Chaminha. It was after these events that, according to the Yuan-shi, Chamanha was elected Gurkhan, whereupon he meditated a fresh attack, of which Chinghiz was warned by one whose wife was a relative of his, named Chor or Chun-urh. Another fight took place—this time at Khalaiartai Kharog, in which he was again victorious. Where-upon the Kongurut definitely joined him. The Yuan-shi mentions a third struggle at Khoitan or Chotian in which Chamekha had the Merkis and Naimans for allies, and in which a magician, who was with the Naimans, made snow and rain, as above described. This struggle is also mentioned by Rashidu'd-din. On this occasion he calls the man who warned Chinghiz Khan of his danger Kharidai. He having over-heard the plans of the confederates, reported them to his brother-in-law Merkita, of the tribe Khurula, who was there on his own business, and who persuaded him to go and report the matter to Chinghiz Khan. He also gave him his white horse with cropped ears, on which to ride. On the way he hit upon a Guran, which was moving in the form of a square, under the command of Khulan Bakhtadur. A scout attached to this army, named Kara Mergitai, who was a Khurula, captured him. He recognized him and proved very friendly towards Chinghiz, supplying him with a beautiful stallion to continue his journey upon, and telling him that when mounted on it, if he was pursued, the enemy would not be able to overtake him, while if he wished to overtake any one, he could easily do so. He went on again, and presently came across a party who were escorting the white tent belonging to Chamukha. They tried to capture him, but he galloped on and reached his goal in safety. When Chinghiz had been warned of his danger, he marched against the confederates, and fought a battle with and defeated them in the place Ede Korgan or Yedi Kurgan. One result of the battle was the subjection of the Konqurut.

The Yuan-chao-pi-shi tells us that after his defeat Chamukha, having collected the people who had elected him their ruler, set off on his return down the river Argun. Wang Khan went in pursuit of him, while Chinghiz Khan followed Anchubataur, the chief of the Tajut, who, having reached his wits, crossed the Onon, and drew up his army in expectation of an attack from Chinghiz. The latter then joined issue and made several prisoners. Towards evening, both sides rested for the night close to one another and in the place where the battle had been fought. Chinghiz himself was wounded in the neck in the struggle, and from the loss of blood fell into a deep swoon. We are told that thereupon Jeti, his brother-in-law, having cut off the clotted blood from the wound, and when at midnight he felt thirsty, he went off naked into the enemy's camp, and searching about for kumis found a bucket full of cream or curds, which he carried off. Having mixed some water with it, he gave it to Chinghiz to drink. After taking three draughts, the latter said "I begin to see again and feel invigorated." He now asked his faithful friend various questions, inter alia how he could dare to trust himself naked in the enemy's camp, where, if he had been captured, he would have had to confess that he was wounded, when they would have gone and seized him. Jeti said: "I should have told them that the reason for my strange appearance was that I meditated deserting to them, but had been caught and stripped of my clothes, and while preparations were being made to kill me I had torn myself away and run to them. They would certainly have believed my words, would have clothed me and put me to work, and when once seated on one of their horses, I should easily have escaped." Chinghiz recalled Jeti's other services to him in the Merkit campaign, and he promised not to forget him. De Maille seems to refer to this adventure, but with other names. He tells us that being now master of several horses, Chinghiz endeavoured also to subdue the Kiellici, by whom he means the Tarkhans, but he was defeated. Having lost his horse during the fight, he would have been captured had not Pori, i.e., Booreh, given him his own. It snowed very much, and our hero, who was a fugitive, found himself without provisions or a tent to cover him. Thereupon Muholi, i.e., Makuli and

Douglas, p. 27.
Hysaintho, pp. 26 and 27; Douglas, p. 23.
* i.e., a division of the enemy's army.
Berneuse, vol. II, pp. 124 and 125; Erkman, pp. 279.

and 280; D'Ohsson, tom. I, pp. 63 and 64. The Yedi Kurgan has been explained as meaning the 'place of the grave mounds.' Wolfl., Gesch. der Mong. od. Tartaren, p. 41, n. 54.
* Yuan-chao-pi-shi, pp. 71 and 72.
Porchi looked out a spot where the grass was thick where he lay down, while they covered him with their felts. They lay beside him, and in the morning they were covered with more than a foot of snow. As they were returning home with only a few companions, there appeared a band of robbers who threatened to attack them. Chinghiz Khan was accompanied by a famous archer named Soo, to whom he was much attached, and had given the sobriquet of Mergen. When the robbers drew near enough to hear, Chinghiz called Mergen's attention to two ducks which were flying overhead, and bade him kill one. Mergen asked—which, the male or the female? “The male,” said Chinghiz. Hardly had he said this when Mergen let fly his arrow and brought down the duck. The robbers were thereupon frightened and withdrew. On another day when crossing some very rugged mountains with but 30 or 40 horsemen, he asked his officers what they should do in case they met bands of robbers there. “I should not doubt being able to resist them,” said Mukuli. Whereupon there proceeded a shower of arrows from the forests, with which these mountains were covered. Mukuli at once advanced and killed three of the robbers with three successive arrows. He was so famous that when they learnt who it was, they withdrew. Mr. Douglas has translated another version of this Saga. It is apparently taken from the Sch Wei, or Woof of History by Cain-Yun-seih, as it is not contained in either of the other two authorities on which his work is founded. It describes how on one occasion Temujin was defeated by the Kelais. He was accompanied, it says, in his flight by Muhuli, the son of Kungwunuhwa. We are told that the latter was in constant attendance on Temujin. One day when on a campaign against the Naimans he with five others formed his body-guard, and when he had ridden hard and was faint and hungry, Kungwunuhwa killed a camel by the river side, and having dressed and cooked some of its flesh, he gave it to Temujin to eat. Presently the latter's horse broke down, whereupon he dismounted and ran beside its master, until he dropped down dead. On his death he left five sons, of whom Muhuli was the third. It was reported that when the latter was born, a white vapour filled the tent, which was accepted as an augury that he was no common child. He became distinguished for his intelligence and skill in archery, and was one of Chinghiz Khan's four famous champions. It was he who accompanied Chinghiz when he fled before the Kelais. As they journeyed, a storm of snow and wind came on, and when night drew nigh, there being no shelter at hand, he stretched a mat on the ground, and while Chinghiz slept on it, he, with another officer placed himself to the windward of him, so as to protect him from the snow. In the morning they went on, and their road took them through a narrow defile shut in between high hills, covered with trees, whence there came a flight of arrows. The robbers dispersed, as I have mentioned. Rashid-d'in reports the same events, and assigns them to Boorechi, and Bargul or Baraghul Noyan, i.e. the chief of the tribe Uishin or Hushin.

He does not say who the struggle was against, but that Chinghiz was wounded in the mouth and throat, and very weak; that Bargul led his horse with his hand, and having heated a stone, put it in water so as to make steam with which to get the clotted blood out of his throat, and make him breathe more easily. He also held his mantle with both hands over his head so as to ward off the snow. He stood by him till the snow reached to his own girdle, and eventually saw him safely to his ordus. Rashid reports how on another occasion Chinghiz, having been separated from his people, and being pursued in the mountains by the enemy, had only Bargul and Burgul for companions. These two went out to forage, but found nothing. They had a fishhook with them which they put into the river, and caught a great fish. Burgul tried in vain to drag it out. Hunger and weakness paralysed him, and he fell into the stream. These stories are interesting. They prove to us by what hardships Chinghiz and his nearest companions, who answered to Napoleon's bevy of marshals, were trained to face all kinds of

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28 I identified him in my History of the Mongols with Subutai Bichadar, but he was perhaps Chepo Noyan.
29 De Mailla, tom. IX, pp. 19 and 19.
30 The Lkhirases; but the account may refer to some later incidents, and by the Kelais he in fact meant the Kirais.
32 Bagurji or Bagurhun as he calls him.
34 Beresine, vol. I, pp. 161 and 163; Erdmann, p. 206 and 206; D'Ohsone, tom. I, pp. 43 and 44.
difficultly and danger, with the imperturbable courage and endurance which characterized them. They illustrate further how Chinghiz acquired that knowledge of detail and of the minor tactics of war which is the main feature of a great commander, namely, by adventures in which personal courage, tact and presence of mind had to be shewn under critical circumstances of various kinds on a small scale. It was this training which prepared the great leader for those feats of masterly strategy which we shall describe later on. Chinghiz had another characteristic of great commanders, namely, the power of unifying his dependents close to himself and securing their unwavering loyalty. Bugurji is reported to have said to his master in his later days of prosperity, "When the raven's cry is at fault I am not misled. When the kite becomes confused I do not lose my head. When the dust covers the roads I lose not my way. This is why men have deemed me infallible." Let us now revert to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. Although we are there told that Chinghiz Khan was wounded, it does not appear that he was actually defeated; on the contrary we read, that on the day after the battle with the Tajut, Chinghiz noticed that the enemy's army had scattered during the night and went in pursuit. On his way he saw a woman on a hill who kept shouting out Temujin. Chinghiz sent a man to inquire what was the matter. She said she was Khadaan, the daughter of Sorkanshir; the soldiers wanted to kill her husband, and that she was shouting to Temujin to go and rescue him. Chinghiz on hearing this, rode on to try and save him, but he had already been killed. Having pitched his camp there, he summoned Khadaan, and gave her a seat by his side. On the following day Sorkanshir and Jede or Chepe presented themselves before him. They had both been in the service of Todogai of the Tajut tribe. Chinghiz recalled to the former how he and his children had once befriended him when in great peril, and asked him why he had not gone to join him before. He replied "In my heart I was disposed towards you, but if I had come sooner it is probable the Tajut would have killed my

wives. Chinghiz then turned to Jede and asked him who it was that in the battle at Kiutan had shot an arrow from a hill which had pierced his horse's neck. Jede confessed that he had done so, and went on to say, "If you order me to be killed, you will soil a piece of earth not larger than my palm, but if you spare me I will prove my devotion to you. I will stem the deep water and break in pieces the hard stone." Chinghiz enlisted him among his people. Hither to he had been styled Chünkhoi, but inasmuch as he had shot his horse, Chinghiz called him Jede, "and he used him as a war horse." Jede is also the name of a military weapon. He became one of his most famous commanders, and we shall have more to say about him further on.

Chinghiz having destroyed all the family of Auchubaatar of the Tajut, with all his people, moved to the district of Khubakhaya, where he passed the winter. By this place Kubukhia, on the right bank of the Onon, not far from Tarei Nor, is probably meant.

The Tajut chief, Tarkhutai Kiriltak, had taken refuge in the woods. His old dependent, Shirguetu, with his two sons, Aakh and Nayaa, determined to surrender him to Chinghiz, and as he was stout and could not sit on a horse, they therefore took him in a kibitka or cart. His brothers and sons, having heard of this, went in pursuit and overtook them. Thereupon the old man Shirguetu pulled out his knife, saying, "Whether I kill you or no, I shall die; it is better therefore to kill you and then die." Tarkhutai then shouted out to his relatives to stop as Shirguetu wanted to kill him. "My corpse," he said, "will not be of any value to you. Let them take me to Temujin: he will not kill me, for I in former years did him service." When the party reached the district of Khutakhun, Nayaa said to his father, "If we take him to Temujin, the latter will certainly accuse us of having laid hands on our lawful master, and will put us to death. It would be better to set Tarkhutai free and to tell Temujin that we had seized him, but as he was our lawful master, we had repented and therefore gave him his liberty." They therefore released him. When they report-

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61 Erdmann, p. 207.
62 Sarghan Shireh of Bashidhalun.
63 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 78 and 79.
64 Id., p. 74.
65 See the Map in Petermann's Mitteilungen for 1861, already cited.
66 Palladius says this was probably an invention to frighten his conductors, so that they should not injure him. Op. cit., note 259.
ed what they had done to Chinghiz, he said to them, "If you had brought him to me, I would certainly have killed you." You have done well in setting him free;" and thereupon rewarded Naya. This incident is a curious proof of the rigid loyalty which was inculcated by the Mongol polity. It does not stand alone, but other cases are known in which traitors to their masters, instead of being rewarded, were immediately punished even when the treachery was inexcited by the Mongol chief himself. This feature was in marked contrast with the easy allegiance of the tribes of Central Asia and Persia generally, among whom treachery was an every-day form of tactics.

The campaign against the Tadjuts, described in such detail in the Yuen-ch'ou-pi-shi as above, is only referred to in a very short paragraph of the Yuen-shi, where we read that Chinghiz Khan, in alliance with Wang Khân, defeated Hang-hu or Khankhu, as the name is written by Hyacinthe, on the river Onon, and captured a great number of men. Rashidu'd-din has more details. He tells us that Chinghiz and his friend and patron, Wang Khan, met together in a kurilai at Sari Keher in the year of the monkey (596 A.H., 1200 A.D.) and concerted a campaign against the Tadjuts. The latter, he says, were assembled on the Onon, with their chiefs Angkhu Uguju, (meaning, according to Rashid, the very hot-tempered) Kori, Tarkhutai Kiriltuk and Khududar, together with a contingent of Merkhis, who had been sent by their chief, Tukta, under the command of his brothers Khudu and Oriching. The two allies allowed them short respite. They marched against them and defeated them. They pursued Tarkhutai Kiriltuk and Khududar as far as Engut Turas, where they killed them both. Angkhu and the two brothers of Tukta found shelter in Bargjui. Kori perished among the Naimans. This campaign was an importance. It virtually settled the allegiance of the various tribes of purely Mongol race. In future the struggles of Chinghiz Khan were almost entirely with foreign tribes. We must now go on with our story.

We read in the Yuen-ch'ou-pi-shi that in the year of the dog, in the autumn, Chinghiz Khan fought in the district of Dalannimargesi against the four horses of Tartars, that is, the Cham Tartars and others. Before the battle he issued an order to his army, instructing them in case of victory not to run after the plunder, which should be divided fairly, and that, if driven back to their old quarters, they must take fresh heart and make a new attack. Those who shrank behind and did not again advance were to be decapitated. The Tartars were duly beaten, and Chinghiz and his people advanced to the river Ukhui to the place Shilugiljut, and took all the oolu, i.e. the camps of the Four Hordes. In the beginning of the battle Altan and others in defiance of the orders of Chinghiz began to plunder, whereupon Chinghiz ordered Jede and Khubilai to take the booty they had secured from them. In the Yuen-shi the opponents of Chinghiz are called Angtsi and Chagan Tartars, Chagan meaning white. Hyacinthe gives the name of the place where the struggle took place as Urkhu Saltsa gol. Palladius, who is a much better authority, reads it from the same authority as the springs of the river Khalkha, which falls into Lake Buyur, which was as we know in the Tartar country.

The two Tartar tribes attacked on this occasion were called Anchi, (or as Erdmann reads it Alji,) and Chagan by Rashidu'd-din, who says there were four other divisions of the race called respectively Tatomukhui Kiuin, Nereit, and Bargui. There was another section of Tartars in the Inshan mountains, who were otherwise known as Ongut, to whom we shall refer presently.

Let us now return to the Yuen-ch'ou-pi-shi. We there read that having subdued the four Tartar hordes, Chinghiz secretly consulted with his people, and urged that since the Tartars had earned his revenge by treacherously betraying his ancestors, it was a suitable occasion on which to kill all their males who were higher than an axel tree, and to divide and

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62 Yuen-ch'ou-pi-shi, pp. 74 and 75.  
63 Douglas, p. 55; Hyacinthe, p. 18.  
64 Called Khudu and Rejane by Erdmann.  
65 Called Elhun Tursh by D'Ohsan and Longut Naimans by Erdmann.  
66 Beresne, pp. 110 and 119; Erdmann, p. 275; D'Ohsan, tom. I, pp. 59 and 60.  
68 Yuen-ch'ou-pi-shi, p. 77.
make slaves of the remainder. After the consultation Belgutei, who had been present, was accosted by a Tartar named Yekejeryan, who asked him what their business had been. Upon which either in bravado or thoughtlessness he frankly told him. The news was speedily conveyed to the Tartars, who took possession of their mountain stronghold. Chinghiz ordered it to be destroyed—a work which cost his people much trouble, but when it was captured they duly put to death all the men not less than an axle wheel, but as each of the Tartars had armed himself with a knife, in the process the Mongols lost a considerable number of lives. Chinghiz was naturally much irritated with Belgutei, whose rash disclosures had caused the death of so many people, and he ordered that in future he was not to be admitted to council meetings when important business was being discussed, but to remain outside and decide in brawls and quarrels and in matters of stealing. He and Chinghiz Khan's uncle Daritai (who had perhaps shared in the indiscretion) were only to be admitted after the other councillors had drunk a skin of kumiz. At this time Chinghiz married Yesugan, the daughter of Yekejeryan, who obtained considerable influence over him. She told him she had an elder sister called Yesui, who was worthy to be a king's wife. She said further that the latter had been recently married, and that she did not know her whereabouts. Chinghiz replied, "If she be really a beauty I will order her to be found; but when she is found, will you surrender to her your place?" 72 She said she would. Chinghiz thereupon ordered Yesui to be searched for. She was found in a wood, where she had hidden herself with her husband. The latter fled, and she became one of Chinghiz Khan's wives. 73 On one occasion Chinghiz was drinking outside his tent with Yesui and Yesugan, when he heard a deep sigh. He became suspicious that one of his wives was love-making, and ordered Mukali and his other companions to their tents. After they had gone, there remained behind a young man. Chinghiz asked him who he was. "I am the husband of Yesui, who escaped when she was captured," he said.

"I thought I should not have been noticed in the crowd." Chinghiz said "You are a descendant of my enemies, and have come here to spy," and he chopped off his head. 74 Neither the Yuan-shi nor the Kang-mu give any additional facts about this Tartar campaign. Rashidu'd-din dates it in the same year, i.e. 598 A.H., 1202 A.D. He puts the battle on the river Olkhu i Solti, on which site D'Ohsen has a valuable note. He says the river Uukui takes its rise in lat. 47° on Mount Soyolki or Soyolji, which is a branch of the Khiingan range separating Mongolia and Manchuria. Before losing itself in a small lake of the Gobi, the Uukui receives a tributary called the Soyolji. 75 This small lake is the Chantu Nor of the maps. In his special article on the Tartars, Rashidu'd-din would have us believe that Chinghiz Khan made a general slaughter of the hated tribe, and even ordered pregnant women to be cast open. He calls the Tartar wives of Chinghiz respectively Mesulan and Mesuktor Biseun and Besakut. 76 Seanang Setzen calls them Jisun and Jisaken and says they were daughters of the Tartar Yeke Tsooro. 77 Many of Chinghiz Khan's followers also married Tartar maidens and adopted Tartar children. Chinghiz gave his brother 1,000 Tartars to put to death. He only killed 500, and at the request of his wife spared the rest. Among those who escaped the general massacre many became famous afterwards. One of these was called Khu'tb khol Noyan, also known as Shiki Khushukhu. He was adopted by Chinghiz Khan's favourite wife Burtai and used to call her Terigur-eke or Berigangr-ege and Sain-egeh, while he called Chinghiz Echige or Ijeh. Chinghiz called him Arik beki or Akha, and gave him a rank co-ordinate with that of his sons. As we shall see, he caused the Mongols a severe defeat near Bannian, but he survived this many years and lived to the age of 82. His favourite motto was "Fear not, and speak the truth," and his reputation for justice was quoted by judges even down to the 14th century. When he was only a boy of 11 or 12, or as others said of 15, he secured the special favour of Chinghiz by a

72 Or. cit., note 235.
73 Or. cit., p. 64 note.
74 Or. cit., vol. 1, p. 27; Bollmann, p. 180.
75 Or. cit., p. 83.
bold action. Chinghiz was moving to his winter quarters and the snow was thick on the ground, and he saw some stags in the distance. These the boy went after, and succeeded in killing 27 out of 30, which greatly delighted his patron. On another occasion he helped to rescue Chinghiz Khan’s youngest son Tului, who was then only four or six years, from a Tajat robber, who was carrying him off. Two brothers named Khulu and Khla Menggetu Ukha were saved by Chinghiz Khan’s Tartar wives. They joined their household. They and their descendants afterwards became famous. We are told that at the instance of his two wives just named, Chinghiz ordered the two brothers Khulu and Menggetu, to collect the Tartar families who survived. Of these he got together 30, out of whom was formed a hasara. Another Tartar named Khutukut became a great amir and commander of a hasara in the left wing of the army. Chinghiz also had a Tartar concubine, whose name has not reached us, who was the mother of Shagano, who died young. Other more or less famous men in the Mongol army of Tartar origin are mentioned by Rashidu’d-din. There can be small doubt that he greatly exaggerated the number of Tartars who were destroyed. This was assuredly so if the modern Daurians are, as we have argued, the descendants of the Tartars.

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI

Transliterated from the French. (Continued from p. 85.)

Sixth Edict.  
Transcription of Girnar version.


Translation.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods: In the past [they have] not [given heed] at all times [to] the despatch of business and hearing reports (K.: at all times hearing reports on business). For myself, this is what I have done. At all times whether I am eating, [whether I am] in the harem, in the inner apartments, even in the secret retreat and in the place of religious retirement (?) and in the garden, everywhere the officers may enter charged with reports, with the command to report to me the concerns of the people, and everywhere I des-

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8. In these places the readings of Gen. Cunningham’s plate differ from facsimile B.


11. To be corrected into cha k[5]a[5], the reading of Dhali Janguda and Khulai, equivalent to cha khu or cha kho.

patch the concerns of the people (K. b): the concerns of the people, the concerns of the faithful) quite as much, in that I myself, with my own mouth, direct to give or to make known, as by the opportunities which the Superintendents of Religion afford (K.: to the people). Thus it is that I have commanded that, everywhere, and always, a division, a quarrel (K. b: every quarrel ?) being raised in the assembly of the clergy, it be reported to me immediately. For I am never satisfied to have shewn sufficient activity in the administration of justice. It is my duty by my counsels to procure the public good: now the source of it is in activity and in the administration of justice; for there is nothing more effective for the public welfare. All my efforts have only one object: to discharge that debt [of duty] with respect to the creatures; I make them as happy as possible here below; may they be able to attain heaven in the other world! It is with this idea that I have caused this edict to be engraved, may it long endure! and may my sons, my grandsons, and my great-grandsons (Dh. and J.: my sons and my great-grandsons; Kh.: my sons and my wives; K.: my sons, my grandsons) follow my example (Dh., J., Kh., K.: make all the efforts they can) for the public welfare. But that is difficult without much effort (K.: but this wise conduct could not be attained but by much effort).

Seventh Edict. 13

Transcription.

(1) Devānāpiyo piyādasi rāja sarvata[+ichhati save pāsānti] vācyu[.] save te satyamani[+] cha

(2) bhāvāsvadhuḥ cha ichhati jano tu uchāvāchahe nāno uchāvāchārīga [+] te sarvāṃ va[+kāsa]nti ekadesāna mā kāsa[nit[+]

(3) viṃpū tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāvāsvadhuḥa va kāsa[+nita] va dadhabhaktīṣa cha nīchā[-bādhān.]

Translation.

King Piyaḍasi, beloved of the gods, wishes that all sects may be able to live [at freedom]
in all places. All, indeed, propose [alike] the subjugation of the senses and purity of the mind; but man is inconsistent in his wishes, inconsistent in his attachments. Thus they put in practice either entirely or [only] in part [the idea] which they have in view; but even such as do not give alms, practise the control over the senses, the purity of the mind, gratitude, constancy in the affections, which is nevertheless good.

Eighth Edict. 15

Transcription.

(1) Aṭikāṭam aṭārataḥ rajāno vihārayatān[+] nāyāsu[.] ete maṇḍayā[+] aśāni cha etāraśāni[+] aḥārīnaḥ[+] samānaḥ[+] cha etāra[+] haṁya[+] saṁbhūdhi[+]

(2) tenesā[+] jhāṁvatā eta[+] yam hoti bhāṇa-pa-samanānaḥ dāṣāne cha dāne cha thāṁrānaḥ dāṣāne cha

(3) hiraṁnaprativṛddhā[+] cha janapadaḥa cha[+] janasa darsanaṁ bhāṁmāna[+] cha dha-maparipuchhā cha[.]

(4) tadopāya esa bhuya[+] ratī bhavati devānāpiyasya prīyadasino rañcā bhage māne[+]

The following translation differs less than any of the others yet examined from that of my predecessors:—

Translation.

In the past, kings went out for (Dh. K.: for what is called) courses of enjoyment. The chase and other [amusements] of that sort formed their pleasures in this world. I [who speak] king Piyaḍasi, beloved of the gods, in the thirteenth year of my consecration, have attained [true] knowledge. So, too, [my courses in this world are such as are] religious courses; that is to say: visiting and giving alms to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, visiting the old (wonting in Dh. and J.), distribution of money, visiting the people of the empire, their religious instruction, conversations about the things of religion. It is thus, that, in exchange [for past pleasures], king Piyaḍasi, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which procure these [virtuous] actions.

13 Cunningham's plate reads "sastra".
14 C. "asa ə." The reading antyagam of the facsimile B. puts an end to the doubt of Burnouf, who, reading sayama, wished to alter it to sugama; antyagama is a familiar word for 'dominion over the senses.'
15 C. "asa ə." The other texts have loka. For Kāsa[nti.}
Ninth Edict.—

Transcription.

(1) Devānāṃprīyaṃ; priyadasī rájā eva aha [ ]

(2) āvāhavīhāsaṃ vā putralābsaṃ vā pravāsānāṃ bhiṃ vā[ ] etam bhiṃ cha ahaṃ cha jano uchāvāca māṅgaḷaḥ karote

(3) ābhāṃ dānaṃ bhukhaṃ cha bahūvīhaṃ cha chhudaṃ cha nirathaṃ cha māṅgaḷaṃ karote[ ] ta katuvaṃ eva tu māṅgaḷaṃ[ ] apabhramāṃ tu kho

(4) etārisām māṅgaḷaḥ ayaṃ tu mahāphale māṅgaḷaḥ ya dhanammanaṅgaḷ[ ] tata dāsabhatakambī samyaprātipati gujñānaṃ apaḥcītīṃ sāduḥ

(5) pāñyo saṃyo sādhu bhamasaamaśānakānāṃ sādhu dānā[ ] etādo ahaṃ cha etārisām dhanammanaṅgaḷānām ahaṃ[ ] tu twaṃyaṃ pitā va

(6) putrenā vā bhātā vā sāmikena vā idānā sādhu idānā katuva māṅgaḷaḥ āva ta tu mañyaṃ dāsa nistānāya[ ] astī cha pi vitaṃ

(7) sādhu dana iti na tu etārisām astī dana va anagavo vā yārisām dhanamadānāṃ va dhamanugahō va[ ] tu kho mitreṃ va

(8) ūntikena va sahāyana va oṣaditvam tamābhi tamā zakaranā idānā kacha māṅgaḷā sādha iti[ ] imini saka

(9) svagāta arādhatu iti kicha iti imini katuvaṭaram yathā svagāradhi[ ]

Translation.

Thus saith king Piyaṇāsi, beloved of the gods: Men observe various practices [according to circumstances] in sickness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter [G. and Dh. have the plural], at the birth of a son (Dh., Kh., K.: of a child), at the time of starting on a journey. In these circumstances and other similar ones, men observe various practices. But these ceremonies, which great numbers observe (Dh., Kh., K.: which they observe), (Dh., K.: like women [such as they appeared to Buddha]; Kh.: are like the juice of the mango fruit), at once numerous and varied (these two epithets are wanting in Dh.), are useless (Dh., K.: a heap of corruption) and vain. It is necessary, however, to observe these practices. But such practices (Kh., K.: those) produce only small fruits; the practice of religion, on the contrary, produces very great ones. That is to say: regard for slaves and servants, respect for relatives and masters, are good (these two words omitted in Dh., J., Kh., K.), good (this word wanting in Dh., J., Kh.), gentleness towards living creatures, good (this word omitted in Dh., J., Kh., K.), alms to Śrāmaṇas and to Brāhmaṇas. These [virtues] and others similar are what I call the practice of religion. A father ought, or a son, or a brother, or a master (Kh., K.: or a friend, a comrade, or even a neighbour) to say:—This is good, this is the practice which should be observed that the object may be attained (K.: which is necessary for the faithful to observe so that it may lead to their substantial advantage). It has been said: alms is a good thing; but there is no such alms, no such charity, like the almsgiving of religion, the charitable gift of religion. Therefore it is that a friend, a relative, a comrade should give these counsels: 'In such or such a case, thus it should be done: this is good.' Convinced that it is by this practice that it is possible to merit heaven, one ought to follow it with zeal as the means of meriting heaven (Dh., J.: one ought to practise with zeal the means of meriting heaven). Kh. and K. replace all this passage from: 'It has been said' &c., by the following. The ordinary [practices] of this kind (Kh.: practices without solidity) are of doubtful effect. Thus, either they produce or they do not produce the result [which was in view]; and [in every case] their power is limited to the present life. The practice of the law on the contrary is not limited to time. If it does not produce the result intended—the earthly result, it assures for the other world an infinite harvest of merit; but if it produces that result (K.: immediately perceivable in this world?) then it has a double efficacy. In this world [we obtain] that result, and in the other world is prepared a harvest of infinite merit, [all] thanks to the practice of religion. (To be continued.)

34 Jour. As. u. s. p. 341.; Prissep, p. 257.; Wilson, p. 263.; Lassen, p. 263, u. 1; Barnouin, pp. 666, 723, 725; Kern, p. 567.
35 C. differs in the readings in these words.
36 Read "samā māñgalaḥ.
37 Read "samā māñgalaḥ.
38 C. has "tataḥ-bhāsyaṃ." the facsimile B. appears to present the additional marks which account for this reading, but do not. I think, justify it. Read tātātā, i. e. tataḥ etad.
39 For tātātā.
40 For svagāradhi.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. CROW LANGUAGE.—There is among European children born in India a quasi-secret dialect called the “Crow Language,” which consists in dividing the vowel sound of each syllable by a “p.” For example: “How do you do?” would in Crow language be pronounced How-p-ow do-p-o you-p-ou do-p-o? and “Quite well” as Qei-p-ite we-p-ell. I have hitherto regarded it merely as a childish trick of speech, and was therefore much astonished and amused to find the following sentence in a paper “On the Non-Aryan Languages of India,” by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. (Journal B. A. S., N. S., vol. X. p. 8).—“Kolarian Grammar apparently recognizes none of the root changes of the Dravidian, but derivative forms are not always indicated by affixed particles only, but occasionally by infixes—thus in Sanatá a noun may be formed by infixing t, p, or n with the same vowel as that of the root; for instance: ra-pa-t, a collection of kings; from raj, a king, u-nu-nu, immersion, from sam to bathe. The reciprocal active voice is formed in a similar manner by the insertion of p: thus da-pa-l, strike together, from dal, to strike.”

Can the interjected p of the so-called “Crow language” have been borrowed as a disguise to ordinary English from any of the Indian languages? Do any of the Indian peoples use “secret” languages formed in this manner?

A. M. Ferguson, Jr.
Abbotsford Estate, Lindula, Ceylon,
14th March 1881.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal Asiatique, Oct.—Déc. 1880, contains the continuation of M. Senart’s study of the Piyadasa inscriptions from the sixth to the twelfth edict inclusive. The last two of these are not found at Dhauli and Jaugada, and of the twelfth only a few letters are preserved in the Kapur-di-giri version.

M. Cl. Huart follows with a paper on Ottoman Bibliography, containing a list of the books, in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, printed at Constantinople in A. H. 1307-1388 (A. D. 1577-1669).

M. Leon Rœdet has a paper on the correct meaning of the Numerical Notation devised by Áryabhata. The principle of this notation is expressed in the maemonical śloka,—

Varga-akhardvi varga, ‘vargṛ varga-akshardvi.

Kii mma-an-yab |
Khā-dei-navake svard nava, varge ‘vargṛ nava,
angya-varga vṛ |

M. Rœdet corrects kha-dei-navake into khā-dei-navaka, and explains the whole thus: ‘The consonants classified are used to express, and take for their numerical values the order which they hold in the alphabet,’ thus, k = 1, kh = 2, . . . .

\[\begin{align*}
2 & = 5, \\
3 & = 10, \\
4 & = 11, \\
5 & = 20, \\
6 & = 21, \\
7 & = 25, \\
8 & = 90, \\
9 & = 100.
\end{align*}\]

“The unclassed consonants are used for tens”; but as we have already \(= 10, \) \(= 20, \) \(= 30, \) \(= 40,
\]

\(= 80, \)

\(= 90, \)

\(= 100.
\]

“The nine vowels give birth to nine couples of zeros added to the numbers expressed by the consonants.”

The vowels are \(a, i, u, y, i, o, ai, o, au,\)—the long not being distinguished from the short: and these vowels attached to the consonants multiply them:

\(100: gi\) stands for 300, \(= 600, \) \(= 2500, \)

\(= 3000, \) &c.

\(10,000: gh\) stands for 40,000, \(= 70,000, \)

\(= 400,000, \) &c.

\(1,000,000: fr\) stands for 16,000,000, \(= 21,000,000, \)

&c.

And they are added, Áryabhata says: varge, avenge, vara,ānta-varge, &c.—“To the varga and to the avarga (to units and tens, separately) or to a group terminated by a varga.” Thus 45 may be written 49 or 410; for 430 may be written 49 or 410; for 430,000 as 410 or 4010, &c. It is to be noted that a is the multiplier by 100 = 1, and thus \(a = 100 = 10^5\), however as the numeral letters permit us to write numbers of two figures we have, in fact, by means of the consonants and \(a\), the numbers up to eighteen figures and as \(a = 100\), \(= 10^5\).

Áryabhata uses this notation for his astronomical tables thus:—

Yoga-Kriyā-bhāgās khyu-ghr; Śāki chayagirin-

śauyor; ku niśi-būrkhir pok; Šāni duvri-ghva; Guru khriceyubha; Kuja bhadi-

liḥmuṅkurbh; Bhṛgu-Bahka的认识.

Chandrochha jrukhikri; Bṛha sorguśīrṇa;

Bṛgu jasabikhuṅkṛ bhākṛda;

Bupinachā pālīvotla, budhākhy-a-jirikodhayabun

cha Lāhākoṇānān.

“In a Yoga the number of sidereal revolutions of the Sun is 4,320,000; of the Moon, 57,753,336; of the earth, 1,582,237,500; of Saturn, 146,564; of Jupiter, 364,224; of Mars, 2,996,524; of Venus and Mercury, the same as the Sun; of the Moon’s apogee, 483,219; Mercury’s, 17,337,025; of Venus, 7,022,383; and of the Moon’s node, 232,236.”

But it is only in the tables in his first chapter that Áryabhata has used this notation. M. Rœdet
further notes in proof that Bhaṭṭa-Utpala (cir. 1000 A.D.) in his writing on the Brīhat Sañhīta of Varāhamihira († 556) used the symbolic expression: nasu-aṣṭi-aṣṭa-māte ākeśa,—
"in the Saka year having for its measure 888." On a similar occasion Āryabhaṭa wishing to tell us he was 23 years old in the year 3600 of the Kaliyuga, uses the expression śrāvasti-ālāsā tām śrāvasti for 3600, and tryu-aṣṭi-kāla-viśiṣṭā-baddha for 23. Āryabhaṭa then quite understood the value of the position (sthūla) of the figures and the use of zero which he calls kha. M. Rodet then proceeds to compare the system of numeration found in the early inscriptions and Valabhi plates with that used in the Rhind's hieratic papyrus.

M. Fée has a Bandhāja essay on becoming a Buddha, being an explanation of the Avadāna-Satāka and Kārma-Satāka.

M. Imbault-Huart contributes miscellaneous notes on Chinese matters and translations of short sayings, and the volume is concluded by several book notices, the first being a pretty lengthy review of Darmeteter's Venidad by C. de Harlez

The Journal Asiatique for January 1881 contains only two articles,—the first, by M. C. Huart, is on the poetess Fadkh, who holds a prominent place in the Book of Songs of Abul-Faraj el-Isfahāni. She was originally of Yemen, a province of Central Arabia, but found her way to Bagdad, where her vivacity and talents she became courted by the friends of the Khalif and especially by Saeid Ben Hamid, a writer and poet at the court. Many specimens are given of her verses on particular occasions, with notices throwing much light on the social life of the times. She died in obscurity in A. H. 400 (A. D. 793-794).

The second paper is a continuation of M. J. Halévy's Essay on the Himyaritic inscriptions from Saba. These inscriptions are short memorial ones, and contain very little, if any, information that can be used for historical purposes, but are only of interest philologically.

To the Miscellaneous M. M. Sicouf of Mosul contributes a translation from the Arabic of a notice of Yabalah III, Patriarch of the Nestorians, 1292-1318 A. D. Under the patriarchate were twenty-seven archbishops, extending over a very large area in the east from Jerusalem to Kashgar, India, and China, each with from six to twelve bishops subordinate to him.

BOOK NOTICES.


Mr. Talboys Wheeler has completed his fourth volume by now publishing pages 321 to 600,—chiefly devoted to the reign of Aurangzeb, which, he tells us, "is not generally familiar to English readers." But though we might expect, after this statement, that he was about to enlighten us with the fruits of fresh research, we find not a word of additional information that is correct. He indeed states that "the consequences" of Aurangzeb's edict forbidding any one to record the history of his times "has been that the materials furnished by Muhammadan writers for dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb are meagre and unsatisfactory. Mr. Wheeler, not being able to read any of the Persian histories himself, might at least have consulted Elliot's Bibliographical Index, Morley's Catalogue, or Dr. N. Lees's valuable paper on Materials for the History of India, before he made such a statement. Elliot enumerates no less than fifteen special works on this reign alone, and several of these are works of no small merit or extent, some of which are easily accessible, being published in the Bibliotheca Indica. This would not have suited Mr. Wheeler's method however: Catrou's History of the Mogul Dynasty (London, 1826; 324 pp. 3vo) and History of the Reign of Aurangzeb, founded on the memoirs of Manouche a Venetian physician,—volumes neither rare nor of much historical value, but the first being in English, and the second in French, and we suppose translated for our author, are his principal authorities. In the third of the four chapters in this part, the reader is treated to condensed abstracts of the works of the principal European travellers in India in the 17th and 18th centuries, from Terry to Carsten Niebuhr—which Christian name Mr. Wheeler has found a new spelling for. But whilst the author affects a certain degree of accuracy and tells us on the first page that "the name of 'Aurangzeb' has been altered to 'Aurangzib' and that of 'Rajpoot' to 'Rajput,'" he is not a little precise everywhere, hence such names as "Garsopa, "Venk-tapa Naik," and "Onore, which are not in accordance with "modern orthography." Geography is as little a matter of precision as orthography: hence 'Garsopa' is 'three leagues south of Onore'—instead of east: "the Raj of Kanara extended from Onore to Mangalore, and included the Raj of Karnata"; and "Kalyan in the Dekhan" where Vījāla Rāja reigned "is now a railway station to the eastward of Bombay."

The English reader who desires a more trustworthy account than Mr. Wheeler's will still use Elphinstone's valuable History, and supplement it from Dow's or Dowson's and Elliot's. We are surprised that so unscientific and inaccurate a writer finds publishers for his works.
SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANAARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 171.)

No. CXVI.

The present inscription is from a stone-tablet lying near a small ruined Jain temple in the fort at Dambal, in the Gadag Taluká of the Dhárwar District. A transcription is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 356; but my text is edited from an ink-impression made by Mr. H. Cousens, of the Government Archeological Survey.

The emblems at the top of the stone are, in the centre, a female figure, evidently the Tārā or Tārādēvi of the inscription, seated in a shrine, and facing full front, and holding in her left hand a water-lily just expanding, and in her right hand something which I cannot identify from the drawing; on her right hand, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and on her left hand, a standing figure with his hands joined and held to his face in the act of salutation, the flower of an eight-leaved water-lily in front of his hands, two lamp-stands, with burning flames, behind him, and the moon above him. The body of the inscription, which is in the Old-Canaarese language and in finely engraved and excellently preserved characters of the period to which it refers itself, covers a space of about 3' 1" high by 2' 1" broad. But there are also two long lines of writing, in the same characters and containing three verses in the Sanskrit language, round the top of the tablet.

The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tīrībhūvana-mallar or Vīkramaditya VI.; and it is dated in the Yuvra saha-sata-sara, the nineteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikramavarsa established by him and dating from the commencement of his reign, i.e. in Saka 1017 (A. D. 1095-6).

It gives us the name of one of his queens, Lākṣmīdēvi, who at this time was governing the district called the Eighteen Agraahāras and the city of Dharmapura. She is called here the pīcī-arasi, or 'senior queen'; but this title, corresponding to the Sanskrit agra-mahāsati, was borne also by one or two others of his consorts. The Eighteen Agraahāras appear to have been a group of towns somewhere in the north of Māsūr or in the south of the Dhärwar District; but I think that they have not yet been actually identified.

Dharmapura, or, as it is also called in this inscription, Dharmapula, meaning, in either form, 'the city of religion', is evidently Dambal itself. In connection with the Jain religion, this inscription is of interest as recording the existence at Dambal of a vihāra, or temple of Buddha, which had been built by the sixteen Settis of that place, and of another vihāra of Tārādēvi, which had been built by the Sātti Sāngavatya of Lōkkiṣṭhi or the modern Lakṣaṇā. The object of the inscription is to record certain grants to these two vihāras. It is worthy of note that these Sāttis, who built and endowed a Bandhava vihāra, and who were therefore Jains, belonged to the Viśva-Baḷāṇīya sect, or the class of merchants and traders, by which principally the Lingāyat religion of Basava was subsequently adopted.

Transcription.


[3] vībhūti-dā tri-bhūvam-a-bodbhavā parā yā hri(bhṛ)ḥ-byō(rv)mi Tathāgata-sā ya Vasati hpritva chāndri kalā sa


Samastabhuvanāṁśya śri-prīti(prīthivī) labha maha-ḥ

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1 See Vol. VIII., p. 187.
2 Sātti, or saṭṭi, is a corruption of the Sanskrit arācakāha, 'a head merchant; the head or chief of a company following the same trade; the president or foreman of a guild or corporation.'
3 Some corrections are necessary here; probably sphāṭa-feu is what was intended.

[1*] ráj-ādhirājā paramēvaram paramahatārakām Satyāśraya-kula-tilaikaṁ Chālukya-ābharaṇaṁ ārīmat-Tribhuvan-

[2*] namalladēvara vijaya-rājya-amūttottarābhhivri(yri)dāhi-pravardhamanāmā-vi-chandra-

[3*] ārīkka-tāran bārān salluttam-ire ||

[4*] Svasty-Anavarta-parama-kalīya(līya)-abhyudda-śaśaśra(sva)pha-la-bhāga-viśvītā

[5*] Lakshmi-samāne parivāra-ni-

[6*] dhāno dāna-chaitanya mī samma-nātalpura-mukhaśāṃdani ārīmat-

[T*] Tribhuvanamalladēva-viśāla-vaśaka[h*]sthala-nivā-

[*] siniyar-appa ārīmat pirīy-araśi Lakshmīnādīyana 'Padimeṁ-agrahamuṇ(munuṁ)

Dharmāmparamuṇan-aṅku sukha-saṁ-

[10*] kathā-vinodadimbī rājyaṃ-govyuttam-ire || Svasty-Ānēka-gūra-gaṇ-ālāṁkri(kri)ta-satya-

[11*] āsauṣṭḥ[aḥ(chāra*]-chāruḥchāraitīrṇa-vin(a)-

[12*] ya-śīla-saṁpannarurūn vibudha-prasannaruṇ dēva-brāhmaṇa-pādōdaka-povitrurūn sujana-

[13*] aika-mitrurūn śālīlt-śāha-jan-śāhāra-

[14*] ruṃ ēkāṅga-viśrurūn anēka-ratna-mañ᷇ḷiñj-ratna-maṇḍanaruṇ kadan-praḥaṇḍanaruṇ nānā-dīśa(sīya)-samuddharaṇaruṇ Sarasvatī-karaṇa-

[15*] ūḍaśīlabhararuṇuṃ sā(ā)śāṃguṇa-samartharuruṃ samasta-dharmma-purūvri(yri)dhi-

[16*] karm-krī(kri)ta-tārtharuruṃ sa(ā)raṅjagata-vajra-pajju-

[17*] ruruṇ vairī-dīkṣikunjaraṇuṃ grāma-nām-ōttamaṃ-(ruṃ) =vva(vai)śāya-kula-kamala-

[18*] divākaraṇuṃ satya-ratnākaraṇuṃ chattamayya-samuddha-

[19*] rājaraṇuṃ ārīmaja-Jagadēkamalladeva-prassād-śāṣita-chēchhaṭat-chēṃara-sā(ā)raṇ-ādī-mahim-

[20*] ūnattara-appa śīrma-dharmma-

[21*] voḷala padinaruṇār[u]va[r=]a sce(=sce)ṭṭi gal maṇhānagaramuṇ(munu)m-irddu tamma-

[22*] mādīsida bandha-vihārakke Śrī-Lokkugṇḍiṣya va-

[23*] dda(ḍa)-bra(vya)vahāri Saṁgavavyaya-setṭiyars mādīsida Śrī-bhagavati Ārya-

[24*] Tārādevī-viḥār-pratibaddhav=a śvasti Śrī-

[25*] Châlukya-Vikramaṅavarahada Šnēya Yuva-saṅvat Sarasada Māgha-su(śā)ddha-paṇcchami-

[26*] ādityavārad-aduṇauttariyaṇa-

[27*] samkranti-ya-tīptud-aduṇa ārīmat-Tārādevīgānaṇa Buddhadevarīgaṇaḥ pōja-satkārakkāṁ-

[28*] gandha-pulīpā-daśā-pāmīlyā(lya)-naivēdyā-ādi-

[29*] [kka*]nī pōjarigānaḥ aliya bhīkṣhugalγe grās-ācēchhedanakkāṁ nava-karmma-

[30*] ādikkaṇuṃ ūri mūral Ponnakuruvada polaดา-

[31*] [l]omdu matwart tōtnam umaṃ sarba(rvva)namāya(aya)va=a āgi varṣa-priti arvapana-

[32*] mūr gadyaṇa pondum tetta sukhaḍal=aumb-ant-ā-

[33*] gi kottāra :[[*]] Int-i dharmamamāṁ svadharmaṇḍin pratipaḷisuvvur [i*] i-

[34*] dharmamamāṁ pratipaḷisadavvagge Bāsārasi Kurukhā-

[35*] tra Prayaṅge Arghyāṭṭithhāmadal-āgī punya-kabēṭrāngaloku sāśira kavilaya kōduṁ kolaguṇa ponnu be-

[36*] [l]liyava kattisi sāśirba(rvva)r chechaturvṛḍa-pārṇgar-appa bṛhmapargge śūrva-

[37*] grahaṇad-aduṇa dānagotra phalama=akku [i*]

[38*] i dharmamamān=upēkṣhitaṣyājīdavagge int-i punyā-tīrththangalolu sāśira kavile-

[39*] yamāṇa sāśira chechaturvṛḍa-pāṁ-

[40*] gar-appa bṛhmapargan-adīda paśchamahāpātakaṇ(m)=akku || Svasti Samasta-

[41*] bhuvana-vikhyātapaśchena(śa)ta-vira-sā(sā)sa-

[42*] na-laṁbā-ānēka-gūra-gaṇ-ālāṁkri(kri)ta-satya-āsauṣṭḥ[aḥ(chāra*]-chāruḥchārita-naya-vinaya-

[43*] vijānaṇa Vīra-Śāluṇa-ṇaṃkuḥḍram-pratipaḷana

[44*] visu(śu)ddha-grādādhavaja-virajāman-āṇunā-saṅhas-vira-lakṣhmi(kṣhml)-liṅgita-vaśaka[h*]-

[45*] sthala bhuvana-parākram-ūnata Vāsunī-

[46*] va-Khaḍalī-śālā-bhadra-vāṃsī-bhāvavaraṃ Bhagavatīdēvi-labdha-vara-prasādāṅg-āgē
dvātriṇsā(śad-) vē(=vē)śānu(paya)ram=ashtaḍāsa

* Some other letter, probably t, was engraved here, and then was corrected into vyu.
Reverence to Buddha! Reverence to thee, O holy Tārā, who dost allay the fear of lions and elephants and fire and hooded snakes and thieves and waters and the ocean and demons, and who dost bear a splendid like that of the rays of the moon! May that Tārā always bless you, who allays the misery of the affliction of existence; who sprang from the churning of the ocean of knowledge; who is called Prajñā, who is the giver of the power of Buddha; who is the supreme form of

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8 Some correction is needed here. I can only suggest that śāhābhdhā was intended.
9 One of the Jain ṣaṭīś, or "female energies."
10 Wisdom,—the Śakti of the Adī-Buddha.
perfect wisdom in the three worlds; and who
dwells in the heart of Tathāgata, just as the
full digit of the moon dwells in the sky!

(L. 4.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of
the glorious Tribhuvana-malla-deva,—
the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the
world; the great king; the supreme king; the
supreme lord; the most worshipful one; the
glory of the family of Satyāraya; the ornament
of the Chālukyas,—was continuing with
perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the
moon and sun and stars might last:

(L. 7.)—Hail! And while the glorious chief
queen Lākhmādevī,—who shared the
enjoyment of the thousand results of unceasing
and supreme good fortune and prosperity; who
was like a second (goddess) Lakshmi; who was
the treasure-house of her retinue; who was a very
philosopher's stone in charity; who was the
chief ornament of all the women's apartments;
and who dwelt upon the mighty breast of the
glorious Tribhuvana-malla-deva,—was
governing the Eighteen Agrahāras and the city
of Dharmāpura, and was ruling with the delight
of pleasing conversations:

(L. 10.)—Hail! The sixteen Settis of the
glorious city of Dharmavajal,—who were
edowed with truth and purificatory observances
and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty
and good character, adorned with innumerable
good qualities; who were kindly disposed to
learned men; who were purified by the water
(which had been sanctified by the washing) of the
feet of gods and Brahmanas; who were the chief
friends of good people; who were the supporters
of excellent people and friends; who were brave
even by themselves; who were the jewelled
ornaments of many assemblages of jewels; who
were bold in war; who were the supporters of
the people of many countries; who were the
earrings of the ears of (the goddess) Sarasvati;
who were capable of conferring favours in
return for curses; who were successful in in-
creasing all religion; who were a very cage of
thunderbolts to those who took refuge with
them; who were very elephants of the regions
to their enemies; who were of the highest rank
by the villages (of their birth) and by their
names (?); who were the sons of the white
waterlilies of the caste of Vaiśya; who were
jewel-mines of truth; who were the sustainers
of the four observances; and who were ennobled
by the greatness of the umbrellas and the
chauryas and the charters that they had acquired
through the favour of the glorious Jagnādeva
malla-deva,—constituting the large (assembly
of the) town, gave, to the Baudhā vihāra
which they themselves had caused to be made,
and in connection with the large vihāra of the
holy Śrī-Ārya-Tārādēvi which the Setti
Saṅgavāya, the vadda-nivaradāri of (the city
of) Śrī-Lokānātha had caused to be
made:

(L. 17.)—Hail! At the time of the sun's
commencement of his progress to the north, on
Sunday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of
the month Māgha of the Yura-sūkṣmaśana,
which was the nineteenth year of the Śrī-Chālukya-Vikramavarsa:

(L. 19.)—To (the goddess) the holy Tārādēvi,
and to the god Buddha, one maitrī of garden-
land, as a sarranamasya grant, in the field of
Ponnakṭuruva to the east of the village, and one
aravana and three gadyanam of gold every
year, to be levied as a tax and enjoyed in happi-
ness, for the proper performance of the wor-
ship, for the purpose of providing perfumes and
flowers and incense and lamps and garlands
and the perpetual oblation and other things, for the
(support of the) Pujārī, to provide food and clothes
for the religious mendicants of that place, and
(to pay) for restorations.

(L. 22.)—They shall preserve this act of reli-
igion according to their own religion! May those
who preserve this act of religion obtain the re-
ward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a
thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and
silver, and giving them at the time of an eclipse
of the sun to a thousand Brāhmaṇas, well versed
in the four Vedas, at Bāṇarasi and Kurakshētra
and Prayāga and Argāyatirtha and other
holy places! May those who neglect and destroy
this act of religion incur the guilt of the five
great sins of having slain a thousand tawny-
coloured cows or a thousand Brāhmaṇas, well
versed in the four Vedas, at those same holy
tirthas!

(L. 26.)—Hail! To the vihāra of Buddha which
but it is probably another form of vadda, 'the difference'
in the exchange of money.' If so, vadda-nivaradāri means
'a money-changer.'

13 A Buddha or Jina.
14 The Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III.
15 Purohita is 'one whose occupation or trade is (so
and so),' The meaning of vadda has not been settled yet.
16 Half a kasa or pana.
was caused to be built by the sixteen (Sextis) of (the city of) Dharma, consisting the large (assembly of the) town, and being the assembly of people living in many countries on both sides of it,—who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five-hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were the protectors of the Vira-Balasa religion; who were decorated with the pure banner of a hill; whose breasts were embraced by the goddess of perfect impetuosity and bravery; who were ennobled by their prowess throughout the world; who were born in the original and auspicious Kanonda-Sirisa, (the lineage) of Vasanova; who, having acquired the excellent favour of the goddess Bhagavati, constituted thirty-two seaside towns (?), and eighteen cities, and sixty-four seats of the Yuga, and colleges of the four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries; who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the Balasa religion which included the Kriipta-yuga and the Traya-yuga and the Dya-paya-yuga and the Kali-yuga and sprang from the churning of (the religions of the gods) Brahma and Vishnu and Maheshvara; and who were the lords of Ayovela, which is the best of cities;—and to (the vihara of) the holy Sri-Arya-Taradavi which had been caused to be built, as an act of religion for the people of all countries, by the Sexti Sabhava of Sri-Lokkantjndi,—to these two establishments, there was given, to be continued as long as the moon and sun might last, a pāgā on (each) bag coming from the south, and one bēs on (each) bag of ... or ... or ... or ... 

(L. 36.)—May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and giving them at the time of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmanas, well versed in the four Vedas, at Bālaprasi, and Kurakshota, and Prayaga, and Arghyayatirtha! May he who neglects and destroys this act of religion,—(whether he be) an ass of the place, or a Chanda, or an outcaste, or a Balajiga, ... 

(L. 39.)—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! "This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,"—thus does Rama-badhra again and again make his request to all future princes! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who may give even a small gift in a charter of Buddha, they shall have great enjoyment and shall be very rich for eighty thousand ages! Wheresoever they find a perpetual gift, there they remember it; thus their offering to Buddha brings a great reward! Whatever religious merit I have acquired, and whatever I may acquire,—by that may the condition of myself and of this world be perfected as a condition of the Sugata religion!

The verse round the top of the stone.

(L. 46.)—Those who do reverence to thee, who are propitious to Munindras, (even though it be) with imperfect faith, or spasmodically, or from imitation of others, or through mistake,—obtain the good fortune of becoming Sambhara! May all sentient beings, and all (who have)

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**Translation.**

The Jina-Saya of the town (?), which was caused to be made by (the people of) the town (?), headed by the Sexti Bajiga-sati who was the gudha of Sri-Kumuda-bhakta-bhakta-kadeva, (the priest) of (the god) Sri-Piriva-nath-kadeva, of the Balakara of the Sri-Malasa-ga. It is plain that here gudha cannot mean a hill; and it seems to mean a disciple, follower, or adherent.

17 Baja or bhasa, a quarter of a para or anus.
18 The meanings of baka, bisara or perhaps bida, and warara, are not known.
19 The meaning of gudha is not apparent.
20 i.e., Buddhas.
21 See note 9 above. Sambhara or Sambhara is the name of one of the Jain Arhats of the future period.

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**Transcription.**

[1] Sri-Malasa-ga Jina-Saya Bala-kara
[3] gudha Bajiga-sati
gudha, Bajiga-sati lighting human.
souls, and all who are mere existing beings,—verily may all of them be happy, and all be free from illness! May (the goddess) Tarā,—who is anxiously busied with her exercise of tenderness entailed by preserving (persona possessed of) souls who are distressed by the notorious fear of water and kings and volumes of fire and wind; who takes away the dread of bold thieves and oceans and elephants and lions and snakes, &c.; and who quickly confers the rewards that are desired,—always preserve Saṅgama.

A FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

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

The lady immediately concluded that she herself (Vishā) was to be given to the handsome youth, and that her father had in his hurry made a slight mistake in orthography. She accordingly, by the help of some adiṣṭha, makes the necessary correction and replaces the letter. Samudraddata carries out his father’s orders, and Sagarapota returns to Rājagriha to find the hated Dāmnaka married to his daughter Vishā.

In the Norse story Peter the Rich Pedlar corresponds to the merchant Sagarapota, and Dāmnaka is represented by a miller’s son. Peter the Pedlar hears from the Stargazers that this miller’s son is to marry his daughter. He accordingly buys him from his parents, puts him in a box, and throws him into the river. But the boy is found and adopted by a miller, who lives lower down the river. Peter finds this out from the Stargazers and procures the youth as his apprentice by giving the second miller six hundred dollars.

“Then the two travelled about far and wide, with their packs and wares, till they came to an inn, which lay by the edge of a great wood. From this Peter the Pedlar sent the lad home with a letter to his wife, for the way was not so long if you took the short cut across the wood, and told him to tell her she was to be sure to do what was written in the letter as quickly as she could. But it was written in the letter that she was to have a great pile made then and there, fire it, and cast the miller’s son into it. If she didn’t do that, he’d burn her alive himself when he came back. So the lad set off with the letter across the wood, and when evening came on, he reached a house far, far away in the wood, into which he went; but inside he found no one. In one of the rooms was a bed ready made, so he flung himself across it and fell.”

Literature, with notes and an English translation.


1 Shāstryopadeśha, Part I, an Introduction to Sanskrit; 2 it is only fair to mention that Dāmnaka was really the son of a merchant who had died of the plague.
asleep. The letter he had stuck into his hat-band, and the hat he pulled over his face. So when the robbers came back—for in that house twelve robbers had their abode—and saw the lad lying on the bed, they began to wonder who he could be, and one of them took the letter, and broke it open, and read it.

"'Ho! Ho!' said he; 'this comes from Peter the Pedlar, does it? Now we'll play him a trick. It would be a pity if the old niggard made an end of such a pretty lad.'

"So the robbers wrote another letter to Peter the Pedlar's wife, and fastened it under his hat-band while he slept; and in that they wrote, that, as soon as ever she got it, she was to make a wedding for her daughter and the miller's boy, and give them horses and cattle and household stuff, and set them up for themselves in the farm, which he had under the hill; and if he didn't find all this done, by the time he came back, she'd smart for it;—that was all.

"Next day the robbers let the lad go, and when he came home and delivered the letter, he said he was to greet her kindly from Peter the Pedlar, and to say that she was to carry out what was written in the letter as soon as ever she could."

This was accordingly done, to the no small dissatisfaction of Peter the Pedlar.

The termination of the story of Dāmannaka resembles that of Phalabhūti in the XXth Taranga of the Kaliśāśīrīśāja, and its European parallels, the tales of Fridolin, Fulgentius, &c.

Sīgarapota arranges a second time with the Chandāla Khadgila, that he is to kill Dāmannaka, whom he will send to the temple of the goddess of the city. But as the bridegroom and bride are going to the temple of the goddess, Samudradatta the son of Sīgarapota meets them, and insists on performing the worship in their stead. "Having taken the articles for offering, Samudradatta went off, and as he was entering the temple of the goddess, he was despatched by Khadgila who had gone there before."

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A MUSALMAN LEGEND OF KRISHNAGIRI IN SALEM.

BY H. LEFAN, M.C.S., SUB-COLLECTOR, SALEM.

Two tombs on a hill at Krishnagiri, regarded by Musalmans with much veneration, are waited on by a faqir who lures fees from visitors. The legend is that one Akbar Pasha came from the north, encamping west of Krishnagiri, and besieged the fort which was defended by Kṛishṇa Rāja. The siege was prolonged for six months, during which Akbar suffered heavy loss, and began to despair of success, for which he prayed to Allah, who appeared to him in a dream, and told him that in his camp were two religious men who were the only persons capable of leading a successful attack on the fort. As a sign whereby the truth of the dream would be demonstrated, Akbar was warned that a heavy storm would come, in which every tent would be levelled and every light in camp extinguished except those belonging to the persons indicated. This accordingly came to pass, and after the storm two faqirs, Sayyid Pasha and Sayyid Akbar, were found reading the Korān in their tent by the light of a lamp. They undertook to lead the forlorn hope, and battle was given on a Friday, the leaders, at an early stage of the fight, both losing their heads. The headless trunks, however, continued the fight, driving the enemy in confusion before them, until they reached the summit, when the mother of Kṛishṇa Rāja, seeing the portent, exclaimed, "What! do headless bodies fight?" at which sound the trunks fell and were buried in the solid rock by supernatural agency. Tipu Sultān visited the spot, and granted a tājir which is now held by the faqir. The heads are buried below the hill, and when an epidemic breaks out, a collection of sugar is made from people of all castes and offered over the grave, which has never been covered by a proper tomb, as all who attempted to do so were warned in a dream to desist from their attempts. In a field just outside Krishnagiri is the tomb of Akbar Singh and Avan Singh, two famous Rajputs reputed to have formerly been rulers of Krishnagiri.

By a strange coincidence, in the number of the Indian Antiquary for June 1879 is given a translation, by Major J. W. Watson, Kāthiāwārī, of an old poem on the fall of Somnāthī, in which is embodied a myth closely following that above narrated in its main particulars. In it the place of Akbar Pasha is taken by Sultān
Mahmud, Kumwár Pāl represents Krishṇa Rāja, and the city of Pātan is Krishṇagiri. The tale of the siege and storm and the pious Musalmans studying the Kṛdā by lamplight is given, but Jāfar and Muzafar are read for Sayyid Pāsha and Sayyid Akbar. The Somanāth myth is more merciful to its heroes than that of Krishṇagiri as only one of them fell in the conflict, and the decapitation incident is absent, not unnaturally, as the idea of mutilation is abhorrent to a Musalmān. Two heroes named Hamir and Vegad fighting on the side of Kumwār Pāl may be the prototypes of Akbar and Avan Singh, while the faqīr now at Krishṇagiri may be indebted for his existence to the descendents of the Kalīfā Ḫūr-Bakr, who were nominated to the Kāziship of Pātan by Sultān Mahmud. Whether the Krishṇagiri myth is a case of clear pilferring, or whether history has repeated itself, is a question which must be left to experts to decide. It is not impossible that truth lies between the two. Friday is a favourite day for fighting with Musalmans, and the tradition of Somanāth may have been current at the time, and suggested to Akbar Pāsha a way out of his difficulties. Storms are not unusual in the Bārahmahāl, nor is it anything extraordinary for Musalmans to read the Kṛdā by night; that their tents should be left standing may be due to their being better tents and better pitched than those of their neighbours, and the leaders of a forlorn hope stand a fair chance of losing their lives even by decapitation. Some portentous vitality on the part of the trunks may not need the miraculous to account for it, but has no doubt been magnified by tradition.

Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India.

BY REV. S. BURL, B.A.

(Continued from p. 111.)

The Nālanda temple built by Śrī Śakrādītya is four square like a city. There are four large gateways of three stories each. Each storey is some 10 feet in height; the whole covered on the outside with tiles.

Outside the western gate of the Great Hall of the temple is a large stūpa and various Chaityas, each erected over different sacred vestiges, and adorned with every kind of precious substance.

The Superior is a very old man. The Karmādana or Vīhāraswāmi or Vīhāragalā is the chief officer after the Superior, and to him the utmost deference is paid. This is the only temple in which by Imperial order a water-clock is kept to determine the right time. The night is divided into three watches, during the first and last of which there are religious services; in the middle watch, as the priests may desire, they can watch or repose. The method in which this clock determines the time is fully described in the Khi-kwe-ch'uen.

The temple is called Śrī Nālanda Vīhāra, after the name of Nāgānanda.

The great temple opens to the west: going about 20 paces from the gate there is a stūpa about 100 feet high. This is where the Lord of the world (Lokanātha) kept (the season of the rains) for three months. The Sanskrit name is Mālagaṇḍakoti. Northwards, 50 paces, is a great stūpa, even higher than the other; this was built by Bālāḍītya—very much revered—in it is a figure of Buddha turning the Wheel of the Law, S. W. is a little chaitya, about 10 feet high. This commemorates the place where the Brahman with the bird in his hand asked questions. The Chinese expression Su-ti-fao-to means just the same as this.

To the west of the Mālagaṇḍha Hall is the Toothbrush tree of Buddha. This is not the willow tree.

On a raised space is the ground where Buddha walked: it is about 2 cubits wide, 14 or 15 long, and 2 high. There are lotus flowers carved out of the stone, a foot high, 14 or 15 in number to denote his steps.

Going from the temple south to Rājagriha is 30 li. The Vulture Peak and the Bambu Garden are close to this city. Going south-west to the Mahābodhi is seven stages (yojana): the same due south to the "Honoured Footprint." To Vaiśali is 25 stages north. To the Deer Park 20 or 30 stages west. East to Tamralipti is 60 or 70 stages. This is the place for embarking for China from Eastern

* But here 1-tying is in error.

* Note by Ch. Ed.:—A stage is equal to a yojana.
India and close to the sea. There are about 3,500 priests in the temple at Nalanda, which is supported by revenues derived from land (villages) given by a succession of kings to the monastery.

Discovery of two Chinese Inscriptions at Buddha Gayā.

Here I make a digression from I-tsing's narrative to notice a recent discovery. Among the rubbish left round the temple at Buddha Gayā after the completion of the works undertaken there during 1878 and the following year at the expense of the Burmese Government, Mr. Beglar of the Archaeological Survey found two stones bearing inscriptions in Chinese. From a letter attached to a rubbing of the larger inscription, I gather that the stone was found under 12 feet of rubbish.

The supposition that these inscriptions, or at least the longer one, might be in some way connected with Fa-hian, led me to think that it might be desirable to direct attention to the fact, that there are records in China of other pilgrims besides Fa-hian and Hiwen Thsang, who visited India during the early centuries of our era, and that the notices we have of them, in the work of I-tsing, though not by any means so minute or exact as those of the two just named, are yet interesting and in some respects useful for the student. I purpose therefore, after briefly alluding to the inscriptions themselves, to continue the notices of the names and journeys of the pilgrims referred to.

The first and shorter inscription gives us the name of Chi-I, a priest of the Great Han country, presumably the writer of it. It states that Chi-I having first vowed to exhort or encourage thirty thousand men to prepare themselves by their conduct for a birth in heaven, to distribute in charity 30,000 books relating to a heavenly birth, himself to recite as many books, then, in company with others, travelled through India, and arrived at Maga-dha, where he gazed upon the Diamond throne and other sacred vestiges of his religion. After this, in company with some other priests he further vowed to continue his travels through India, apparently for the same purpose.

Amongst the Priests referred to, there are three named, the first Kei-Ts'ih, the second Chi-I, the third Kwang-Fung.

Beyond this I am unable to find any sense in the inscription. The forms of the characters may possibly be as ancient as the Han dynasty. But as the inscription has nothing to do with the figures of the seven mortal Buddhas, and the Bodhisattva Maitreya sculptured above it, I am inclined to think that the figures must have been executed after the inscription was placed in situ, and possibly much of the inscription itself erased.

The second inscription dates from the Tien-hi year of the reign of Chhu Tsung of the Sung dynasty, i. e. 1022 A.D., and is to the effect that a priest H-o-Y un went to Buddha Gayā with a view to worship the sacred relics of the place, and that whilst there, he carved a stone pagoda with a surmounting pinnacle and a square base 30 paces to the north of the Bodhi Tree in honour of the 1,000 Buddhas he would have also inscribed an entire Sutra if his funds had been sufficient, but in place of that he left behind him the record before us, which is a hymn in praise of (Udānas, the three bodies of Buddha and the three thrones they occupy.

The three bodies are first the Nirmānakāya (fa-shin), secondly the Samkhya-pakáya (po-shin), and thirdly the Dharmakāya (fa-shin). In relation to the first which represents the human body,—it is described as compassionate, ready and able to deliver men from the midst of the fire. The second is the body which has appeared in various forms through countless ages, ever aiming to prepare itself for the final faced figure, probably female, with six arms holding, perhaps, vajra, sword, bow, &c. Underneath each is a human head, with three indistinctly formed objects, apparently animal heads, on one side of it, and four on the other,—seven in each case. There can be no doubt the larger ones are figures of Varnabhāra, the same as those drawn (though badly) in Jātakatikā Mitra's Buddha Gayā, pl. xxi. figs. 1 and 2 (see Ind. Ant., vol. IX, p. 115). The first slab is represented in the accompanying plate, which will also appear in the Jour. Asiatic Soc.—Ed.

Dr. Bushel thinks the inscription is complete, but owing to the broken state of the characters he fails to read it.—Ed.
manifestation as Buddha, when its aim would be accomplished. Praising the third body, or the Dharma-body, he says: "Co-extensive with the universe and inhabiting all time—wth excellences as innumerable as the sand or grains of dust—it is beyond all human character and transcending all human language."

The three seats or thrones are, first, that at Gayâ, which is the centre (nasel) of the earth, springing from the depth of the golden circle, on which all the Buddhas have overcome the armies of Mara, with their lion voice.

The second is co-extensive with the three worlds, reaching above the heavens—renewed ever after the destruction of the world.

The third is without beginning or end—unaffected by time or circumstance, imperishable as the body (of the Law) itself.

The inscription continues in the same laudatory terms, and ends with the statement that in the year above named, viz., A.D. 1022, two men called I-tsing and Lin were sent from the Eastern Capital with a kashâya garment in a golden case which they hung above the Bodhi Tree—and which fact is recorded as supplementary to the hymn of praise of Hû-yun.

These inscriptions are not of much value for any critical purposes, but are worth consideration because they show the strength of the religious impulse that urged so many pilgrims from China to visit this sacred spot, and the sincerity of their belief in the virtue of their pilgrimage.

III. I-tsing and other Pilgrims by the Southern Sea route.

Now to continue in brief outline our account of the Chinese visitors to India:—

1. I-tsing (the author of the work from which we quote) left China towards the end of the year 671 A.D., and sailing from Canton proceeded to the islands of the Southern Sea, that is the district about Java and Malakka, and after two years' sojourn in different parts of this neighbourhood, he arrived at Tamralipti in 673 A.D. He remained here five months, and afterwards following his companion went on to Nâlandâ, and thence proceeded to Buddha Gayâ to adore the sacred vestiges of his religion. After this he returned to Fo-shâi (Srihôja), where he was able to draw up and entrust to his friend the account of what he had seen, and the information he had gleaned, respecting Buddhism. He returned to China in 693 A.D.

2. I-tsing next refers to two priests of Coree, their names unknown, who, starting from Chang-an and taking ship on the coast, proceeded to the Southern Sea. Having arrived at Shili-foshaï (Srihôja) they proceeded westward to the country of Po-lusae, and there died. We know with some certainty that the country of Po-lusae is Sumatra. We may therefore place Fo-shâi (Srihôja) to the eastward of Sumatra.

3. Hûi Ning, a priest of Yih-chuan (in Chi-li), left China by sea for the South in the year 665 A.D. and passed three years in the country called Hû-lîng. This is generally the equivalent of the Kalâng country, but it seems also to be used for the country along the coast of Pegu as well as to an island in the Southern Seas.

4. Wan-Ki of Kiao-Chuan (in Chi-li?) spent ten years in the Southern Seas, and was very learned in the language of Kun-lun and partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life, and resided at Shihli-foshaï (Srihôja). Kun-lun, we know, represents the islands of Condore. The negroes of this island, or rather these islands, were generally sold as slaves, and their language and habits were much studied by Chinese travellers.

5. Mochadeva, a Cochih Chinese, or, of Kiao-Chuan, went to India by the Southern Sea route, and having visited all the countries of that part, arrived at the Mahâbodhi Temple, where he adored the sacred relics, and died at 24.

6. Wêi-chung, another priest of Cochih China, went by the Southern Seas to Ceylon, afterwards in company with a priest called Hun-chûn he proceeded to the Bodhi Tree and afterwards to Râjavriha, and being taken sick in the Bambu Garden (Veluvana), he died there aged 30 years.

[12] It is also so marked in the map illustrating Fa-hian's travels in the Fa-kou-sea. Breitenâeder also refers to it, and confirms Klaproth's conclusion: he is mistaken, however, in saying that the name Kun-lun, as applied to Pulo Condore, is first to be met with in the history of the Sung dynasty A.D. 799 (op. cit. p. 14 n.)
7. A priest of the Mahāyana school called Tang, or "the lamp" (diya), went with his parents when young, to the land of Dvārapati, and there became a priest. He afterwards retired with the Chinese envoy to the capital, and lived in the temple of Tseyan, where Hiwen Thang had resided. Afterwards he went by the Southern Sea route to Ceylon, where he worshipped the tooth—and then proceeding through South India and crossing into Eastern India, arrived at Tamralipti. Being attacked by robbers at the mouth of the river, he barely escaped with his life; he resided at Tamralipti for 12 years; having perfected himself in the Sanskrit he then proceeded to Nālanda and Buddha Gayā, then to Vaisali and the Kusi country, and finally died at Kusinagara, in the Pari-Nirvāṇa Temple.

8. Two priests of Kao-chang (Turfan) going in company with a Chinese envoy through the Southern Seas, died on board ship. Their books (the Yoga Sāstra and others) living remarks are still at Shih-fo-o-shai.

9. Tao-li, a priest of King-chou (in Huphe), and the district Kiang-ling whose Sanskrit name was Sīlaprabhava, embarked in a foreign ship (Hajik—Tajik), and passing through the copper-pillars12 stretched away to Lānka (Kama-lāṅka), and then keeping along the Kalinga coast (i.e. the coast of Pegu) they came to the country of the naked men. The king of this country behaved well to the pilgrim, and he remained there several years. He then proceeded to Tamralipti where he passed three years learning the Sanskrit language. After visiting the Vajrāsana and worshipping the Bodhi Tree, he passed to Nālanda where he studied the Kosha, and after a year or two went to the Vulture Peak near Rājagiri, and finally proceeded to South India, and going through the Māratha Country13 in Western India he studied a work called the Ta-ming-chau, in Sanskrit the Vidyābhikṣaṇa. The current tradition is that this work was in 100,000 slokas, which, in a Chinese translation, would represent 300 chapters (bisen), but that a great portion is lost—and that after the death of the great Holy One the spirit of the verses was preserved by Arya Nāgārjuna. Tao-li after this proceeded to Kaśmir and the country of Udyan, and dwelt in Kapisa, where he adored the skull bone of Buddha—he then returned by sea14 to Quëdāh (Kia-cha). He was here informed by some Northern Tartars (ku) that there were two priests in their country agreeing in description with some friends of his, he returned therefore to North India, where he died, aged 50 years or so.

10. Another priest called Tan-K worries of the same district in China, went to India by the Southern Sea route, and having arrived at A-li-i-lo (Arakan?) he was reported to have found much favour with the king of that country; and to have got a temple built, and books and images; finally he was said to have died there.

11. Huui-ming, a priest from the same district, set out to go to India by the Southern Sea route, but the ship being baffled by contrary winds put in at Tun-geh-n (copper pillars) in Ma-yuen, and after stopping at Shang-king returned to China.

12. Huui Ta, a priest of Kung-chow and the district of Kiang-Ning, was a man of high family. He appears to have accompanied an envoy in a Persian ship to the Southern Seas. Having arrived at Fo-shai (Sribhāja) he remained there six months studying the Sadāvidya. The king was highly courteous, and on the occasion of his sending a present to the country of Mo-lo-yu (Malaya), Huui-ta proceeded there and remained two months. He then went on to Quëdāh, and then at the end of winter went in the royal ship towards Eastern India. Going north from Quëdāh, after 10 days or so, they came to the country of the naked men. For two or three lis along the eastern shore there were nothing but cocoanut trees and forests of betel vines. The people, when they saw the ship, came alongside in little boats with the greatest clamour; there were upwards of 100 such boats filled with cocoanuts and plantains, they had also baskets, &c. made of rattan; they desired to exchange these things for whatever we had that they fancied, but they liked nothing so much as bits of iron. A piece of this metal two fingers length in size would buy as many as 5 or 10 cocoanuts. The men here are all naked, the women wear a girdle of leaves; the sailors in joke offered them clothes, but they made

12. Straits of Bencas?

13. Lo-tá; it was by mistake suggested above (note, p.

signs that they did not want any such articles. This country according to report is south-west of the district of Sze-ch'uan. The country produces no iron, and very little gold or silver; the people live on cocoanuts and some esculent roots, but have very little rice or cereals. Iron is very valuable, they call it Lu-a. The men are not quite black, of middling height, they use poisoned arrows, one of which is fatal. Going for half a month in a N. W. direction we come to Tamralipti, which is the southern district of East India. This place is some 60 stages or more from Nâlana and the Bodhi Tree. Meeting the priest called "Lamp of the Great Vehicle" (Mahâyâna-dîpa) in this place they remained together there one year, learning the Sanskrit and practising themselves in the Sañdāśâstra. They then went on with some hundred or so merchants towards Central India. When about ten days' journey from the Mahâbodhi, when in a narrow pass, the road being bad and slippery, he was left behind and attacked by robbers, who stripped him and left him half dead in a ditch. At sundown some villagers rescued him and gave him a garment. Going on north he came to Nâlana, and after visiting all the sacred spots in the neighbourhood, he remained at Nâlana ten years, and then going back to Tamralipti he returned to Quêdâh, and with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 slokas, enough to fill 1,000 volumes, he remained at Srîbhôja.

13. Shen-hung, a priest of Sûn-chow, also went to Srîbhôja, where he died.

14. The priest Ling-wan having gone through Annam to India and erected under the Bodhi tree a figure of Mîtrâyâ Bodhisattva, one cubit in height and of exquisite character.

15. Seng-chi, a priest and companion of the former, went to India by the Southern Sea route. Having arrived at Samatata the king of that country, named Harsha-vardhana, an upâsaka, greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties; he had made day by day above 100,000 figures of Jemma, had read through the great Prajñâ consisting of 100,000 slokas, and was most punctual in his acts of worship, &c.

16. A priest Chi-sê went to the south and resided at Shâng-king near Cochin China; he then went south to Srîbhôja, and afterwards proceeded to India.

17. A priest Wou-hing, in company with the last, left Hainan with an easterly wind and after a month arrived at Srîbhôja. He then went in the Royal ship for 15 days to Malay, in another 15 days to Quêdâh, then waiting till the end of winter, going west for 30 days they arrived at Nagavâdana (Nâgapatam?), whence after two years' sea voyage they came to Sinhapura (Ceylon). He there worshipped the sacred tooth, and then, going N. E. for a month, arrived at the country of O-li-ki-lo (Arakan). This is the eastern limit of East India. It is a part of the country of Cha-ma-pa (Siam). Staying here one year, he moved towards Eastern India with his companion Chi-sê. This place is about 100 stages from Nâlana. After this he proceeded to the Mahâbodhi Temple in the Mûng country (i.e., the temple of Kharçâh). Having rested here, he again returned to Nâlana, and studied the Yoga, Kosha, and other works. Moved with a desire to find copies of the Vinaya, he again repaired to the Kharçâh (Kie-lo-ch'â) temple. About two stages from this he speaks of a saintly artizan, who by practising the rules of the Bodhisattwa Chânâ, expected to obtain the power of entering the dim caverns of earth. In the end he died at Nâlana.

18. Fâ-chin also started by the southern route, and after passing Shang-king (Saigon) Ku-long, Kaling, and Quêdâh, he died.

19. Ta-tsing (T-tsing?) of Leichow (of Hunan) returned to the Southern Seas in 682 A.D., and after sending his books and images to China, resided at Srîbhôja, where he acted as interpreter of the Chin-lun language. He returned to Chang'an in 693 A.D.

There is a note in Tsiang's other work (Nam-hae-khi-kwai-nui-fâ-ch'uí'en, K., I., p. 3) which throws some light on the geographical terms used in his former book. The note is to this effect. "Going east from Nâlana 500 stages, i.e., 500 yojanas, all this country is called the Eastern frontier. At the extremity of this frontier country are the great black mountains, the southern boundary of Tu-fan. The
record says that this is S. W. of Sze-chu'an, Going S. W. one month's journey or so, we come to Sa-ling; south of this is the border of the sea and the country called Sri-kshetra; S. E. of this is Lang-káva (Kamalanka); E. of this is Dvára-pati; eastward of this at the extreme frontier is the country of Lin-i (Champa),—this country excessively honours the three objects of worship, and has many religious people.

With respect to the countries of the Southern Seas, I-tsing has, on the same page, the following note:—"Counting from the west there is first of all the Pó-lo-sse country (Sumatra), next the Malay country, which is the same as that now called Shí-li-fó-yao country, next (or this is the Mahásin country (Sinapura?), next is the Kalinga (Lengas?) country, then the T’o-tan country (Natuna according to Bretschneider, Ar. 2, &c. p. 12, vide also H. Thasang, tom. I, p. 45.), after this is the Pán-pán country (Ban-ka?), after this is Pó-loi (Bliton), after this Kiu-lun (?), then Fù-sha-pa-lo (Sríbhója and Bali?), then A-shen and Mó-kia-mán; and other islands not worth mentioning." All these countries, I-tsing remarks, "reverence the law of Buddha—they follow principally the Little Vehicle, but in Malay the Great Vehicle is also slightly observed. These islands are some of them 100 li round, others several hundred, and others perhaps a hundred stages (yojanas)."

The southern point of Champa (Cochin China) is Shang-king (Saigon ?), this is the same as Lin-i, the people of this country belong to the Sámátiya School, and also to the Sárvástivádins. S. W. of this one month (by land ?) is Fú-nan (Camboja). The people of this country were formerly naked savages, and sacrificed to the gods, but afterwards were converted to Buddhism. But a wicked king has now driven the priests away and destroyed them, so that none but heretics are found here. This is the extreme southern corner of Jambudwipa.

We observe that I-tsing repeatedly speaks of the ten countries or islands of the Southern Seas. These are probably the ten islands spoken of above. And so (on p. 8, K. II.) he says there are twenty and odd countries between the Mahábbihi and Lin-i (i.e. Cochin China), whilst in the Southern Sea there are ten countries besides Ceylon; on the west, beyond the Great Sea, are the countries of Pó-li-sse (Persia) and Tá-sáhi (Ambia). The situation of Shí-li-fó-sha-i (Sríbhója) appears to be settled by a notice (in the 3rd book and 24th p.) where I-tsing says that in this place in the middle of the 8th month there is no shadow, and in the middle of spring the same. If the Chinese months are here referred to, this statement would place Sríbhója as nearly as possible on the Equator—perhaps on the east coast of Sumatra, opposite Banka. But as the months in China are uncertain, we may still be at liberty either to place Sríbhója on the Malayan Peninsula—or as far south as Surabaya in Java.

Pattling together the notices to be found in I-tsing's works, we may conclude that the sea route between China and India in the early years of the Tang dynasty was by way of Java, Sumatra, the Straits of Malaka, the coast of Burma and Arakan, to Tamralipti, or else by the more adventurous way of Ceylon from Quénâh. It seems that the Condore Islands were a centre of trade, and that the language of the natives of these islands was used generally through the Southern Seas—at least I-tsing speaks of himself as interpreting this language at Sríbhója.

We have one or two points of some certainty in the itinerary of these pilgrims. For instance in the Si-yu-ki (tom. II, p. 82) we read that to the N. E. of Samatâta is the country called Srikshetra, to the S. E. of this is Kamalanka; to the east of this is Dáspati (read Devára-pati). This country has been identified by Capt. St. John (Phenix, May 1872) with old Tung-n and Sandoway in Burma, lat. 18° 20' N. long. 94° 20' E.; it is in fact the "door land" between Burma and Siam; this latter being called Champa or Lin-i. Hiwan Thsang remarks that to the S. W. of Lin-i or Siam is the country of the Yavanás, or as they are called in his text the Yen-môna. We do not read of this country in I-tsing; it may probably represent Camboja.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)
Thirty-five miles to the south of Madras, on the coast, lies the old Dutch settlement of Sadas with its ruined fort, and the same distance to the south-west on the Great Trunk Road lies Chingalput, famous as the scene of one of Clive's exploits and the capital of an old dynasty of kings. The distance between these two places is eighteen miles, and exactly midway is Tirukai-kunram or 'the hill of Sacred Kites' (the Brāhmīns call it Pakshitirtha). The early history of the place is unknown. Legend says that once upon a time all the four Vedas went together to Śiva, and requested him to give them a permanent habitation where they might for ever worship him. Śiva accordingly transformed them into four hills connected with one another, and himself took his abode on the top of one of the chain. On this account the Śiva image of the place is called Vadagiri, or 'the god of the hill of the Vedas.'

It is also said that at a place a few furloonges from this chain of hills, Śiva fought with 10,000,000 Rudras and gained a victory over them. At the place where this battle was fought, a temple in honour of Śiva was built called Rudragiri or 'the Rudra Temple.' The village of Rudragiri is a very small one, containing about a score of meanly-built houses; but the temple is a large one and old.

Besides these there is a third temple at the foot of the chain—the largest of the three—having four large Goparams. In this temple is the wife of Śiva. There is nothing important here, except that the stone idol is much worn from age, so much so that it is anointed only once a year, sometimes in March, when thousands flock to the town to witness the anointing.

Tirukai-kunram was comparatively an unimportant place till the 16th century, after which it gradually rose in popularity through the exertions of a devotee named Pēramañila Tambirān, who went about the country begging and preaching in the name of Śiva, who, it was said, appeared to him in a vision while asleep one night at Acharāv (now a South Indian Railway Station), and requested him to dedicate himself to this work. Pēramañila Tambirān was eminently successful, and made Tirukai-kunram what it is now, the most popular place in this part of Southern India, excepting perhaps Conjeevaram.

Once upon a time, it is said, Indra worshipped the Śiva idol of this place, and the exact spot where he offered his devotions is still shown by the natives of the town, and is called Indra Tiratham or Indra's Tank. In commemoration of this event Indra is said to anoint the idol once in twelve years by a thunderbolt which falls exactly on the top of the conical-shaped building on the hill, and without injuring the building or any one in it, goes round the idol thrice, and then descends the hill unperceived. The anointing of the idol, then, once in twelve years, is considered as one of the wonderful things connected with the place. There is a tank at the foot of the hills called Saṅgu Tiratham or Chank-shell Tank. This tank, which is the biggest in the town, produces a chank-shell once in twelve years. Two or three days previously, the water of the tank assumes a frothy appearance, and makes continually a roaring noise. The people of the place watch carefully, and then with due ceremony and pomp take up the shell, when it comes floating to the shore, and place it on a silver vessel. Then a festival takes place in honour of the event, when the shell is taken round the town in procession with tontoms, and afterwards deposited with the other shells in the temple at the foot of the hills. But they say that the shells diminish in size every time owing to the sins of the Kaliyagam. The writer of this article was assured by an old man at the place that this event had happened regularly some four or five times during his lifetime. Then every day between twelve and one o'clock, two large white birds of the kite species come to the temple on the hill for the purpose of being fed by a Paṇḍaram specially appointed for that purpose. It is said that these kites, which were originally two Rishis transformed into birds for some sins they had committed, bathe every morning in the Ganges at Bankras, take their meals in Tirukai-kunram, and sleep in Rāmēsvaram; but however false this may seem, the wonderful regularity of attendance strikes every one. The Paṇḍaram, long before the time, ascends the hill, which is nearly five hun-
NOTES ON THE SWASTIKA.

BY R. SEWELL, M.R.A.S., MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE.

The attention of readers of the Indian Antiquary has lately been drawn to the question of the origin of that mysterious Aryan symbol, the Swastika, in a paper last year by the celebrated Orientalist, Mr. Edward Thomas; in another article on the subject written by the Rev. S. Beal; and by Mr. Thomas's enlarged essay on the subject in the Numismatic Chronicle (N. S. Vol. XX. pp. 18-48).

Whether Mr. Thomas's sun-theory be really the right one or not, I leave to each student of such matters to decide for himself. But while any doubt whatever remains among the learned, I think no harm can be caused by gathering together a few notes on the many heterogeneous theories that have been put forward to account for the symbol and explain its meaning. I only pretend to have collected a few of these extremely diverse elucidations. Others may be able to furnish us with further examples of the ingenuity displayed by writers in presence of the Swastika; and the exhibition may be amusing if it does not prove instructive.

In 1854 General Cunningham, writing in his Bhisä Topes, goes into the question of this symbol...
very early in the work. After remarking on the
religion of the Aryans he takes up the doctrine
of the Swastika as opposed to that of the
Brâhmans, and states that “the Swastika
derived their name from their peculiar symbol
the svastika, or mystic cross, which was a
symbol of their belief in Swasti. This term is a
compound of su ‘well,’ andasti, ‘it is’; meaning
‘it is well,’ or, as Wilson expresses it, ‘so be it’;
and implying complete resignation under all
circumstances.” In a note he says:—“The Swasti
of Sanskrit is the sutti of Pali; and the mystic
cross or Svastika is only a monogrammatic
symbol formed by the combination of the two
syllables su + ti = sutti.” Without entering on
a lengthy discussion on the theory that the
symbol had its origin in a combination of letters
of an alphabet dating from perhaps not very
long before the third century B.C., it will be quite
sufficient to point to the Hissarlik discoveries
of Schliemann for a proof that the symbol existed,
perfect and complete, ages before the alphabet
of Aesop was in use in India, so far as we know.
The earliest of the settlers on that historical spot,
whose remains are found in strata of débris 40
to 46 feet below the ruins of the Hellenic in-
habitants of the seventh century B.C., used the
Svastika in its most modern form as their
favourite sacred symbol. Further comment on
the monogrammatic theory would seem to be
needless.

In the sixth chapter of his Troy and its Remains
Schliemann devotes considerable space to the
subject of the Svastika, shewing how apparently
universal was its use amongst several of the
earliest races of Asia and Europe “at a time
when Germans, Indians, Pelasgians, Celts,
Persians, Slavonians and Iranians still formed
one nation and spoke one language,” (p. 102),
and he quotes at length from the work of M. Émile Burnouf, La Science des Religions,
on the question of its origin. “The \[\text{svastika}\]
represents the two pieces of wood which were laid
crosswise upon one another before the sacrifici-
altars, in order to produce the holy fire agni,
and whose ends were bent round at right
angles and fastened by means of four nails,
so that this wooden scaffolding might not
be moved. At the point where the two pieces
of wood were joined, there was a small hole,
in which a third piece of wood, in the form
of a lance (called Pramantha), was rotated
by means of a cord made of cow’s hair and
hemp, till the fire was generated by friction.”

“... The Pramantha was afterwards
transformed by the Greeks into ‘Prometheus,’
who, they imagined, stole fire from heaven, so
as to instil into earth-born man the bright
spark of the soul.” Dr. Schliemann further
states that M. E. Burnouf “adds that the
Greeks for a long time generated fire by friction,
and that the two lower pieces of wood that lay
at right angles across one another were called
\[\text{ormphos}\], which word is either derived from
the root sti, which signifies ‘lying upon the earth,’
and is then identical with the Latin sternere,
or is derived from the Sanskrit word sthvara,
which means ‘firm, solid, immovable.’ Since
the Greeks had other means of producing fire,
the word ormphos passed into simply in the
sense of ‘cross.’” He concludes with the
remark that from the remotest times the different
forms of the Svastika “were the most sacred
symbols of our Aryan forefathers.”

In January 1870 there appeared an interesting
article in the Edinburgh Review summarising
some of the opinions which had found favour
regarding this “Pre-Christian Cross,” and giving
the writer’s own view in the matter very strongly
expressed. After pointing out the universality
of the cruciform emblem amongst the earliest
known races of the world, and stating, some-
what boldly, that “the marvellous rock-hewn
caves of Elephants and Elara, and the stately
temples of Mathurā and Tirupati in the East,
may be cited as characteristic examples of one
laborious method of exhibiting it; and the
megalithic structures of Callernish and New-
grange in the West, of another,”—(rather a
confusion here, surely!)—the reviewer goes on
to give his very decided opinion as to the
origin of the symbol: “The aureole or disc
encircling the heads of gods and saints, and
signifying perfection, was primarily intended
to represent the solar orb; but in the course of
time, as Sabean worship travelled beyond the
region of its source, and extraneous influences
were brought to bear upon it, the same symbol re-
appears with an infinitude of scarcely distinguish-
able additions internally and externally.

When divided into four equal segments,
... it was the symbol of the primeval abode
of man, the traditional Paradise of Eden.”

The Rev. W. Haslam (The Cross and the
Serpent, 1849) held that the cross symbol was, from the beginning of things, given directly from Heaven to man as a perpetual type or prophecy of the death of Christ. "The cross was conceived when the redemption of man was designed or ever the tempter was changed into the form of the gliding serpent... It was revealed with the prophecies and transmitted with them as a part of the prediction, in its more material form, from generation to generation. The cross was known to Noah before the Dispersion, and even before the Flood; and I will venture yet further, and say, the cross was known to Adam; and that the knowledge of it as a sacred sign, was imparted to him by the Almighty."

How pale seems the sun-theory of Mr. Ed. Thomas, and how absolutely contemptible the practical and mundane Greek-coin-punch-marks origin suggested by Mr. Westropp, before the magnificence of such a notion as this!

Mr. Brinton (Myths of the New World) holds that "the arms of the cross were designed to point to the cardinal points, and represent the four winds, the rain-bringers... As the emblem of the winds who dispense the fertilising showers, it is emphatically the tree of our life, our subsistence, and our health. It never had any other meaning in America, and if, as has been said, the tombs of the Mexicans were cruciform, it was perhaps with reference to a resurrection and a future life as portrayed under this symbol, indicating that the buried body would rise by the action of the four spirits of the world, as the buried seed takes on a new existence when watered by the vernal showers."

Many writers have ascribed the origin of the Swastika symbol to a modification of the cruz anasta of the Egyptians, or the mystic and ubiquitous tau; while Mr. Haslam's prophetic hypothesis has received support from its being imagined that the cruz anasta itself typified the victory of the cross over the world.

Dr. Inman, as with everything else, supposes that the Egyptian tau is a phallic symbol, and that the Swastika is simply a conjunction of four such symbols pointed to one centre. Every varied form of the cross, and every junction of cross and circle, however diversified, is explained by him to have a mystical significance implying union of the two great powers of Nature.

Dr. J. G. Müller (Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen, p. 497), speaking of the cross venerated amongst the Indians of America as a god of rain, writes: "It is just the simplicity of its form which renders an interpretation difficult, because it admits of too many possibilities. All attempts thus far made... unite in the conception of the fructifying energy of Nature. Hence it appears in connection with sun-gods and the Ephesian goddess, and it is also the fitting symbol of the rain-god of tropical lands, whom it represents, as stated by the natives." He appears to lean towards the phallic origin of the pre-Christian cross as the theory most reasonable to be accepted. And to this view also Professor Max Müller seems to incline.

Mr. Baldwin, in his Ancient America (New York, 1879, p. 188), alludes to the symbol as a proof of a former union between the old world and the new. "Religious symbols are found in American ruins which remind us of those of the Phoenicians, such as figures of the serpent, which appear constantly, and the cross, supposed by some to represent the mounting of the magnetic needle, which was among the emblems peculiar to the goddess Astarte."

Mr. Hodder M. Westropp gives in the Indian Antiquity, vol. VII, 1878, p. 119, his views on the origin of the Greek archaic cross, stating that it appears to him "to be evidently derived from the punch-marks on early Greek coins," and that it is different from the swastika in the fact that the arms are turned to the left instead of to the right. The swastika, he thinks, cannot possibly be older than the sixth century B.C., "as Buddha died about 540 B.C." But Schliemann's description of the finding the whorls, and the illustrations appended to his Troy and its Remains, show that many of these whorls were found more than 40 feet below the earliest Greek remains, and that both forms, turning left and turning right, were in common use.

The above are only a few of the theories on the origin of this symbol which appear to have been entertained amongst recent writers. It

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3 No work more unscientific and erroneous in method and results than Dr. Inman's has perhaps been printed, but books of the same class are by no means uncommon, as may be gathered even from the quotations in this paper, and seem to be popular with scholars.—Ed.

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4 Buddha probably died about 483 B.C. But the swastika was no invention of Buddha's, as it was looked upon as a lucky sign at the time of his birth, and long before it.—Ed.
and symbols venerated amongst the Indian races, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, will hereafter be traced to an origin in a (so-called) "primeval" sun-worship, existent in Central or Western Asia prior to the migration of the Aryans, and possibly drawing much of its ceremonial from Chaldea, Assyria, and even Egypt.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY E. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 189.)

IX.

The rising fortunes of Chinghiz Khan and the ambitions which success naturally creates began to affect his intercourse with his paramount ruler Wang Khan, and we have now to relate the story of the jealousies and quarrels which ended in the destruction of the latter.

The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shí tells us that when but seven years old Wang Khan was captured by the Merkit and made to grind grain, and that when 13 years old he, with his mother, were seized by the Tartars and made to tend cattle. We have seen how on his father’s death he put to death his brothers to death, and then had to fly, and how he was reinstated by Yesugei, Chinghiz Khan’s father.

Petis de la Croix relates a saga of how when Temujin was 20 years old, he fled from his enemies and sought shelter with Wang Khan who was living at Karakorum, and who received him well, having heard from Khara-chär Noyan, who filled the office of Chinghiz Khan’s tutor, the story of his persecution by his enemies. Wang Khan promised to support him and to bring the recalcitrant tribes which would not obey him to their duty. We are told further that he called his young friend, son, placed him above the princes of the blood, committed to him the conduct of his armies in the war he had against the Khan of Ten-duc and undertook nothing without his counsel. He also gave him his daughter Wisulujin in marriage. She had been loved by Chämukha whom she rejected in favour of his rival, and whose jealousy we are told was thus kindled. This story appears in none of the older authorities. De la Croix quotes part of it from Abu’l-khair, but I can nowhere find it in his works, either in the Syriac or Arabic chronicle. In the latter there is merely the bare statement that Chinghiz married a daughter of Wang Khan. He quotes the rest from the Turkish author Abu’l-khair, who died in 1554, and who was the main authority followed by him. Von Hammer, who treats the whole account as a fable, says, however, that it is met with earlier than in the pages of Abu’l-khair, namely, in the Mokademme Zafar Námesh of Sherif’d-dinah of Yezd, 1424 a. d., in Khuandemir’s Habibeh Siyer, and in the Tarikh Haidari.

Wang Khan was clearly of a turbulent disposition, and we next find him trying to kill his brother, Eckhe Khan, who fled to Ili, the chief of the Naimans, who collected an army and drove him away. He thereupon sought shelter with the Gürkhan of Kar Khitai, of whom we shall have more to say further on. He sought him on the river Chui. In less than a year he quarrelled with the Gurkhan and returned once more to Mongolia through the country of the Uighurs and Tangut. On this journey, according to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shí, he lived on the milk of five ewes, and also drank the blood of a camel, which he obtained by piercing its body. The Huang-yuan says he tied the ewes with a cord; and he also says he boiled the blood he got from the camel for food. He made his way to the camp of Chinghiz Khan at Gusar. This place is no doubt the same as the

2 Ten-duch was Wang Khan’s own country; probably Tangut is meant.
3 History of Genghiscon the Great, pp. 27-28. See also Erdmann’s Temudschin, pp. 265 and 266.
Kōshei nau or lake Kōshei where Ogota fixed his spring quarters, and which, we are told, was four days' journey from Karakorum. In the Huang-yuan the name is written Kaisur. D'Ohsou in one place calls it Kausche, and in another Gueen. It is perhaps to be identified with the Kurisagol, one of the upper feeders of the Onon flowing into it from the south. Another of these streams flowing into it from the north is called the Aguna. Chinghiz Khan in consequence of the old attachment which bound him to his friend set the brave Sukiga to meet him. The Huang-yuan says he sent his relatives Takhayat and Syawagaya. He presently set out himself to the heights above the Kerulon. Having met Wang Khan, he conducted him to his camp and ordered his people to supply him with food. They spent the winter together at the place called Khubakha already mentioned. The same story is told pretty nearly in the same way in the Yuan-shi. There we read that after Chinghiz Khan had entertained his friend he took him to the banks of the Tula, or as Hyacinth has it, the Tura. The Huang-yuan also says they went to the Black Forest on the Tula, where they formed an alliance as father and son. It would seem that Wang Khan was now reinstated in power, doubtless by the influence of Chinghiz Khan.

His truculent disposition presently broke out again however, and we are told that his brothers and nobles concerted together and recalled his various acts of tyranny, and that he still had evil designs against them. Their conversation was reported to him by one named Altun Ashuk. He thereupon seized his three brothers, Elkhutara, Khuibar and Arin-taishi. Only one of his brothers, namely, Jakhabagante, escaped and found shelter with the Naimans. Elkhutara with his comrades were tied together, and had two cangues fastened about their shoulders. Wang Khan reproached them, saying, 'When we were passing through the country of Uighur and Tangut, what did you promise?' He then ordered those present to spit in their faces, and afterwards set them at liberty. The Yuan-shi which reports this story makes Cha-si-gan-bu, as Hyacinthe reads the name, the chief conspirator, and tells us that Wang Khan reproached Ekteror, and reminded him of the oath of friendship they had made in returning from Ho-si. It also says that Ekteror accompanied him to the Naimans.

The story here related is also told in the Huang-yuan and by Rashidu-din, which authorities so frequently agree. They state that it was in winter or at the approach of winter when Wang Khan was moving with his army from the Kerulon towards the mountain Khubakhaiya; that his brother Jakhanbo concerted a revolt with four Kirai Generals—the Huang-yuan calls them Khun-bal, Andun-ashu, Yankhotor and Yankhuan-khorom; Rashidu-din calls them Altun Ashuk, Il-Khusur, Il-Khunkgur and Kulburn. He said to them that his brother was of an intolerable character; unforgiving in his undertakings, fickle in his plans, and that he had so tyrannized over his relatives that the greater part of them had already sought refuge in Kara Khitai, and there was no ulus which he had not trampled upon. Why should we stay with him? Altun Ashuk repeated these words to Wang Khan, who ordered Yan-khotor or Il-Khusur or Il-Khunkgur to be brought before him in chains. He reminded the former of the oath he had sworn as they were travelling together from Tangut, and then, says the Huang-yuan, he spat in his face and all got up and spat too. He also bitterly reproached Jakhanbo, who escaped to the Naimans accompanied by Yan or Il-Khusur, Yan or Il-Khunkgur, Narin Tughrul called Nalin in the Huang-yuan, and Alin-Taishi called Tolin-Taishi in the same work. Jakhanbo in-
formed Tayang Khan of the Naimans how he had been treacherously treated by Altun-Ashuk, and asked permission to enter his service. After this Wang Khan wintered at Khubka and Chinghiz Khan in the mountains Cheeher or Chapaschar. The latter soon after attacked the Merkit Olan Udur, the Taijut Khirkhan-Taishi, and the Tartars Jakur and Kelbek, as Rashid u'd-din calls them. The Huang-yuan speaks of them as the Tartars Alandurkha-taishi and Chakhugintimur, while the Yuan-shi only mentions one of them called Ola Udur by Hyacinthe. We are told they were attacked and defeated at Dalan or Talan-Nimurges, i.e. the plain of Nimurgeon. One section of them scattered and the rest collected again for another fight. Much to the chagrin of Chinghiz Khan the Kongurut who had set out to submit to him were attacked while on their way by his brother Juchi Khasar who was living apart from him, and at the instigation of Gebe, and they accordingly went and joined Chamu kha. It must be remembered that the arrangement of the events of the early life of Chinghiz which I have followed, namely, that related in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, is different in its order to that of the other authorities which now, and not at an earlier stage as we have done, describe the struggle with Chamu kha on the river Argun. Rashid u'd-din at this point also mentions the submission of the aged Bayant chief Surkan. He makes him relate how Sachabiki, of the race Kiat Yurkin, had endeavoured to become over-chief but without success. Chamu kha had fared the same, although rich in warriors, horses and craft. Juchi Khasar with similar intentions, though he was endowed with strength, courage and prudence, had equally failed. Temujin alone united in his person all the necessary attributes, and in his surroundings all the requisites needed for supremacy, and accordingly submitted to him as his suzerain.

Some time after this we find Jakhan bex, Wang Khan's brother, joining Chinghiz Khan while the latter was encamped at Tereu. This alliance became very important and led to some curious historical results. Jakhan bex was a Kirait and a Christian. Three of his daughters were married to three powerful Mongol chiefs and became very influential historical characters. We can hardly overrate the influence which they exercised upon the religious side of the later Mongol polity. One of these daughters named A baka or A bika Bigi married Chinghiz Khan himself; a second named Bigatemish or Biktumishe Fujin, married Chinghiz Khan's eldest son Juchi, while the third and most important, Siurkutei or Siurkukiti-bigi, was married to his youngest son Tulai and became the mother of the Kha kaks Mangu and Khubilai and of the Il-khan Khulagü.

Let us now revert again to Wang Khan. In the year of the dog, i.e. 1292, when Chinghiz Khan marched against the Tartars, as we described, Wang Khan had an expedition against the Merkit and pursued their chief Tokhtu to Barguchin Tokum. He killed Tokhtu's eldest son, Togusel-beki, captured his wife, two daughters, two infant sons and many of his people. On this occasion we are told Wang Khan did not reciprocate Chinghiz Khan's former generosity, nor did he send his friend any portion of the plunder. The same events are told, but in less detail, in the Yuan-shi, and the Kang-nu. The Huang-yuan says that Wang Khan pursued the Merkit as far as the river Ula, that he killed Toto's son Tungyubigi, captured his two Khatus, Khudai Tai and Chalikhon, and also made his two other sons Khudan and Chulaan surrender with their tribes. In this account the Huang-yuan as in several other places approaches very nearly to the story as told by Rashid u'd-din. The latter says that the Merkit were defeated at a place called Bokir Keger. Erdmann calls it Bukher Gereh and D'Ohsson Tukar Kehr, while Klaproth reads it Nuker kehr. Berezine reads the name of the son who was killed Tukusi bika, while Erdmann reads it Tugun.
and D'Ohsson Tékun-bey. The two sons who were captured with their families and flocks Berezine reads Khuntktai and Jilann. Erdmann and D'Ohsson read them Khudu and Jilann. After this campaign against the Merkit in which the several authorities agree that Wang Khan failed to reciprocate his friend's generosity towards him, the two had a joint campaign against the Naimans, and their chief Guchugudun-birukh, who, as we have seen, was one of the joint rulers of the tribe at this time, Biruruk was in the district of Ulukhtakh, (a name meaning 'great mountain,' and here perhaps referring to the mountains about Ulissutai, or to the Kuka Daban range further east) and on the river Siaokhokh (?). When the two allies drew near, he did not feel strong enough to oppose them. He accordingly struck his camp and went over the Altai, i.e. no doubt the eastern branch of the Altai chain known as Ektak Altai. He was followed to the place Khumshingir on the river Urungu. We are told that Chinghiz's men captured one of Biruruk's leaders named Yeditibukh, whose saddle-girths broke, and that Biruruk himself was pursued to lake Kizilbash when he died. The Huang-yuan calls Birurukh, Beilukkhan. The Yuan-shki calls him Boro Khan. The chief who was captured calls it Oshu-boro and the place where he withdrew to Keshek-bakshe, i.e., Kizilbash. DeMaille calls Birurukh, Pulu-yuhan. He says that when the allies arrived in the plain of Hesinpasi, a patrol of 100 Naimans under Yeti-tobu who had gone to reconnoitre fled in all haste to a scarped mountain. Being pursued Yeti-tobu's saddle turned round with him, and he was captured. Rashidu'd-din tells us the allies severely defeated Birurukh at Kizilbash, near the Altai, killed many of his warriors, and captured many prisoners and booty. Birurukh according to him fled to the country of the Kemkemtj and Kirghises. He further calls the unfortunate officer who was captured because of his saddle turning round Edo-Tukluk, which he says means one knowing seven sciences. Von Hammer explains this name as meaning one who has seven banners or seven squadrons.

The Yuan-shki tells us that as Chinghiz Khan and Wang Khan were returning from this campaign, a Naiman general named Keksusabakh who was a valiant warrior assembled an army in the district of Baidarakh-belchur, with the intention of opposing them. When the two allies drew near it was late, and they encamped for the night opposite the enemy. During the night Wang Khan lit a number of fires and marched with his men along the river Nakharasiul (?). Chamukh a, who also took part in the campaign, did the same. Still harboring revenge against Chinghiz Khan he suggested that the former had sometimes sent envoys to the Naimans, and he suggested that as he was not then to be seen he had in fact given himself up to them. Then saluting Wang Khan as emperor, he said, I am like the ever present lark, but Temujin is like the migratory swallow which returns in the summer towards south twitting through the air. That is he urged that while he was a constant firm friend, Chinghiz was a fickle one. For this he was rebuked by Gurin-bastur from Ubehukhtai (?) who upbraided him for thus cumulating his good brother.

Meanwhile Chinghiz Khan, when he rose at daybreak noticing that Wang Khan's people had withdrawn said "He has forsaken me, deceiving me by lighting these fires as if he were going to cook some food." He in turn withdrew and marching by the defile of Yetir Altai (?) reached his quarters at Sari-kher in safety.

The Yuan-shki makes out that the Naimans on this occasion were commanded by the two chiefs Taesu and Shebar, and that it was Chamukh a who persuaded Wang Khan to

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38 Urungu is a synonym for Kizilbash, the well-known lake in Eastern Sogdia, and this river is doubtless the Uyungur which flows into that lake from the southeast. See the map of Western Mongolia in Petermann's Mittheilungen for 1872.
39 Yuan-chao-pi-shi, p. 90.
41 Douglas reads it Polo.
42 Hysinthie, p. 16; Douglas, p. 22.
43 i.e., Kizilbash.
44 He is called Yeditobu in the Huang-yuan, p. 100.
withdraw. It also says that Chinghiz Khan pursued him. He found he had gone to his quarters on the river Tula and himself went to Saligol. It also makes Chamunkha contrast the birds with white wings, i.e. the snow birds, which are constant inhabitants of the steppe with the wild geese that fly away in the winter. De Mailla tells the same story. In the Yuan-shi-lei-pen we are told this defection happened at the mountain Kao, which according to the geographical work entitled I-tong-chi was 500 li to the west of the ordinary camp of the Tachin or Turks in the 6th century a.d. This camp was situated according to the same geography on the mountain T'ukin 45 or 46 degrees North lat. and 12° to 13° West of Peking. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen says that in his retreat Wang Khan retired by the river Asonai, which Gaubil identifies with the Hasni, a tributary of the Selenga.

This river is called the Khasin in Petermann's map in the Mittheilungen for 1872. The identification is confirmed by the statement in the Huang-yuan, that when he withdrew from Chinghiz Khan, Wang Khan went to the river Khasun. This work also gives the Naimans two commanders, whom it names Khuusun and Sabala, and it says that they and the two allies were encamped opposite one another was called Baidarabianjar. This is doubtless the Baidarakhbelchir of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.

Rashidu'd-din calls the Naiman General Sabran or Sairak, and says he was surname Kukseku or Gugon, meaning in Turkish, a pain in the chest. He tells us that he was at this time in winter quarters, and reports that he had harried the effects of Wang Khan's brothers and relatives for which he had been attacked at a place called Bai Barakh Belchira but not sufficiently punished. In regard to this last place Rashidu'd-din tells us that in former times a Khan of the Naimans married a daughter of the Khan of the Ongut called Bai Barakh, and celebrated the marriage festival in a fertile place named Belchira, whence the spot was afterwards known as Bai Barakh Belchira.

Bereine, vol. 11, p. 114; Erdmann, p. 272; Huang-yuan, p. 111.
Hyacinthe, p. 17.
Erdmann, p. 233, note 5.
Kushka. Ilbo barely escaped to his father, who gave him some men under Pulu-hutai to revenge himself with. Rashidu’d-din also follows the same version. He also speaks of Ilhān Sengun and Jakhanbo as the victims of the Naiman General’s vengeance. The place where their camp was harassed is read Ideru-Altau by D’Ohsson,66 Badru-altai by Erdmann,67 and Udur-altai by Berezine. Rashid says there was a river and much wood there. Perhaps the Eder, an upper stream of the Selings, is meant. After harrying their quarters the Naiman General attacked the Ulussees of Wang Khân on the borders of Talain Amaers. Erdmann reads this Lidua Masarah, and D’Ohsson makes two places of it, which he calls the frontier cantons of Daldun and Amaershe. Rashidu’d-din goes on to say that Wang Khân’s two brothers barely escaped with their lives to Wang Khân, whom thereupon sent Sengun to take revenge.68 The Huang-yuan also says it was Ilakha Siankun and Jakhanbo who were first attacked on the river Yidir Antai.69 When Wang Khân found himself thus hard pressed notwithstanding his own recent conduct, he deemed it prudent to send and ask for assistance from his late ally Chinghiz Khan, and to bid him send his famous four generals Boorchi or Boghorji, Mukhali, Boroul, and Chilaun to his assistance. The Yuan-shi as translated by Hyacinthe gives the names of the four heroes as Buirta, Mukhuri, Borkhan and Tsiilgum.70 These four heroes are called Borjui Nayan, Mukhual Govana, Bolokhun Nayan and Chilaun Badu in the Huang-yuan.71 Rashidu’d-din calls them Burji or Bughurji Nayan, Mukhuri Govana or Kuei-wang, Bural or Buraghul, Nayan and Jilagen or Chilaunkkan Bakhadar.72 Gaubil says these four heroes were styled in Mongol Polipankuli, which is explained in the Kang-ku, as meaning the four sages. Their descendants commanded the body guards of the various princes descended from Chinghiz Khan. They were also styled Kusae, which Gaubil says is also a Mongol word. This is no doubt the

origin of the Keshican of Marco Polo which he explains as ‘knights devoted to their Lord,’ and applies to the 12,000 body guards employed by Khubilai Khan.73 Colonel Yule calls attention to the mention by Friar Odorico of the four barons who kept watch by the great Khan’s side under the name of Cuthé.74 Gaubil says that in addition to his four “Braves” Chinghiz Khan also had by him a member of a Western royal family called Saii. He was well acquainted with the art of war, and belonged to the sect of the Fire-worshippers, whence he was called Charpar or the Guebre. The Chinese text adds to this name which is there written Cha-pa-ul the Chinese character he, meaning fire, adding that this is to shew what his religion was.75 He was not improbably some descendant of the Sassanian royal stock of Persia.

Let us now resume our story. Sanka before the arrival of the four Braves had begun a struggle at Khulaankhut. (?) Sanka’s horse was wounded in the leg during the fight, and he was about to be captured when the four heroes arrived, and rescued him, and also recovered his wives and people.76 Rashidu’d-din tells us that in the battle which Sengun fought with the Naiman on this occasion the two Kirai Generals, Tekiuni and Iturken Yadahku, were both killed. Burooji gave Sengun his own charger, and himself mounted the famous grey horse which Chinghiz Khan had given him, with injunctions that he must not strike it, but only stroke it with his riding whip when he wished it to fly like lightning.77 Wang Khan was deeply grateful, and we are told he rewarded Burooji with a present of a set of robes and 10 golden cups.78 The Huang-yuan calls the place where the battle with Sengun was fought the hills of Khulaakhe. It also calls the two Kirai Generals who were killed Digekholi-Iturgan and Shaitai.79

According to the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, when Wang Khan heard of what Chinghiz Khan had done for him, he said, “Formerly
his good father set free and restored me my people whom I had lost: now the son sends four champions who release and restore to me my people. I swear by the shielding power (or aid) of heaven. I will try and repay this obligation." He then went on to say that he was growing old, that his younger brothers were unworthy to succeed him, and that he only had one son, Sankun, of whom he spoke disparagingly, saying it was the same as if he did not exist. "I will consider Temujin as the elder brother of Sankun, so that I shall have two sons when I am at rest," and he accordingly met Chinghiz Khan at the Black Forest on the river Tula and adopted him as his son. Hitherio Chinghiz had called him father merely out of respect, and because of his friendship with Yissugei. Now they made a bond of father and son, and declared, "In the struggles with our foes we will fight side by side. In hunting the wild animals we will unite together. If people try to make us quarrel we will not listen to them, nor believe them until we have had mutual explanations and spoken about matters face to face." In order to secure their friendship still further, Chinghiz asked for the hand of Wang Khan's daughter Charbiki for his son Juichi, while he offered his own daughter Khojin to Sankun's son Tusa khi. Sankun who deemed his people superior to the Mongols, and looked upon Chinghiz Khan as belonging to an inferior horde to himself expressed his feelings thus: "When the maiden of our house goes into theirs, she will stand behind the door with her face to the north" (i.e. in the attitude of a servant or slave) "while if their maiden comes to us she will sit with her face to the south," i.e. in the position of a mistress. He therefore objected to the two matches, which were broken off, thereby naturally causing some heartburn to the proud Mongol chief. 

This notice may be compared with that given by Marco Polo in whose words the story runs as follows: "In the year of Christ 1200 Chinghiz Khan sent an embassy to Prester John and desired to have his daughter to wife. But when Prester John heard that Chinghiz Khan demanded his daughter in marriage, he waxed very wroth, and said to the envoys 'What impudence is this to ask my daughter to wife? Wist he not well that he was my liegeman and serf? Get ye back to him, and tell him that I had liefer set my daughter in the fire than give her in marriage to him, and that he deserves death at my hand, rebel and traitor that he is.' So he bade the envoys begone at once, and never come into his presence again. The envoys on receiving this reply departed straightway, and made haste to their master, and related all that Prester John had ordered them to say, keeping nothing back."  

Marco Polo, it will be seen, says nothing of Sankun, and attributes "the proud words" to Wang Khan himself. In the Yuan-shi, which says the betrothals were broken off amidst angry words and fierce threats, Juichi is called Jotsin or Chotsin and Wang Khan's daughter Chan-urh Pe-tsi, while Chinghiz Khan's daughter is called Koh-tsins Pe-tse or Catins-betai and her proposed husband To-sze-ho or Toskho. De Maille's authority tells us that Temujin having asked the hand of Wang Khan's daughter Serpechun for his eldest son Chiuchi, and been refused, some time after revenged himself by refusing the hand of his daughter Hoakin to Wang Khan's son Tosaho. 

In the Huang-yuan we are told that when these negotiations for alternate marriages were in progress, Chinghiz Khan was encamped at the mountain Abuli Kyakchogor, and Wang Khan in the sandy desert of Tsu-belik. Rashidu'd-din tells us that the two friends had crossed the Ongor by which Rashid means sometimes the great Chinese wall and sometimes the Inshan range. I must now introduce an incident not mentioned in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, and which is stated in the other authorities to have occurred immediately before the attempted betrothals above named. Rashidu'd-din tells us that in 1202, the same year when Chinghiz Khan overwhelmed the Tartars, Buirakh in alliance with Tokhto the chief of the Merkit with the Durban Tartars, Katakins and Saljut, who were led by Ukhutu Bakhadur together with the Uirat chief Khotunga biki formed an alliance, and marched against the two friends. The latter were informed of the approach of the enemy by

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81 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 82 and 83.  
83 Hyacinthe, p. 23; Douglas, p. 81.  
their outposts, who were stationed at Gui, Chekcher and Chirkaik, which Erdmann condenses into one name Gui-jagjern-jewerkhai. They thereupon left the banks of the Olkhun-Siljyuljut near the Ongu. The Huang-yuan says they marched from Ulukhoo-shi-han-jen into intrenchments, and repaired to the desile of Tajar Aki in the mountains of Karam Chidun. There they were pursued by the enemy. Meanwhile Sankun, the son of Wang Khan who was in command of the vanguard determined to be the first to fall upon them. Buirukh having noticed him, and seen that his people were Mongols sent a division of his men together with the Katakins under Agju Bakhadar and the Merkit under Tokho's brother Khudu against him. A sharp but undecided struggle took place, after which Sankun withdrew into the mountains, and they proceeded to perform some incantations which were followed by a great fall of snow and a deep fog. This was driven by the winds upon themselves, and a great number of men and horses perished from the cold and from falling down the precipices. The Naimans and their allies withdrew to a place called Kuiten. The Huang-yuan says the fight took place at Kubitain and Wang Khan and Chinghiz who were not in a position to pursue went to Aral. Chamukh had set out to join the confederates on learning their fate with characteristic duplicity seized some rich booty belonging to the Katakins and Saljut, and once more joined Chinghiz Khan. They took up their winter quarters at a place variously read as Utjia Kungur, Alichia Kungur and Ichegheh Gutel, where he says the Kungurt formerly had their winter quarters where Temujin asked the hand of Jorbege for his son Ju-chi and offered his own daughter Kujinbege to Tusunbuki or Khushbuka, the son of Sankun. The locality referred to by Rashidu'd-din is scarcely a probable one, and it would seem that he has mistaken Karann Chipchak, i.e. the black woods, for Karam Khan, and the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi undoubtedly put it at the black woods on the Taull, i.e. apparently the Tula.

These events are also reported in the Yuan-shi, only that in this account Buirukh is not mentioned by name, but the Merkit Tokhtoa, who we are told had returned from Borokhucha, i.e. Barguchin, whither he had fled, is made the prominent character, and we are told there were with him the Naimans, Durban Tartars, Katakins and Saljut. When Chinghiz Khan and Wang Khan learnt of their approach they withdrew into an intrenched position. De Maille says a camp fortified with palisades on a mountain, while Ilkha, i.e. Sankun, took up his position on a height to the north. The enemy attacked him, but could not drive him away, but he eventually joined his father within the intrenchments. Before the fight the two allies had sent their baggage away. Their fortress was called Alan-jai. The chief struggle took place at Choidan. The Naiman chief sacrificed by his priests to the spirits of the snowstorm, and invoked their aid, but the wind began to blow towards him. The Naimans could not fight but were hampered by the drifted snow. They were fallen upon by Chinghiz Khan. Chamukh on hearing what had happened, we are told, began to plunder the tribes who were allied with him.

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

Translated from the French. (Continued from p. 182.)

Tenth Edict. (*)

(*) Devānāmpiyāu piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va na mahāthāvahā maṃaste añata taddā-pano dighāya cha me jāno

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* The Huang-yuan says on the mountain Nigan-gundūn, Chir and Chukhirka.
* Read Wakhuil by Erdmann.
* Erdmann reads it Gutein.
* i.e. the island.
* Huang-yuan, pp. 165 and 166; Berezine, vol. 11, pp. 139-128; Erdmann, pp. 281 and 282; D'Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 66.
* The readings differ from those of Cunningham's plate.
* With Dr. Kern, read taddāpāna.
* Read *susuttā; J. has *susuttā.
* Read *kitim.
The Indian Antiquary

Translation.

Thus saith King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods: there is no alms comparable to the almsgiving of religion, the friendship [which is manifested by the communication] of religion (this word wanting in Kh.), liberality [bestowed] in [precepts of religion], the relationship [which is based on the communication] of religion. This should be observed: regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother (G.: is good), charity to friends, companions, relatives, Sramans and Brâhmans (G.: is good), respect of the life of creatures (G.: is good). That is what a father, or a son, or a brother (Kh.: or a master), a friend, a companion (G.: a relative) indeed even a neighbour ought to say, "this is what is good, this is what ought to be done!"

In acting thus there is (Kh.: is found) advantage in this world and for the life to come; there results (Kh., K.: is reaped) infinite merit from this almsgiving of religion.

Twelfth Edict.11

(1) Devânaúpiye piyadasi râja savâpásândâni cha prâvañjâni cha gharâstâni cha pûjâyatâ dânaâ cha vividhânya cha pûjâya pûjâyatâ ne[.]

(2) na tu tathâ dânaâ va pûje12 va devânaúpiyo maînûte yathâ kîti13 sâravadhâ asa [.] savâpásândânaî sâravadhâ tu bahuvahih[.]

(3) tasa tasa14 tu idâm mûlaâm ya vachèguti kîntî àtpâpasaûñjapûja va parâpasaûñjâgârahâ va no bhâve apakârañçaronmî lâhûkâ va asa

(4) tambî tambî prakâraçâ puçetâyâ tu eva parâpásândâ tena tena15 prakaraçena16 [.]

(5) evan kâra16 àtpâpasaûdha cha vaññhâyati parâpâsamâsâcha ña upakâro17 [.]

(6) tadaññathâ karoto17 àtpâpasaûdham cha chhañati18 parâpásândhâcha ña pi apakâro17 yo hi kochi18 àtpâpasaûdham pûjâyati parâpâsândhâm18 va garâhâti

(7) sa vâ19 àtpâpasaûdham jhâitya kîntî àtpâpâsândhâm dipayêma iti so cha puna tatha

3 These readings differ from those of Cunningham's plate.
4 Read kînîch parâkâmata devânaúpiyo piyadasi râjâ tâp[.]
6 The character is quite lost in facsimile C.; the facsimile B. has only the w distinct, but B. reads karoto (--karoto) as did Burnouf from Westergaard's copy. This is the exact equivalent of the reading karotita (for karotâ) of Kh. and K.
7 K. reads so tathâ karotita bhûloka cha urdâkiti para-trcha anâtânte puñâni krasava (for prasava)bhû (va) tâ.
8 For yâ-jhû.
9 For kînîch as in l. 8.
10 For tâd tathâ, as ya for yâ.
11 Read parâkâmata.
12 Such is the only reading that seems authorized by the facsimile B. for this word reads very diversely kata, kariâ, etc.
13 Karoto for karotito.
14 Kâñci has khamotî.
karāto\textsuperscript{4} āttapāsāṇāṃ bādīnātāraṃ upahaṅāti \textsuperscript{5} ta samavāyō eva sādhā\textsuperscript{6}

(\textsuperscript{7}) kiṁti maṁmāṇāṁasa dhaṁmaṁ sruṇāj\textsuperscript{21} cha susāsnerā cha[.] evān\textsuperscript{1} hi devānanāpiyasā iñhā kiṁti savaṇāṃdā bahusrutā cha asu kalāṅgāna\textsuperscript{2} cha asū\textsuperscript{22}[.]

(\textsuperscript{9}) ye cha tatā tata pasāmāṃ tehā vatavyaṁ\textsuperscript{23} devānāpiyo no tathā dānaṁ va pūja\textsuperscript{25} va maṁmāte yathā kiṁti sāravadvā asa savapaṇāṃdānaṁ\textsuperscript{26} bahaka\textsuperscript{24} cha asu\textsuperscript{25} [. etāya

(\textsuperscript{9}) athā vyāpatā dhaṁmamāmāhitā cha itiṣhaka-khamahāmāhitā\textsuperscript{28} cha vachhabhāmākā cha aṅe cha nikāyā[.] ayaṁ cha etasa phala ya āttapāsāṇādavaḍhī cha boti dhaṁmāsa cha dīpanā[.]

\textit{Translation.}

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all sects, ascetics and householders, he honours them (\textit{these three words wanting in Kh.}) with alms, and honours of various sorts. But the [\textit{king}] beloved of the gods attaches less importance to these alms and these honours than to the desire to see prevail \textit{[the moral virtues which form]} their essential part. That prevalence of the essential foundation of all the sects implies, it is true, very many diversities. But for all there is one common source, which is moderation in language; that is, that one ought not to exalt his own sect and decry others, that one ought not to depreciate them without \textit{[legitimate]} cause, that one ought on the contrary on all occasions to give to other sects the honours that are befitting. By acting thus, he labours for the advancement of his own sect while at the same time serving others. By acting otherwise, he injures his own sect in damaging others. He that extols his own sect by depreciating others does so doubtless from affection for his own sect, with the intention of exalting it; well, on the contrary by acting thus, he does nothing but inflict the severest blows upon his own sect.\textsuperscript{7} That is why concord alone is good, in this sense that all should hear and love to hear the convictions of another. It is in fact the desire of the [\textit{king}] beloved of the Devas, that all sects should be instructed, and that they should profess pure doctrines. All whatever be their belief, should be persuaded that the [\textit{king}] beloved of the Devas attaches less importance to alms and to external cult than to the desire to see the essential doctrines and the respect to all the sects prevail. It is for this end that the superintendents of religion labour, the officers charged to superintend the women, the inspectors and other bodies of agents. The fruit of it is benefit to my own creed and the glorification of religion. (Kālī, Kapurūlūharī \textit{add: Given in the ninth year of my anointment.)}

\textit{(To be continued.)}

\textbf{MISCELLANEA.}

ANAMKOND INSRIPTION OF RUDRADÈVA.

In a temple at Anamkond, in the Nizām's Dominions, there is a long and highly interesting inscription of Rudradēva of the Kākatiya or Kākatiya dynasty. Versions of it have been published in the \textit{Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII.}, p. 901, \textit{where the date was interpreted as Śaka 1054,} and in the \textit{Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X.}, p. 46, \textit{by Dr. Bhaū Dāj, who interpreted the date as Śaka 1064.} And Mr. Rice,\textsuperscript{1} recognising from these discrepant readings of the date, and from the fact that the \textit{sāhīvatara,} the name of which is recorded as Chitrabhanū, does not agree with the above dates by respectively thirty and twenty years, that there was some mistake about the date,—has stamped the inscription as belonging unmistakably to the ninth century a. d., and as recording the fate of Taḷna I. and Bhūma II. of the Western Chalukya dynasty.\textsuperscript{2}

Through the kindness of the Political Authorities at Haidarābād, I have now been furnished with an excellent ink-impression of this important inscription, and shall shortly publish it in full in this journal.

Meanwhile it may be useful to state that the real date of this inscription is Śaka 1084 (a. d. 1162-3), the Chitrabhanū \textit{sāhīvatara,} and that, notation for 4 doubled, it can hardly be read otherwise than thā.

\textsuperscript{1} A reference to a comparison with edict VII helps to the understanding of this clause. The king thinks that by the object which they really aim at, by their \textit{sāra,} all these sects approach each other to the extent of coinciding. Hence naturally he holds their interests (in a moral and elevated sense, be it clearly understood) to be closely linked together.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Mysore Inscriptions,} p. xlv., note, and p. ixii.
therefore, it records the downfall of Taila III., the last but one of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇapura, and not of his ancestor Taila I.

J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S.

Belgaum, 18th June 1881.

TUS, THE OLD CAPITAL OF THE NORTH OF PERSIA.

The Keshef Rud River passing a little to the north of Meshed, joins the Herat River a little south of Sarakhs, from which point the united streams, known as the Tjend River, flow and lose themselves in the vast swamp of the same name lying northward in the Turkoman desert. From the amount of water which I have seen running from different sources to the Tjend morass it must be a vast one indeed. Crossing a tall brick bridge of several arches the old walls of Tūs are reached not fifty yards from the river margin. The city cannot have been less than four miles in circuit, as one can judge from the ruins of the ramparts, which at the eastern end are in a remarkably perfect condition. The entire oblong space within them is covered with small mounds, and strewn with brick and fragments of blue limestone, the remains of former houses. Towards the north-western part stand the remains of the citadel built upon several vast artificial mounds. From the appearance of some towers and walls the stonework still retaining the loam, which had formerly been plastered over it in Persian fashion, I should say that this citadel had been kept in repair as a fort up to a comparatively recent period.

Exactly in the centre of the town stands the only remarkable object of the place, and which the traveller is informed is the tomb of the poet Firdauzi, who, together with the nephew of Imām Riza, the former sovereign of the place, was buried there. It is a large domed structure of brickwork, with doorways in the four sides, and pilasters at the slightly flattened corners. Springing from the northern side of the building is what appears to have been a small chapel, or else the dwelling of the guardian of the tomb. The entire structure is ruinous both within and without, having, to judge from the cracks in the walls and dome, suffered from an earthquake shock. It had originally been plastered over, both on the inside and outside, to the depth of a couple of inches, with fine grey sand concrete, much of which is still adhering even to the exterior. This had been in turn covered with adhesive white plaster. Both concrete and plaster are quite as hard as the bricks which they overlie. The architectural mouldings and other ornamentations, when on a large scale, were rudely fashioned by the placing and chipping of the brick, the details being given in concrete and plaster, which were apparently moulded, as in the case of the arabesques and decorative inscriptions in many old Arab structures, and notably so in that of the Alhambra, at Granada. Within, the building presents one unbroken space from wall to wall, and from the floor to the centre of the cupola. The height of the latter above the ground cannot be much under seventy feet. It is on the inside hemispherical, the exterior being modified by a step reaching to one-third its height. Formerly an interior gallery seems to have run round the base of the interior of the dome, if one can judge by the remains of wood beams and the spaces sunk in the walls. In the centre of the floor lie the two fragments of a stone coffin which has been rudely smashed in a longitudinal direction. The top and sides are covered with finely-executed inscriptions, verses of the Korān. My guide, the old Turkoman, told me that this coffin had been broken open only two years previously by some Russian travellers who visited the place, and who also carried away with them two inscribed marble tablets which had been inserted, one in the northern, the other in the southern wall. I saw myself the two vacant spaces in which these tablets had been, the wood pegs at the rear still remaining; but the demolition of the coffin, to judge from the appearance of the edges of the fractured parts, was of remote date. It was probably effected by the fall of some portion of the building during the earthquake shock which ruined it. Pious hands may probably have placed the fragments together again, and it may be that the Russian travellers had again opened the coffin. It is now completely empty, and there are marks, evidently of a recent date, as of an iron wedge forced in after some preliminary chipping with a chisel. This old domed structure is visible for at least 20 miles on every side. In its immediate vicinity the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages have made excavations with a view of obtaining building materials, and extensive foundations are visible on all sides. Lying among them I found numerous fragments of old, highly-coloured pottery, some of them displaying the vête métallique so prized by the "china maniacs." Tūs has been, I believe, completely deserted for the past four hundred years, the inhabitants having even at a long anterior period commenced emigrating to Meshed, whose rising fortunes had begun to eclipse those of the ancient capital of Korasan. The ground around it seems to be liable to extensive inundations from the overflowing of the Keshef Rud; and in some places a raised causeway, whether ancient or modern I could not ascertain, passes by the old town, leading east and west. In its time Tūs was probably an unhealthy place to live in, owing to the swappiness of the surrounding ground.— Correspondent, Daily News.
ON THE DATES OF ANCIENT INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS.

BY DR. H. OLDENBERG, BERLIN.

Trying to find our way through Indian chronology during the first centuries of the Christian era, is a task resembling in some sense that of the mathematician who has to solve equations with several unknown quantities. Neither inscriptions nor coins are wanting in dates, but the era to which these dates are referred, is seldom indicated, and it is only evident at first sight that a number of different chronological systems were simultaneously in use. There is no lack of hypotheses which have referred every date mentioned successively to almost every known era, and occasionally also to such as are unknown. It is not our intention to augment the number of these hypotheses, but to inquire systematically into the chronological interdependence of the different groups of dates, and thus to eliminate the unknown quantities one after the other. I believe that the number of given equations is sufficient to furnish a result in all parts of our inquiry. This result will perhaps not be an entirely new one, even in any of its constituent parts; but our inquiry will not be quite useless, even if it attain to nothing but to connect true hypotheses with each other, alongside of which stood incorrect solutions, seemingly equally acceptable and equally accepted; and, by establishing such a connection, to arrive at probabilities, and perhaps even at something that is not very unlike to certainty.

In the midst of the clouds that veil ancient Indian history and chronology, lies before our eyes, like an island on which the rays of a clearer light fall, the period of ancient Buddhism. Buddha himself died about 480 B.C., afterwards Chandragupta (Zaropatho), who united the empire of India and defended it successfully against the Makedonian attack,—and then Chandragupta's famous grandson, Asoka, (about 260 B.C.), whose official lectures on moral-

1 This article is a translation of a paper published in the eighth volume of von Sallet's Zeitschrift für Numismatik. (Berlin: 1881.)
3 I do not know if the name of Vāsudeva has been correctly restored in the Mathurā inscription of the year 44 (Cunningham I. c., plate xv, 8), and if this Vāsudeva is identical with the Vāsudeva that reigned towards the end of the first century of that era. The date of 44 would fall in the middle of Harihara's reign. If Cunningham's facsimile is correct, one would be inclined rather to look for a shorter name than Vāsudeva.

Cunningham I. c. pl. xvi, 23. I think the date might possibly be 181.—Other dated inscriptions, the connexion of which with this series I prefer to leave undecided, are to be found in the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 144 seq., etc.
Now as far as can be done by numismatical arguments alone, Dr. von Sallet has shown to what period the series of kings—Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva—must belong. An approximate estimate of the time elapsed from the last Greek kings whose date is known, till the reign of Kanishka,—secondly, the connection in which the coins of Yadophares (or Gondophares) and Sanabars, who must have reigned before Kanishka, stand with late Arsacid coins—perhaps also the Christian legend which makes Gondophares contemporary with the apostles,—and finally the connection of the gold coins which follow after Vasudeva's gold coinage, with the coins of Sapor I:—all these arguments, combined make it most probable that Herr von Sallet is right in believing that the series of Kanishka—Huvishka—Vasudeva cannot have begun at an earlier date than the first century A.D., and that it must end somewhere about 200 A.D.

If we try, therefore, to place this series, which, according to the inscriptions, must occupy about a hundred years, between Gondophares (about 50 A.D.) and the end of the second century, we are almost inevitably led to the following result, which, we think, clearly presents itself, namely, that the era of Kanishka is identical with the Saka era, which begins in 78 A.D., and which, as is well known, is mentioned in royal grants as early as in the fifth century A.D. (Sakantripakadanaivatasara). A tradition frequently mentioned, and which Albiruni follows in his important statements about the Indian emperors, represents the Saka era as beginning, not from the abhishaka, but from the defeat and death of the "Saka-king." Besides calling attention to the extreme improbability of the "Saka king's era"

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8 To the statement of Dr. von Sallet (Nachfolger Alexander, p. iv) that the monogram of Yndopheres is found stamped on a drachm of the Arsacid Orodies I, we ought to add Gen. Cunningham's statement (Arch. Rep., vol. V, p. 60) that a drachm of Ardashir III (14-42 A.D.) shows the same monogram.

9 I. e. c. 183.

10 We must remind our readers here of the strange fact, which is, however, attested very satisfactorily, that in ancient times the initial dates from which the different Indian eras were counted were subject to fluctuations of several years. Statements like this that the Saka era begins in 78 A.D. cannot be accepted, therefore, as absolutely exact; the Javanese Saka era begins in 74 A.D., the era of Bali in 50 A.D. See Burnell, South-Indian Palaeography, p. 54.

11 The most ancient instance which occurs to me of the Saka era being expressly mentioned in an inscription, is the Umet grants Saka 400. About this date and other ancient beginning from the destruction of the Saka empire, we may oppose to this statement the testimony of an inscription which is nearly five hundred years anterior to Albiruni. The date of this inscription is expressed as follows: "When five hundred years had elapsed since the royal abhishakas of the Saka ruler." I believe it will not be deemed difficult to account for the fact that national patriotism in India preferred to connect traditionally an era, that, by its very name, reminded of the sway of barbarian conquerors, with the defeat rather than with the coronation of the oppressor.

It cannot be doubted that we are right in claiming for Kanishka the name of a Saka king. I dare not follow the scholars who have preceded me in utilizing for this subject the Chinese accounts of the different barbarian tribes, with their subdivisions, that held sway over India during those times. But this may be asserted with certainty, that the only name really current in India for the northern barbarians who ruled there for centuries, and to whom the dynasty of Kanishka belonged, cannot have been any other than that of Sakas. Moreover, we possess direct testimony to show that the tribe to which Kanishka belonged, was a Saka tribe.

Kanishka styles himself on his coins Paonapao Kanhipko Kopano. Here Kopano certainly indicates a tribe or a family. It is quite inadmissible to identify this word with the Greek koipavos. For firstly, the appearance of the word koipavos, belonging to Homeric language, on the coins of a late barbarian king, would be more than strange. But the decisive fact is that we never find the word Kopano on Kanishka's coins with Greek legends (Blaclyea Blaclyea Kanhipko), but only on those with barbaric

Saka dates the remarks of Dr. Böhler in the Ind. Antiquary, vol. V, (1876) p. 111, should be compared.


10 We shall find afterwards another case entirely analogous to this. The Gupta kings were considered popular tradition, as stated by Albiruni, to have been "wicked, potent persons." Exactly as in the case of the Saka era, the tradition represented the Gupta era also as beginning from the "destruction" of the Gupta rule. Here, however, the inscriptions show that the Gupta kings themselves used the Guptaaka, the initial date of which must be, therefore, the foundation, and not the extinction, of the Gupta empire.

11 The coins of the Greek kings who ruled before Kanishka over the same country, do not show the word koipavos.
for the assertion that the Kōpano or Gushana princes, and more especially Kanishka, must be regarded as Śakas.

What we find, therefore, is this: We know from coins as well as from inscriptions, of a mighty Śaka king, Kanishka, who is frequently mentioned also in literary documents. This king must have reigned, as his coins show, about the end of the first century A.D. His large empire extended from Kabulistán to Mathurá, or perhaps still further. There is no Indian king in these times whose name at all rivals Kanishka in fame. On his inscriptions we find an era which occurs frequently on the inscriptions of his successors both in the northern and in the southern part of his realm.

On the other hand, we know of an era which was used in India in ancient as well as in modern times, the initial date of which is 78 A.D., and which is styled on ancient monuments "the era of the Śaka king," or "the era of the Śaka lord's royal abhiseka." I think these arguments may be considered as satisfactorily proving the identity of Kanishka's era with the Śaka era.

A further confirmation of this theory results from what we have to say afterwards regarding the much- vexed question of the Gupta era. The Gupta era began, as we shall prove, in 319 A.D. Now the Gupta coinage is closely connected with Indo-Skythian coins which cannot be denied to exclude the case that the name Kōpano is not a genuine Indian name, and that Kōpano must be regarded as a corruption of Kanishka.

In passing we may be allowed to add here an observation on the other title which Kanishka and his successors give themselves on their coins—PAONANPOAO. Recently the interpretation of this word, or of these words, as the Prākrit phrase rājendra-kāna (king of kings), has been accepted by several Pali scholars; see, for instance, B. Kulai's Beitrag zur Pali-grammatik, p. 88. I consider this explanation quite inadmissible. I do not lay stress on the consideration that the genitive rājendra is with the double case suffix is formed more boldly than correctly, in spite of imesdāna and similar genitives (Kachchhayana, I, I, 51, schol.). But it should be considered that here, as is the case generally in this series of coins, we have Skythian words before us, or Indian words received into the Skythian language, but not pure Indian words. The corresponding Indian expression for "king of kings" on the coins is not rājāna vāja or anything like it, but mahārāja, rājādīra, rājā. PAONANPOAO must, therefore, as was perceived by Prinsep, be a Skythian title formed probably on the model of rājādīra (PAO = rājā), but not a Prākrit expression.


The usually accepted designation of this king and of Oomokalakphōs as Kadphises I and Kadphises II appears to me rather incorrect. We do not know of any Kadphises, but only of Komokalakphōs and Oomokalakphōs; neither in the Greek nor in the Arian legends is the first element of these names characterized as a separable, declarable word. To speak of Kadphises I and Kadphises II might very possibly be the same mistake as
not be placed long after Vásudeva, who reigned till about 100, after Kanishka. Consequently if we assign to the series of Kanishka—Huviska—Vásudeva a date considerably earlier than we have done, we augment the vacant period between Vásudeva and the Guptas, which is already perhaps greater than might be expected.

I do not enter upon a detailed inquiry into the statements of Chinese authorities respecting this dynasty. If these statements are given correctly it appears that they quite agree with my opinion. The rise of the Yuneichí—the tribe to which Kanishka belonged—and the foundation of the Kueishuang (Kushana) dynasty is placed about 24 B.C. The century between this year and the coronation of Kanishka would be appropriately filled by the reign of the Sowmupáyás, the so-called Sória Hermaios coinage, and the coins of Kozolokadphises, Kozolokadaphes, Oomokadaphes. Chinese authors mention the great power of the Yuneichí in Kabilistán and India in 159 A.D.; this power is said to have been upstart in the beginning of the third century.

The coinage of Kanishka is followed by two groups of coins: on the one hand there is a series of gold coins with the legend PAONANOPAO OONPKI KOPANO; these evidently belong to the Huviska of the inscriptions. On the other hand we find a series of copper coins on which is read PAONANOPAO OOPKOKENOPANO. Professor von Sallet distinguishes between King Oerki and Oer Kororana, but I think the identity of these two persons is far more probable. The coins of Oerki and those of this so-called Oer stand equally in close connection with Kanishka's coins in a number of types which have, for the most part, disappeared again from the coinage of Bazdeo (Vásudeva); also in the form of the monogram the coins of Oerki, as well as those of Oor, stand between Kanishka and Bazdeo. The two groups of coins must belong, therefore, to the same, or to nearly the same, time. Now, as Dr. von Sallet himself has very appropriately observed, Oerki is the only king in the whole series of whom there are only gold coins, Oer the only one of whom we have but copper coins; of all the other princes of this dynasty we have coins in both metals. In the inscriptions, we find frequent mentions of Kanerki, Oerki, Bazdeo, but there is no trace whatsoever of Oor. These facts lead us to assume the identity of Oerki and Oor, and I do not think the trifling difference between the legends of the two groups of coins sufficient to invalidate this theory. On the one hand, it is true, we have clearly OOPKKI KOPANO, and on the other we read equally clearly OOPKENOPANO. But the shapes of the Greek letters are so degenerate on the coins of this dynasty, and the legends are often written so incorrectly, that no stress can be laid on a difference like this. Or, can we deem it probable that in the middle of the Koran series, between Kanerki Koran, Oerki Koran, Bazdeo Koran, a Norano or Kenorano should appear, the first syllable of whose name, besides, answers so well for lessening the difference between the unknown Oor and the well-known Oerki?

After Oerki follows Bazdeo (Vásudeva), and the degenerate coins mentioned by Dr. von Sallet (l. c. pp. 210, 211).
It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics, that this is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off. The gold coins of the Gupta kings are imitations of those of Vasudeva or his successors: more correctly—they imitate neither the latest nor the most degenerate coins of this series. No one can compare the type of the standing, and most frequently sacrificing, king that appears on the Gupta coins, or the type of the seated goddess who holds the cornu copiae, with the corresponding types of the Indo-Skythian coinages without perceiving at once the dependence of the Gupta coinage on that of their Indo-Skythian predecessors.

Vasudeva reigned till about 178 A.D., and the Guptas must therefore have come later. Coins alone cannot teach us what period elapsed between Vasudeva and the Guptas—a period filled by the reigns of unknown, most probably insignificant, monarchs, and perhaps also by manifold struggles and disorders. In order therefore to assign to the Guptas their chronological position, we must enter upon an inquiry into the literary and more especially the inscriptive dates concerning the Gupta era.

The fundamental mistake which has initiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology, for instance the researches of Lassen and of Thomas, consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition which we possess regarding the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question.

Albiruni, as is known to all Indianists, directly indicates the initial date of the Gupta-kāla. Having mentioned the Vikramāditya and the Saka eras, and having correctly indicated the distance between the two epochs, he goes on to say:

"Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalonara, à environ trente yojuan de distance. L’ère de Ballaba est postérieure à celle de Saka de 241 ans. Pour s’en servir, on pose l’ère de Saka, et l’on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 et le carré de 5 (216 + 25 = 241). Ce qui reste est l’ère de Ballaba. Il sera question de cette ère en son lieu. Quant au Goupta-kāla (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot Goupta des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l’ère qui porte leur nom est l’époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l’ère des Gouptas commence aussi l’an 241 de l’ère de Saka."

Albiruni then observes that the year 400 of Yezerjed is equal to Vikrama 1088 = Saka 953 = Gupta 712 = Ballaba 712.

Before discussing another important authority regarding the Gupta era, let us examine the statements of Albiruni, in order to ascertain what claims on our faith they may be admitted prima facie to possess.

We have already observed that the statements of the Arabic author, given in the same passage, concerning the Vikrama and Saka epochs are correct. As to the relation of the Valabhi and Gupta eras, which Albiruni states to begin from the same epoch, we are able to test his statement by a control which is as simple as it is trustworthy. In Kāthiawād a great number of coins of Kumāragupta and of his son Skandagupta are found. The inscriptive dates for Skandagupta extend from 130 till 146; the era to which these dates belong, is called expressly in the Junagadh inscription Gupṭasya kāla.

The Gupta coins of Kāthiawād are followed by a series of coins accurately imitating the preceding ones; Mr. Newton has shown that these coins belong to the Valabhi or Bhaṭārka kings. Of the same kings

v. Sallet, pl. vi, 5-7; Prinsep-Thomas, Essays, vol. i, pl. xxiii, 11-12; pl. xxi, 10, &c.

22 See Reinand, Fragments Arabes, etc., pp. 142 et seq.

23 If we accept 78 a. d. as the Saka epoch, the year Saka 241 began in March 319. The Gupta-Valabhi year began doubtless in February or March, according to the rules of the lunisolar calendar.

Tod mentions an inscription of Arjunadeva found at Pattana Samanatha, the date of which is expressed in four different ways: the year of Muhammad 662, of Vikrama 1320, of Balabhi 945, and of Sivitya 151.

Now the Muhammadan year mentioned in this inscription indicates 319 A.D. as the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhi era, quite in accordance with the above statement of Albiruni.

The difference between the Valabhi and Vikrama epochs amounts, in this inscription, to 375 years, whereas we should expect, according to Albiruni, 376 years. This inaccuracy may easily be accounted for by what we have said above (p. 214) regarding the fluctuation of chronological epochs as is observed in ancient Indian inscriptions. For the rest, the Muhammadan date given in the inscription shows that it must be the Vikrama date and not the Valabhi date which is affected by the slight inaccuracy spoken of.

Here we have, therefore, a confirmation of Albiruni's statement, which is, in our opinion, as conclusive as possible. Though the power of the Guptas as well as of the Valabhis had long been annihilated in Albiruni's time, and so much longer in Arjunadeva's, their era was still in use. We have a continual series of dates expressed in the Gupta or Valabhi era, which extends from the first century of this era down till far beyond the time of Albiruni, so that it is difficult to understand how the continuity of the tradition regarding the commencement of this era can be reasonably called in question.

Have the scholars who have tried to displace the Gupta era by centuries from the point assigned to it by Albiruni, succeeded in invalidating the tradition which is apparently so well founded? It seems to me that no counter-proof has been produced which will in any way stand the test.

Those scholars who refer the Gupta dates to the Saka era, come into conflict not only with the statements of Albiruni and of Arjunadeva's...
inscription, but also, above all, with the coins of the Indo-Skythian kings. We have shown that the Śaka era is the era of Kānīśhka. Now, as the Gupta coinage presupposes Indo-Skythian coins which must be of later origin than the year 100 of Kanishka's era, it is evident that the rule and the coinage of the Guptas cannot have begun with the time of Kānīśhka. Also, for the Kāṭāraṇa dynasty, the age of which we shall afterwards discuss, if we take 78 A.D. as the Gupta epoch, we arrive at chronological results that are inadmissible; we should be forced to assign to the Kāṭāraṇa a date anterior by several centuries to what conforms with the limits afterwards to be discussed.

Of all the hypotheses that have been formed, the least to be approved is that of Lassen, who, without any reason, distinguishes between an earlier and a later Gupta dynasty; the most important kings belonging to the former were Sāmudraṅgupta and Skaṇḍagupta; Buddhabhata is reckoned by Lassen with the later Guptas. The dates recorded of the earlier Guptas are referred by him partly to the Sāka era, partly to a Gupta era of Lassen's own invention, beginning in 140 A.D.; the date of Buddhabhata's inscription (year 165) he refers to the era of 319 A.D. All this is entirely arbitrary. No one that compares the dates assigned by inscriptions and coins to Skaṇḍagupta (130-146) and those of Buddhabhata (155, 165), and then confronts the coins of these two kings, will entertain the least doubt as to their being most closely chronologically connected.

The argument by which Dr. Bühler has recently tried to establish a different epoch for the Valabbih chronology, deserves to be considered much more carefully than Lassen's vague conjectures. Hwen Thsang mentions the Valabbih prince T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu as reigning when he visited India. The Sanskrit name which answers best to the Chinese transcription, would be Dhrūva-bhata, and this name, or rather Dhrūva-bhaṭa, which is not essentially different from it, is found in a copper-plate inscription as the surname of a Valabbih prince reigning in the year 447 of the Valabbih era. As the Chinese pilgrim visited that part of India in the fourth decade of the seventh century A.D., this argument would tend to show that the Valabbih epoch must be placed somewhere about 200 A.D.

We must admit that the identification of T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu with Dhrūva-bhata would be very convenient, if it were possible. But our judgment on this conjecture must depend upon its agreeing or not with the chronological results found otherwise; in itself this hypothesis cannot at all claim such a degree of certainty that it should be decisive for the whole question of Valabbih chronology. The prince mentioned by Hwen Thsang may possibly be identified with Dhrūva-bhata, whom the plates mention as the son of Śīlāditya I. (year 286) and the father of Dhravasena III (year 332); or, as Dhrūva-bhata is only the surname of a king whose principal name was Śīlāditya, we may perhaps suppose that one of the preceding Śīlādityas or Dharasenas had the same surname—we ought to remember, using Dr. Bühler's own very appropriate words, "the evil habit of many Indian dynasties of taking a large number of birudas or honorific titles." It is of no consequence to us whether the name of that T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu is accounted for in the one way or the other; the only thing we want to show is—that no counterproof against the correctness of Albirūnī's statements regarding the Gupta-Valabbih era can be based on the name of this prince.

34 Ind. Alterthurmsamml., II. (2d ed.) 784 seq., 967 seq. 35 See Thomas, The Dynasty of the guptas, or Archæol. Sur. W. India, Nos. 24—26 of the plate, and the last coins figured on Mr. Thomas's second plate in J. R. As. Soc. vol. XII, p. 72. 36 Ind. Antiquary, vol. VII (1878), p. 89. 37 Mr. Beal, whom I consulted about the passage in question of the Chinese text, confirms the correctness of this name as spelt by Han Jheh. He says that a Japanese note on this passage spells it To-ro-va-ra-ta. 38 The time to which Derabhata must belong if we take 319 as the initial date of the Valabbih, agrees exactly with the time of Hwen Thsang's visit to India. It is true that Derabhata, a king's son and a king's father, is not styled himself a king in the inscriptions. But this does not much matter, as Dr. Bühler himself has shown that the redactors of the inscriptions often quite arbitrarily omitted unpopular names from the series of kings.—Mr. Beal informs me that the meaning of the Chinese translation of "T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu" which, according to Julien, means "constamment intelligent," is not certain. 39 Ind. Antiquary, vol. VI (1877) p. 69. 40 Still less would it be possible to take as essential for such an argument the Kādi inscription, which has been treated by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Antiquary, vol. VI, (1877) pp. 110 seq., in a most interesting and ingenious manner. This inscription contains the date 496, and mentions the victory of a Gurjara king over "the lord of Valabbih." Dr. Bühler refers the date to the era of Vikramāditya; under this supposition it would belong indeed to a period anterior to the rise of the Valabbih dynasty, when we accept for the latter event the date derived from Albirūnī. To this it may be answered, first, that "the lord of Valabbih" may very possibly have been a viceroy of the Guptas. But our principal objection would be that Dr. Bühler's opinion as to the use of the Vikrama era in this inscription
On the contrary I believe that everything which may throw any light on this question, strongly supports the statement of Albirâni.

Here I may be allowed to allude, first, to the dates found in inscriptions, which are expressed both according to the Gupta era and according to a chronological cycle, the nature of which we shall immediately discuss.

These dates stand as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Era</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Mahâvaiśākha year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Mahâsvayuja year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Mahâchaitra year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Mahâsvayuja year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that we have here a cycle of twelve years, the single years of which received their names in their turn from the lunar months. No one who is even superficially acquainted with the Indian calendary systems, will have any doubt as to the nature of this cycle. It is evident, nor could it escape the attention of a scholar like General Cunningham, that the cycle is based on the revolution of Jupiter, which is completed in about twelve years. The use of such a cycle is attested by the Sârjasiddhânta (xiv, 17) and by the authorities quoted by Davis (Asiatic Researches, vol. III, p. 217). Each year of this cycle was called after that Nakshatra of the twelve from which the months received their names, and within the extent of which the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter fell in that year. Now, if we take 319 as the Gupta epoch, the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter occurred, according to the Indian method of calculation, in the first of the four years mentioned, in 191st degree (of the Hindu ecliptic). This is not very far from being correct, for the true point at which the conjunction occurred in that year, is situated in the 197th degree, as Dr. Lehmann Fihlès has kindly calculated for me. The heliacal setting or rising of Jupiter is distant from this point by about 4°.

The point of the ecliptic at which we arrive in this way, would have to be considered, in accordance with the later system of Hindu astronomy, as belonging to the Nakshatra Chitrâ. But this system depends entirely on the position of the vernal equinox about 560 A.D.,—the initial point, that is, the beginning of Āśvini, being regarded as coincident with the equinoctial point at that date. We think it can be shewn, as highly probable, that previous to that, no attention was paid to the position of the equinox in fixing the limits of the twelve divisions of the ecliptic. To determine, therefore, the limits belonging to each Nakshatra, we have only to consider the actual positions of the asterisms which gave name to the twelve divisions. Now, according to Prof. Whitney's map, we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nakshatra</th>
<th>度</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chitrâ</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśâkha</td>
<td>205°-215°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyêshṭha</td>
<td>230°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Âshâdha</td>
<td>255°-265°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The divisions of the ecliptic named after these Nakshatras would be somewhat as follows,—Chitrâ, 165°-195°; Viśâkha, 195°-225°; Jyêshṭha, 225°-255°; Âshâdha, 255°-285°. If this be correct, it appears that the year 475 A.D. (Gupta 156) would be a Mahâvaiśâkha year; at all events, the position of Jupiter that year, if it did not fall within the Viśâkha Nakshatra, cannot have been more distant from it than may be accounted for by the contingencies of intercalation to which the Jovian cycle was subject.43

Another date to be mentioned here is that given in the Budhagupta inscription: "after 165 years (i.e., in the current 166th year), when Budhagupta was king, on the 12th (lunar) day of the bright half-month of Âshâdha, on a Thursday." If we accept the epoch of 319 A.D., this date will be the 21st June 484 A.D.,43 which was indeed44 a Thursday.

41 These dates have been collected by Gen. Cunningham in the Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. IX. I have not yet been able to see this volume, which contains a new disquisition by Gen. Cunningham on the question of Gupta dates, and I take these dates from the review of Gen. Cunningham's work contained in the Indian Antiquary, vol. IX (1869), p. 220.

42 I must confess that I do not understand how the Jovian dates can be reconciled with General Cunningham's theory, which he tries to prove in the work quoted, that the Gupta epoch is to be placed in 195 A.D.

43 See the formula and tables in Warren's Kalaka- Sankalita.

44 It is to be regretted that the date of the Morbi inscription (Ind. Ant., vol. II, p. 257 seq.; vol. IX, p. 305) cannot be made use of here. This inscription contains a royal grant issued "when 350 Gupta years had elapsed, as the disk of the sun was eclipsed." The date, however, given at the end of the inscription, Phâlûgumand 5, cannot possibly refer to the donation itself, but only to its inscriptive record, for of course on the fifth day after new moon
Attention should be given, besides, to a palaeographical fact, which, in my opinion, is of more consequence than I should be inclined generally to grant to arguments based on the palaeographical character of inscriptions. But as the change in the shape of a certain letter to which I allude here, appears to be included within very restricted chronological limits, it may be well to mention it here.

The sign for m, which was originally 8 and then X, changed in later times in the North Indian inscriptions into ʃ. The series of Mathurā inscriptions, which are mostly dated, show at what time the new form of m originated. The first instance of it is found in an inscription of the year 98 of the era which we have proved above to be the Śaka era. Other inscriptions belonging to the end of the first century of that era retain the more ancient form; in the second century the recent form of m becomes predominant.

The palaeography of Gujarāt and Southern India—excepting, perhaps, the palaeography of coins—was not affected by this change. I know only one inscription of Kāthiārwād in which the North Indian m appears, the inscription of Jasdan, dated 127 of the Kshatrapa era. Now it is inadmissible to assign this sporadic occurrence of the North Indian m in Kāthiārwād to a time anterior to its first occurrence in Northern India itself, more especially at Mathurā, which was situated on the route which North Indian influences spreading towards Kāthiārwād must have naturally followed. As the recent form of m is not found in the Mathurā inscriptions before 177 A.D., the earliest limit for the Kshatrapa era, even if we assume that this form of the letter spread to Kāthiārwād at that very time, would be about 50 A.D. We shall show afterwards that the Gupta era is posterior by at least 200 years to the Kshatrapa era. Thus by choosing through-

out the earliest possible dates, we arrive at 250 A.D. as the limit before which the Gupta era cannot be placed. This agrees very well with the actual position of the Gupta epoch in 319 A.D., and in every case it opposes so considerable deviations from this epoch, as some scholars have advocated.

Having thus determined the chronological position of the Gupta dynasty, we are enabled now to fix the period to which another dynasty must belong, the coins of which are found in large numbers—the so-called Sāhā dynasty.

The usual designation of these kings as Sāhas is derived from their names, most of which were at first believed to end in -sāha (Rudrasāha, Dāmasāha, etc.). In deciphering these names, however, an error has been committed. The reading is based exclusively on coins, and these contain a comparatively extensive legend pressed into very small space; thus most of the letters are badly shaped and the vowels particularly are generally subject to doubt. For the correct reading therefore it is important that some of the names re-occur also on the pillar inscription of Jasdān, which gives the genealogy of the first kings of this series.

This inscription furnishes the following series, in which each king is stated to be the son of the preceding one:

Chashtana, Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasinīha, Rudrasena.

The comparison of these names with those found on the coins shows that Rudrasāha is a misselection for Rudrasena. I find this conjecture confirmed by comparing the coins of the Berlin Museum. The letter read h in the supposed -sāha is clearly different from the true h which frequently occurs, for instance in the word mahākshatrapa, and must be n. That the

of these names, I learnt from Dr. Bühler that the true reading was already well known to numismatists in India years ago. See Bhāryanī’s paper, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 48; J. B. R. A. S., vol. XII, Proc. p. xxiii. I am glad to acknowledge the priority of a scholar like Mr. Bhāryanī; however I have not thought it superfluous to put before the public my arguments as they had presented themselves to me independently of his researches.

The difference of the two letters will be easily recognised also on accurate representations of these coins; see No. 9 of Mr. Thomas’s plate in his memoir On the Dynasty of the Gupta, or Arch. Sur. Rep. W. India, vol. II, p. 86; Nos. 9—13, 16 etc.: of the plates of the same scholar in J. R. A. S., vol. XII; Nos. 3, 6, 7 of Mr. Newton’s first and No. 7 of his second plate.
difference of these letters vanishes by degrees in many of the later or badly preserved samples of these coins, is of no consequence, considering the palaeographical character of the legends. What we have observed regarding Rudrasāha, is true also with reference to the other similar names, and thus we are forced to abandon the usual designation of this dynasty as "Śāh-dynasty."

The only sources for the history of this dynasty are the inscriptions and coins; everything else must be rejected.

Among the would-be authorities which have no real value whatever, I class first the statements of the Kāthiāwād bards, given by Major Watson. The Kṣatrapā dynasty is not explicitly mentioned therein, but its ruin is alluded to unmistakably. One of the Gupta kings, we are told, who reigned between the Ganges and the Jumna, sent out his son Kumārapāl Gupta in order to conquer Sūrāśṭra. This task being fulfilled, the king appointed one of his amīrs, Chakrapānī, son of Prāndat, to the government of this province. Afterwards Kumārapāl Gupta and then his weak son Skandagupta succeeded to the throne; finally, Bhaṭāraka, a Sānāpatai of the latter king, gained the supreme power.

It is difficult to understand how even such scholars as must be supposed to be intimately acquainted with the character of Indian bardic records, could believe this to be a genuine tradition. Indeed the whole story is a very poor compilation pieced up of what those "bards" knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatic investigation; some confusion in the details we may safely charge to the account of the poets themselves.

The coins found in Kāthiāwād furnish the names of the two Guptakingas, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta—the name Kumārapāla Gupta, given to the former by the bards, owes its origin doubtless to a reminiscence, rather out of place here, of the renowned Kumārapāla, who reigned in the twelfth century A. D.; the great rock inscription of Junagadh names the lieutenant of Skandagupta (not, as the bards state, of that king in whose reign the peninsula, was con-

quered) Parṇadatta and his son Chakrapālita; after the great Gupta inscription follow the grants of the Valabhi kings, who give as their ancestor the Sēnāpatai Bhaṭāraka;—these are the materials to which we may easily trace back the origin of that pretended bardic story. For that the bards should have correctly preserved from such remote antiquity, the memory of one—and only of this one viceroy, and of his father—two persons otherwise of no importance whatever, and that, by a fortuitous coincidence, the Junagadh inscription should mention for the same period, just these two and only these persons; all this is indeed so strikingly marvellous, that one need not be unduly suspicious in regarding it as otherwise explicable.

Another tradition recently brought to light, which is believed to be connected with this dynasty, would deserve at all events more consideration than those bardic stories, if it were possible to adduce stronger evidence to show that it is the Kṣatrapa dynasty to which the statements in question refer. I allude to the legendary story, handed down by the Jainas, of the great saint Kālaka.

Gardabhillī, the powerful ruler of Ujja īni, had offended the sister of that saint, and Kālaka resolved therefore to dethrone the king. He went to the country called Sākāla, where the family in possession of the throne was called Sāhi, and the supreme lord of the country was called Sāhan Sāhi. The saint succeeded in persuading one of the Sāhis, whose life was menaced by the king, together with ninety-five other noblemen, who were in equal danger, "to cross the Indus with troops and vehicles, and to go to Hindugadesa (the Hindu country). They took boats and went to the country of Sūraśṭha. In the meantime the rainy season began. Because they saw that the roads were impassable, they divided the country among themselves into ninety-six parts, and remained there." In autumn they went on to Ujjaini and dethroned king Gardabhillī.

Having appointed the Sāhi who was attached to the saint, supreme king (rṣīdhīrṣīhā),

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50 The opinion of Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. II, (2nd ed.) p. 923, note, that instead of sēna we must read sāna, was a mistake.
52 An excellent edition of this legend has been published by Prof. Jacobi, Zeitschrift d. D. Morg. Ges., vol. XXXIV, pp. 247 et seq.
the others enjoyed their dominion, having become feudal chiefs. Because they came from Śaka kula, they are called Śaka. Thus originated this dynasty of Śaka Kings. Some time afterwards Vikramāditya overthrew this dynasty and introduced the era called after his name. 135 years after this event a Śaka became king again, who introduced the Śaka era.

"In order to explain the Śaka era this episode has been told."

Professor Jacobi thinks it probable that the Śāhis mentioned in this legend are the "Śāh kings" of Kāṭhāvād. But as the usual appellation of these "Śāh kings" is founded, as I have shown, on a missection of their coins, Dr. Jacobi's conjecture loses its support. Besides it must be remembered that the Kāṭhāvāda inscriptions (among which the Junагadgh one is very large, and the Jasdan one is distinct in stating the titles of the different princes) contain nothing similar to the titles Śāhi, Sāhāyu Sāhi, Śaka, or to Devaputra, which is found several times connected with the titles mentioned.

In my opinion everything tends to show rather that it is the dynasty of Kanishka and his successors to whom the disfigured tradition preserved in the Kāḷaka legend refers. That they are said to have crossed the Indus, that India is called by them the Hindūga country, that they are designated Śaka and also Śāhi,—all this taken together suits better the dynasty to which Kanishka belonged than any other known. The tale of their expedition to Ujjaini appears to be scarcely better than one of those legends, valueless for history, which grow nowhere more readily than near the origins of the Śaka epoch, and of the epoch which derives its name from the fabulous Vikramāditya of Ujjaini.

Nor do I believe that anything can be made out of the statement that Sūrāhtra was touched by this expedition. Possibly the remembrance of another expedition which came from "Sakadvpīra," and was directed first to the same part of India, may have exercised some influence here,—the immigration of the so-called Māgavrāmaḥ. The result of all this is purely negative: we find that no traditions regarding the Kāṭhāvāda dynasty are left us except the inscriptions and coins.

The coins of this long series of kings are, for the most part, dated. The highest among these dates are those of the coins of the last king or the last but one, Svāmi Rudrasena, son of Svāmi Rudrādāman. On these coins are read the numbers 284, 192 (read, 292), 294. A still higher number is found on a coin mentioned by Sir E. Clive Bayley, the date of which he says is 300.

The date 300 is the last in this series, and after it follow the coins of the two Guptakingas Kumāragupta and his son Kandagupta, which are frequently found in Sūrāhtra. The delineations given by Newton and the remarks of the same gentelman, which are


Newton gives after this king, another of the same name, son of Svāmi Satya Śāh (or rather, Svāmi Satyaśaena), but he adds that this king may have preceded the former one quite as well. He states that he knows only of one coin belonging to Svāmi Rudrasena, son of Svāmi Satyaśaena; it may be inferred therefrom that the reign of this prince was at all events very short.

I dare not pronounce a judgment about the units of the first and third of these numbers. Prof. E. W. Banerji (Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1876, p. 353) identifies this king with a preceding Rudrādāman (read rather, Rudrasena), son of Vīṣṇu, and he reads the first numeral in his dates 100 instead of 200. This conjecture is every way inadmissible; the facts showing this may be found clearly stated in Mr. Newton's paper (J. B. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. VII).

Indian Ant., vol. VI, p. 87, note.

4. c. pp. 9, 10; Nos. 9 and 10 of the plate. It is scarcely necessary to add that palaeographical reasons also establish without doubt the priority of the Kāṭhāvāda to the Guptas; a comparison of the two great inscriptions of the Junāgadgh rock will suffice to show this.
based on a most thorough examination of these coins, leave no doubt that the coins of Kumáragupta follow directly after the latest Kashatrapa coins, of which they are imitations.

Now Kumáragupta’s date is determined first by the inscriptions which give the year 93 (of the Gupta era of course) as the latest date of his father, and the year 130 as the earliest date of his son. With these accords the date on a coin of Kumáragupta himself represented by the symbol for 90, after which is a unit that cannot be made out.

We have, therefore, Kashatrapa coins with the date of 300, and following them a Gupta coin with the date of 90 and odd, and we conclude therefrom that the Kashatrapa epoch must be placed at least about 200 years before the Gupta epoch, or about A.D. 120, taking the latest limit.

It is evident, however, that between the last coins of the earlier series and the first coins of the later series an interval of time may have elapsed which may possibly extend through several decades. After the reign of the last Kashatrapa, whose coins we possess, a period of troubles may have followed which has left no trace in numismatics. The real initial date of the Kashatrapa era therefore may possibly fall as far back as the last decades of the first century A.D. Too great an interval, however, in the series of coins between the Kashatrapas and Kumáragupta will scarcely be deemed very probable, and besides the following reasons would oppose our assigning to the Kashatrapa epoch a date considerably earlier than what we have shown to be the latest limit:

1. The very debased condition of the Greek legends on the Kashatrapa coins; see von Sallet l.c., pp. 67 seq.

2. The later form of the letter m occurring on an inscription of the Kashatrapa year 127 (see above.) We have shown that this form of the letter m does not appear on the North Indian inscriptions, to which it properly belongs, before the end of the first century of the Saka era.

3. The name of the Pahlava nation being found in the Rudradāman inscription (Kshatrapa year 72); also the same name occurs in an inscription of another dynasty chronologically connected with the Kshatrapas, which probably precedes the Rudradāman inscription by several decades. Professor Nöldeke believes that this name, derived from Pārthava, does not belong to the period anterior to the first century A.D.*

Such being the state of the case, it would be possible to identify the Kshatrapa era with the era of Kanishka, i.e. the Saka era (A.D. 78). The approximate position which we have arrived at for the Kshatrapa era, would not be incompatible with this identification, and if we believed that the satraps of Kāthikāwāj were viceroy of the mighty Saka kings, the use of the Saka epoch in their inscriptions and on their coins would be most natural.

Notwithstanding I think that preference must be given to the opinion that the Kshatrapa era was one of those local ones, so frequently employed in India, which are restricted to the limits of a petty state, rising with the dynasty, and disappearing with its fall. We shall have afterwards to state arguments that make the Kshatrapas’ supposed dependence on the Saka kings somewhat improbable, and which point to their having been subject, at least at first, to the sway of a South Indian dynasty. It must be remembered besides, that the Kshatrapa inscriptions constantly lead back the genealogy of these princes to Chāshānā, and with this the coins agree: for Chāshānā is the first prince known to us on whose coin the so-called Shāh head is found. He appears therefore to have been the founder of the dynasty. Now Chāshānā was the grandfather of Rundrdāman, whose inscription is dated from 72; thus Chāshānā’s date falls too near the epoch of the Kshatrapa era not to make it preferable to connect the origin of the era with Chāshānā rather than with the Saka king Kanishka.

From the Kshatrapa dynasty we go back a step and inquire into the dates of those princes.

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* See Professor Nöldeke’s remarks ap. Weber, Indische Literaturgeschichte (2nd edition), p. 538, or Hist. Ind. Liter., p. 188.

** See No. 7 of Mr. Thomas’s plate (Dynasty of the Guptas). I read the legend: rāja mahāpradānapaumottikaputra Chāshānā.
who have left behind them such an abundance of monuments in the caves of Nasik and other places of Western India.66

The three princes most frequently mentioned in the Cave inscriptions, reigned in this succession:

Nahapāna,
Siri-Sātakaṇṭi, son of the queen Gotami.
Siri-Pulumāyī, son of the preceding king and of the queen Vasiṣṭhi.

Nahapāna is known to us by the inscriptions of his son-in-law, who probably held the office of his lieutenant, Dhikaputra Ushavadā; his title runs in Sanskrit,

∗∗∗

Rdijāh Kshahāratasa75 kshatrapasya Nahapānasya.

And in Prakrit (Jummar inscription): maha-
khatrapasa sāmī-Nahapānasac.

A silver coin of this Nahapāna has been found in Kāthiawād.67

After Nahapāna we find in the series of cave inscriptions two kings of a different family, the Sātavāhana or Andhrabhṛtya dynasty; their names are Sātakaṇṭi and his son Pulumāyī. Sātakaṇṭi had conquered Nahapāna’s realm by force. In one of the Nasik inscriptions he is called the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, who has left nothing of the Khaṅkharāta family, who has firmly established the glory of the Sātavāhana family.68 It can scarcely be doubted that Khaṅkharāta69 is a mistake for Khaṅkharata, i.e. Khaṅkharata, which would consequently be the name of the satrap dynasty to which Nahapāna belonged. We possess an inscription which directly refers to this victory of Sātakāntenī over the Khaṅkharata prince. This inscription is dated, “from the victorious camp of the triumphant army,”70 and it records the donation of certain lands to a fraternity of monks, “the revenue of which has been received hitherto by Ushabadā.” From the fact of Ushabadā’s being in possession of the royal demesnes at the time of Sātakaṇṭi’s victorious invasion, we conclude that either the Khaṅkharata prince overthrown by Sātakaṇṭi was Nahapāna himself, or that from his death to the dissolution of his dynasty, only a short time can have elapsed.

The coin of Nahapāna found in Kāthiawād, will assist us in establishing a chronological connexion between the kings of whom we are speaking now, and the Kshatraka dynasty. The Kshatraka coins form a continuous, coherent series which is in full accordance with the genealogy of those princes as contained in the inscriptions. In this series the Kshatraka Nahapāna cannot be inserted. His place can only be before the series of Kashatras; also the palaeographical character of his inscriptions, compared with those of the other Kashatras, tends to show this,71 and scholars agree in assigning to Nahapāna this position.

It seems to me, however, that they are wrong in considering Nahapāna as an ancestor of the later Kshatras; he appears indeed to have been rather their predecessor belonging to a different dynasty.72 For neither do the Kshatras, the inscriptions lead back the genealogy of that family to Nahapāna, nor do they attribute anywhere to the Kshatras the name of Khaṅkharata, which was the family name

66 For the literature of the Cave inscriptions, which are edited for the most part in the different volumes of the Journ. Roy. As. Soc., I refer to Dr. Barnell’s excellent work: Elements of South Indian Palaeography, p. 15, note 1. The most important series of these inscriptions, those found at Nasik, have been edited and translated by Prof. Bhandarkar, Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1916, p. 368 seq.

67 Kshahāratasa, the name of the dynasty; as we shall show, to which Nahapāna belonged, looks very much like a hybrid compound of Persian and Sanskrit he who has been given [rāta] (to the people) by the Shah [kshaha]. Compare the proper names Devāra, Vishnumā, etc. A name like this in a loyal satrap family need not be thought strange.

68 See Mr. Newton’s plate (Jr. Bombay Br. R. A. S., vol. IX, p. 5), No. 1; Mr. Thomas’s plate (The Gupta Dynasty), or Arch. Surv. W. Ind. No. 6. I cannot suppress the hope, that this Nasik inscription, that appears to have ruled an extensive realm through a long period, is identical with the king Naṅhavāna, whom the Jainas say reigned from 413 till 458 after the death of Mahāvīra.

69 No. 20 of Mr. West’s series: Saka-Yavana-Palhava-
of Nahapāna; also the monetary type of Nahapāna is different from that of the Kāhātragrās. Finally, we have no reason for doubting the statement of Sātakarṇī's inscription, which says that this king destroyed the Kāhahārāta race.

Resting on these considerations I venture to propose the following construction for the succession of these princes:

First reigned the Kṣaharātas. Their family name, their Kṣaharapī title, their vanquisher being the destroyer of the Sākas, Yavanas and Pahavas,—all tend to show that the lord paramount whom they obeyed, or had obeyed originally, must be looked for in the north, among those dynasties whose subjects were also the satraps of Mathurā, the satrap Saudāsa, the satrap Raṅjubala; we may think perhaps of king Azes and his successors.15

The last Kṣaharāta, Nāhāpāna, was overthrown by South Indian conquerors. These either immediately after their victory, or shortly after it, appointed Chāhṭaṇṇa to the governorship of Kaṭhāwaḍ and the adjacent countries; he retained the title of Kāhātragrā or Mahākṣaharāpa which had become usual in these parts of India. His connexion with the South-Indian dynasty is pointed to by the symbol on his coins; instead of the Indo-Skythian weapon of Nahapāna’s coin, Chāhṭaṇṇa introduced the ‘Chaitiya’ symbol usually found on the South-Indian coins, and, among them, also, on the coins of Sātakarṇi Gotami-putta and of his son Pūlamāya.17

The dynasty of Chāhṭaṇṇa soon succeeded in throwing off the supremacy of their South Indian lords. The Junāgad inscription states that Rūdradāman, the grandson of Chāhṭaṇṇa, twice conquered Sātakarṇi, king of Daksināpatha, but did not destroy him on account of their connexion (or relation, sambandha). This Sātakarṇi is doubtless a descendant of his namesake spoken of above; in the Brahmanical tradition several kings named Sātakarṇi are mentioned in this family.

We must examine now, finally, the sparing dates which may throw light on the chronology of Nahapāna, Sātakarṇi, and Pūlamāya.

Here first we must most strongly protest against any conclusions derived from what the Purāṇas17 state regarding the Āndhrābhṛitya dynasty.

According to the Purāṇas, the rule of this dynasty began 294 (or 296) years after the commencement of the reign of the great Maurya king Chandra-gupta; thus the initial date of the Āndhrābhṛityas would be about B.C. 26, and this date or one near it has been accepted indeed by most scholars. The Purāṇas give a long series of kings belonging to this dynasty, and indicate the duration of each reign. About 340 years after the beginning of the dynasty the Purāṇas place Gauṭamiputra Sātakarṇi (he reigned 21 years); then follows his son Pūlamāya Sātakarṇi (28 or 29 years); these are evidently the two kings so frequently mentioned in the Cave Inscriptions.

The list of kings given in the Purāṇas does not, per se, look very suspicious. It is in favour of its value that the two kings alluded to, who are known to us from the inscriptions, are correctly placed in it the one after the other, and that, after a short interval, a king Yahāsri follows, whose name is also attested by inscriptions as well as by coins (Siriyasa-Sātakarṇi). Also “king Kaṅha of the Sātvahaṇa family,” who is mentioned in a very archaic looking Nāsik inscription,18 is found in the list, as ought to be expected, very nearly at its beginning. It is therefore a highly probable supposition that the statements of the Purāṇas regarding the names and the succession of the Sātvahaṇa kings, and probably also regarding the lengths of their reigns, are essentially correct, but quite incorrect in the chronological position assigned to the dynasty as a whole. The mythical and highly exalted beings in the Purāṇas who prophesy the future destinies of the world, unfortunately take the liberty of arranging dynasties that have reigned contemporaneously or partly contemporaneously

15 Mr. Thomas justly calls attention to the Indo-Skythian spear with the battle-axe found on Nahapāna’s coin. Comp. for instance Ariaṇa Antiqua, pl. xxii, No. 19.
16 About these coins, comp. Bhāraḍarār, I.c., p. 351;
17 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 472 seq.
18 No. 6 of Mr. West’s series.
over different parts of India, into one long line. Such being the peculiar character of these sources, it is impossible to have any faith in an arrangement like that found in these texts which would make the time elapsed between Chandragupta and the first Satavahana king amount to 296 years. By the same arguments, by which the beginning of the Satavahana dynasty is fixed at n. c. 26, it might be shown that the rule of the Guptas has not yet commenced, but will occur in India in a future age. For Satakarni and Pulimayi the Pauranik chronology would lead to a result that would fall several centuries beyond the limits we derive with certainty from epigraphical data.

It may be regarded as certain then, for the reasons stated above, that Naphapan must be placed before the beginning of the Kshatrapa series. But neither inscriptions nor coins show how long a period elapsed between his reign and that of Chashthana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty. In no case, however, can it be thought probable that the first two unique coins opening the whole series of Kshitiwad coins,—those of Naphapan and of Chashthana, are very distant from each other in age. The change too which the palaeographical character has undergone between Naphapan and Rudradaman is not very marked. But a more precise result will be scarcely possible unless we assume the identity of the king Siripulimayi of the Cave inscriptions with the Indian king Siripulimayi mentioned by Ptolemy. It must be admitted, indeed, that we might more confidently rely upon this identification, if the Brahmanical lists did not offer a whole series of Pulimayis in the dynasty. Ptolemy states that Ozene (Ujjayin) was "Bhagavat Tisthavari" (the royal capital of Tiastanes), and this Tiastanes has been identified, with much probability, with Chashthana. It would follow hence that these identifications being admitted, at least a part of Pulimayi's reign must have been contemporary with that of Chashthana.

The Cave inscriptions mention the 40th, 41st and 42nd year of Naphapan, the 19th of Satakarni, the 24th of Pulimayi. Satakarni cannot have reigned much longer than 19 years, for his mother Gotami was still alive in the 19th year of Pulimayi. If I venture now to form these dates into a chronological table I need scarcely premise that for most of the numbers contained in it I do not claim more than an approximate value; however, to enable the reader to note the results at which we have arrived, a synopsis like this will perhaps be convenient:

Naphapan reigns in Gujarat and to the South of it, a. d. 55-100.

Kanishka's abhisheka in the North-Western Kingdom, a. d. 78.

Satakarni conquers Naphapan, and appoints Chashthana viceroy. Beginning of the Kshatrapa era, a. d. 100.

To Satakarni Pulimayi succeeds, who reigns still contemporaneously with Chashthana. Rudradaman, grandson of Chashthana, vanquishes a younger Satakarni. The Kshatrapas are now independent of the Satavahanas; about a. d. 173.

In the North Western kingdom about the same time the reign of Vanadeva ends and the Indo-Skythian power declines.


Last dated coin of the Kshatrapas, a. d. 400.

Shortly after this date: the Kshatrapas are overthrown by the Guptas.

First Gupta coin in Kshitiwad, about a. d. 415.


rendered by the Greeks by (Σανγελαστος, Προίστων); but this does not signify very much. The attempts of the Greeks to render by Greek letters Indian sounds, which they heard in different parts of India and at different times, cannot be regarded as governed by immutable phonetic laws. By the side of Σανγελαστος (Chandragupta) stands Xandrames (Chaudramaka). Dr. Burgess has called my attention also to Ταροπία = Chittara.

81 An inscription at Junnar also gives the 40th. — Ep.

82 See the 36th Naik inscription.
FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.


(Continued from p. 153.)

No. 9.—Folk-Tale.

Prince Lionheart and his three friends.

Once upon a time there lived a king and queen, as happy as they could be, but for one trouble—they had no children.

One day an old faqir\(^1\) came to the palace, and said to the queen: "Eat these barley-corns I give you, and in nine months you shall bear a beautiful little son."

The queen did as the faqir bid her, and sure enough, in the space of nine months, she bore the most beautiful prince that ever was seen. They called him Lionheart, he was so brave and strong and sturdy.

Now when he grew up Prince Lionheart became restless, and told the king, his father, that he wanted to travel. The king tried to dissuade him, but the Prince would hear of nothing else; so at last he obtained his father's consent and set off on his travels. He took with him three companions, a Knife-grinder, a Blacksmith, and a Carpenter.\(^2\)

Now when these four valiant young men had travelled a short distance, they came to a fine city lying in a deserted jangal. There were tall houses, broad bazaars, and shops full of goods, but not a human being to be seen anywhere. This astonished them very much, but the Knife-grinder said: "Oh! I remember now. I have heard of this. A demon* lives here, and will let no one come to dwell in the town. We had best be off."

But Prince Lionheart said "Pooh! not till I've had my dinner, for I am desperately hungry."

So they went to the shops and bought all they wanted, laying the proper price on the counter as there were no shopkeepers. Then they came back to the palace, and Prince Lionheart said: "O you Knife-grinder! 'tis your turn to cook the food. Do so quickly while we take another look at the town."

No sooner had they gone than the Knife-grinder went to the kitchen and began to cook the food. Just as it began to send up a savoury smell, he saw a little figure beside him clad in armour with sword and lance, riding on a gaily caparisoned mouse.

"Give me my dinner!" said the mannikin, angrily shaking his lance. "Your dinner! What an idea!" said the Knifeginder laughing.

"Give it to me at once," shrieked the little warrior, "or I'll hang you to the nearest pipal tree."

"Wah! Whippersnapper," answered the valiant Knife-grinder, "come nearer, and I'll crush you between finger and thumb."

Without more ado the mannikin shot up into a terribly tall demon. The Knife-grinder fell on his knees, and cried for mercy, but in a trice he was hung on the topmost branch of the pipal tree.

"I'll teach you to cook in my kitchen," said the demon, and he gobbled up all the cakes that were ready, and disappeared.

Now the Knife-grinder wriggled so that the pipal branch broke, and he came crashing through the branches to the ground with no more hurt than a few bruises; but he was terribly frightened, and determined not to cook again. Therefore he crept into the sleeping room, and rolled himself up in a quilt. By

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\(^1\) Told by a boy who sells eggs, son of Pûrhî parents.

\(^2\) Shârdîl Shakhrîr Shakhrîbâd is the full name of this Prince. Shakhrîr, lit. friend of the city, a title applied to kings; e.g. the successor of Ardashîr III in Persia, A.D. 629, was called Shakhrîr. Shakhrîbâd, lit. the population of cities, in allusion to the incidents in the first part of the tale.—R. C. T.

\(^3\) faqîr, so in the tale, but it is the peculiar power of faqîs to grant sons (see the other tales). A faqî therefore is probably the kind of faqir intended here.—R. C. T.

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\(^4\) साहेरूला, Panj. knife-grinder, an itinerant journeyman, who, as in the English country districts, wanders about with a wheel for grinding. This custom apparently extends to Central Asia, as an Afghan or Persian knife-grinder of this description was lately wandering in Firozpur City. A lâhâr, blacksmith, and tarkhan, carpenter.—R. C. T.

\(^5\) Bhdî—see the other tales—a demon. The power however here ascribed to the bhdî properly belongs to a jîw aâdo.—R. C. T.

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\(^6\) پپل, Sceus religiousis.—It is sacred among the Hindus and never cut by them. It is used in divination to find out the truth, the liar not daring to pluck the leaves.—R. C. T.

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\(^7\) Panj. muddhârd, (Hind. बौब) bound of small size, a dwarf, pigmy.—R. C. T.
and by in came the Prince and his companions, hungry as hunters, crying "Well, jolly Knife-grinder! where's the dinner?" "Oh! ho! groaned he from under the quilt, "I had nearly finished it when I got a fit of ague, and while I lay shivering and shaking a dog ran in and gobbled it up."

"What remains must do," said the Prince. "Here! you Blacksmith, do you cook the food whilst we go and have another look at the city."

But the very same thing happened to the valiant Blacksmith, that had happened to the Knife-grinder. He too crept to bed, rolled himself up in a quilt, and when the hungry Prince Lionheart arrived, no! there was no dinner.

Then the Carpenter stayed behind to cook, but he fared no better than the two others; so when hungry Prince Lionheart returned there were three sick men, and no dinner. So Prince Lionheart set to work to cook the food himself. No sooner had it begun to give off a savoury smell than the tiny mouse-warrior appeared.

"Upon my word! you are a pretty little fellow," said the Prince. "Give me my dinner!" shrieked the mannikin.

"Your dinner! Ha ha! a good idea. Why, it's my dinner, my good sir. However, to avoid disputes let's fight it out," answered the Prince.

Then the mouse-warrior changed into a terribly tall demon, but the Prince only laughed, saying "There is a medium in all things. Before you were too small, now you are too big: as you seem to be able to alter your size without much trouble, suppose you show some spirit, and become just my size, neither less nor more. Then we can fight for our dinner!" The demon, thought there was reason in what the Prince said, so he grew smaller. Then they fought, but the Prince slew the demon with his sharp sword.

After that the Prince roused his friends, saying "Oh valiant ones! I have slain your fever." Then he wrote to all the people belonging to the town, and told them they might come back and dwell in safety on condition of taking the Knife-grinder as their king, giving him their richest and most beautiful maiden for his queen.

This they did with great joy. But the Knife-grinder said "Sire, I must follow your fortunes." Then answered Prince Lionheart: "Not so! See, here is a barley plant; care for it, and water it well. So long as it flourishes, know that I am well, but if it droops, know that I am in misfortune, and come and help me."

Then the Knife-grinder king remained behind, while the Prince, the Blacksmith and the Carpenter went on their travels.

By and by they came to another desolate city, and the Blacksmith said: "Oh, I remember now! a ghost lives here, and will allow no one to come near. We had best be off." "Not so," said Prince Lionheart, "First I must have my dinner, for I am hungry."

So they bought what they wanted from the shops, laying the proper price on the counters as there were no shopkeepers. Then the Prince said: "Oh Blacksmith! do you cook food, for it is your turn whilst I and the Carpenter look through the town."

No sooner had the Blacksmith prepared the food, and it began to smell deliciously, than the ghost appeared, awful and forbidding. The valiant Blacksmith didn't stop to parley, but flew into another room, and locked the door. When the Prince returned ever so hungry, there was no dinner to be found, and no Blacksmith.

So the Prince said: "Oh Carpenter, do you cook the food," and the Carpenter fared no better, and flew into another room, and locked the door.

"This is too bad!" said Prince Lionheart, when he returned, and he began to cook the food himself. But when the ghost saw such a very handsome young man, she would not appear as an old hag, but changed into a beautiful young woman.

However the Prince just looked at her feet,
and when he saw they were set on hind-sides before, he knew at once what she was, so he drew his sharp sword, and said, "I must trouble you to take your own shape again, for I don't want to kill such a beautiful young woman." At this the ghost shrieked with rage, and turned to her own loathsome shape once more, but just as she did so Prince Lionheart gave one stroke of his sharp sword, and lo! she was dead. As soon as this happened the Blacksmith and the Carpenter crept out of their hiding places.

The Prince wrote to all the townsfolk bidding them come back on condition of taking the Blacksmith to be their king, and giving him to wife the prettiest, richest and best born maiden in the town. This they did with pleasure.

After the wedding was over the Prince and the Carpenter set out on their travels: the Blacksmith king was loath to let them go, but Prince Lionheart gave him also a barley plant, saying, "Water and tend it carefully. So long as it flourishes know that I am well, but if it droops, then I am in trouble, and do you come and help me."

The Prince and the Carpenter had travelled but a short way when they came to a big town where they halted to rest. Now there was a Princess in the town who was as fair as the moon: the Carpenter saw her by chance, and fell so desperately in love with her that the Prince took pity on him, and said, "Stay you here and marry the Princess, and I will go on my travels alone." So the Carpenter was married to the Princess and became king, and to him also Prince Lionheart gave a barley plant, and then set off on his travels alone.

Now after a time the Prince came to a river, and what was his astonishment to see a ruby of enormous size floating down the stream! He watched it wonderstruck, till another, and then another floated by. "This is very curious," said he, "I must go and find out whence they come."

He travelled up stream for two days and two nights, and came at last to a beautiful palace on the water's edge. By the palace grew a tree, on a branch of which hung a golden basket containing the head of a beautiful young woman: every minute a drop of blood fell from the bleeding head into the water, became a ruby, and floated away down the stream.

Prince Lionheart was overcome with pity at the sight, and tears rose to his eyes. He determined to search the palace and find out more about the beautiful and wonderful head.

He wandered through the marble rooms all richly decorated, but not a living creature did he see. At last in a sleeping-room, on a lovely satin bed, he saw the headless body of the most beautiful girl he had ever seen. He thought at once, "This must be the body belonging to the beautiful and wonderful head." So he ran and fetched the head and placed it on the body; no sooner had they touched each other, than the maiden sat up and talked. The Prince was overjoyed, and begged the beautiful maiden to tell him who she was. So she told him she was the daughter of a rich king: that a jinn had fallen in love with her and carried her off to his palace, and that he was so jealous that every day when he left her, he cut off her head and hung it in the basket till his return. Then Prince Lionheart begged her to fly with him at once, but the Princess said, "Not so. First we must kill the jinn, or he will pursue us." Then the Prince said "You must ask him in what thing his life lies." Then, shutting his eyes from the dreadful sight, he cut off his dear Princess's head, hung it in the golden basket, and hid himself in the next room.

By and by the jinn arrived. When he was putting on the Princess's head he cried, "Fee! fa! fum! Mânush-gándh! This room smells of man's flesh."

But the Princess wept, saying, "How should I know anything! Am I not dead whilst you are away! Eat me if you like, and then I shall be dead altogether." But the jinn, who loved her to distraction, said he would rather die himself. "That would never do," said the Princess, "for if you were to be killed some day whilst you are away it would be very awkward for me. I should neither be alive nor dead."

"Never fear," answered the jinn, "I am not to be Hindu. The incident of jinnas falling in love with girls is common in Muhammadan tales."—R. C. T.

* This incident is clearly an interpolation of the narrator's. He had evidently forgotten the proper adventure for the carpenter, so invented this. It is shockingly lame.—F. A. S.

* Ω jinn—see above in former tales. The jinn is altogether Muhammadan, whereas the rest of this tale appears

See above in former tales—common incident.—R. C. T.

11 मानुष गांध Mânush-gándh, lit. man's smell. See above in the tale of "Sir Bumble" for explanation.—R. C. T.
likely to be killed. My life lies in something quite safe.” “I am glad of that,” said the deceitful Princess, “tell me in what it lies, that I may help you to preserve it.” But the jinn refused. At last, when the Princess coaxed and wheedled, and he began to get sleepy, he answered, “I shall never be killed except by a prince called Lionheart, and then only if he can find the solitary tree, not far from here, where a dog and a horse keep sentinel, and can climb the tree, and kill the Mainā that sits singing in a golden cage, and then cut open its crop, and kill the bumble bee that is inside. But he will need to have a lion’s heart or be very wise before he can reach the tree, and overcome its guardians.” “How can they be overcome?” asked the Princess.

“In this way,” said the jinn, who was dreadfully sleepy and tired of being cross-questioned: “In front of the horse lies a heap of bones, and in front of the dog a bundle of grass. Let him take a long bamboo and push the bones to the dog and the grass to the horse and they will let him pass.”

The Prince overheard all this, and set off at once to find the solitary tree, which he did without any difficulty. The dog and the horse were savage and fierce, but became mild and peaceable when the bundles were changed. He climbed up the tree, seized the mainā, and began to twist its neck. Just then the jinn, who was sleeping in the palace, became aware of what was happening, and flew through the air to do battle. The Prince saw him coming, and hastily cut open the mainā’s crop; there he found the bumble bee, and just as the jinn was alighting on the tree, the Prince tore off the insect’s wings. Instantly the jinn fell to the ground with a crash; but he ran on determined to kill his enemy. Then the Prince twisted off the insect’s legs, and lo! nothing remained of the jinn but the trunk, and when Prince Lionheart twisted the insect’s neck, the life of the jinn went out entirely.

Prince Lionheart returned to the Princess, who was overjoyed to hear of her tyrant’s death, and said “Let us return to my father’s kingdom.” “Not so,” said the Princess, “first let us rest awhile and see what riches the palace contains.” So they stayed, and one day the Princess said, “I will bathe in the river, and wash my beautiful hair.” So she bathed in the river and combed her beautiful hair, every thread of which shone like gold. Now the Princess was proud of her golden hair, and when one or two long strands came out in the comb, she said “I will not throw them into the river to sink in the nasty mud.” So she made a cup from a pipal leaf, laid the golden hairs in it, and let it float down the stream.

It chanced that the river flowed past a big city. The young king of that city was sailing on the river in a boat when he saw something sparkling like gold in the water, so he said to his boatmen—“Fetch me that glittering leaf.”

When he saw the golden hairs, he thought he had never seen anything half so beautiful, and said “I will never rest day or night till I find the owner.”

So he sent for the wise women to find out where the owner of the beautiful hair lived. Said one old woman, “If she is on earth I will find her.” Said the second, “If she is in heaven I will tear open the sky and bring her.” But the third said, “Wāh, if you tear open the sky I’ll put a patch in it so that no one will be able to tell the new piece from the old.”

The king thought the last old woman much the cleverest, so he bid her go and seek for the owner of the golden glittering hair.

So the old woman set off up the river, in a grand boat, and by and by came to the palace of the jinn. She got out of the boat, sat down on the steps, and wept.

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13 Mainā (Sanak. कीर्ति Kiśī) the gracula religiosa, a kind of starling well-known in India as a singing bird which can be taught to speak. It is sacred and never killed by Hindus.—R. C. T.

14 jōna, a cup made of leaves. See next tale, where a nearly exactly similar incident occurs. The jōna is used in the Panjāb by the very poor as a receptacle for cattle.—R. C. T.

15 Kūnjī, soothsayer, wise woman: there is no suspicion of witchcraft about kūnjī, and they are seldom employed for any purpose except that in the context. Phaphē kūnjī is used in common parlance for “a clever jade.”—F. A. S.

Kūnjī is properly a procuress in Panjāb. and Hindi from Sanak. कुण्ड kuff, to grind, pound, abuse, whence Sanak. कुण्डल kūndal and जुरलिब kūndal’s procuress. The word for witch or wise woman in the Panjāb is usually फापफा phaphē kūnfē (see above in former tales; phaphē probably represents Hindi फस्फस phaphē, a procuress, and Panj. फस्फस phaphē, deceit, whence फस्फस phaphē) a deceiver. The terms are always used in a bad sense and might be fairly translated, according to context, hag, harridan, witch, but the bearers of the name do not seem to have supernatural powers.—R. C. T.
Now the Prince Lionheart had gone out hunting and the Princess was all alone. She had a tender heart, and when she heard the old woman weep she said to her, "Mother, why do you weep?"

"I weep," said the wise woman, "to think what will become of you if the handsome Prince is slain, and you are left here in the wilderness alone."

"Very true," said the Princess, and wept too. That night she said, "Dear Prince, what should I do if you were killed?" Prince Lionheart laughed, saying, "That is not likely: for my life lies in safety."

But the Princess wept still, and asked "In what thing, dear Prince, does it lie, that I may help you to preserve it?"

"It lies," answered the Prince, "in my sharp sword, which never fails. If it were broken I should die."

"Then do not take it with you when you go hunting," begged the Princess, "it might come to harm."

But Prince Lionheart laughed at her fears. However, the very next day, when the Prince was going a hunting, he hid his strong, bright sword and put another in its place, so that the Prince was none the wiser.

And when the wise woman sat under the window and cried, she called out joyfully, "Don't cry any more, mother, for the Prince's life is safe to-day. It lies in his sword, and that is safely hidden away in my cupboard."

Then the old woman stole off to the cupboard while the Princess slept, and took the sword: then she made a big fire, and laid the sword in it. As it grew hotter and hotter, poor Prince Lionheart felt a hot fever creep over his body. He looked to see if anything burning had fallen on his sharp strong sword, but lo! it was 'not his own sword but a changeling.' He cried, "I am undone!" and galloped homewards. But the wise woman blew up the fire so fast that the sword became red hot before the Prince could reach home, and just as he stood on the other side of the river, a rivet came out of the sword hilt; the hilt rolled off, and so did the Prince's head. So he died.

Then the old wise woman said to the Princess, "Daughter, your beautiful hair is all tangled, come and let me wash and dress it against your husband's return." So they went down the steps to the water. But the wise woman said, "Step into my boat, sweetheart; the water will be deeper out there." Then while the Princess' beautiful hair was over her eyes, the wicked old hag loosed the boat, and they went drifting down the stream. The Princess wept and waited, but she could do nothing. However she vowed a great vow, and said "You wicked old thing! you are taking me away to some king's palace I know, but no matter who he is, I swear I will not look on his face for twelve years."

So when they arrived at the city the King caused a high palace to be built for the golden-haired Princess, and there she lived all alone, and no one was allowed to enter the courtyard but the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Now when the Prince Lionheart died, the barley plant which he had given to the Knife-grinder King dropped and languished, and when the rivet came out of the sword and the Prince's head fell off, the barley stem broke right in two, victim touch a certain machine (sometimes wand) which causes him to revolve violently and eventually to die: he is then hung up by his heels, and holes are made in his head, through which the brains issue and fall into a pan over a slow fire, and are finally cooked into gūdā (Pers. gūna, a mummy), a popular medicine in India supposed to strengthen the brain, and usually composed of wax, etc. In connection with this, it is worth while recording that the gūdā (Pers. gūna, Hind. kūnā, Sansk. gārī, a hole), is an effigy or image of a person which, according to Fallows' Dictionary, is buried in the ground after certain incantations. This ceremony is performed for the destruction of any person (māna) to secure his affection (māna) to subject him to obedience (pākṣam) to imprison him or deprive him of power of action or speech (māna) to drive him away (ūchā, uchā), or to bring him before one (kārō, kārō) in a ceremonial. These divinations, however, belong to the learned (sāgrājas) and not to the common people. B. C. T.
and the ear tumbled on to the ground. The Knifegrinder King was dreadfully grieved, for he knew surely that some terrible trouble had befallen his dear Prince. But he gathered an army together and set off to help. On the way he met the Blacksmith King and the Carpenter King, who were on the same errand. Their barley plants had withered at the selfsame minute. Now when the three friends found that the three barley plants had withered and died in the selfsame manner, their hearts were very sad, but they determined to revenge their Prince's death if they could not save him. By and by they came to the river side, and there they found the Prince's body all burnt and blistered, and the head lying on the ground close by. They looked for the Prince's sword, for they knew his life lay in it, and when they saw another in its place, their hearts were sadder than ever. Then they lifted the body and took it to the palace to weep over it, and lo! there they found the Prince's sword in a heap of ashes, all blistered and stained, with the rivet gone, and the hilt lying close by.

"That is soon mended," said the Blacksmith King. So he blew up the fire, and forged a rivet; and no sooner had he riveted the hilt on to the blade, than the Prince's head grew to his shoulders as firm as ever.

"My turn now," said the Knifegrinder King. So he took the sword and spun his wheel so swiftly that the blisters and stains disappeared like magic, and the sword was bright and sharp as ever. As he did so the burns and scars disappeared from the Prince's body likewise, till at last he sat up and looked about him handsomer than ever.

"Where is my Princess?" asked he, and told his friends what had happened. "It's my turn now," said the Carpenter King. "Stay you here while I fetch the Princess. But first I must take your sword with me."

So he took the strong bright sword and set off to seek the Princess.

By and by he came to the King's town, and saw the high palace where the Princess lived. He asked the townspeople who lived there; and they told him a strange Princess, and that no one was allowed to enter the courtyard, save the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Then he disguised himself as a woodman and called out under the windows, "Wood! wood! fifteen gold pieces for this bundle of wood." The Princess, who was sitting on the roof, bid her maidens ask why it was so expensive.

"Because it was cut with this strong sharp sword," answered he. Then the Princess looked over the parapet and recognized Prince Lionheart's sword. So she said "Ask him if he has anything else to sell."

Then the woodman said, "I have a wonderful palanquin" that flies through the air, and if Her Highness wishes I will show it to her this evening when she walks in the garden."

So he went home and made a wonderful palanquin, and in the evening he took it to show to the Princess. "Seat yourself in it, O Princess!" said he, "and try how it can fly." But the King's sister who was there said "You must not go alone."

So she too got in and so did the wicked wise woman.

Then the Carpenter King jumped up outside, and lo! the palanquin began to fly like a bird higher and higher.

"I have had enough. Let us go down," said the King's sister. But the Carpenter took her and threw her into the river, over which they were then passing: but he waited till they came above the high palace before he threw the wise woman down, so she got finely smashed on the stones.

Then he, the Princess, and the strong bright sword flew away to the jinn's palace.

Prince Lionheart was overjoyed to see his dear Princess again, and they all set out for his father's kingdom.

Now when the poor old king his father saw the three armies coming he thought they came to fight him, so he went out to meet them, and said, "Take all my riches, but leave my people in peace. For I am old and weak and cannot fight. It would be different if my son Prince Lionheart were here, for he is as brave as a lion, but he left us years ago."

Then the Prince wept and told his father who he was, and that these were his old companions the Knifegrinder, the Blacksmith, and the Carpenter. Then he showed him the golden-haired Princess, and everyone was delighted and lived happily ever after.\footnote{The end of this story follows logically on the commencement, which is quite a remarkable occurrence in a genuine popular story in the Panjab. - R. C. T.}
CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 209.)

X.

We have seen how Wang Khan was hard pressed by the Naimans and forced to shelter himself in the eastern part of the Mongolian steppes, where he was found by Chinghiz, and where the allies fought a battle with the Naimans and their confederates. We have also seen how a coolness arose between Chinghiz and his patron Wang Khan, caused largely by the collapse of the negotiations about intermarriage between their families. This was naturally fanned by Chinghiz Khan’s old rival Chamukha. He first consulted with Altan and the other relatives of the Mongol chief who had been reproved for appropriating a part of the Tartar booty wrongfully, and who had apparently left him, and he then went with them to have a consultation with Sankun at Berkee on the north side of the Jejeeer-undur. He declared that Chinghiz was carrying on a futile correspondence with the Naiman chief Ta-yang while he was speaking so fairly to himself and his father, and he urged that this was an opportune time to destroy him. He offered to assist, and Altan and Khuchar declared their readiness to kill all the children of Khulun, i.e. Chinghiz and his brothers. Yebungein Khartaat said: “For you I will cut off his arms and legs.” While Tuiril or Tughrul (not Sankun’s father, but one of the party who had abandoned Chinghiz Khan) advised that they should deprive him of his people and that he would then be helpless. Khachiunbeki said: “Whatever you desire to do I will do it from the very bottom to the very top.” Having heard what Chamukha and his companions had to say, Sankun sent Saikhantodeye to inform his father. Wang Khan asked why they should thus distrust Temujin, and that heaven would not shield them if they cherished ill feelings towards him. He characterized the language of Chamukha as deceitful and unworthy of belief. Sankun sent a second messenger to urge that the report was in everybody’s mouth. His father was still unconvinced. He therefore determined to go in person. He declared that if while

Wang Khan was still living, Temujin treated them cavalierly, was it likely that after he was dead he would allow himself (Sankun) to rule over the people which had been brought together with such pains by his uncle and father. Wang Khan still urged his former argument until noticing that Sankun was displeased, and was going away, he called him back, and said, “Apparently heaven is not propitious. Have your way as you wish.”

The Yuan-shi tells the story very much in the same way. In reproving his son, Mr. Douglas, in his translation, makes Wang Khan say: “My hair is now white with age, and my only desire is to live the rest of my days in peace; but since you weary me with your importunities, do as seems best to you, only don’t come to me for sympathy if you fail.” He calls Chamukha’s fellow conspirators Talatai, Alertan and Hutser. These three names are read Daritai, Khtsier and Altan by Hyacinthe. The Yuan-shi adds that acting on the encouragement offered by Wang Khan’s words, Chamukha set fire to Temujin’s feeding grounds. De Mailla calls the confederates who formed the plot with Sankun against Chinghiz, Hosara Andan and Talatai. In the Huangyuan they are called Dalitsaiaj-inin, Antan, Khuchar, Takhai, Khulakhai, Latargia, Mukhur, Khatan and Jamukha. The messenger sent by Sankun to try and persuade his father is called Saikhal-toto-ganya, and the story is otherwise told very much as in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shih. Rashidu’d-din also tells the story in much the same way, he names the fellow conspirators of Sankun or Sengun Altan, Khujer, Daritai Utjegen, the Mangut Tagai Khisigai and Mukhur Kharun, the leader of the Adarkins or Hederkins. Sankun was then living apart from his father in a place called Alat or Altu. Rashid calls the messenger who was sent by Sankun to his father Saikhan Tuda. Erdmann reads the latter name Saba, and after describing how he had failed in his mission, goes on to say that at this time Chinghiz Khan’s warriors and those of Sankun or Sengun

2 Vide op. cit., pp. 31-33.
5 Vide op. cit., p. 167.
were mixed together like butter and milk, and the latter kept a close watch on him to prevent him escaping, but some suspicion seems to have crossed Chingiz Khan's mind, for he gradually drew his people further away. Sankun began in turn to fear that his plans might miscarry, and in the spring of the swine's year 1203, dispatched another messenger to his father. He does not mention Sankun himself having had an interview, but according to him, it was to this messenger that Wang Khan gave his answer. He says that Wang Khan explained to him how he and Temujin had been anda, how he had owed his life to him, how his hair and beard were growing grey, and his bones needed repose, how he wished to die peacefully, and how if they were determined to carry out their plans they must do it without him and must separate themselves from him.

Let us now revert to the account in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. When Sankun found that his messengers returned without Chingiz he suspected that his plot had been discovered, and determined to try and surprise him, and the best plan of doing so was resolved upon at a consultation. Ekecheryan, the younger brother of Altan, who had attended this council, in returning home, began to talk carelessly, and said: "The assembly has determined that we depart to-morrow to seize Temujin. If some one were to inform him to-day, I don't know how he would reward him." His wife Alakhait said, "Do not speak unguardedly. The domestics may overhear you and accept your words as really meant." At this time Badai, a horse-herd, who had brought in mare's milk, having overheard the words, returned and reported what had been said to his comrade, Kishilkh. The latter said, 'I will go and listen further'; and going into the yurt he noticed that Narin Kayan, the son of Ekecheryan, was sharpening arrows, and he heard his father warn him against letting the servants know what they were going to do. Ekecheryan ordered Kishilkh to go and catch a mottled horse, as he wished to depart the following morning. Kishilkh returned to his companion, and said he had confirmed his report, and the two determined to go and warn Chingiz. Having caught and tethered two horses they went into their yurt, and dressed a lamb in a fire made from the wood nari, and setting out arrived the same night at Temujin's dwelling, and reported what they had overheard. The latter, having consulted with his people, forsook his camp, and hastily retired to the north of the mountain Mao-undur. Having ordered Jelmi to go and reconnoitre, he the next day reached Khalakhaljitelet. In the

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10 Erdmann, pp. 283-285.
13 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, note 230.
14 Berezine, op. cit. p. 120; Abulghazi, p. 82.
16 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 85 and 86.
Yuan-shi the two herdsmen who warned Ch'ing-hiz of his danger are called Sirikshi, and his younger brother Bado. De Mailla mentions only one of them, whom he calls Chilisi.

The Huang-yuan tells the story very much in the same way as the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. It says that when Ch'ing-hiz was warned of his danger he put his army in intrenchments at Alan, and having transported his baggage to the river Chilian-jin, he sent Jelmi on with the vanguard, and marched along the north side of the mountain Moymund. Rashidu'd-din, who follows the story as told by these authorities closely, calls Ekecheryan, Eke-geran. His wife he calls Alak Nidun. His son who was sharpening the arrows he calls Barin Kiyen, or Kehen. When Ch'ing-hiz heard what was in store for him, he moved to the hills Seljijilut and dispatched a corps of observation to the mountain Moanund. Abulghazi says that when he heard the news, Ch'ing-hiz despatched his household to Baljunabulak, while he prepared to defend himself where he was.

To resume our story, the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi says that after Ch'ing-hiz had sent Jelmi to reconnoitre, a herdman of Alchidai named Chigidaí arrived with his companions to say that from the mountain Macundur and from the direction of the camp Khulaanburakhat dust could be seen and that the foe was advancing. Ch'ing-hiz took horse and rode out. At this time Wang Khan arrived, and asked Chakmukha what troops Ch'ing-hiz had with him. He replied the two hordes Urunt and Mankhut; that his warriors and that his positions were well taken, and that his standards were either coloured or black. Wang Khan said that it would be well to take heed when they hove in sight. He ordered that the brave Khadakhi of the horde Jirgin should first advance, then the brave Akh羞hishirun with the tribes Tuman Tubigan, Oman and Dunkhait. Then Khairishilumntaiji with 1,000 body-guards, and lastly his own army corps. Wang Khan also entrusted Chakmukha with the chief command. He sent secretly to inform Ching-hiz of this, and to tell him that, as he had control of affairs, he should take care the Kirais did not win. When Ch'ing-hiz got this news he proposed to the old man Jurchedai to be his commander-in-chief, but meanwhile Khuldhar stepped forward and said, "I will be the leader, take care of my orphans." Jurchedai said, "My Urunt and Mankhut will fight in front before the emperor," and he accordingly put them in battle array before Ch'ing-hiz. He had hardly done so when the first division of the Kirais, the Jirgin, came up. The Urunt and Mankhut smote them. While they were pursuing this division they were attacked by another section of the enemy commanded by Achikshilin, of the tribe Turmayan Tugigan, who had a personal encounter with the Mongol leader Khuldhar, and dragged him from his horse. His men were however defeated by the Urunt led by Jurchedai, who, still advancing, encountered the clans Oman and Dunkhait and also smote them. Shilemitsaitsi, with the thousand body-guards, was also defeated. Things were going badly with the Kirais, and we read that San'kun, without his father's knowledge, threw himself into the fray. One of Jurchedai's arrows struck him in the cheek, and he fell, whereupon his men retired and gathered round him. Ch'ing-hiz having been successful in this struggle, which was apparently a preliminary skirmish rather than a decided battle, and seeing it was already late, collected his men, and ordered Khuldhar to be carried away. During the night he moved on, and at length encamped far from the battle-field. This is the account in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. In the narrative part of the Yuan-shi we are told that in this fight the Mongols defeated in succession the Chu-luk-kans or Chulgins, the Tungah or Dunga, and the Haou-urb-shih-lo-mun or Khor-sheremin, and that thereupon Ilkha or Erlero charged into their ranks, when he was wounded in the temple, and was obliged to retire, and the victory remained with

17 Hyacinthe, p. 25.
20 Erdmann reads Alak Sendun.
21 Read Saludelkhat by Erdmann and Saludeljet by D'Ohsan.

33 i.e. the springs of Bajina, the lake Bajina of which we have before written.
26 i.e. set his men in order.
27 i.e. as among the Chinese—the Centre.
28 I don't know whether it is meant that in this he was treacherous to Wang Khan, or that he proposed a fresh act of treachery towards Ching-hiz.
30 i.e. Sankun.
Chinghiz, whereupon the Kelui—Hyacinthe says the Kerei,—and both are apparently forms of Kirai, went over to the conqueror. As we shall see, the Yuan-shi'ao-pi-shi suggests that a section of the Kimis did desert Wang Khan. Palladius tells us that in the biography of Jurchedai, appended to the Yuan-shi, it is reported that the Kelis, the Khalakhachins, the Shatos and others attacked the people of Chinghiz, whereas the latter's near relatives Khulitdar urged that the matter would not brook delay, and he must summon the brave people of Jurchedai. Jurchedai accordingly assailed the enemy, shot Sankun, and smote the leader of the Shilimis and others. In the life of Khulidar in the same work we read that in this fight the army of the Ulu was ordered to move to the front, but its leader, Juchitai, putting his whip across his horse's mane, did not respond. Khulitdar thereupon, entrusting his three yellow-headed children to Chinghiz Khan's care, attacked the enemy, and received some wounds in the head. De Mailla's authority makes Wang Khan a party to the struggle, and tells us that in conjunction with Ilbo he marched his hordes by different routes, ordering them to meet at a common rendezvous. Chilisi, who looked after Chinghiz Khan's studs, having informed him of Wang Khan's march, the latter gave command of the army to Chalmaen, whom he knew to be closely attached to himself, who, having met and defeated the hordes of Tungnai, Chulushin and Holisiemen, which were separated from the other, cut them in pieces, and falling eventually on the troops commanded by Wang Khan and Ilbo, punished them also severely. Ilbo, furious at this, made a charge into the midst of the Mongols, and was struck in the face by an arrow, which compelled him to retire. De Mailla calls the tribe which deserted Wang Khan the Kieli, apparently making the name different from Kirai. The Huang-yuan tells us that while Chinghiz was marching north of the mountain Moyandor, Wang Khan advanced along the southern side of the same mountain and crossed the ridges Khulakho and Bulunkha. Chinghiz being informed of this by two of his dependents named Taichu and Yedir, who were pasturing horses, moved his army to Kholanki; meanwhile the sun sank behind the mountains. Chinghiz's men attacked and overcame the Jilungins, the Dunantses, and the Kolishilmintaishi. This account then relates how Ilkhan was shot in the cheek, and had to retire very much as the story is told in the other narratives. Let us now return to Rashidu'd-din. He tells us that in his retreat from the mountain Moandar, he was pursued by Wang Khan, who presently encamped in a place called Ulan Bargan by the Mongols, where there was a wood of red willows. Two dependents of Ichidei Noyan named Taiju and Chengtai Edur, who were pasturing horses, went to inform Chinghiz, who was then at Khalaljirai, or Khalanchinait. His troops were very inferior in numbers to those of the enemy, and he held a conference accordingly with his lieutenants, Keitei or Kehi Noyan, the Urut and Khulidar Setzen the Mankgut. The former said nothing, but the latter, who was "ando" with Chinghiz, offered to ride on horseback behind the enemy on to a height named Kuiten and there to plant the imperial tuk or standard, while he commended his children to the care of Chinghiz. He succeeded in this daring venture, and planted the tuk as he had offered to do. Chinghiz and his men inspired by this brave act, fell vigorously upon the enemy, first defeated the most important of the Kerai tribes, viz., the Jergins, then overthrew the Tenkgoet and defeated Khori Shelmen Taishi and the life guards of Wang Khan, and Sengun was wounded in the face. After the fight Chinghiz Khan withdrew. Rashidu'd-din adds that this battle of Khalaljin Atat was famous among the Mongols and was quoted in his

30 The variants in the names are given here as they are read respectively by Douglas, op. cit., p. 54, and Hyacinthe, p. 25. 31 i. e. the Kimis. 32 The people of the steppes or desert, sha-t'o means the sandy downs (Bretschneider's Not. Med. Trav. p. 124,) and is the Chinese name of the Gobi desert. 33 i. e. Urut. 34 Yuan-shi'ao-pi-shi, note 296. 35 Op. cit., tom. IX, p. 29. 36 i. e. Ilbo or Sankun.
own day." It seems pretty clear that it was fought under great disadvantages by Chinghiz when he was a long way from his home and the greater part of his people, and when he apparently only had the Urut and Mangkut with him. Before we consider the site of this famous battle we will follow Chinghiz Khan's subsequent movements, which are told in considerable detail in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. We there read that the day after the battle, at daybreak, Chinghiz mustered his men and called the roll-call. He found that three of his famous warriors were missing, Okotai (probably his third son Ogota, who must then have been quite a boy), Borokhul or Burghul, and Boorchu or Boghorji. Chinghiz remarked that Okotai had lived with the other two, and that they had died together, not wishing to be separated. Fearing a fresh attack he kept his men well together, and presently a man was seen coming from the battlefield who proved to be Boorchu. Chinghiz made an exclamation suggesting that all was over, when Boorchu reported that during the fight his horse had been shot by the enemy and he was dismounted, but when the Kirais gathered round Sankun he caught a run-away horse on which he had escaped. Presently there arrived a second horseman, and, as he drew near, they noticed that two other legs besides his own were hanging down. The new arrivals proved to be Okotai and Borokhul riding on one horse. The latter's mouth was smeared with blood, for he had sucked the clotted blood from an arrow-wound in Okotai's neck. Chinghiz wept, had the wound seared, and gave Okotai something to relieve his thirst. Borokhul reported that there was a large dust where the enemy were, and they were apparently retreating towards the mountain Maoundur in the district of Khualam Burkhat. Chinghiz forming his army in order marched along the river Ulkuushihugeljits, and retired towards the district of Dalannemugesi.

Afterwards Khadaandaldurkhan, one of Chinghiz Khan's dependents, who was separated from his wife, and had apparently been a prisoner with Wang Khan, came and reported that after Sankun had been wounded his father said reproachfully that they had begun a struggle with a man who ought not to have been provoked, hence he says this wound in my son's cheek. He is still alive, let him take warning. Thereupon Achikhbulum replied, "Sire, cease to talk thus. When you had no son you prayed for a successor, now that you have one, be more considerate towards him. We still have more than one half of our Dada," The people who have left us and gone to Temujin, where will they flee to? They are cavalry and will certainly halt for the night under trees. If they will not return to us we will enclose them like a herd of horses." Wang Khan then gave orders that his son should be carefully tended.

Chinghiz having left the district of Dalannemugesi went along the river Khalkha. Having mustered his people he found there were 2,600 of them. He went with one half of them along the western, while the other half with the Urunut and Mangkut went along the eastern bank. They amused themselves with hunting in which, contrary to the wish of Chinghiz, Khuidar took an active part. His wound had not yet healed. It opened afresh, and he died. His body was buried on the steep side of the mountain Ornua, near the river Khalkha.

At the outfall of the Khalkha into lake Buyur there lived Terge and other Urgirs. Chinghiz sent Jurchidai at the head of the Urunut and Mankut to these Kongrut to say to them, "Remember my ancient descent, and submit to me; if not, prepare to fight." It will be remembered that the Kongrut had sided with Chamuka against him. On receiving his message they at once submitted, and he did not therefore molest them. He now returned homewards to the eastern bank of the little river Tungeli, whence he sent a message to Wang Khan, to which we shall revert presently. The Yuan-shi has none of these details, and merely says that after the fight Chinghiz returned to Dunginor or lake Tungko, as it is read by Mr. Douglas. De Mailla says the lake Tong-ko, Gaubil says the same.

Terge is called Terge Amol, chief of the Kongrut, by Ribisid-din.

291 t. e. Kongrut.
292 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. pp. 90 and 91.
294 Op. cit., p. 34.
The Huang-yuan, which tells the story in greater detail than the latter authorities calls the place to which Chinghiz first retired the mountain Ornukan-khunge. It makes out that he had 4,600 men with him, of whom he took 2,200 along the north bank of the Khalkha. It calls the envoy he sent to the Kongurut, Temuge-aman-bu, and, like the authorities last quoted, it makes him eventually retire to the lake Dungi; and the place Torkhohorkhii. Rashidu'd-din's account is somewhat confused and needs in part transposing. He makes Chinghiz retreat to lake Baljuna, and after a while return to the Khalkha and then go to lake Tunga. If we disentangle his narrative we find that Chinghiz retired after the battle to the river Or or Or, whence he reached a place called Keltekta Khoda. There he held a review of his men, and found they numbered 4,600. With them he advanced to the river Khalkha, i.e. the Khalkha. Dividing his force into two sections he marched with one along one bank of the river while the Uruut and Mangkut went with the other on the other bank, till they reached the dwelling-place of Terke Amol, the chief of the Kongurut. Chinghiz reminded him of their close connection and promised to reward him handsomely if he sided with him. Having secured his alliance in this way he went on to Tunga nor, i.e. lake Tunga, and a place called Khugh Khorgun. Having collected the various accounts of this campaign, let us now try and fix its locality. About the river Khalkha flowing into lake Buyur there can be no mistake. The river still bears the name, and still flows into the lake. The river Or or Or of Rashidu'd-din answers to the district of Dalannemur-gesi, perhaps Talan-naur-gesi, the valley of the lake or river Gesi (?). He retired thither from the river Ulkhi Shilugelgit, according to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, which again was close to the battle-field. This river can be no other than the Olkui or Ulkui, which rises in the so-called Soyelki mountains, a part of the Khingan, whence flow the southern affluents of the Khalkha, the Ulkhi or Olkui flows into a small lake in the eastern part of the Gobi. This identification is completely confirmed by Rashidu'd-din, who tells us that the battle of K'halaljin Alat was fought on the frontier of the country of the Jurchi (i.e. Manchuria) not far from the river Olkui. In D'Anville's map one of the mountains in the Soyelki range is called Halgon, which answers in fact to the form of the name as it appears in the Yuan-shi, namely, Khalaun Ola. Ola or Ala means mountain, and has been corrupted into Alat or Altai by Rashidu'd-din. We may take it therefore as pretty certain that the famous battle was fought upon one of the spurs of the Khingan range where the Olkui rises.

In regard to lake Tonga, where Chinghiz eventually retired to, it would seem that the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi must be mistaken in styling it the river Tunggel, and that by it lake Baljuna is in fact meant, the original homeland and cradle of the Mongol stock.

We will now return again to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. We have seen how it tells us that Chinghiz withdrew to the eastern banks of the Tunggel which we have here identified with the neighbourhood of lake Baljuna. There grass was abundant and the horses were in good condition. Thence he wrote a plaintive letter to Wang Khan.

"Father," he said, "why are you thus angry with me, causing me terror? If you wish to upbraid me, why not do it in a quiet fashion and without destroying all my possessions?"

"Probably there are people who have come between us. Did we not make an agreement at Khulaneou on the mountain Shorkhelkun that if people came to slander either of us to the other we were not to believe them until we had had a personal interview? Father, have we had such an interview? Though I am only small, I am worth many, and though I am ill favoured I am as valuable as the handsome. You and I are like the shafts of a kibilka, when one of them is broken the ox cannot draw it—or like its two wheels, when one is injured, it cannot be moved."

"Your father Khurchakhun Buurk had forty sons. You being the eldest, they made you ruler. Afterwards you killed your brothers Taitimur and Bukhuatimur. You also wished to kill your other brother Erkekhara, but he saved himself by

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49 Erdmann reads Hegtga Kheda, and D'Ohsone Galtakai-Cada.
50 So written both by Bereine and D'Ohsone. Erdmann calls it the Kelabdu.
51 D'Ohsone calls it Taruka Kurgan; Bereine, vol. II, p. 133; Erdmann, p. 289; D'Ohsone, vol. I, p. 73.
52 D'Ohsone, vol. I., p. 70.
53 Ryasinko, p. 29.
54 Palladino says in a note this was on the river Tula.
fleeing to the Naimans. Your uncle Gurkhan, to revenge your brothers, made war upon you when with but a hundred men you had to retire to the deserts of the Kharaun mountains. You then betrothed your daughter Khujaur Ujin to the Merki Tokhtoa in order to secure a passage through his territory to my father Yessugei, to whom you came for help. He went with his army and drove your uncle to Khaijin and returned your people to you on the banks of the Tula. In the black forest you and my father became brothers and became anda, and moved by gratitude you declared 'I swear by heaven, I will repay you and your children for this good deed.'

"After this your brother Erkekhara having collected an army among the Naimans again attacked you. You thereupon fled to the country of the Khoikhoi and to the Gurkhan of the Keta. In less than a year you quarrelled with and left him, passing through the countries of Oin and Khesu, and you were brought to such a pass that you had to live on the milk of five ewes and the blood drawn from a camel, and came to me on a blind and broken-down horse. On account of your friendship with my father I sent people to meet you, welcomed you to my camp, and furnished you with a following from among my people, and when you had conquered the Merkit, I let you retain the goods and cattle you had captured from them."

"After this, when we pursued Buirukh and strove with Keksinabrah at Baidarakhbelchir, you withdrew in the night after purposely lighting camp fires, Keksinabrah pursued you, and made your wives and the people of Sankun prisoners, together with one half of your people living in Tiligetu. You then asked me for help, and I sent you four chiefs who rescued your people and cattle and those of Sankun. Then you thanked me; why do you now upbraid me?"

This didactic message is reported in somewhat different terms, although with the same general sense by the other authorities. In the Yuan-shi the envoy who took the message is called Alikhu, (De Mailla calls him Alihai). It begins with a reference to Yessugei's services, which contains nothing new. In the paragraph describing the assistance given by Chinghiz when Wang Khan fled westwards before the Naimans, the Yuan-shi makes him claim to have invited Wang Khan's brother Jasigambu or Jakembo, who was then living within the borders of the Xin empire to go to him, and goes on to say that when Wang Khan was being pressed by the Merkit he sent his brethren Sechen botaia and Daicheu who destroyed them. De Mailla calls the two latter Sechin Pako and Sechin-taicheu. He also calls them Chinghiz Khan's brothers. According to the Yuan-shi Chinghiz next goes on to remind his former friend how on another occasion, when he was in distress, he went over to Khai-dala, seized on the sheep, horses and goods of his enemies, gave them over to him, supported him and his people for a month, and restored them to robust health after they had been emaciated by famine. This doubtless refers to the occasion when Wang Khan returned from the Uighur country and the Kara Kitai. According to the same source, Chinghiz went on to urge that when Wang Khan defeated the Merkit he bore him no grudge, although he had not divided the spoils with him, but, on the contrary, sent his four generals to the rescue when he was being hard pressed by the Naimans. Chinghiz goes on to claim how he swooped down with the swiftness of a Hantung falcon when pouncing on a wild goose, upon the tribes Durbot Tatar, Khatagin, Saljut and Khungir, and how he made over to Wang Khan what he took from them. In all, according to the Yuan-shi, Chinghiz claims to have done his friend five important services.

The Yuan-shi lei-pien has merely an epitomised version of the message as reported in the Yuan-shi. I would however remark that Gaubil places Ha-la-hoien, i.e. the Karan of other writers, where Wang Khan was defeated by his

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60 i.e. Hosi or Tangut.
61 Yuan-ch'ou-pi-shi, pp. 91 and 92.
62 i.e. of the Muhammadans.
63 i.e. of the Kara Kitai.
64 i.e. of the Karan.
65 i.e. Hosi or Tangut.
66 i.e. the chief of the Naimans.
67 Id., p. 98.
68 i.e. the chief of the Naimans.
71 Meaning relatives.
72 Mr. Douglas reads it, p. 27, Serchin Perko.
75 Called Hatala by Mr. Douglas, and Ha-ting-li by De Mailla.
76 Hyacinthe, p. 26; Douglas, p. 35.
77 Hyacinthe, p. 27; Douglas, p. 36.
uncle at some rugged gorges in the mountain south of the river Orghun. The Huang-yuan tells the story in greater detail, agreeing largely with Rashid-ud-din. It calls the envoy Ali Alkhai. Rashid calls him the Iderken Argai or Arti Jiun. The Huang-yuan makes Chinghiz tell Wang Khan that he was then encamped round about lake Dungei, where the grass was abundant and the horses were fat. It then makes him go on to remind him how his uncle Guilii-khan, i.e. Gur Kakhan had written to complain that he, Wang Khan, had mounted the throne on the death of his father Kurjakhus Beluki-khan and displaced himself,29 and how when he had killed Taitimur and Bakhuatimur and pretended he did not know where they had disappeared to, and that in consequence Guilii-khan had attacked and driven him into the defiles of Khalaun.30 (Rashid-ud-din says he attacked him in his chief camp at Karaa Kipchul or Karaa Kipchul, i.e. "the black forest" on the Tura.) The Huang-yuan goes on to say how, in his distress, when Wang Khan with but 100 men repaired to his father's uncertain about the aid of the Daichi Uduman and Bakhi (the Udur Noyan and Bugachi of Rashid-ud-din), his father set out by way of Khalab-khuchug and crossed the mountain Abuabukhnaug. Then he ascended the Talian-tulin-gu, and Taisuntan-lin-gu, the pass of Kuikun, and lake Kuikun, or respectively Tulatan, Tulengu, or Khabchel and Kushaur-nor by Rashid-ud-din.31 After undergoing great hardships Yessenegi at last reached his destination, brought the district to extremity and compelled Guilii Khan to withdraw to Talasnu.32 Thence he was again driven, and with only a few followers was compelled to seek refuge in Khesi, whence he did not return again.33 Rashid-ud-din says he fled wounded with but 20 or 30 followers to Khashin.34 The two accounts describe how Yessenegi and Wang Khan had, in consequence of these good offices, become anda. The Huang-yuan concludes with the phrase, "This is the first service," and then goes on: "Oh father Wang Khan, at that time you were as it were buried in clouds, you stood as it were on a sunless place. Your brother Jaagan was living on the Chinese frontier. I shouted with my loud voice, lifted my cap with my hand, and called him from afar off. As soon as he heard my voice, as soon as he saw my signal, he came to me. I watched him from the top of a mountain, and awaited him standing at my tent. When he arrived he was oppressed by the three Merkis. As he came from afar off, could I wish his death? 35 I sent my elder brother Sechibegi and my younger brother Dachi who set out to punish them. This is my second service."36 Rashid-ud-din reports the story in the same way, and no doubt from the same source. Dachi he calls Taig Khori. China he calls Jakut or Jaukut.37 The Huang-yuan proceeds: "O father Wang Khan, when you came forth from the clouds and stood on a sunlit place and appealed to me, you were hungry only until midday, and were thin only until the full moon. How was this? I fought with the tribe Udair west of the mountain Khadin-khi in the place Muneyni and obtained much cattle and many loads of booty, all of which I gave to you. This is why you did not hunger after midday and were not thin after the new moon. This is my third service."

Rashid-ud-din makes Chinghiz compare his friend's arrival to the sun bursting from behind clouds and to the awakening of embers that are dying out. Berezine in his translation calls the place where the battle with the Merkis took place Berezoe Kholm behind Murjik Moal. Erdmann reads it Beshmel Fatilkh, behind Muri-jak-sul. D'Ohsorn says merely at Murjik Mual.38 The Huang-yuan continues: "Father Wang Khan, when you fought with the Meliki on the river Bulaman, and Kurban Belgut of D'Ohsorn of Rashid-ud-din who calls it the Gur Khan's residence. Huang-yuan, p. 173.

The name is represented in the MSS. of Rashid-ud-din by a lacuna; Berezine, vol. II, p. 135. Erdmann, p. 290.

The Khabuiga of Rashid.

The name is represented in the MSS. of Rashid-ud-din by a lacuna; Berezine, vol. II, p. 135. Erdmann, p. 290.

The Gerden Telasut (read Khuran-telasut by Erdmann, and Kurban Belgut of D'Ohsorn) of Rashid-ud-din who calls it the Gur Khan's residence.

29 Huang-yuan, p. 173.

30 Kessi or Kashish are both corruptions of Russi, the Chinese name for Tangut.

31 i.e. Jakembo.

32 It must be remembered that Jakembo had rebelled against Wang Khan.

33 Huang-yuan, pp. 170 and 171.

34 Berezine, p. 136; Erdmann, p. 290.

35 i.e. the Merkit tribe so called.


37 i.e. the Merkit.
you sent scouts to look out for the chief Toto, and without waiting for the formation of a line of battle you engaged and took prisoners his Khatuns, Khudutai and Chulun, and then enticed his two children Khodu and Chilaun, who with all the tribe surrendered to you, and when Kuisin-sabala pursued your people you sent to inform me. I sent four generals with an army, who fought and conquered and returned you the things you had lost. This is my fourth service. 

Rashidu’ld-din in reporting this plea of Chinghiz says that the Merkit were defeated at Boker Kegere or Bukher Kehreh, and that Wang Khan had attacked them without sending him word, although he had sent an envoy to their chief Tukhta, who was virtually a spy. The two Khatuns he calls Khutzkai Khatun and Jilaun or Khulgunh Khanun, the wife of Tukhta, the other of his brother. The two boys, sons of Tukhta, who were made prisoners, Rashid calls Khudu and Jilaun, and adds that Wang Khan also subjected all the Odoi Mergit. The place where the Naimans defeated Wang Khan he calls Bai Barakh Belchira. To revert to the Huang-yuan, Chinghiz goes on to say: “When we were together at the mountain Khalkha on the river Magiun-Khula and the mountain Ban-tan-chow-wan-khunnu did we not agree that even should we be bitten by a serpent with poisonous fangs, we would not be moved by it, and that we would never part asunder until our lips should produce teeth? Have you been bitten by a serpent? Have teeth appeared in your lips that you should depart? Father Wang Khan, at that time like a young falcon, starting from the mountain Chikhorkhi, I flew over to the lake Beir, seized the spotted-legged heron and returned. What was this but the tribes Khatagin, Sanjiv and Khungila? Is it not with the strength of these tribes you now threaten me? This is my fifth service.” This really double paragraph Rashidu’ld-din somewhat amplifies. He calls the Khalkha the Khara, and tells us the place where he and Wang Khan made their treaty by which if a serpent intervened between them they were to take no heed to it, was Khulan-Balta tunt near the mountains Chorgel-Khon. The second part of the paragraph is enlarged by Rashid. “O Khan, my father,” he makes Chinghiz say, “I flew from the mountain Chorgel, like a ger-falcon I flew over the Buir Nor and secured for you the bluish grey cranes with sky-blue feet. Do you wish to know who these were? They were the Darbans and Tatars. On another occasion, like a blue ger-falcon over the Kula Nor, and secured for you the blue cranes. Would you know who these were? They were the Khatakins, Saljint and Konkirt. You are now afraid of them as my allies.”

The Huang-yuan concludes the message we have been discussing thus—

“Father Wang Khan, have you ever done me a service where I have done so many for you? Why do you now threaten me? Why don’t you let my people rest at their firesides and sleep peaceably on their beds? Why don’t you leave me, your stupid son, and my stupid wives alone? I am your son. I am very weak. I cannot compel you to love the power of others. I am very stupid and cannot make you love the wisdom of others.” If you detach one wheel from a cart you cannot drive it, and your ox would sweat in vain. In that case, to unyoke it and let it go would be to tempt thieves, while to tether him would be to let him die of hunger. With a broken wheel it is clear an ox may strain himself till he breaks his neck, and all in vain. Am I not also one of the wheels of a cart?” Rashidu’ld-din tells the same story, only that in his version the ambiguous sentence above quoted comes out quite clear. It runs thus:—“I who am your son, I have never said—My part is too small, I want a larger one; it is bad, I want a better one.” and he concludes the paragraph thus:—“We two are the body of this two-wheeled cart, and I am a wheel of thy cart.”

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NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

I have recently received some interesting copper-plate grants from Mr. R. Sewell, M. C. S.; and, as some time must elapse before I can find leisure to publish them in detail, it will be useful meanwhile to give in this journal a brief notice of the contents of each of them.

No. 1.

A set of three plates, each about $7\frac{1}{2}$ long by $1\frac{1}{2}$" broad, with a seal with a motto on it which is now illegible; found, together with Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, and a sixth grant which has been lost sight of, suspended by their rings on an iron bar across the mouth of a large pot which was discovered in digging the foundations of a wall at Chichacole in the Gaunjam District; purchased by Mr. W. F. Graham, M. C. S., and presented to the Madras Museum. — This is an inscription of Nandaprabha-varman, king of Kalinga. It is not dated; but it is decidedly ancient, and is probably pre-Chalukya. The order is issued from the city of Sarapalli, to the kutaumba at the village of Ajeyavata or Adyavata, and records an agrahdra-grant of that village.

No. 2.

A set of three plates, each about $6\frac{1}{2}$ long by $2\frac{1}{2}$" broad, with a seal which bears what we should expect to be a bull couchant, but what seems to be more like a Chalukya boar standing; found with No. 1; presented to the Madras Museum. — This is an inscription of Indravarman, king of Kalinga, of the Ganga family. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the one hundred and twenty-eighth year of the victorious reign (of his dynasty), on the fifteenth day of the month Chaitsra; the Saka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kalinganagara, and records a grant of the village of Tamaracheruva, in the district of Varahavartani, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the day of the full-moon of the month Magha.

No. 3.

A set of three plates, each about $6\frac{1}{2}$ long by $2\frac{1}{2}$" broad, with a seal the emblem on which is now unrecognisable; found with No. 1; presented to the Madras Museum. — This is another inscription of Indravarman, of the Ganga family. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the victorious reign (of his dynasty), on the twelfth day of the month Magha; the Saka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kalinganagara to the kutaumba at the village of Talamula in the Korosotaaka panchali, and records a grant of that village on the seventh day of the month Magha.

A set of three plates, each about $7\frac{1}{4}$ long by $3\frac{1}{4}$" broad, with a seal which bears a bull couchant, with the moon above it; found with No. 1; presented to the Madras Museum. — This is an inscription of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarmâ, of the Ganga family. It is dated, in words, in the fifty-first year of the victorious reign of the Ganga-vaishnava; the Saka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kalinganagara, to the kutaumba at the village of Tamashcheruva in the district of Varahavartanî, and records the grant of that village on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. — This Devendravarman must be another son of the Anantavarmâ, who is mentioned by Dr. Burnell in South-Indian Palography, p. 53, note 4. These kings are, from the style of their grants, undoubtedly lineal descendants of the Indravarman of Nos. 2 and 3 above; and they are assigned by Dr. Burnell to the end of the tenth century A.D.

No. 5.

A set of three plates, each about $7" long by $2\frac{1}{2}$" broad, with a seal which bears a bull couchant, with the moon, an elephant-goad, and a floral device; found with No. 1; presented to the Madras Museum. — This is an inscription of Satyavarmâ, son of Devendravarman, of the Ganga family, and king of Kalinga. It is dated, in words, in the fifty-first year of the centuries of years of the Gangâ-vaishnava; the Saka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kalinganagara, to the kutaumba at the village of Tarugrama in the district of Gallela, and records the grant of that village on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

No. 6.

A set of three plates, each about $8\frac{1}{4}$ long by $3\frac{1}{4}$" broad, with a seal which bears a bull couchant; marked "No. 93; from the Acting Principal Assistant Collector of Vizagapatam." — This is another inscription of Devendravarman, of the Ganga family, king of Kalinga. It is dated, in words and figures, in the two hundred and forty-fourth year, on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Phalguna; the Saka year is not given, nor is it stated to what era the date does belong. The order is issued from the city of Kalinganagara, to the kutaumba at some villages in the district of Davaâduvar, and records a grant of those villages by Devendravarman's maternal uncle Dharma-kheda. The names of the villages are included in the word Taivaramśa neppuliśa-līga(?) mudulâ; but they cannot be separated properly until some clue is had to the identification of them.

No. 7.

A set of three plates, each about $6\frac{1}{4}$ long by $3\frac{1}{4}$"
broad, with a seal which bears the moon, the motto Śrī-Savaśiddhi, and the remains of apparently the name Jayasimha; from Pedda-Maddali in the Nāzāvid Division of the Krishnā District.—This is an Eastern Chalukya inscription of Jayasimha I. It is dated, in words, in the eleventh year of his reign, at the time of the equinox; the Śaka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Udayapura, and records a grant of the village of Penukapar or Penukapāpa, on the east of the village of Mardavalli, in the district of Gudrahāra.

No. 8.

A set of five plates, each about 11½" long by 5½" broad, with a seal which bears the usual Eastern Chalukya boar, the motto Śrī-Tejhusundākara, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad, a chauri or an elephant-goad, and a floral device; from the Krishnā District.—The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read. All that I can say at present is that it is an Eastern Chalukya inscription of Amma II. or Vijayaśātii, and that it gives the usual details of the genealogy and the lengths of the reigns.

No. 9.

A set of five plates, each about 7½" long by 2½" broad, with a seal which bears the name of King Prithivimāla, the son of Prabhakara. It is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and, perhaps, on the second day of the month Vaiśākha; the Śaka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kandali to the vādaśāhāda of the district of Tālpāka, and records a grant of the village of Chāpiplikā, in the middle of the four villages of Vāṇḍi, Renguta, Kampārṇa, and Tukura. The grant was made at the request of king Indra, the conqueror of Indrabhaṭṭārika.

No. 10.

A set of three plates, each about 7½" long by 2½" broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 95; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a Western Chalukya inscription of Adityavarmā, son of Satyāśraya I. or Pulikēśa II. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, on the day of the full-moon of the month Kārttika; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of an allotment in the villages of Muniḍakalli and Palgane.

No. 11.

A set of three plates, each about 8½" long by 3½" broad at the ends and 3½" in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 99; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a Western Chalukya inscription of Vijrāmdityā I., son of Satyāśraya I. or Pulikēśa II. It is dated, in words, in the third year of his reign, on the full-moon day on which the Sāgama-madhāyādu is held; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of some land at the village of Ratnakiri in the district of (?) Najavādi.

No. 12.

A set of three plates, each about 9½" long by 3½" broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 100; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is another Western Chalukya inscription of Vijrāmdityā I. It is dated, in words, in the tenth year of his reign, on the day of the full-moon of the month Āshāṭha; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of some land at the village of Raṭṭagiri, on the west bank of the river Andirikā. The grant was made at the request of king Dēvaśakti, of the Śendma family.

No. 13.

A set of three plates, each about 7½" long by 3½" broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 98; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a spurious and very corrupt Western Chalukya inscription of Vijrāmdityā I. It is not dated. It purports to record a grant at the villages of (?) Agunṭe and (?) Tebunjāṭha.

Belgaum, 14th July 1881. J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S.

AWĀNS AND JODS.

Lient.-Col. J. W. H. Johnstone reports that a tribe of Jods is still located in that part of the Panjāb where Bābor found them. This tribe is known to be a branch of the Jannotis, and there is no difficulty on the subject of the Jods, except that we now find the possessions of the Jods and Jannotis with the Awāns. The explanation I would give of the Awāns possession of the country is this: They were resident on both the branches of the Indus below the Salt Range. Bābor found the present country of the Marwatis in the Bāndh district occupied by Iṣkhiṃī Niṅśis. Subsequently a wave of irruption took place from the hills; the Iṣkhiṃī Niṅśis were displaced by the present Marwatis; the former ejected the Awāns from Iṣkhiṃī and Mīnarī, and drove them into the hills, compelling them in turn to expel the Jods and Jannotis. The head man of Kālābāgh is still Mullah Muzaffar Khān, the Chief of the Awāns.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Leyden and Erskine's *Memoria of Bābor*, pp. 253, 259; and see Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V.

\(^2\) *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.,* 1881, p. 50.
THE DIVINE MOTHERS OR LOCAL GODDESSES OF INDIA.

BY MAJOR E. W. WEST.

In a former volume of this journal Professor Monier Williams threw out some suggestive remarks regarding the deities worshipped as mothers, and I was glad to find that the opinion which I had always held, to the effect that these are aboriginal, or at least pre-Hindu deities, was supported by such high authority. I observe, however, that no further notice has been taken of the subject in this journal, and that no response has been given to the appeal made by the learned Professor. I draw attention now to the subject in the hope that further information may be elicited, and I contribute a few notices of the principal seats of worship of some of the mothers or places named after them. If my example is followed, it will be possible to ascertain how far the worship of each goddess extended, and in this way some light may possibly be thrown on the local distribution of tribes and races anterior to the Aryan invasion of India, or perhaps on the migration of Aryan tribes and races who adopted the worship of these goddesses.

As far as I can ascertain, the worship of Hīṅglāz seems to have been the most widely extended of all in Western India. The present Admiralty Chart of the Persian Gulf shows a temple of Hīṅglāz on the Mekran coast which seems to be a well-known landmark. Tod speaks of this as a favourite resort for pilgrims among the old Rājpūtas, and also refers to a place of the same name in Rājputana, which was taken by Lord Lake's army. Coming down to the Dekhan we find in the Kolhāpur State a Māmlatdar's district called Gaḍh Hīṅglāz, so named from the headquarter station, which derives its name from a shrine of the goddess. From a recent paper in this journal it appears that Hīṅglājī is the favourite goddess of the Telīrajās.

Very nearly as extensive in range seems to have been the worship of Ambā Māta. There is a temple dedicated to her in Mēvād, at Udaipur if I remember rightly. The famous temple of Ambā, or Ambā Bhaṇvāt, as she is sometimes termed, situated in the State of Dānta in the north of the Mahā Kānta, attracts thousands of worshippers from all points of the compass, and a full account of it will be found in Bās Mālā, and the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. V, p. 432. She has a shrine at Anjār in Kachh, and again in Kōḷhāpur, we find that the most famous temple in the place, which has passed successively from Jains to orthodox Hindus, is still generally called the temple of Ambābāi, and was probably originally dedicated to that pre-Aryan goddess, who is now identified at Kolhāpur with Mahālakṣmi, as she is in Gujārāt with Bhāvāṇī. Some particulars about this temple will be found in Graham's Statistical Account of Kolhāpur.

Yellāmā or Ellāmā is a very favourite goddess in the Canarese country, and judging from the company she keeps, or rather from the classes that worship her, she is not a very reputable one. In a list of the wandering tribes of Kolhāpur given at p. 130 of the work above quoted, she is given as the patron-goddess of no less than three of these tribes, viz., the Dombaris, the Gols, and the Ganti-chors, who earn their livelihood respectively by prostituting girls, by making kunku and beads, and by picking pockets. I subjoin a cutting from a newspaper regarding a temple of this goddess, which I find in a note-book. Is the extraordinary practice therein referred to still kept up? I remember reading of a similar practice observed by women in Māisor or Koḍag (Coorg) which is noted by Mr. R. H. Elliot in his Experiences of a Planter, but I have mislaid the reference:

"A Hindu Temple in the Jat Jahāgīr.—A correspondent of a Musassal paper states that there is a temple of the goddess Ellāmā about a mile distant from the town of Jat, in the Jat Jahāgīr. An annual fair is held in honour of this idol at which about ten thousand people assemble. It has been held there for the last fourteen

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1 Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 211.
2 It seems possible that Hīṅglāz may have been not an indigenous, but an imported deity, introduced by the Kṣatriyas.
3 Rojasthan, vol. II, pp. 5 and 572 (Madras reprint).
4 Ib., p. 638.
5 Nal., p. 638.
6 Vol. IX, p. 290.
or fifteen years. Fifteen years ago a Māli or gardener set up the idol, and began to cheat the people by stating that it had appeared there of its own accord. Both men and women visit the temple and worship the idol. The very strange fact regarding this worship is, says the writer, that the worshippers, before commencing the worship, strip naked, apply powdered sandalwood to their whole bodies, put on the ornaments they may have, hold a small branch of the nim tree in their folded hands, and leave their places of residence to visit the idol. After visiting the idol, they go round the temple for a certain number of times. They then leave the temple to bathe in a neighbouring tank. After bathing, they return to the temple, worship the idol and return home. The writer wishes that this indecency should be put down. He states that when the Hon. Mr. Chapman, the present Chief Secretary to Government, was Collector of Sānār, he punished some of the naked worshippers.

BUDDHIST PILGRIMS FROM CHINA TO INDIA.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

(Concluded from p. 297.)

IV. Other Pilgrims who reached India mostly by the Northern route.

1. T'ao-hi, a Doctor of the Law, a man of the district Lih-shing, of the department Ts'ai-chau (Shan-tung?), his Sanskrit name Śrīdeva. He was a man of noble descent. Having gone through India visiting the sacred places, he came to the Mahābodhi, where he remained several years, and then proceeded to Nālanda. He likewise visited the country of Kusi (nagara). The Mung king of the Amaravat country greatly respected him. Whilst remaining at Nālanda he studiously applied himself to the Great Vehicle. He resided also in the Chu-po-pun-na (the garden of the cremation; the Temple of the Nirvāṇa), and studied the Vinaya-piṭaka, and the Šaṅkaraśīla. Whilst in the Ta-hsio temple (the Mahābodhi) he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 volumes, new and old, in Chinese, Śrīdeva, and Šaṅkaraśīla, at Nālanda. I-tsing did not meet him (he fell sick in the Amaravat country, and died aged over 50 years or so), but he saw his chamber.

2. Sæ-pin, a Doctor of the Law, a man of Ts'ai-chau, went after Huan-chin through North India, and then through Western India, till he came to Amārapura. He there dwelt in the royal temple in high favour with the king. Here he met T'a-n-hi, a fellow townsman. After remaining here one summer, he sickened and died at 35 years.

3. Āryavarma, a Corean, in the middle period Chêng-kwan, 638 A.D., left Chang'an and came to Nālanda, where he engaged himself in copying many Śrīdeva, and was deeply versed in the Vinaya and Abhidharma. After going eastward and visiting the Cock-foot mountain, and bathing in the Dragon-pool to the westward, he died at Nālanda about 70.

4. Hwui-Nieh, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, in the middle of the Chêng-kwan period, 638 A.D., went to the west and dwelt in the Bodhi temple, where he adored the sacred relics and then went to Nālanda, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-tsing when arranging some Chinese books suddenly saw under the title this record, “Whilst dwelling under the Tooth-Brush tree, the Corean priest Hwui-Nieh wrote this record.” On enquiry at the temple, the priests said that he died there the same year, about 60 years of age. The Sanskrit books he wrote were preserved at Nālanda.

5. Yuen Ta'i, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajñānadeva. In the year Yang-hwe, (650 A.D.) he went by the Thibetan road through Nepal to Middle India; he there worshipped the relics at the Bodhi Tree, afterwards going to the Turkhâra country; he met T'so-hi, with whom he returned to the Ta-hsio temple (Mahābodhi). Afterwards he returned to China, and was not heard of again.

6. Yuen-hau, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, went with Yuen-chin in the middle of the Chêng-kwan period to India, and reaching the Ta-hsio temple, he died there.

7. Bodhidharma, a man of the Turkhâra country, of great bodily size and strength, interesting to know the details of its history within recent times. —Ed. I.A.
came to China, and became a priest. He wandered through the nine provinces begging as a religious mendicant. Afterwards going to India to adore the sacred vestiges, I-tsing met him at Nālanda. Afterwards he went to North India and died when 50 years old or so.

8. Taou-lih, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, went by way of the sandy desert and the Tsih rock to Nepal, and afterwards came to the Ta-hsio temple, where he remained several years; he then returned to Nepal where he still is.

9. Taou-sing, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, called in Sanskrit Chandradva, in the last year of the Chhong-kwan period (649 A.D.) went by the Tu-Jan road to mid India; he arrived at the Bodhi temple where he worshipped the Chaityas; afterwards going to Nālanda, he was there much honoured by the king on account of his youth. After that, going twelve stages to the eastward, he came to the King's temple, where they study only the Little Vehicle. He remained here many years, learning the books of the Tripitaka according to the Hinayāna. Returning to China through Nepal, he died.

10. Shang-tih, a contemplative priest, of Ping-chau. He longed with devotion for the joys of the Western Paradise, and with the view of being born there he devoted himself to a life of purity and religion (reciting the name of Buddha). He vowed to write out the whole of the Prajñā Sūtra, occupying 10,000 chapters. Desiring to worship the sacred vestiges, and so by this to secure for himself the greater merit with a view to a birth in that heaven, he travelled through the nine provinces, desiring wherever he went, to labour in the conversion of men and to write the sacred books. Coming to the coast he embarked in a ship for Kalinga. Thence he proceeded by sea to the Malaya country, and thence, wishing to go to mid India, he embarked in a merchant ship for that purpose. Being taken in a storm, the ship began to founder, and the sailors and merchants were all struggling with one another to get aboard a little boat that was near. The captain of the ship being a believer, and anxious to save the priest, called out to him with a loud voice to come aboard the boat; but Shang-tih replied, "I will not come; save the other people," and so he remained silently absorbed, as if his short term of life were agreeable to one possessed of the heart of Bodhi. Having refused all help, he clasped his hands in adoration, and looking towards the West he repeated the sacred name of Amita, and when the ship went down these were his last words. He was about 50 years of age. He had a follower, unknown to me, who also perished with his master, also calling on the name of Amita Buddha.

11. Matisinha, a man of the capital; his common name being Wong-po. This man accompanied the priest Sue-pin, and arriving at the middle land dwelt in the Sin-chê temple. Finding his progress little in the Sanskrit language, he went to Nepal, and died on the way there, at 40.1

12. Yuangwui, a Doctor of the Law, son of a general, according to report. Leaving North India he dwelt in Kashmir and took charge of the royal elephants. The king of this country delighted day by day in going to the different temples, the Dragon-lake Mountain temple, the Kung-Yang temple. This is where the 500 Rahats received charity. Here also the venerable Madhyantika, the disciple of Ananda, converted the Dragon king. This priest exhorted the king of Kashmir by a great exercise of royal clemency to remit the punishment of more than 1,000 persons who were condemned to death. The king in consequence let them go. Having remained here some years he went southwards, and came to the great Bodhi temple, where he worshipped the Bodhi tree, beheld the Lako of "Muchin" (Muchhalinda), ascended the Vulture Peak, &c. After this he went back to Nepal and died there.

13. Again there was a man who accompanied the envoy by the northern route to the Turkhara country, and there lodged in the Nava-vihara. In this establishment the principles of the Little Vehicle were taught. Having become a priest he took the name of Chitta-varma. Having received the precepts he declined to eat the three pure things, on which the Master of the Convent said, "Tathāgata, our Great Master, permitted these five things as food, why do you object to them?" He answered: "All the Books of the Great Vehicle forbid them, this is what I formerly practised. I cannot now bring myself to change." The Superior answered,
"I have established a practice here in agreement with the three sacred collections, and you follow your own interpretation, which is contrary to mine. I cannot permit this difference of opinion, I cease to be your Master." Chittavarma was thus reluctantly obliged to yield. Then having learned a little Sanskrit he returned by the northern route. I know no more about him.

14. Again there were two men who lived in Nepal, they were the children of the wet-nurse of the Duke-prince of Tibet (Tu-fan). They both were ordained, but one went back to lay life. They lived in the temple of the Heavenly Kings. They spoke Sanskrit well, and understood Sanskrit books.

15. Lung, a Doctor of the Law; I know not whence he came. In the Ch'eng-kw'en period, 627—650 A.D., he went by the northern route to North India, wishing to visit the sacred spots. In mid India he got a Sanskrit copy of the Fû-hua (Lotus of the Good Law), and having gone to Gandhara he died there.

16. Ming Yuen, a man of Yih-chau, a Doctor of the Law, whose Sanskrit name was Chintadeva. He embarked in a ship of Cochín China and came to the Kaling a country and thence to Ceylon. Whilst the king was engaged in worship, this priest, concealing himself in a private chamber, tried to steal the Tooth-relic with a view to bring it to his own country and worship it. He had it concealed in his hand and was taking it away, when by careless exposure of it he was detected, and driven disgracefully away. He went to South India, and it was related that he was going towards the Mahâbodhi, but then losing all power of digestion he died on the road, where he had rested. I know not what his age was.

They now keep this Tooth-relic carefully guarded in a high tower. It is locked up and sealed by five officers, and when opened, great uproar (of music?) is made, through the town and outskirt. It is worshipped every day with flowers and incense; when taken out it is placed on a golden flower, and its brilliancy is everywhere diffused. A tradition says that if this relic were lost then the Rakshas would devour (it?). There is also a tradition which says that some day it will be taken to China, but this must be by Divine interference and not by human contrivance.

17. I-long, a priest of Yih-chau, well versed in the Vinayapitaka and in the interpretation of the Yoga, set forth from Chang'an with a priest Chi-ngan of his own province, and an eminent man called I-huan; after travelling through the Southern Provinces, they came to Ni an-Lui, and there embarked on board a merchant ship. Having arrived at Lang-kia (Kamalânâka?) Chi-ngan died. I-long with his other companion went on to Ceylon, where they worshipped the tooth, and having obtained various books returned through Western India. It is not known where he is now residing. He has not been heard of in mid India.

18. Hwui Yen, a Doctor of the Law, and a disciple of Hing-Kung, went with his master to Singala (Sihhala), and died there.

19. Sin-chin, a Doctor of the Law, his country not known. His Sanskrit name Châritavarma. Taking the northern route he arrived in the Western country, and lived in the Sin-ché temple. In an upper room of this temple, he constructed a sick chamber, and left it for ever for the use of sick brothers. He himself died there. Some days after the beginning of his illness in the middle of the night he suddenly exclaimed:—"There is Bodhisatwa with outstretched hand beckoning me to his lovely abode"—and then closing his hands with a long sigh he expired, et. 35.

20. Sanghavarma, a man of Samarkand, when young crossed the sandy desert and came to China. Afterwards, in company with the envoy he came to the Great Bodhi temple and the Vajrâsana, where he burnt lamps in worship for seven days and seven nights. Moreover, in the Bodhi Hall, under the Tree of Ašoka he carved a figure of Buddha and Kwan-tesu-tsaí Bodhisatwa (i.e. Avalôkiteśvara). He then returned to China. Afterwards being sent to Kwan-chau (Cochín China), there was great scarcity of food there. He daily distributed provisions, and was so touched by the sorrows of the fatherless and bereaved orphans, that he was moved to tears as he visited them. He was on this account named the weeping Bodhisatwa. He died shortly afterwards from infection caught there, which soon terminated fatally, et. about 60.

21. Wanyun, a Doctor of the Law, of Lo-yang, travelling through the southern parts of China came to Cochín China, thence went by ship to Kalinga, where he died.

*This story has its parallels in the thefts of relics by pilgrims in the middle ages.—Ed.
SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 190.)

No. CXVII.

The accompanying Old-Canarese inscription is edited from an ink-impression supplied to me by Mr. J. Fairlie Muir, Bo. C.S. The original stone-tablet is at Kargudari in the Hāṅgal Tālūkā of the Dā pérd District, and stands on the south of a spot, on the west of the village, where there was formerly a temple of the god Nārāyaṇa, the stones of which were removed, about twenty years ago, to build the embankment of the tank close by.

The inscription is in bold and well executed Old-Canarese characters of the period to which it belongs. It is for the most part in a state of excellent preservation; but one or two letters are broken away at the commencement of lines 15 to 18, and lines 44 and 45 are a good deal weather-worn. The writing covers a space of about 5' 94" high by 3' 1" broad. A transcription of it is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 479. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a liṅga; on its right, a cow and calf; and the sun; and on its left, Nandū or Basava, and the moon.

The inscription is of the time of the Western Chālukya king, Tribhuvanamalla or Vīkramāditya VI., and is dated in the thirty-third year of the Chālukya-Vikramavarna, the Sarvadārhi saṅkṣetra, i.e. in Saka 1030 (A. D. 1108-9), while his feudatory, the Mahāmangalāśvara Tailapa or Taila II., of the family of the Kādambas of Banawasi, was governing the districts called the Banavāse Twelve-thousand and the Hāṅgal Five-hundred, at his capital of Pārthapūra. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Kārdagudrī is of course the modern Kargudari itself, the 'Kungoodree' and 'Kurugoodrakop' of the maps, four miles to the north by east of Hāṅgal,—and Tāmaragere must be the modern Tāvaragere, the 'Tawurgree' of the maps, about five miles to the south by east of Kalghatī. I cannot at present identify Palambi and Pārthapūra, the latter of which may be any one of the several places in the west and south-west parts of the Dā pérd District, and in the neighbouring parts of North Canara, which are now called simply 'Pura.'

The genealogy of the Kādambas of Banawasī is given in this inscription, from Mayūravarna I., the founder of the family, down to Taila II., and is as below, with a few additions from other sources:

Mayūravarna I.
Krishnavarna.
Nāgavarna I.
Vishnuvarna.
Mrigavarna.
Satyavarna.
Vijayavarna.
Jayavarna I.
Nāgavarna II.
Śantivarman I.
Kṛttivarman I.
Ādityavarman.
Chatyaya, Chatta, or Chatigūa.
Jayaṃvara II., or Jayasītīha.

Mārvulī. Taila I., Śantivarman II., Choki, Vikrama, or Śanta, or Śantaya. or or Tailapa I. Saṅkṣetra, or or Saṅkṣetra, Saṅkṣetra, or or Saṅkṣetra, Saṅkṣetra, or or 1010. Joki. Vikramavarna.
Kṛttivarman II., Taila II., or Taila II., or Taila II., 1021
Śākta, or Śākta, Śākta, or or Saṅkṣetra, Saṅkṣetra, Saṅkṣetra, or 990 and 999. or Tailamana.

Kṛttivarman II. Kāmadēva, or Tailamana-Aśikākāya. Saṅkṣetra 1103 and 1118.

Other inscriptions give also the names of Kundamarasa, or Sattiṅgana-Chatṭa, 1 Saṅkṣetra 941.—Mayūravarna II. Saṅkṣetra 956 and 966.—Chāvunḍaraya, Saṅkṣetra 967 and 970.—Harikēsari, Saṅkṣetra 977.—Mayūravarna III, Saṅkṣetra 1053.—and

1 Sattiṅga is another form of the name Satyāraya. In the present instance it denotes the Western Chālukya king Satyāraya II.
the name of the family is written Kadamba, with the vowel of the first syllable short. This is not usual, except for metrical exigencies; and the proper form of the name is Kadamba, with the vowel of the first syllable long. And, as in the case of the Western Chalukyas and Châlukyas, this difference in the first syllable of the name seems to imply that the Kadambas Mahâmanâldkâravaras of Banavasi, and their relatives of Goa, cannot claim a direct lineage descent from the early Kadamba kings, some of whose inscriptions I have published in Vol. VI., pp. 22, &c., and Vol. VII., pp. 33, &c.

The Kadambas of Banavasi derive their origin from the three-eyed and four-armed Mayûravâra I., the Mukkanya-Kadamba of one inscription, who was the on of the god Śiva and the Earth. This legend as to the birth of Mayûravâra I., taken in connection with the legend of the Kadambas of Goa, that the founder of their family, Jayanta or Trilochana-Kadamba, sprang from the earth at the foot of a kadamba-tree, where a drop of sweet flow fell from the forehead of Śiva,—suggests the inference that the Kadambas, and perhaps the Kadambas before them, were an aboriginal race, and not one of the Aryan tribes that immigrated from the north; especially if, as Mr. Rice intimates, the kadamba-tree is one of the toodi-producing palms which are so common throughout the districts ruled over by the Kadambas and Kadambas. But, at the same time, it is of worth to remark that there is another tradition that Mayûravâra I., not simply introduced, but brought with him twelve-thousand Brâhmaṇa families, purified by performing the aigñhastra-sacrifice, from the agrâhâra of Abichchhata, and established them in the agrâhâra of Sthânaughârapura or Tâmagūrû, the modern Tâlgund or Tâlgundu in Mâisur. The present inscription says only that Mayûravâra I. brought eighteen Brâhmaṇa from Abichchhata, and established them in the country of Kuntala. It adds that he had been preceded by seventy-seven rulers of his line; but as yet we have no further information regarding them.

It is of course open to doubt whether the genealogy now given,—including, as it does, a number of names to which we have no historical data,—is altogether authentic. And, one of the family titles being BanavasîpuravâradhâVARA, or 'supreme lord of Banavasi,' the best of cities,' may suggest the inference that these Kadambas only started from a parent stock already established at that city, which, under its name of Vaijayanâti, had been one of the capitals of their predecessors, the Kadambas. But, as I have already said, I do not consider that they can claim to be the direct lineal descendants of those Kadambas.

These Kadambas were Mahâmanâldkâravaras, or feudatory nobles, entitled to the panchamahâ-kâdâda. They were also entitled to have the musical instrument called purnâti played before them,—to carry the banner of a monkey, or perhaps of Hanumān, the king of monkeys, —and to use the signet of a lion. Their family god was Vishnu, under the form of Madhukâdâda. India identifies apparently the same one with the modern Farahkhâdâ, about 65 miles to the south-east of Badaun. Prof. Hall (Bishnâ-Purâna, Vol. II., p. 101) suggests that one of them was near the Vindâya mountains.

For other references, see Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 225, note. 5. P., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 221, l. 15. The name is not Sthanakundûrû, as Mr. Rice reads it there (Mysore Inscriptions, p. 198, note), but Sthânakundûrû, as he reads it in l. 25 of the same inscription (id., p. 197). In l. 13 of P., S., and O., Inscriptions, No. 219, he reads Sthânakundûrû (Mysore Inscriptions, p. 201); the photograph is somewhat indistinct, but,—as the nasal of the second syllable of both Sthanakundûrû and Tâtagûrû is n, not n,—until I can see the original, I adhere to my reading of Anâdî-asarâhâra sthâna Kandaraôa &c. (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV., p. 278), the na, not na, of sthâna being perfectly distinct, and only the syllables that follow kundûrû, not kundûra, being doubtful.

6 P., S., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 221, l. 25.

7 Kâbharârdkâdhâvâja, l. 18 of the present inscription; equivalent to vâsârârdkâdhâvâja. Conf. the vâsa-râmâkadâdha of the Kadambas of Goa.

8 Kâbharârdkâdhâvâja, l. 18 of the present inscription; equivalent to vâsârârdkâdhâvâja. Conf. the vâsa-râmâkadâdha of the Kadambas of Goa.

9 Sthânakundûrû. The Kadambas of Goa, on the seals of their copper-plate grants. No copper-plate of the Kadambas of Banavasi have been discovered yet.
śvāra of Jayantipura or Banawāsī. But, in the present inscription, we find Tailapa II. and his wife, Bāchalādevī, making a grant to a temple, which was dedicated jointly to Śaṅkara or Śiva, to Kāśva or Vishṇu, and to Bhāskara or the sun; and the inscription opens with an invocation of the same three gods.

Transcription:

[1] Śrīmān-Andhāśrethvamah(śri) sañc(hī)uddhava-kārnakaḥ pāyut=Kādambara- 

vānāb-hāja/Lakshmiṁ kasmā-rakṣamaṇ-kshamaḥ ||
[2] Jayatya-śāvishkri(hār) tām víśhnu(śrī) vāvṛānam kṣaḥbih-āṛnavaṇām dakṣinā- 

nānta-āṁśhtr-āgrē(g)ī-vaśrāntaṁ(na)-bhuvanaṁ vaṇuḥ ||

Bhāskarāya namō namāḥ ||
[4] Svasti Samastabhuvana-nāraṇyaḥ śrī-pri(prī) thrīvallabha mā(ma) hārāj-ādhirāj paramē- 

sva(śva) rama mahābhāṣṭa(tā) raka Satyāsraya-kula-tīlaka Chālukya-ābhara- 


pravardhamānīm-ā-chaṅḍr-ārka-tāraṁ bārāma saluttam-ire ||
Śrī-Kaṭa(da)māḥ ṣaṅkara- 

[6] yaṁ=entendade Śrīmahā-Chatuṣarakamalaṅga-1 mahīgaṁ 'janisai sakala-ripu- 

nari(ṇari) parasnī gāid-ā mahīm-āpadan(ā)m-ēni- 

[7] p-uddāma-yasaṁ Śrī-Mayūravarmmaṇaṁ negardhaṁ || Vṛi || Himavanta-sphatika- 

śīśī jñātaladā śumbha-stambhabodol kṣaṭi- 

[8] daṁ samad-ébhamgaḷan-aśvāmēdhām-ēnip-1 yajñaṅgalaṁ māḍīdhanī kramadindāṁ 

padinēṃtīnā dvijarumāṁ tān-änd-Ahī- 

chchhatradindāme tand-eyd-esa Kuntal-āvaniyoyer saṁsthāpayaṁ-māţi ki vikramamaṁ 

tāpī Mayūravarmman- 

[9] sādam viśvānābharā-bhārado|| Vachana || Antu sakalā-ripu-nari(ṇari) pama-mukta- 

maṇi- 

kīrā-rajījita-pādaśrītha- 

[10] nuṁ sapta-saptarī(ṇi)-sīmhasan-āṅvyādhiṣṭhitanaṁ suṁdrama-mudrita-dhātri-pati- 

samāṁ(mrā) jyā-rājya-vēshtita- 


sutaṁ Kṛṣṇavarmadēvanīṁ 


Mrigavarmanmadēvanīṁ tad-apayāṁ Satyavarmadēvanīṁ tata- 


Nāgavarmanmadēvanīṁ tat-putrāṁ Śāntivarman- 

[14] [dēvā]ṁ īnāṁ āt-māṇaṁ Kṛttivarmanmadēvanīṁ tat-prasūtaṁ Ādityavarmanmadēvanīṁ 

tad-ātmaṇaṁ Ākaṭāya[da]dēvanīṁ īnāṁ Śūna Vayā- 

[15] [va]mrmanmadēvāṁ udiṭṭhitāṁ agī banda Kāḍāmbāṅvaya[da] dīparārum vikrānta- 


[16] [Ja]yavarmanma-bhūpatinge Yuddhiṣṭhīrī-Ādi-Pāṇḍuputranan ant-anukaripu(su)va parākram- 

mado śrīmat[man-] (man-)[Ma] māva būlicki[vai] Tāi- 

[17] [La]padēvaṁ Śāntivarmanmadēvaṁ Choki[da]dēvaṁ Vikramadēvaṁ int-ayarum putrar- 

ādar-avar-ola āge || Ka || Pāṛthana parākramaṁ pu- 

[18] rashāṛthanaṁ tat-kränti-sahajadindāṁ tannō-sāṛṭhakam-cised-īre Kāliyugā-Pāṛththaṁ 

Śrī-Śāntivarmanmadēvaṁ negardhaṁ || Vṛi ||

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8 As I have said in the introductory remarks, the proper form here, and in ll. 5, 29, and 29, and 32, would have been Kādamba, with the vowel of the first syllable long.
9 From the reading of the large majority of passages, the proper consonant of the second syllable is undoubtedly ā, not ā. There are, however, a few other instances in which it is written ā, as here.—e.g., in P., S., and O.C., Inscriptions, No. 221, 1. 11; and in ād., No. 96, 1. 16, where it is said that Sinda, the son, who was born at Ahichchhatra but on the bank of the river Sindhul of Pulikila of the Sinda family, was married to a Kādamba princess. According to Prof. Monier Williams, kadamba and ka-amba or kalamba both have, in addition to several distinct and different meanings, the joint meaning of the tree Nauclea Cadamba.
10 The s is doubled for the sake of the metre.
11 This verse has five pādas, instead of the proper number of four.
12 Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read Bhakṣyaya; but wrongly.
A mahim-äśpadañge śūhbāṁba-Kaḍāṁba-kul-ābjini-nij-ōddāma-virājita-dyumapig-
indu-var-ānan Ā Pāṇḍya-vaññāja-[je] Śrī-ma-
hadēvi tām Siriyadēviy-avargg-abhirāmam-appinaṁ Rāmane putṭiṇaṁ negardda(rda)
Tailapān-endu dharitri baṅgikum ||

Nuḍi satyaṁ sach-charitraṁ naḍe guṇam=akhill-ānanandam=udyat-pratāpaṁ
tadar-hardr-ārati-bhūpālaka-bala-vijaya-Śrī-sa-
hakrëde chittaṁ Miṇḍa-pād-ānottōhōjha-haṅkita prabalaṁ śaraṁ-ārthih-bra[ra]-jā-ādhanam=
entuṁ paḍed-artthaṁ kūĊe lokoṭtara-visa(sa)-da-
yāsaṁ Taila-bhūpāla-dāvāṁ || Svasti Samadhigatapanicharamahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśva-
raṁ Banavāst-puravar-ā-
dhāvārāṁ Jayanti-Madhukēśvaradēva-labdha-vara-prasadāṁ mri(mri)gamad-āmōdaṁ
Tryaksha-kānhā-saññāhavam chatur-ā(a)sēti-
nagar-ādhibhūtha lalāta-lōchana chatur-bba(bhu) jāṁ jagad-vidit-āsahāda-āśravādha-
yājaṁ-dikāh-dikshitaṁ Hīma-
vad-girādra-ruhāra-śīkhara-śakti-saṇsthāpita-śphati-śi(se)jāṣṭāṁbhē baddha-madagaja-
mahāmahēm-ābhirāmaṁ Kādaṁ-
bachkri-Mayūravarmma-mahā-mahīpāla-kuja-bhūṣhaṇam permissīṭi-tūrya-nīrgghēśhaṇam
fākōṭhēcarēṁ-
dradhējā-virājamaṁ-ōttūngē-sūnhalāscha(chha)naṁ dattārthi-kānchanaṁ samara-
jayā-kāraṇaṁ Kaḍēmbar-ābharaṇaṁ ma-
rrkōḷvra gaṇḍaṁ pratāpaṁ-mārtandaṁ nāṁ-avālī-virājitar-apppa śīrman-mahāmaṇḍalē-
śvaram Bhāvandēvā-Bananaśe-
pannirēchēsāramuṇaṁ Hānugāgall-aynurumaṁ(ma)=ālū Śrī-rājadhāni-Pārthta13 purada
nelevitē suka-saṁka-
tha-vinaḍaṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-īre || Kaṁ || Assadri(dri)ēs-rājya-śīryaṁ vasīsi
virājīpa Kādaṁbha-kulamaṁ sale
perchēchānsv=anvay-āgatāṁ tān-esedāṁ daṇḍādhināthanā=īsvarāmayaṁ || Aparimita-
guṇa-gaṇaṁ Kaśyāyā-gōtraṁ vipra-kula-
lalāmaṁ daṇḍādhīpaṁ=īsvarayaṁ-agṛjar=upā . . . . gal Tikimayaṁuṁ
Bāvaṇaṁuṁ || Patī Śānta-bhūmpaṁ Pārvati.15
vallahān=īshtha-deyamāṁ=āt̐m-amṅgane sat-sati Dēba(va)kabbey=ene vasamatiyoj
kṛita-kri(kri)tyan=īsvaraya-čamāpanā ||
Patī-hitamaṁ māṛp-pēlogaṁ satataṁ dharmān-ābhivṛddhiyāṁ māṛp-pēlogaṁ hite
Malliyakkanaṁ guṇa-vatīyaṁ sat-sute-
yan=īsvarayaṁ paṛdānaṁ || Patī Mēdīrjan–eser=adhipati tām Śrī-Taila-bhūmpaṁ
deyamm=Umapati-Hari-bhākale-
re=endoḍaṁ satiyar Śrī-Malliyakkanoṁ=saman=ολανρ || Svasti Śrīmach-Chālukya-
Vikramavarsadha 33neya
Sarvadhārśa-saṁvatsarasada Herjjugiya puṇḍami Sōmāvad-andina śūha-lagnadol
Palambyī17-erppattarā bālyaya
grāmaṁ Karagudurey-uttara-dig-āhagadol Śrī-Śakkaradevarumāṁ Kēsavadevarumāṁ
Bhāskarakēdarumāṁ daṇḍāna-
kitī18 Malliyakkan pratishthā-gydhā mūvarum dēvar=āṇgabhōṣgakkam nāvēyakkaṁ
Tāmangerye-yolag-ondu mattar ga

15. Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read Pātīkhipura. But there is certainly no Anuvada in the first syllable. And as regards the second syllable, the ū is below the line, and is a distinct; and, though the upper part is damaged and is somewhat doubtful in the impression, I cannot but read it as rāta. Also the comparison of Śāntivrana II. with Pārtha (Yuddhājñāna, Bhāmāsa, or Arjuna), in II. 18 and 19, is decidedly a point in favour of Pārthapura being the correct reading.
17. Two syllables are quite uncertain here. Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read upapajgaṁ; but it has no meaning as far as I can determine.
18. The vowel ś is shortened for the sake of the metre.
19. Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read Palaṇchhipī; but wrongly.
20. Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read ndyakittī.—through thinking of the feminine affix giti in okkalapittī, 'a woman of the farmer caste', pālanapitī, 'a dancing girl', kundanapitī, 'a procressa', etc. But, if that affix were used here, we ought to have ndyakasittī, not ndyakittī. The original is distinct, and as I give it, though it requires explanation, as the feminine form of ndukas is ndyakā or, in Canarese, ndyakasēni.
May the glorious Andhāsurādhvānasī, who is the cause of the generation of creation; and who is capable of preserving the earth, protect the Lakṣmī of the waterlily which is the family of the Kadambas! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of Viṣṇu, which troubled the ocean, and which stood upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk! Reverence to him, the lord of day, whose self was the production of the three worlds; reverence, reverence, to Bhāskara, whose form is the embodiment of all the gods!

(L. 4)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Triḥuvamallaḍēvā, the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the great king; the supreme king; the most worshipful one; the glory of the family of Satyāśraya; the ornament of the Chāḷukyaś—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:

(L. 5)—The lineage of the Kadambas was as follows: Glorious was Śrī-Maṭaṇavarma, who, having been born to the glorious Śāśānkanāmoja and to the Earth, possessed the great fame of being considered the abode of the greatness of having conquered all the hostile kings. He bound his infuriated elephants to a shining pillar of a rock of crystal of (the mountain) Himavān, and he performed the sacrifices called akṣavāṇa; and, having himself brought eighteen Brāhmaṇas in succession from Achichchhatra and having established them in the radiant country of Kotaḷa, and having acquired prowess, Maṭaṇavarma was resplendent in the government of the earth.

Four or five letters are quite illegible here.

This is only a half line, and it appears to have been left unfinished.

Siva, as the destroyer of the demon Andhika or Andhaka.

See note 10 above.

Bhāskara here is evidently simply the sun. But it is also a name of Śiva, and the sun is one of the forms under which he is addressed in the Siṣṭa-Parksa. His title of 'destroyer of the demon Andhika or Andhaka, i.e. of the darkness,' must have originated from the same connection of ideas.

Siva, as bearing the moon on his forehead.

See note 15 above.
(L. 20.)—To him, that abode of greatness, who was himself the brilliant-orbed and most radiant sun of the pool of the white waterlilies of the family of the Kadambas, Siriyadēvi herself, whose lovely face was like the moon, and who was born in the family of the Pāṇḍyas, became queen; and to them, amidst the praises of the world, was born the glorious Tailapa, a very Rāma, so that there was happiness to them. His speech was truth; his behaviour was good conduct; his virtues were the happiness of all people; his rising prowess was pastime with the goddess of victory over the power of the hostile kings who came to oppose him; his thoughts were devotion to the waterlilies which are the feet of (the god) Mrīḍa; his strength devoted itself to the crowds of those who applied for protection; and the wealth that he acquired resulted straightway in extraordinary pure fame;—such was the king Tailapadēva.

(L. 24.)—Hail! While the glorious Mahāmandalēswara Tailapadēva, who was decorated with the titles of "the Mahāmandalēswara who had attained the pañchamahākābda;" the supreme lord of Banavāsi, which is the best of cities; he who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Jayanti-Madhukēśvara; he who had the perfume of musk; he who was the offspring of (the god) Tryaksha and the earth; he who presided over eighty-four cities; he who had a (third) eye in his forehead; he who was four-armed; he who was consecrated by eighteen aśva-mādha, famous in the world; he who was charming by reason of his extreme greatness which consisted in his infuriated elephants being bound to a column of crystal set up by his might on the lofty summits of Himāvān, the king of mountains; he who was the ornament of the family of the great king Mayūravarmā, the Kādamba emperor; he who possessed the sounds of the musical instrument called ṝeramaj; he who possessed the noble signet of a lion, which was made resplendent by the banner of (Harumunā) the chief of monkeys; he who gave gold to suppliants; he who was the cause of victory in war; he who was the ornament of the Kadambas; he who was the punisher of those who resisted him; he who was a very sun of valour,"—was governing the Banavāsa Twelve-thousand and the Hānuḍgal Five-Hundred, at his capital of Śrī-Pārthapura," with the recreation of pleasing conversations:

(L. 32.)—Glorious was the Daṇḍādhiṅātha Īśvarayya, who belonged to a lineage which excellently augmented the family of the Kadambas which, having inhabited the glory of a dominion which had no equal, was illustrious. The elder brothers of Īśvarayya, the Daṇḍādhīpa, —who was possessed of an unbounded quantity of good qualities, who was of the Kātyapa gōtra, and who was the ornament of a family of Brāhmans, —were Tikimayya and Bāvaṇa. His lord was king Śanta; his tutelary deity was Pārvatīvallabha; his wife was the most virtuous Dēvakabba; —thus did the Chamūpa Īśvarayya accomplish his objects in the world. Īśvarayya obtained an excellent daughter, Malliyakka, who was so good a woman as to cause the welfare of her husband, and always to cause the increase of religion. Since her husband was Mēdirāja, her glorious sovereign was the king Śrī-Taila himself, and her deities were Umāpati and Hari and Bhāskara,—are there any wives who are equal to Śrī-Malliyakka?

(L. 38.)—Hail! At the auspicious moment of Monday, the full-moon day called Herjuggi of the Sarvadhāri sambhavasura, which was the thirty-third year of the glorious Chālukya-Vikramavarna,—the Daṇḍādhiṅākutī Malliyakka having established the god Śrī-Śaṅkara and the god Kēśava and the god Bhāskara in the northern portion of Kaṅgudure, a village which was included in22 the Palambi Seventy,—the glorious Mahāmandalēswara Tailapadēva, and his Pāṇḍya queen Śrī-Bāchaladēvi, both together acquired and allotted, for the aṅga bhāga and the nivṛddha of those three gods, one mātra of rice-land in (the village of the tank called) Tāmaragere, and the garden-land of five hundred trees below that same tank.

(L. 44.)—Siṣaṇgadā, the son of Bopada, . . . . . . . allotted the house-tax of the

\[\text{22 Bunda.}\]

\[\text{20 See note 16 above.}\]

\[\text{25 Mr. V. R. Katti, corroborated by Mr. Sāntavrayya Bākādēva Kuttār, informs me that, though the same is but rarely used now, Herjuggi, or in its modern form Hejaggī, is at some places still known among the Lingāyat cultivators as another name of the Śrīgūḍeśa or day of the full-moon of the month Āśvin,—and that the explanation of it is that on that day the cultivators prepare a kūpī, or mass of boiled rice mixed with split pulse, salt, pepper, cumin seeds, &c., and, taking it to their fields, scatter it abroad in handfuls at every step (hejje).}\]

\[\text{21 Bāliya.}\]
village and a koṭṭapāla.\textsuperscript{22} Bṛhmaṇaṇaḍiṭadēva, the son of Nilaṇaṃpāṇiṇiḍiṭadēva \ldots \ldots \ldots (L. 46.)—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another!

READINGS FROM THE BHARHUT STŪPA.

BY DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(Continued from p. 121.)

PART II.

This instalment will be devoted to an examination of some of the Pillar Inscriptions. In another I hope to proceed with the inscriptions on the coping stones. In the following remarks I follow the order of the photographs in General Cunningham's work on the Bharhut Stūpa, beginning with Plate xiii.

(10.) Of two inscriptions on the inner face of the upper bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiii, right side, transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 39 and 40, and referred to on pp. 11, 90, 110, 111, 134,—one is read variously, as Bhagavātō dhāma chakam, on pp. 11, 90, Bhagavatō dharma chakam, on p. 110, and Bhagavatō dharma chakam, on p. 134. The other, Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo, on pp. 90, 134, and raja Pasenadi Kosalo, on p. 111. Letter for letter, the first is

(a) Bhagavatō dhamachakam
and the second

(b) Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo;

or, as they should be in full, adding the double consonants, Bhagavatō dharmachakram, i.e., the Wheel of the Law of the Blessed One, and the other, Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo,\textsuperscript{1} or in Sanskrit Rājā Pasenadijit Kaualah, i.e., "King Praśenadīkt of Kosala."

The scene is not quite correctly explained on p. 91. The leader of the procession is not a footman, but a horseman; and he is not followed by one, but by two footmen. Again, I do not think that the charioteer is one of the three servants about the king, but, as usual, the Rājā himself, who sits in front; the position of the servants behind the Rājā would seem to make it impossible for any of them to drive. The reins, however, are not represented as actually in the hands of the Rājā, but as fastened to the splashboard of the carriage, close to the Rājā's left hand. As the procession is moving at a slow pace, there would be no need to hold the reins. Further, the three figures, passing through the gateway, in the right-hand corner of the scene, are not "three followers," but the heads of two horses, and behind them is the head of the Rājā himself. This is expressly indicated by the second legend Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo, inscribed on the gateway; moreover, turning to Plate xiv, the feet and forepart of the body of one of the horses may be seen in the furthest corner of the uppermost scene. In fact, this compartment contains two scenes: 1, a subordinate one, representing the departure of the Rājā from his palace-gate; and 2, the principal one, representing the arrival of the Rājā with his retinue at the residence of Buddha, which is indicated by the legend Bhagavatō dharmachakam inscribed on it.

(11.) An inscription, on the outer face of the upper bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar; on Plate xiii, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 28, and referred to on pp. 45, 115, 120, 127, 134, where it is uniformly read bhagavatō sākunumino bodhi. The actual letters of the legend are—

Bhagavatō Sākunumino bodhi.

The letter s has no vowel sign (ā); and the vowel attached to dh is not i (as in the transcript on Plate liv), but o. The absence of the vowel å shows that the name must be read sakko, a regular Pāli equivalent for the Sanskrit sākya; one of the two k's, as usual, not being represented.\textsuperscript{2} Bodhi is a mere synonym of bodhi; both mean properly "the knowledge of a buddha" or "buddhaffship"; whence, in a derivative sense, "the tree under which buddhaffship is attained." The usual form, however, is bodhi; for which reason the use here of the form bodho is worth noting.

\textsuperscript{22} Apparently a hāpa or paṇḍa stamped with the device of an umbrella (kola).

\textsuperscript{1} Or it might be Kosilo-Skr. Kaaulah.

\textsuperscript{2} The rule is to shorten a long vowel before a double consonant. When the long vowel is to be preserved, the following conjunct consonant is dissolved; thus sākīya, which is an actual alternative Pāli form of the name; but it is not used in the present case.
Spelt fully and correctly, the inscription would run: 'Bhagavato Sākamunino bodho, or in Sanskrit—Bhagavata Sākyamunee bodhah, i.e., "the bodhi-tree of the blessed Sākyamuni." The tree seems to be represented as standing within a circular colonnade. The curious action of the two persons who stand by the side of the tree and whom bad perspective has apparently placed in the air, I take me to mean, that they are eating of the fruit of the tree. The latter is the pippala or the ficus religiosa, which bears small edible berries. The tree is represented as loaded with these berries. What General Cunningham has taken as the "tip of the tongue," is simply a berry which the man is holding with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, in the act of putting it to his mouth. The action of "holding the tip of the tongue with the thumb and forefinger of the left hand" could hardly have any intelligible meaning, while the eating of the fruit of the bodhi-tree may have been looked upon as a meritorious act; or it may have been part of the ceremonies of its worship, as seems to be indicated in the scene on Plate xvii, top. With their right hands the two persons do not seem to me to "raise garlands," as General Cunningham explains, but one end of their long scarf (or dupatta), with the object, apparently, of knocking off berries from the higher branches of the tree. The same action may be seen in the upper scene on Plate xvii. That the object is the usual scarf which was generally worn "thrown over the shoulders with the ends hanging down outside the thighs" may be seen from the fact that it can be traced from the right hand of the figure down behind his back, then over the left arm or left shoulder, whence the other end hangs down. And this is confirmed by the fact that the texture of the scarf is quite different from that of the real garlands, which are shown in the hands of the two flying creatures and between the branches of the tree.

(12.) Two inscriptions, in the intermediate space, below the last-mentioned scene (No. 11), unfortunately are imperfectly preserved and only partially legible, in consequence of the stone having been broken right across them. Accordingly they are partly on Plate xiii, partly on Plate xiv. They are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 29 and 30, and transliterated on p. 134 as—Purathimapusa sudha vasa deco, and Utaram disatuni savataniisa; but no explanation is given. The actual letters of the two legends, however, are, of the first—

(a) Puratthima [di] sa sudhāvedā de[vā],

and of the second,

(b) Utaram disa [tīni sa]cavatani śiśś[ṇ]a

The letter di of the first legend is broken in two; but it is quite distinctly di, not pu; moreover, a comparison with the second legend and with a third, which I shall presently notice, makes the reading di absolutely certain. The last letter vā is not quite distinct, but it looks more like vā than anything else. In the second legend, the three letters tī nī sā, which are broken across, are rather indistinct, except the tops which are quite clear, and from which it is certain that the first letter is tī, not tu. After śiśśa one letter is lost, owing to a splinter having been chipped off the stone; but there are indications of the former existence of a letter here which, as will be seen presently, must be sī, as required by the context. Supplying the defective double consonants and anusvāras, the two inscriptions will be as follows:

(a) Puratthimain disānī sudhāvedā devā, or in Sanskrit Puratthimānī disānī sudhāvedā devāh, i.e., "to the eastern (or right-hand) side (are) the gods of the pure abode." And

(b) Utaram disānī tīni sauvattānī śiśānī, or in Sanskrit utarām disānī tīni sauvattānī śrāvānī, i.e., "to the northern (or upper) side (are) three heads turned towards each other." It will be observed that the long vowel i of tīni and śiśānī, as well as the long a of sauvattānī are not distinguished. Also that tīni ought to be tīni (with cerebral ṣ), and that the final anusvāra

(see note 4) in human form. This would account, in the present scene, for their eating of the fruit and for their apparently standing in the air.

1 These winged creatures, I suppose, are the Supārasas or Garudas, a kind of semi-divine birds, who, like the Nāgas or semi-divine serpents, could assume the human form. The wings in one case, and the serpent's hood in the other, indicate them in their human guise.

2 This phonetic Sanskrit equivalent is not in actual use.
is omitted in disa (twice) and purathimani; but in Pali (as well as in Prakrit) some license is permitted in the use of the cerebral s and the final anuvra. For the rest the two sentences are grammatically and orthographically correct.

In order to explain the meaning of these two enigmatic sentences, it is necessary first to examine a third inscription, which evidently forms, with the other two, a distinct set; viz.,

(13.) An inscription, on Plate xiv, left side, in the intermediate space, above the theatrical scene in the bottom compartment of Plate xv, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 31, and read on p. 134 as—Dakhini disa cchasi mavan cha rasahdesi. But the actual letters are:

Dakhina disa cchasi kamvaucharasa hasdni,

and the words should be so divided. Adding the necessary complements, the correct reading would be—Dakhini disa cchasi kamvaucharasa hasdni, or in Sanskrit—Dakshina disa cchasi kamaucharasa kasydni, i.e., "to the southern (or lower) side (are) six amusements of the pleasure-world." In dakshina there is another instance of the lax use of the dental s, instead of the cerebral; the regular form being dakshi. That this inscription refers to the scene of amusements immediately below it, is, of course, at once evident, and that it is closely related to the two previously noticed inscriptions is very probable from the fact of their containing notices of direction (south, north, east). Now the scene below the present inscription contains 13 figures, all female, except one little boy, and they form three distinct groups. On the right-hand side there are four Apsarasas (or goddesses) engaged in dancing; on the upper left-hand side there are three sitting figures, turning their heads towards each other, and engaged either in singing or, perhaps, in gambling. On the lower left-hand side there are six figures, of whom five are sitting and playing on various instruments, while the sixth (the little boy) is dancing in imitation of the Apsarasas. The agreement of these three groups with the three inscriptions will be seen at once; and there can be no doubt that the object of the legends really is to explain in detail the three groups of the amusement scene over which they are inscribed. The two first inscriptions are, it is true, somewhat removed from the groups to which they refer; but the object in placing the inscriptions was evidently to arrange them so as to indicate by their very position the directions and the groups to which they refer. A comparison of the position of the inscriptions with the position of the groups in the scene will at once show this. This amusement-scene appears to have been a particular object of attention to the waggish monks of the Bharhut vihara, for not less than eight distinct inscriptions are devoted to it alone, and all its details are elucidated with evident relish. Before proceeding to the others, therefore, I shall conclude the examination of the series of these legends.

(14.) The inscription, in the intermediate space, below the amusement-scene, on Plate xv, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 32, and read on page 29 as—Sadikasa samadat turam devanam, where no explanation is given. But on page 134 it is read as—Sadika sammada turam devanam, and the phrase sadika devanam is there said to mean "praises of the gods." I do not understand how sadika should come to mean "praises"; but the inscription is not without difficulties, and I am unable to offer an altogether satisfactory interpretation. Letter for letter the inscription runs:

Sadikasa nimadat

turam devanam,

where the only correction required is turam for turan; but, as already noted, the length of the vowels i and a is not usually indicated.

The word sadika, I take to be a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of the Sanskrit saktaka, "a kind of dramatic performance" applicable to the dancing of the Apsarasas. Sammada is both an adjective "gay," and a substantive "gaiety," but as the latter is masculine, the word must here be an adjective, agreeing hands. See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 424. But it is clear that the number six of the inscription refers to the six figures and not to these six amusements, some of which are not at all represented in the scene.

The termination ska and the sound i have a tendency to change to ska and j respectively. See Kuhn's Beitrage, pp. 23 and 39; and my Prakrit Lakshana, pp. xiv, xvi, sthiti iii, 12. Mr. Tawney suggests to me the Skt. skandik, "gambling with dice," which would also give a good sense, though the interchange of j and r would be unusual.
with tūraṇī and forming a compound with sāḍika. Tūraṇī is the Sanskrit tūryaṇī "musical instrument," "music." 10 The whole would then mean "the music of the gods, guy with dancing." But it does not quite satisfy me. The three words sāḍika, saṁmāda and tūra might respectively refer to the three groups of dancers, singers, and players on instruments. That the inscription refers to the amusement-scene below which it stands is, of course, unquestionable.

15. Four Inscriptions on the outer face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, left side, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 33-36, and referred to on pp. 29 and 134. At the latter place they are read—Misakosō achkara; Alambusā achkara; Padumavati achkara; and Subhāḍā achkara. In the former, sūdasana is given instead of Padumavati; also Misakosō, Subhāḍā and Alambusā. The actual readings are—

(a) Misakosō achkara,
or in full, Misakosō achkharā. There is a slight production of the horizontal line of the vowel e to the right beyond the perpendicular line of the k, which at first sight looks like the vowel o; as if the word were Misakosō; but I have no doubt that this is owing to an accidental slip of the mason's chisel. Its Sanskrit equivalent is Misarakṣī aparā, i.e., "the Apsaras Misarakṣī." 

(b) Alambusā achkharā,
or in full, Alambusā achkharā; in Sanskrit—Alambusā aparā, i.e., "the Apsaras Alambusā." 

(c) Padumavati achkharā,
or in full, Padumavati achkharā, in Sanskrit Padumavati aparā, i.e., "the Apsaras Padumavati." 

(d) Subhāḍā achkharā,12
or in full, Subhāḍā achkharā, in Sanskrit—Subhāḍā aparā, i.e., "the Apsaras Subhāḍā." 

16. Two inscriptions on the inner face of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, left side, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 41 and 42, and referred to on pp. 11, 27, 134, 135, where they are read Erāpato nāga rāja bhagavatavat vandate13 and Erāpato nāga rāja respectively. The former is spelt on the stone thus:

(a) Erāpato nāgarājā
bhagavatavat vandate.

The last word, of course, is vandate (or vandate); the anusvāra being, as usual, omitted. It means: "Aihrāpata the Serpent-King worships the Blessed One." In Sanskrit it would be Aihr vato nāgarājā bhagavatavan vandate. The genitive bhagavo is noticeable. Usually the verb vand takes in Pāli, as in Sanskrit, the accusative of the object of worship; but according to a general Pāli rule the genitive may occasionally be substituted for the accusative; of this usage the present case is an example.14 There are two more points of interest in this inscription. In the first place, the preservation of the ātmanepada form vandate is noteworthy; in the ordinary Pāli, as a rule, only parasmapi-pada forms are used;15 the former practice agrees with the old Prākrit of Chaṇḍa.16 In the second place, the form of the name Erāpato for the Sanskrit Aihrvata, with the very unusual change of a sonant into a surd, is noticeable. Another instance of this occurs in the name Kupiro, for Sanskrit Kubera or Kuvera, on Plate xxii, No. 1.17 In the old Hindi of Chand, the name appears in the mongrel form Aihrvati.18

The other inscription reads—

(b) Erāpato [nāgarājā.

The letter nā is not legible; it being exactly on the line of breakage of the stone; one-half of the inscription is on Plate xv. Correctly spelt, the legend would run Erāpato nāgarājā, in Sanskrit Aihrvato nāgarājā, i.e., "Aihrvata, the Serpent-king." The explanation of the scene is correctly given on p. 27, with one exception. The three figures behind the kneeling king are not "a Nāga and two Nāgas," but king Aihrvata himself, accompanied by two (Nāgini) wives; this is shown by the fire-

--
11 Curiously enough, the photograph reads taraṇi, the long a being invisible, though, on the stone, it is as distinct as the rest of the word.
12 This is not included among the facsimiles on the accompanying plate.
13 On p. 11 nāgara, on p. 27 nāgarāja.
14 See Kachchhāyana (ed. Senart), p. 126, sūtra 33. The same usage obtains in Prākrit; see Hemachandra (ed. Pischel), p. 98, sūtra iii, 134, where the verb vand is given as an example, smādharasam caṇtade, i.e., "I worship the mark-bearer." To construe the sentence elliptically as Gen. Cunningham does, supplying " feet of" or "bodhi-
trees of" is hardly admissible.
15 See Kachchhāyana (ed. Senart), p. 263; Kahn's Beiträge, p. 93.
17 Other examples will be found in Kahn's Beiträge, p. 40.
18 See Prākāra Jātaka, p. xxvii, verse 2.
hooded snake-canopy over his head, as well as by the inscription—Erāpata nāgārāyaṇā below him. In fact, the scene represents three events; first, in the upper part of the compartment, the king appears in his five-hooded serpent-form attended by two wives, in the act of departure to see Buddha; next, in the lower right-hand corner, the king with his two wives is represented as arriving near Buddha's residence and having regained his human form; lastly, in the lower left-hand corner, the king is shown in his own human form humbly and gratefully kneeling in adoration of Buddha. Each time he is identified by the five hoods of the nāga-form.

(17.) Another inscription, also on the inner face of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, given on Plate xiv, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 27, and given on p. 134 as Aya Isidinna Bhānakasa dānam, and translated "gift of the reverend Isidina of Bhānaka"; which, on the whole, is correct. Letter for letter the inscription is:

Aya Isidinna Bhānakasa dānam,

or, in full, Ayya Isidinna Bhānakasa dānam, or in Sanskrit—Arjya Rishidattaya Bhānakasya dānam, i.e., "the gift of the venerable Isidina, a preacher." That is, the stone bearing the sculpture of Aīrāvata was given by Isidina. The more usual form of the latter name is isidatta; so on one of the rails of the South Gate (Isidattasa dānam, p. 140, No. 15). As a rule, the Sanskrit form datta "given" is preserved in Pāli names; still there are occasional instances of names made with the Pāli form dinna; e.g., Sudinnā and Dhammadinnā in Jātakam (ed. Fausboll) p. 39. Bhānaka is a Buddhist term for a preacher or tutor. Between the letters na and sa of dānam there is a curious mark, which does not seem to have been hitherto noticed. If read in the same position as the inscription, it exactly resembles an Arian Pāli v (v); or, if read in the opposite position, it may be an Indian Pāli u (u). It is probably a mason's mark, like the other Arian Pāli letters which have been noticed by General Cunningham (p. 8 and Plate viii).

(18.) An inscription, on the side of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 37, and on p. 134 read—Kadarki, or rather, as it should be—

Kadarki.

It is inscribed over two figures, one male, the other female, and would seem to be the name of the woman. In full it should probably be read Kauḍarki or Kadarki, Sanskrit Kadarki. There is a Sanskrit male name Kauḍarka.

(To be continued.)

THE BHADRACHELAM AND REKAPALLI TALUQAS.

BY REV. J. CAIN.

(Continued from vol. VIII, p. 221.)

Pressure of work and ill-health have prevented me from sending this article before, and also from making it as complete as I had hoped to do. At present I simply give a bare sketch of the Koi language as spoken round Domagnadom, but hope to be able at some future time to discuss its relation to other languages. Its connection with the Gond is very apparent, and also the influence of its neighbour Telugu. This latter will account for many of the irregularities, which would probably disappear in the language spoken by the Koi is living further away from the Telugu country.

DECLISION OF NOUNS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Tappe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tappén, Tappeni, Tappenske, Tapperenaga, Tappenité, Tappenaga.

Mára, Márakur or Márangu.
Márak, Márakini, Mårak.
Mártakchi, Mártakunchi.
Máratagaja, Mártakunchi.
Máratató, Martakité.
Måráte, Martakvite.

Or possibly dinmass, if the indistinct mark before na is meant for an anusvāra.
### Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inclusive.</th>
<th>Exclusive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Nanna</td>
<td>Mannaqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>Nā</td>
<td>Mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>Nanna</td>
<td>Mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To me</td>
<td>Nāki</td>
<td>Manaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By me</td>
<td>Nāyagga</td>
<td>Managga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near me</td>
<td>Nāyagga</td>
<td>Managga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>Nimma</td>
<td>Mira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy</td>
<td>Ni</td>
<td>Mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thee</td>
<td>Nimma</td>
<td>Mimmunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To thee</td>
<td>Niku</td>
<td>Miku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By thee</td>
<td>Niyagga or ni</td>
<td>Mikade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near thee</td>
<td>Niyagga</td>
<td>Miyagga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Öndu</td>
<td>Öru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His</td>
<td>Önagga</td>
<td>Örİ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>Öni</td>
<td>Örİni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To him</td>
<td>Öniki</td>
<td>Örİki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By him</td>
<td>Önikaide</td>
<td>Örikaide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near him</td>
<td>Önagga</td>
<td>Öridagga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He (this one)</td>
<td>Vinđu</td>
<td>Viru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who</td>
<td>Benōndu</td>
<td>Benōru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweet</td>
<td>Tīyyanga</td>
<td>Straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitter</td>
<td>Kalute</td>
<td>Crooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Podugudādu</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Guṭṭoḷī</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>Uvōriṅa</td>
<td>Wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Errāṅa</td>
<td>Strait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Tēllanga</td>
<td>Thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>Tsakkaṅga</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugly</td>
<td>Udavārho</td>
<td>Ripe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Porro</td>
<td>To above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td>Idupo</td>
<td>To below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Bādika</td>
<td>To outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verbs

### Indicative Mood

#### Present Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am doing</td>
<td>Tungōruminnānu</td>
<td>Dayāruminnānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1</td>
<td>Tungōruminnī</td>
<td>Dayāruminnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tungōruminnī</td>
<td>Dayāruminnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>Tungōruminnōdu</td>
<td>Dayāruminnōdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n.</td>
<td>Tungōrinnne</td>
<td>Anjōrinnde</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Past Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I did</td>
<td>Tungitīni</td>
<td>Dayuntīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1</td>
<td>Tungitīvi</td>
<td>Dayatīvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>Tungitōndu</td>
<td>Dayatōndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n.</td>
<td>Tungite</td>
<td>Dayate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Future Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I shall do</td>
<td>Tungitānu</td>
<td>Dayatānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1</td>
<td>Tungitīni</td>
<td>Dayatīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>Tungitōndu</td>
<td>Dayatōndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n.</td>
<td>Tungite</td>
<td>Dayate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conditional Mood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I do</td>
<td>Tungataskē</td>
<td>Dayatansē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. 1</td>
<td>Tungataskē</td>
<td>Dayatansē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>Tungataskē</td>
<td>Dayatansē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n.</td>
<td>Tungataskē</td>
<td>Dayatansē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Oṛṛōṭi</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Benōdu</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Mundū</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher numerals used are all Telugu forms.
### Future Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Pādītāna</td>
<td>I tāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pāditīni</td>
<td>2 I tīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Pādītōndo</td>
<td>3m. I tōndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Pādīte</td>
<td>3n. I te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Pādītāna</td>
<td>I tāmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pādītri</td>
<td>2 I tīri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Pādītōrō</td>
<td>3m. I tōrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Pādīte</td>
<td>3n. I ūtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conditional Mood:

If I sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. and Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Īmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Īmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Pādīnāste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Pādīnāste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative Mood:

Sing. Īmu.

Plur. Īmu.

### Indicative Mood:

Present Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Mīnīmu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mīnīni</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Mīnōndo</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Mīnte</td>
<td>3n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Mīnīmu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mīnīri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Mīnōru</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Mīntōgo</td>
<td>3n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Māttīni</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Māttīni</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Māttōndo</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Mānte</td>
<td>3n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Māttānmu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Māttīri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Mātōru</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Mānte</td>
<td>3n.</td>
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Future Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Māndakānō</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Māndakānī</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Māndakōndo</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Mānte</td>
<td>3n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Māndakōmu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Māndakīri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Māndakōru</td>
<td>3m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>Māntānō</td>
<td>3n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conditional Mood:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. and Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Īmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Īmu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperative Mood:

Sing. Īmu.

Plur. Īmu.

To eat. I will eat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. and Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>I māddāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I māddāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>I māddānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>I māddānte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To drink. I will drink.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. and Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>U tānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>U tāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>U tōndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n</td>
<td>U tōte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To consent. Baki armi.

To consent. Mānandu.

To be. Mānte.

To go. Māndakānō.

To pay a man. Māndakānī.

To come. Vādānu.

To stand. Nīlīchīman.

To throw. Ekkandu.

To walk. Dānamandu.

To root up. Pānamandu.

To sleep. Adādānu.

To drink. Māntānō.

To take. Tīsanandu.

To pay. Māndakānī.

To laugh. Kānamandu.

To strike. Tīsanandu.

To consent. Mānandu.

To tell. Kānamandu.

To drive. Mānandu.

To sell. Mānandu.

To descend. Dīgamandu.

To do. Tīsanandu.

To collect. Kānamandu.

To make. Mānandu.

To turn. Mānandu.
To fall Arđanadu To draw Săganadu
To shut Muttsanadu To buy Asanadu
To rub Răsanadu To exchange Mărtisanadu
To plough Uďanadu To worship Măşkanadu
To cut Keyadanadu To mount Tarranadu
To squeeze Piranadu To cross Dătanadu
To tie Tohidanadu To weave Allanadu

ADVERBS, &c.

Where Begga After Payya
Here Igga How much Betsau
There Agga Thus much Atsu
When Beppődė Very Bāna
At intervals Aste aste

SENTENCES.

There is not Ille
There are not Illoru
I ploughed this field.

Having taken ten cows
from him I gave him
this ground instead.
If you come again I will
talk to you.
If you sell that which
you have bought you
will gain a great deal.
The ground which you
ploughed is not good.
When that cow comes
again, seize it.
I will not do the work
which he told me.
You may give these torn
clothes to poor people.
If you are put in prison
who will release you?
No one can do it excepting
him.
If you ascend that hill
how far can you see?
Having collected these
fallen leaves burn them.
Where is he going?
Who are here?
By what road did you
come?
There is no one there.
When did that horse
come?
I have just obtained it.
It rains at intervals.
I will never do that work.

I do not want these
I verki năku akkarile
sticks.
I will go to work after
eating my food.
He does not like bathing. Ėru pundańandi ondīki
\[\text{ishṭamīle} \]
This is not my work.
He said that if he went
with us I will give him
wages.
Although much rain has
fallen we cannot plough.
Because you have done
thus to me I will beat
you.
In the way he spoke to
me in that I answered
him.
He helped me to walk.
We cannot take the
bunty which they
came.

The child which my
elder brother brought
up is dead.
The man who is going
assist is my younger
brother.
The road which you
came is a rough one.
We became well after
drinking that medicine.
The house which I built
is burnt.
Whore those who came.
Behold, the cat has re-
turned.
Which is that which
you gave?
What is the work which
he did?
If you look at this it
would be well.
These were blown away
by the wind.

As I was coming home
a tiger fell upon me,
and bit me severely.

Do you want an iron
box or a wooden one?
Any will suit.
Bedatkana sare.
What proofs can you
of the accusations
give? you have brought?
Can he do all this?
How much hire do you
want to cut down
these teak trees?
If you do not give it, it
will not be obtained.
I will give you as many
fruits as you give me.
How many oxen did he
buy?
He begs from me in
proportion to my giv-
ing.
These villagers have
gone away, they say.
I was not there when
this shed was burnt.
If you do not give up
that calf a great blow
will befall you.

Mūr mōligtine ratkī bēnī
ruzuvuluk agarpādi-
siṭriti?
Ondū idī anta kinga.
tondu?
Nimma itenagone adi
dorko.
Nimma betasku pasingu
itivo atsuku niku mali
itāna.
Betasaku konangu
astondu?
Nanna itakoddi ondu
talaporumirno.
Ināti nōru tedimiritor-
alle
I gudishe vesattakadi
nanna illāna.
Nimma ā lēngā iveryaku
niku manchi debba
tagilite.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

By Henry H. Howorth, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 242.)

XI.

When Wāng Khān received the list of
grievances indited by Chinghiz Khān, as
I have described, we are told in the Yuan-ch'au-
pie-shi that he reproached himself, and cutting
his little finger with a knife, he filled a little
birch-bark vessel with the blood, and said, “If
I in future do my son, Tēmuji'n, any harm
may I be cut to pieces,” and with these words
he gave the blood to the envoys, who brought
it to Chinghiz.

The latter now sent a bitter message to
Chāmukha. “Out of envy and malice you
have sown discord between the Khān my father
and me,” he said. “In former days it was
customary for the one who was up first to
drink mare's milk out of the father's (Wang
Khān's) green cup. I always rose early and
in consequence you hated me. You may now
drink out of the full green cup of our father.

It will be very little diminished.” This some-
what enigmatic message doubtless conveyed
a threat. Palladius says it seems to hint that
Chinghiz Khān in his young days lived with
Wang Khān.¹

Chinghiz also sent a message to his rela-
tives, Altan and Khujer or Khuchar. “I do not
know why you determined to desert me. Khuchar,
you as the son of Nikuntaishi,² would have
been made ruler of our people, but that you
refused it.” “Altan, your father, the Khān Khu-
tula, once ruled, and the people therefore wished
to make you their Khān, but you refused.” The
sons of Bartan, Sacha and Taichu were
senior branches of the family, but they also ref-
used.³ By general consent you elected me Khān
against my own wish. Now that you have
deserted me, pray, help Wang Khān diligently,
but don’t begin a business which you cannot
complete, and thus secure the people’s hatred for

¹ Perhaps jade cup is meant.
³ Nikuntaishi was Yeungul's older brother, so Khuchar
had better claim to the throne than his cousin Temujin.
See Palladius, note 328.

¹ Altan was cousin to Chinghiz Khān’s father.
² Sacha and Taichu were not sons of Bartan, but sons of
Khuskhtu-Jurk, son of Ukin Birkhakh, Bartan’s elder
brother, and had therefore also superior claims to the lat-
ter’s descendants.
yourselves. Trust in Temujin, for you cannot do without him. Defend to the last the sources of the three rivers,\footnote{\textit{i. e.} the Onon, Kerulen, and Tula, the cradle land of the Mongols.} and do not let any one occupy them.” To Toorin, otherwise called Tooril, whom he addressed as brother, he said, “I call you brother because in former times Tumins’ and Charkhaitilkh\footnote{\textit{i. e.} Tumeneh Khan.} had a slave called Okhda, and Okhda had a son called Subegai, who had a son Kokochakireen, who had a son Yegaikhantokhor, who was thy father. For the sake of whom are you flattering Wang Khan? If Altan and Khuchar will not have me, they will never allow any one else to rule over our people, and you are my slave by descent.”\footnote{\textit{i. e.} Jerki Lingun.} Chinghiz also sent a message to Wang Khan’s son, Sankun or Sengun. \textit{“I am your father’s son, and was born with clothes you are his son, but you were born naked. Our father never caressed us both equally. You became suspicious and afraid that I should come before you, you hated and sent me away. Cease now to cause your father grief and suffering. Go to him and dispel his sorrow and loneliness. If you do not rid yourself of your old jealous spirit you will be trying to become ruler during his lifetime and cause him suffering.”} When Arkhaikhasar and Sugyegejiam had delivered Chinghiz Khan’s message to Sankun, the latter said, “When he gave me the title of Khan, he really meant to call me ‘the Butcher of the people,’ and when he styled me Anda, he meant to say Tokhtoashun.”\footnote{\textit{Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi.}} I have discovered the hidden meaning of his words. They mean war. You Bilgebike and Todoyan raise the great standard and feed the horses. There is no room for further doubt.” Then Arkhaikhasar returned, but his companion Sugyegejiam remained behind, inasmuch as his wife was in the hands of Toorin.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 173.}}

The correspondence between Chinghiz Khan and the princes at the court of Wang Khan is also mentioned by other authorities. The \textit{Yuan-shi} merely refers to the message sent to Altan and Khuchar, and in much the same terms as above quoted, but makes the letter conclude with the words—“at present you are on friendly terms with Wang Khan, but no one is more fickle than he. See how he treated me, and if he has treated me thus who have been his friend so often, what may not you expect from him?”\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 172.}} Mr. Douglas, I may add, reads the names Altan and Khuchar, Alertan and Hutser. Hyacinthe reads them Altan and Khusher;\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 172.}} De Maille\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 139.}} and anand Hosara. De Maille also names with them Talitai, doubtless the Toorin or Tooril of the \textit{Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi}. Rashidu’d-din and the \textit{Huang-Yuan} report this matter in almost identical phrases. They make Chinghiz begin his letter to Altan and Khuchar by an accusation that they wished to kill him, and either to leave his body on the surface or to bury it underneath. They then relate the story very much as in the \textit{Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi}. The \textit{Huang-Yuan} adds a little local colour in a phrase in which Chinghiz explains how, when the others refused the Khan’s ship, he took it because he did not wish to see an old inhabited country overgrown with wild grass, nor the cart roads obstructed by broken doors.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 172.}} These authorities close the letter with a reminder how Chinghiz had made over to his relatives the booty in cattle in \textit{kibitkas}, women and children which he had captured, and how he had enclosed them in the wild game of the plains and driven them in the wild game of the mountains.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 173.}} Both the authorities just cited refer to the incident about Tooril or Tughril. Berenine and Erdmann read the name Toghril or Toghril. In the \textit{Huang-Yuan} it is given as Tolun; Rashidu’d-din makes him the son of Eke Khunkotig, the son of Kukjuhing, the son of Suneke Buul, the son of Toghril.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 139.}} The \textit{Huang-Yuan} makes him the son of Jegaikhantokhor, the son of Kokochkhi, the son of Suneke Yeyege, the son of Tat.\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 173.}} Rashidu’d-din makes Chinghiz remind Toghril that he was a slave of his family, and if he had any intentions of appropriating his\footnote{\textit{Op. cit., p. 139.}} \textit{ulus},
that Altan and Khuchar would frustrate him, meaning, no doubt, that he was a mere slave or dependent, and had no claims like they to royal descent, and therefore to the throne. Chingiz Khan, we are further told by Rashid, requested Wang Khan to send Altan Ashuka (called Altan Astukh by Erdmann) and Kul Burn as envoys to treat for peace, or if not both, one of them, and also to send him the black horse with a silver saddle and bridle which Mukhuli Bakhadur had lost in the battle of Khatralin Alat, as we described. The Huang-Yuan calls the two persons who were to be sent by Wang Khan Andunashu and Yunbali. Chingizh also asked that Sankun or Sengun would send as envoys Bilge Biki and Toduan or Tudan. That Chamukha would send Jula or Khaulahh and Khajun, and that Ajik and Shirouyun, Alabuga or Altabukha, and Dair, Altan and Khuchar, should each send an envoy, who were to confer with him, if he was then in the east at the upper part of lake Buyur. The Huang-Yuan says at the sources of the river Nurtolin Khochinizu. If he was in the west, they were to cross the mountain Khabala-Kantarkha, and follow the river Khulubin-bukhaujus, till they met him. Rashid seems to make Chingizh say that if he was at the latter place he would be back in three days.

Wang Khan reproached his son with the probable consequences of his rash quarrel, and confessed that the right was on Chingiz Khan's side. Sengun or Sankun, in a rage, asked why Chingizh called him anda and yet slandered him. How did he presume to style Wang Khan his father? "He wishes us to send him envoys. This shall not be; we want war and strife. If he wins, our ulusses shall be his. If we win, so must his people obey us." Having sent back Chingiz Khan's messengers with these words, he ordered his generals Bilge-biki and Tudan at once to collect the army to plant the Tuke or standards, to beat the drums, and to mount the horses. We may now revert to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. When Chingizh received Wang Khan's answer he moved his camp to the lake Baljuna. There he met with Soosi Chakhan and others of the tribe Khorulas, who submitted to him without a struggle. He also met with the Khoikhoi, Asan, who had come from Alakhushidigitkhiuri of the Ongut. He had 1,000 sheep and a white camel with him, and had been down the river Argun to buy ermines and squirrels, and was going to the lake Baljuna to let his sheep drink when he met Chingizh in whose service he remained. This authority says nothing of the distress and penury which other writers would make out attended Chingiz Khan when at Baljuna, and which seems inconsistent with his recent victory at Khatralin Alat and with his subsequent success, and if the stories are true, they doubtless refer to some other period of Chingizh Khan's career. In regard to this distress we read in the Yuan-shi, in the biography of Jabar Khoja, and also in De Mailla, that Chingizh Khan fled from Wang Khan, and on his arrival at the river Panjuna (sic), whose waters were then very muddy, his provisions were all consumed. A wild horse passing by was shot by Khasar, and a kettle having been made from its skin, water was heated by means of stones, and they managed to cook some of the meat and ate it. Chingiz Khan then, raising his hand towards heaven, swore as follows:—"If I attain my great object, then I will divide the sweets and bitters equally with you, and if I break my word, may I be as the water of this river." In the text of the Yuan-shi we are merely told how at this time the power of Chingiz Khan having greatly declined, he and those who remained faithful to him bound themselves by a solemn oath, each drinking of the muddy waters of the Panjuna, and swearing that as each of them had drunk of its clear and muddy waters, so they would share together the sweets and bitters of life. Mr. Douglas has printed an anecdote somewhat like the one above quoted from the biography of Chapar or Jabar, which, as it does not occur in Hyacinthe, is probably derived like other stories from the She-we or Woof of Rashidi'd-din. The Ongut, whom we shall describe later on, were a Turkish tribe living on the Chinese frontier.
History by Chin Yun-Seih. According to this account, Chinghiz Khan having suffered a very severe defeat at the hands of Wang Khan, had to fly with but 19 followers, and escaped to the river Panchune. His provisions being exhausted, and being in distress, a crow passed by, whereupon a flight of arrows was shot, which killed it. A difficulty arose as to how it was to be cooked, upon which Chapar or the Ghebr, a tall, square-eyed, broad-foreheaded western worshipper of fire said, 'Give me the bird.' He took it, and skinned it, and having put as much of the flesh as would make a meal for Chinghiz Khan into the skin, and having added water from the river, he boiled the flesh in the skin over the fire. Mr. Douglas says that the Chinese editor adds a marginal note of exclamation. "A wonderful pot, indeed!" I would remark that Chapar is mentioned in the Yuan-shi-lei-pen as one of Chinghiz Khan's companions at this time. In that work we are told he belonged to a royal family of the west called Sai. He was well skilled in war, and was a worshipper of fire, and the Chinese text adds as a gloss to his name Chapar, meaning fire, and the text explains that this is added to shew what the religion of Chapar was. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen also refers to the distress of Chinghiz at Pan-chu-ni, tells us that he had killed a horse for him there, and that he and his companions swore a solemn oath of fidelity to each other, drinking meanwhile from the muddy water of the Pan-chu-ni. It adds that the officers with their families who thus drank together were always highly regarded and piqued themselves on their special fidelity.

Rashidun'd-din says that after the battle of Khalajin Ata, Chinghiz Khan was obliged to withdraw, and retired to Baljuna, where both men and cattle had to drink from turbid water, inasmuch as there was only an insignificant and scanty supply. On his way the greater part of his army left him under the pretext that he had altered the existing laws and regulations, and that he had grown too weak to make a stand. He thereupon insisted that those who were faithful to him should swear with their eyes raised to heaven and their hands clasped, to remain true, through bitter and through sweet, and that if they broke their word that they might become like the muddy water of the Baljuna. Having drunk from the bowl, he gave it to his companions, who also drank. These faithful companions, we are told, were afterwards known as Baljuna, and were magnificently rewarded. Von Hammer compares the name with that of Mohajirin, i.e. outcasts, borne by the companions of Muhammad's early misfortunes. The Yuan-shi says that Chinghiz Khan, while in his weak condition at Banchu-ni, was joined by a section of the Kongurut and by Putu, the chief of the Ekhilasze or Inkiras, who had been driven away by the Khurulas. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen says he was joined by his brothers-in-law Wa-chen, chief of the Hongila, i.e. the Kongurut, and Pu-tu of the Ikilises, by Kuoli, brother of Toli, by Chapar and several other chiefs. The Huang-Yuan and Rashidun'd-din also mention that the Inkirasses, who were being pressed by the Khurulas, joined Chinghiz Khan at this time. All the authorities mention that he was also joined by his brother Khasar. The Yuan-chao-pi-shi tells us that Khasar, who had been with Wang Khan, left his wife and his three sons Yegu, Yesungi, and Takhn in the latter's hands, and escaped without anything, and with some of his companions went to search for his brother. He got as far as the Kharau, i.e. the Khuin-gam, but could not see him from its summit. His provisions were exhausted, and he was reduced to feed on the raw hide and the sinews of a cow. In this condition he reached lake Baljuna, where he had an interview with Chinghiz.

In the Yuan-shi we read that Chinghis was joined by Khasar (called Khojar by Hycsinthe, and Hochar by Douglas) with his little son To-kon or Tokwan, who came from the Kalgun-ol. He had been routed by Wang Khan, who had captured his wives and his other

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23 Douglas, p. 83. 33 Descendant of the Sassanian princes.
24 The Chinese way of writing Chapar.
25 Chapar or Jabar is mentioned in chapter 120, in the biographical section of the Yuan-shi. Brezschneider reads Dja-ba-rh wu-djo. He says that he was reported to belong to Sai-yi in the Si-yi (i.e. the western land, meaning here Persia). He was the chief of his tribe, whence the title of Wus-djo, which we are told, in their language was the name of an office (doubtless the Persian Khijah). He was tall, with a long beard, large eyes, and broad forehead, brave, and a skilful rider and archer.
27 Brezschneider, Notices, &c. p. 49.
29 Hycsinthe, pp. 29 and 30; Douglas, pp. 39 and 39.
30 Douglas, p. 28.
31 i.e. of Wang Khan.
32 Huang-Yuan, p. 175; Erdmann, p. 283.
34 Douglas reads it Holakwan, but Hycsinthe's is doubtless the correct reading, the name being the Chinese transcript of Karwan.
children. On the road he had run short of provisions and been forced to subsist on the birds' eggs he found on the way. De Mailla tells the same story.

The two brothers having met, consulted together, and arranged a plot to circumvent Wang Khán. They agreed to send Khaliutar of the tribe Jaoird or Juriat, and Chaurkhán of the tribe Uriangkut, to him. They were to profess to have come from Khasar with the following message: "I have not seen the shadow of my brother. I have traversed many roads, but have not met him; have called to him, but he has not heard me. At night I have slept with the earth for my pillow and with the stars overhead. My wife and children are in your hands; Father Khán, if you will send me a trusty man, I will come to you." Chinghiz bade the messengers go with this message, and told them he should order the camp to be raised and to be moved to the plain of Arkhal-gongi on the river Kerulen. Having made these arrangements, he ordered Jurcidai and Arkhai to lead, and pitched his camp with Khasar in the plain just mentioned.

The two messengers on their arrival delivered their master's message. Wang Khán had only just erected a golden tent and was feasting. On hearing their story, he said "if this be really so, then let Khasar come." He then sent them back, and with them one of the most trusty of his people, Iturgin. On nearing the appointed rendezvous Iturgin noticed in the distance a number of figures and shadows. Suspecting something, he halted, turned round and galloped towards home. Khaliutar, who rode a swifter horse, speedily overtook him, but not daring to touch him, merely blocked up the road, so that he could not proceed. Thereupon Chakurkhán, who was on a heavier horse, took aim and shot Iturgin's horse in the hip. The horse fell; and he then seized its rider and took him to Chinghiz, who handed him over to Khasar with orders to kill him. His messengers informed Chinghiz that Wang Khán was feasting, and that if he marched speedily he might surprise him. He accordingly ordered the army to set out, and told Jurcidai and Arkhai to lead. According to the

Yuan-shi, Chinghiz, before fighting with Wang Khán, wanted to secure the safety of Khasar's wives and children, and accordingly sent two of his trusty dependents, who feigned to be Khasar's servants, and said the latter offered to submit himself with bound hands, if the Khán would forget their recent quarrels and renew their old friendship. These words put Wang Khán off his guard. He sent back a bag of blood with which to consecrate the oath of friendship he was prepared to swear with Khasar. Rashidu'd-din tells the story at greater length. He calls the place where Khasar had been living Karaun Chidun and his two messengers Khaliutar the Juriat and Chaurkhán the Uriangkit, and reports their message as follows:—

Juchi Khasar has sent us with this message:

"May it be well with my patron. My heart is indeed full of my elder brother, my lord, and yet I know not if I may be permitted to see him. Although I wish to unite myself closely with thee, yet there is no way open for me to do so? I have heard O Khán my Father! that my wife and children are with thee. I have already passed a long time on barren journeys and arid pastures, my pillow has been the rock and hard clod, and I have wandered about without friend or helper, I have the highest confidence in thee, and that is why I have sent these messengers to show thee my condition and ask for my wife and children again that with all my belongings I may attach myself to thee."

As Wang Khán knew the messengers to be dependents of Khasar; as he also knew the unsettled condition of Chinghiz Khán's affairs and the miserable position of Khasar; he did not suspect any treachery, but received the messengers with special marks of favour, and when he dismissed them he also sent back with them one of his people called Iturgin, and also sent some blood taken from his hand in a horn, for, says Rashidu'd-din, it is the custom with the Mongols to seal a compact by the shedding of blood. The three companions set out on their return, while Chinghiz Khán at the head of his army rode night and day to surprise his enemy. Presently Khaliutar saw Chinghiz Khán's Tuk or standard in the distance, and fearing that Iturgin, if he also saw

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44 Hyacinthe, p. 29,; Douglas, p. 39.
46 Yuan-Ch'oo-pi-shi, p. 96.
47 Id., 97.
48 Hyacinthe, pp. 29 and 30; Douglas, pp. 40 and 41.
49 Called Jarwelga Ilaghba by Erdmann.
50 Erdmann reads it Ayatürgan.
it, would at once set off on his swift horse and give his master warning; he dismounted, pretending that a stone had got into his horse's hoof, and asked Iturgin to dismount too and hold the foot, thus causing some delay. Meanwhile Chinghiz Khan arrived. Iturgin was dumb-founded. He was handed over to Juchi Khasar, inasmuch as he had appropriated his wives and children and worldly goods. The Huang-Yuan as usual tells the story like Rashidu'd-din. It calls the place where Khasar took shelter after the battle of Khalajin Alat, Khalakunjidun, and says the blood which Wang Khan took from his hand he sent in a vessel used for boiling water.

This use of blood as a symbol of fidelity in making an oath is a very wide-spread custom among the Nomades. Herodotus speaking of the Skyth says: 'Oaths among them are accompanied among other things by the following ceremonies: a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine, then plunge into the mixture a scymitar, some arrows, a battle axe and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly, the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl as do also the chief men among their followers.' Lucian gives a similar notice of the Skythian custom and Mela assigns it to the Axiakae. Speaking of the Medes and Lydians, Herodotus says, oaths are taken by these people in the same way as by the Greeks, except that they make a slight flesh wound in their arms from which each sucks a portion of the other's blood. Speaking of the struggle between the Armenians and Iberians, Tacitus says it was the custom of their kings when they made a pact to take each other by the right hand, and binding their thumbs together with a tight ligature until the blood was forced to the extremities, to make a slight puncture until the blood exuded, which they then sucked. This form of treaty was held very sacred inasmuch as it was ratified by the blood of each party. Valerius tells us how, when the Armenian king Sariastes was at issue with his father Tigranes, this practice was carried out. The practice was in vogue also among the early Romans. Festus explains the word assiratum thus: assiratum apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino at sanguine temperature, quod Latini prisci a se vocarunt. Sallust, speaking of Catiline, says, humani corpus sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumulisse inde cum post exsecutionem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, quasisset consilium suum, &c.

In the Magyar Sagas we read how the Hetu Moger or Seven Megers or Magyars swore to be faithful to their chief Almus while standing round a tub with their left arms outstretched and pierced so that the blood ran out into the tub as they swore. These are all instances from races of Asiatic origin, but the custom also extended to Africa. The ancient Libyans and Numidians, in swearing mutual oaths, drank out of their hollow hands, or in default of sufficient material licked them. Livingstone speaking of the Kasendi or contract of friendship in South Africa says: "the hands of the parties are joined, small incisions are made in the clasped hands on the pits of the stomach of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads a small quantity of blood is taken from these points by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into a pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends and relations."
Khdle (or Kdasi).

[3] Devanāmpiyasā yadavini mārjan kalikhyān
vijiti diāthāmate.[3]

pānasatāsahāsaye tāphā
ahāvūhena satesana-
samātā tata hota bahu mārjanā tatrā hotā
Kalingesu vise dhanām-
vayē [3] dhammākān-
matā dhāmnāmnatsaḥa cha
devanāmpiyasā je[5] aṭhā
anuṣaya devanāmpiyasā
vijitavai kalikhyāni[3].

[5] avijitaṃ hi vijñānemāne
e tata vadhva va matilīne va
apāvahā va janaš chē
dābhi vēdānāmāyamate
galamāte cha bava[3] deva-
nāmpiyasā[3] iyam pi cha
tato galumatašā[5] deva-
vasati bāṁhāna va sama
va ama[5] vā pāqunā gītih-
āt va yasa vīhitāhāsa
agni[5]. suṣassā māṭāpi-
surasā gulkusas
mitaṣaṭbhāṣābhāṣābhāṣā-
surasā[3] bhāṭikāsā sāmā-
patipati[3] damāḥbhitati-
va vadhva va abhālātānā
vīkā bhīnamane[5].

[3] yesam vāpi vāvihit-
tānaṁ sine pe avipāhīne
etānam mitasāśāhānātaranāśa.

Girnār.

[3] pāṇāṭike vāyasananāṃ
yaṭāṭikā vāyasananāṃ
pāṇāṭike[7] tata so pi
tanāmva upāghatī
ta[5] upāghatī
dā[5] tata pāṭībāgaḥ ča
kāe sa mahānayakan
gulmata ma devanām-
piyasā[3] tātī nāthi cha se
janapade yātā nāthi ime
niṣkāyā ānātī[5] ānena
[3] bāṁhūnna cha samāne
cha nāthi cha kuvāpi
janapadesa yātā nāthi
māṇusamān ēkataśi pi
cuṭasādjanato na
nāma raṃbhi pāṇāṭjanhi na
pasāde[5] se avatate jana
tādā Kalangesu
dṛṣṭi pavoḍha[5] ba
tata putoḍha[5] va sabas-
hāga va ya galumate va
devanāmpiyasā[7].

[7] (yo) pi cha aprakati
yati cha[7] mitayāmityamate
ta devanāmpiyasā yaṁ
pi kā ḫa ḫa devanāmpiy-
asā a[5]tī bhītati[3] ana-
deti ananiya piṭi ānana-
pe pi ča pahātate[7] deva-
nāmpiyasā vacati tiha
kītī a taṭra pāyaṇe[7] cha
aniṛṣyata bhikkha ha ti
devaṭamipryo savāha-
tam[7] āpāya vā yāyama
muḥ ma[5] savatā yama
sama

Read vīvāṭaṃ.  37 Read māṭa for māṭaḥ.
38 Read "satāsahāsaye tata apārthikān satāsahāsaye
tata hota (for hata) bahu tāvatake (sattākha)."
39 Gen. Cunningham’s plate differs from these readings of the B. facsimile.
40 Read tato pachā, "after that."
41 Read as in Girnār aṭhūdā.
42 Equivalent to dhāmnātā, dhāmnāvādya, the second term having the sense of ‘consideration, reflection, intelligence,’ from assit, hence ‘instruction founded on religion.’ Tāvāş ‘lively, ardent.’
43 E. e. ye.  44 Read vijitāsti kālyāhāri (for khyānī).  45 G. and K. agree in warranting the correction of che into tas.
46 Read vahāmanye, K. has velanēa.
47 Perhaps for bāhū, bāhāni.  48 Read galumatašā.
49 Read samudre va esa, umānēa.
50 Gihithā is probably for gihithā, grīnkeṭhā, as vihitā-
theṣu for vihitātheṣu; and for aṣṭī read apneā-agnate.
51 Read dhammanvād miṭatāsahāsaye upāghatikāsūṛasā.
52 Read bhāṭikāsā sāmāpatipati (for samād).  53 Read damāhbhītaḥ, ‘fidelity in devotion (to the king).’
54 Read tātā hoti.  55 Read upāghatā.
56 Abhādānānān is equivalent to abhāddānān, ‘the beloved ones;’ for vikiti read vāpī.
57 K. reads Saktēbhānān, hence we should read Saktē-
bdānānān here; and in the next word K. reads stā, hence

Note: The text is in Sanskrit, and the page contains excerpts from historical or literary works, possibly related to Indian antiquities. The content appears to be a mixture of Sanskrit script and some English words, indicating a bilingual text. The paragraph seems to discuss themes of religion, philosophy, and possibly historical events, indicated by terms like “Kālaṇḍe” (Kālaṇḍe) and “Girnār.” The text also includes some numerical references and dates, such as “97” and “98.” The document is dated “September, 1881,” suggesting it is from a historical or academic context from that era.
Khâlei (or Kśrei).

Girnâr.

samavaliya madavâni tî.[*] chahe["] cha madava
dhammânyiyâ sa cha-
cha atesa asaan[9] pi
chhâjane sa[10] tesa ate
Amtiyoge nâmâ Yone
... la châ tenâ râja paraun cha
[1*] Amtiyogena chatali
4 lajâne Tulamaye nâmâ Turamây cha Amta-
Ahtikina nâmâ Mâkâ
nâ[2*]ma Alikassadale
nâmâ nichânah Chodapam-
diyâ aham Tamhákâ
nîyâ hâyamâ na-
[3*] ma Alikassadale
Yonakobojesu
Nâbhakunâbhânapitarisam
Bhujâpptikiesu
[*] Aadhâ-
puladâl[4*] savata
devâmânyiyâ dhammânâ-
hâti anavatânti[5*] yata
pi duta[6*] devâmânyiyâ
iyânti[7*] te[8*] pi sutu
devâmânyiya lavar-
tan mûdunâni[9*] dhâm-
mânusâtthi dhama anu-
vîdhâya hânuvîdhî-
yiśâ châ ye ... ladhâna[10*]
[11*] takendâ[11*] hoti savatá
vijayâ[12*] pitalåse se gadhâ
sâ hoti pîti hoti[13*] dhâ-
mânyiyâ[14*] yata pi dûtâ[15*]
[14*] vijayo savathâ[17*] puna
vijayo piti ... so ladhâ
cyâ[16*] pli hoti dhâm-
mânyiyâmbi[19*]
[19*] vijaya
ma vijaya
tvâmi
[20*] sayasati no vijaya-
vijaya mân[21*] vijeta-
vîne mâmâsa ra[22*].

Khâlei (or Kśrei).

Girnâr.
sâkham ti châlah va sake evâ vijayeâchâti
[23*] dûjâta va lochepa cha
temara châ vijayam[24*]
manâtâ[25*] ye dhammânyi-
yâye[26*] se hidâlokikapa-
ilokikâ
lalo[27*] kiyâ savâ cha kâ cha pârâ
nîlati hâ u yâ malati
pâ pì hîdâ lîkikâpala-
ilokikâ cha[
lokikâ[28*].]

Translation.

Great is Kâliângâ conquered by the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Devas. There have been hundreds of thousands of creatures carried off. A hundred thousand have been smitten there; many times that number have died there (in that conquest). Then (wanting in K. which adds On learning it) the king beloved of the Devas has immediately (wanting in K.) after the acquisition of Kâliângâ, turned to religion (K. adds he has occupied himself with religion), he has conceived a zeal for religion, he applies himself to the spread of religion, so great is the regret which the king beloved of the Devas has felt [regarding what happened] in the conquest of Kâliângâ. Indeed in subjugating the territory which was not subject to me, the murders the deaths, the carrying off of men which were caused in it, altogether has been clearly and sorrowfully felt by me, the king beloved of the Devas. But behold what has been felt more sadly [still] by the king beloved of the Devas. Everywhere there live Brâhmânas or Sramânas or those of other sects, [ascetics] or householders, and among these men, when one attends to their wants, prevail obedience to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, kindliness towards friends, comrades, relations, respect for (K. slaves and) servants, steadfastness in affections. These men in it [i.e. in the conquest] are exposed to violence, to death, to separation from those beings who are dear to them. With

45 Read Sutra (sûtrâ) devâmânyiyâ dhammânusâtthi
dhammânusâtthi dhammânusâtthi anuvîdhâ
yâtâhâ châ (for sâhâta). For ye ... ladhâna, K.
has ya ... ladhâna, perhaps for nâbhânapitarisam?
57 Perhaps sarvâthâ- sêvâttha.
58 C. reads yo pîtrâsa sâ ladhâ sa.
60 For âdâmaka read ladhe, labhâ; hoti is repeated by mistake after pîti.
61 Read labhâ, and mahâphala, i.e. mahâphalâm.
62 Minirnîs for minirnîtâ, manâñi.
63 Kittâ, read kûntâ. Ana, i.e. uham, uñnam-ñamam.
64 For mû; and monis for mûssam.
65 C. has thethâ.
regard to those even who, thanks to a [special] protection, have not suffered any personal injury, their friends, acquaintances, comrades, or relations have met with ruin. Thus it is that, these same, have there [in the conquest] a blow to sustain. All violence of that sort is sadly felt by me, the king beloved of the Devas. There is no country where there may not be found such corporations as of Brahmaṇyas and Sramaṇas, and there is no [place] in any country where men do not confess the faith of some sect (this phrase is quite mutilated in K.). This is why so many people have, of late, been smitten, are dead, have been carried off in Kaliṅga, the king, beloved of the Devas, feels it at present a hundred and a thousandfold more sorrowfully. In fact, the king beloved of the Devas desires (K.: to see prevail) security for all creatures, regard for life, peace and gentleness (the last word is wanting in K.). Now it is this which the king beloved of the Devas regards as the conquest of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the king beloved of the Devas finds his pleasure, and in his empire and on all its frontiers to a distance of many hundreds of yojanas. Among these [neighbours] (K.: such) [are] Antiōchos, king of the Yavanás, and to the north of that Antiōchos, four kings, Ptolemy, Antiōgos, Māgas, Alexander; to the south, the Chojas, the Pāṁḍyas, as far as Tamāpanni, and moreover also the king of the Huns (?), Vismavasi (?). Among the Greeks, the Kambojas, the Nābhaka’s and the Nābharpāṁtis, the Bhojas and the Petenikas, the Andras and the Pulindas, everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the king beloved of the Devas. Wherever there have been sent envoys from the king beloved of the Devas, there also, after having heard from the king beloved of the Devas, the duties of religion, they have at once conformed (K.: with zeal) and will conform to the religious instructions, to religion, that barrier against. It is thus that conquest is extended in all places. I have found in it an inner joy; such is the contentment which the conquests of religion secure. But to tell the truth, contentment is a secondary matter; and the king beloved of the Devas does not attach great value, except to those fruits which are secured for the other life. It is for that that this religious inscription has been engraved (K.: written), in order that our sons and our grandsons may not think that they ought to make any other new conquest. Let them not think that conquest by the sword (literally by the arrow) deserves the name of conquest; let them not see in it anything but disturbance, violence. Let them not consider any conquest real except the conquests of religion. They are of importance for this world and for the other; let them make all their enjoyment of the pleasures of religion, for those have their value both in this world and in the other.

Fourteenth Edict.*

Of this the Girnar version, being entire, is again made the basis. Of the Dhamali and Juangada versions only fragments are left, while the Khālsī one is entire and the Kapurīdīrī one nearly so.

[*] Ayaṁ dharmamāpi devānāmpriyena Priyadāsinā rāṣṭā lekhāḥ pāṁtā asti eva

[*] saṁkhitena asti majhampena asti vistātana nā cha sarvāṁ sarvāṁ ngṛtaṁ ghaṭitaṁ [.]

[*] mahālakes hi viśiṣtāḥ bahu cha likhitāṁ likhāpayīsan.79 cheva.70 [.] asti cha etakāṁ.

[*] punapuna vutaṁ tasātasa athasa mādhurītaya kintā.70 jano tathā paṭipajātē.78 [.]

[*] tatra ekdā asanmānaṁ likhitāṁ asa desaṁ va saṁkhyā.78 kāraṇānaṁ va [.]

[*] alochetpā lipikāraṇaparādheva va.[.]

Translation.

This edict has been engraved by the king Piyadasi beloved of the Devas, under a form whether abridged, whether of moderate length, or expanded, and the whole is not everywhere put together; for my empire is large, and I have engraved much and I will yet engrave [Kh.: and I will continue always to inscribe]. Certain precepts are repeated with urgency, because of the special importance I attach to seeing the people put them in practice (Dh. J.: because of the special importance that I attach to them, and of my desire to see the people put them in practice). There may be found faults of the copy, perhaps that a passage has been mutilated.

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* Read vistātana.
* C. has saṁkhyā parvaṁtā.
* C. differs from the reading of facsimile B. in these places.
* Khālsī reads saṁkhyā, and Kapurīdīrī sūkhāye.
perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood:
all this is the fault of the engraver.

Below the 13th edict at Girnár is a line of
which the commencement has been destroyed.
What is left reads—

va sveto hasti sarvalokasukhāhāra nāma.
Possibly the line accompanied a tracing of an
elephant, now broken away, and I propose to
translate it by simply supplying the pronoun—

“That white elephant is in truth the benefactor of the whole world.”

Between the legs of the elephant above the
inscription at Khalsi is the word

Gajatame,
which we translate, in the light of the Girnár
legend, as

“The elephant par excellence, the great
elephant.”

A NOTE ON THE WORD SIDDHAM USED
IN INSCRIPTIONS.

For the benefit of those epigraphists who still
adhere to Dr. Stevenson’s translation of the word
siddham, which frequently stands in the begin-
ing of ancient Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions,
by ‘To the Perfect one,’ I call attention to two
inscriptions (1) Amākavi fragment from a slab
now in the British Museum, represented in
Fergusson’s Tree and Serpent Worship, pl. xciv,
fig. 3 (where, however, the inscription is partly
cut away, and what is left is indistinct), 1 and (2)
Cunningham, Arch. Reports, vol. V., pl. xv, No.
20. The former begins with the phrase—सिद्ध नमो
महापुरुषोऽस्मि, which can mean nothing but ‘Success!
adoration to the divine one’ (i. e. Buddha). The
first words of the latter are, according to the
plate—सिद्ध नमो अरहतो महापुरुषोऽस्मि, while the
transcript 2 has,—Siddham Aum (?) Namo
Arahate Mahatmasya. Both are, no doubt,
faulty, and the correct reading is probably
सिद्ध नमो अरहतो महापुरुषोऽस्मि—Success! adoration
to the Arhat Mahāvīra.’ But, whether the reading
be सिद्ध नमो or simply सिद्ध, it is perfectly clear
that the word siddham cannot contain the invoca-
tion of a deity. The correctness of the explanation
which I have proposed, viz., to take siddham as
the nom. neuter of the part. perf. pass. and as an
equivalent of सिद्धि: ‘success,’ is attested by the
fact that the latter word actually occurs for siddham,
e. g. Cunningham Arch. Reports, vol. V., Pl. xii, H,—
सिद्धि: श्री: मन्त्र १७९९. The Mahābhārata, pp. 6 and
7 (Dr. Kielhorn’s edition) asserts besides, that
siddha was used as a manigala; see also, Bhandār-

DAMBAI BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF 8. 107.

At p. 185 ante, Mr. Fleet has published the text
of an interesting inscription, which indicates
that Buddhism still held a place among the
natives of the Karnathaka as late as the end of the
11th century A.D. In his remarks, Mr. Fleet seems
to confound the Buddhists with the Jains; but

1 I have used a facsimile and copy made from the slab
by Dr. Burgess.

2 Ibid. p. 35.
as delivering her votaries from these very eight forms of evil—the fear (1) of lions, (2) of elephants, (3) of fire, (4) of hooded-snakes, (5) of thieves, (6) of fitters, (7) of the ocean waves, and (8) of demons,—which Avalokitëvara is represented in the bas-reliefs at Aurangâbâd, Ajanta, Elurâ, and Kauhurâ, as saving men from. The inscription identifies Arya-Târâdâ with Prajñâ, as does also the Sarvâdikâ of Sarvajñâ-Mitarâpâda. The words Tathâgata and Sugata are constantly applied to Buddha, but rarely used by the Jains. All the terms in the inscription are those in common use among Buddhists, and none of them specially Jaina,—for the conjectural reading of bhukherîna, in the verses at the top, can hardly be admitted, since Sri-Samvara, the 18th Jina of the future cycle, is never alluded to, except in the formal lists. Nor would Jains address Buddha at all in an inscription.

These remarks, I think, show beyond doubt that this inscription is purely Buddhist. Is there not a trait of the Buddha scorn for the Jaina-Śrâvakas, in joining them with outcasts and Chânḍâlas? Buddhists, too, would not be likely to become converts to Jainism—the two sects hated each other too heartily—but as the Episcopalian of modern times, who leaves his church, rarely joins any closely allied form of worship, but goes to the extreme of Plymouthism—so the Buddhists when they changed at all, would go over at once to the popular Lingâyat religion.

J. B.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, Nos. 3 and 4, contain few papers of much interest. Each number opens with a lengthy paper by Lient. R. C. Temple, B. S. C., of "Remarks on the Afgâns found along the route of the Tal Chotial Field Force in the spring of 1879." The first gives an account of the tribes en route and their affiliation, the result evidently of much intelligent enquiry; and the second paper describes the distribution of the tribes; their polity; civilization; language; and place names. Both papers are illustrated by maps and sketches. Dr. G. Thibaut has also part of a paper, in each number, "On the Suryaprajñâpâti—a Jaina astronomical work first brought to the notice of orientalists by Prof. Weber, in his Indische Studien (vol. x). The peculiarity of the Jaina system seems to be that it assumes two suns, two moons, and a pair of each planet and star, rising and setting alternately, the greater portion of the revolution of each being occupied in revolving round Mount Meru. Dr. Thibaut discusses with much acuteness the leading principles of the theory, and at the close points out the resemblance between the cosmological and astronomical ideas of the Jainas and those contained in an old Chinese work, the Shen-Pei translated by E. Biot (Jour. Asiatique for 1841, pp. 532-639).

BOOK NOTICES.


This essay consists of an extremely severe criticism of Darmesteter's Ormazd et Ahriman1 and a shorter statement of the author's own theory of the origin of Zoroastrism, which he advocates with much zeal and ability. As the two works draw very different conclusions from the same facts, they should be carefully read in conjunction as mutually corrective, and also because M. de Harlez seems to be rather careless about quoting the exact words of the book he is criticising, though he may give the sense sufficiently well. The reader has also to recollect that there is a third, and older, theory of the origin of Zoroastrianism, which holds a somewhat intermediate

position between the extreme views of MM. de Harlez and Darmesteter, and is the result of the labours of several scholars, though finally elaborated by Haug in his *Essays on the Religion of the Parsees*. All three theories agree in considering Zoroastrism as a modification of the ancient Indo-Iranian faith, whence the Vedic religion also sprang, but they account for the modification in such totally different ways that the reader may safely conclude that the data at present available for forming an opinion on the subject are very insufficient.

The old hypothesis, advanced by Haug and others, which may be termed ‘the ancient-schism theory,’ was formed to account for the fact that the name of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura, has become the Brahmanical term Asura, applied to demons in the later Vedic literature (although still a title of gods in the earlier part of the Veda), while the usual Brahmanical term for a god (*deva*) has become the Zoroastrian term for a demon (*däcea*). To account for this strange metamorphosis, and others of a somewhat similar character, this theory assumes that a schism broke out in the Indo-Iranian religion about the time of the composition of the older Vedic hymns, and that, while the predecessors of the Iranian priesthood remained true to their ancient faith, the Brahmans began to introduce the worship of new gods, or to change the order of precedence of those which already existed, until the schism led to a disruption of the nation, when, under the tuition of Spitama Zarathushtra, the Iranians not only renounced the new-fangled gods and dogmas of the Brahmans, but also adopted many reforms in their older faith. Regarding the age in which Spitama Zarathushtra lived there have been many different opinions. Haug, in his *Essays*, was inclined to place him before B.C. 1000; but latterly, he thought it more probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus the Great, about B.C. 600.

Darmesteter’s hypothesis, which may be termed ‘the storm-myth theory,’ supposes that the whole Indo-Iranian mythology was nothing but an embodiment of men’s observations and conceptions of meteorological phenomena and their causes. And that Zoroastrism and Brahmanism are merely two separate developments of this mythology, starting from the same original by different and widely-diverging paths. According to this theory, Spitama Zarathushtra, like a host of other legendary beings, was originally only a manifestation of the conflict of the elements in stormy weather.

The hypothesis of M. de Harlez, which may be termed ‘the foreign-influence-reform theory,’ goes to the opposite extreme. It rejects all idea of the gradual development of the essential doctrines of Zoroastrism from the ancient Indo-Iranian faith. Admitting that such development continued to produce new myths and legends long after the separation of the two races, it assumes that a radical reform, connected with the name of Spitama Zarathushtra, was introduced into the old religion as late as the time of Darius Hystaspes. It further considers this reform as the true origin of Zoroastrism, and attributes it to the influence of foreign religions. Some of the Zoroastrian customs and beliefs it traces to the Turanians (the deadly enemies of the Iranian race); and it points out others so analogous to those of the Jews as to indicate the possibility that Zoroastrism may have borrowed some of its best doctrines from the Jewish captives.

M. de Harlez finds no storm-myth in the *Avesta*, and, no doubt, many of Darmesteter’s conclusions on this point are mere effects of a vivid imagination than of any tangible reality. The Vedic poets used a variety of metaphorical terms in their imaginative descriptions of meteorological phenomena, but it does not follow from this that whenever similar terms are used in the *Avesta* they are to be taken in the same metaphorical sense. Even in the *Veda* itself there are probably far fewer storm-myths than it is now the fashion to assume. On the other hand, if the ‘storm’ has disappeared from the Avesta myths, so it has likewise from nearly all those of modern Hinduism; the poet’s metaphors naturally degenerate into legendary tales, and whether such legends refer to actual beings, or to imaginary personifications, can be ascertained only by tracing them back to their primitive source. This is evidently the course that Darmesteter has endeavoured to take, but his enthusiasm has often led him to forget that there are other sources of myths besides elemental storms. M. de Harlez adopts another method, and the chief cause of the difference of his results from those of Darmesteter is that he does not attempt to trace the legends so far back as their primitive source.

To date the origin of Zoroastrism merely from the time of Spitama Zarathushtra is hardly to begin at the beginning, but is rather like commencing the history of England with the Norman Conquest. The *Avesta* contains far too many vestiges of an earlier form of the religion to admit of their being considered otherwise than as essential components of Zoroastrism, however repugnant they may appear to be to the views attributed to Zarathushtra himself in the *Gathas*. It is in such vestiges, however, that relics of storm-myths are most likely to be discovered, and, therefore, their exclusion from Zoroastrism is an effectual mode of banishing the storm-myth also.

Regarding the separation of the Brahmans from
the Iranians, though it cannot be proved to have been occasioned by a religious schism, it is still most reasonable to suppose that the two races remained in contact until they had developed the leading characteristics of their divergent faiths; long enough, at least, for the Iranians to contract that horror of the daēnas (the Brahman's gods, but their own demons) which has ever since remained one of their most distinctive tenets. The reform attributed to Spitama Zarathushtra is only another name for a rapid form of development, so that in this respect all three theories are really much more in accord than is at first apparent; and as all developments are more or less influenced by external circumstances (more especially when progress is rapid) there is every probability that Spitama Zarathushtra was influenced by some foreign forms of religious thought. But as we know neither the age in which he lived, nor the foreign religions with which he came in contact, it is mere waste of time to attempt to point out the sources of the tenets he taught, whether Iranian or foreign.

In fixing the period of the Zoroastrian reform about the time of Darius Hystaspes, M. de Harlez has brought it down to the latest possible date; in fact, later than is at all probable, as he may conclude from the name of Aśramazdā being already compounded in the cuneiform inscriptions of that monarch, whereas its component parts, Ahura and Mazda, are not only distinct words, but are also generally used separately in the Gāthas of Spitama Zarathushtra. This condensation of the two distinct titles into one name must surely indicate some interval of development between the period of the Gāthas and that of Darius. M. de Harlez, however, argues that, if the Zoroastrian reform had occurred before the time of Darius Hystaspes, the name of Zaraoaster would have been mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon. This argument would have been perfectly sound if these two historians had lived before the time of Darius, as, in that case, they could have known nothing about the events of his reign. But the fact is that Herodotus acquired his knowledge of Persia about twenty-five years after the death of Darius, and Xenophon lived in Persia about sixty years later still. Now if a great reformer had appeared in the reign of Darius, and if the reform he carried out were of the important and sweeping character that M. de Harlez supposes, it is hardly to be supposed that his name and work would have been so far forgotten by the Persian people, in the course of half a century, as not to have come to the ears of these two Greek historians. Their silence on the subject rather indicates that a period of some centuries had elapsed since the reform had occurred in another land, before the religion had travelled westward, and that the name of the reformer had been forgotten by all but the priesthood, who were not likely to be very communicative to foreigners. This seems to be the most reasonable conclusion from the scanty information we possess, but it is, of course, fatal to all ideas of Jewish influence upon the reformer.

It would far exceed our limits even to mention the numerous details discussed by M. de Harlez in his essay, and as he brings to the discussion all the experience acquired during his recent translation of such fragments of the Avesta as are still extant, it would be presumptions to differ from him without undertaking an elaborate examination of the whole of the existing texts. Although it is hardly possible to assent to some of his conclusions, he has certainly done good service in showing that Spitama Zarathushtra was something more than a storm-myth, and that there is every probability that he was an ardent reformer. This is very much the opinion that has long been entertained, and is nearly all that can be safely asserted in the present state of our knowledge. Beyond this point there is certainly ground for speculation, but the less we dogmatize upon it the better.

E. W. West.

München, 28th May 1881.


This volume of 326 pages has appeared by instalments in the recent parts of the Journal Asiatique, and is partly known to our readers by reproductions which have been published in these pages giving the text of the Girnār version, with M. Senart’s translation turned into English. It is to be understood however that besides the text of all the Girnār edicts (except in the case of the 13th in Pāli characters, and that of all the versions in Roman characters, the volume contains a very full commentary, discussing all doubtful readings, differences of the various texts, and difficulties of translation. Nothing at all so elaborate and able has hitherto been written on these earliest and most extensive of Indian Pāli inscriptions. It is only to be regretted that even at this late date, the copies of some of the northern versions are so inaccurate or defective. This will be at once apparent from a comparison of the first edict in the previously published copies of Kapurdi-giri and Kāla, and the plate quite recently given in this journal by Pandit Bhāgrānlāi Īndrājī (p. 107). We fear the copies available to M. Senart for the separate and pillar edicts are not more trustworthy, and will task all his talent to divine the correct readings. We hail the present volume as a most valuable contribution to Pāli studies.

VALABHĪ GRANTS.

EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

(Continued from vol. IX, p. 239.)

NO. XVI.—A FORGED GRANT OF DHARASENA II, DATED ŚAKA SAMVAT 400.

The subjoined grant purporting to be issued by Dharasena II, of Valabhi, in Śaka Samvat 400, belongs to the Museum of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. It was first noticed by the late Mr. Bhau Daji (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. VIII, p. 244) and later by myself (Indian Antiquary, vol. V, p. 110; vol. VII, p. 163). In 1878 it was transmitted by the Bombay Government to Dr. Burgess for the purpose of being photomicrographed.

The grant is incised on two plates 10½ inches by 7½, which originally were held together by two rings. The left hand ring alone, to which the seal is attached, has been preserved. The latter bears the representation of a standing bull, facing the proper right and the inscription Sīrī-Dharasena. The first four letters of the name stand in one line below the animal and the last a little higher just opposite its face. The letters of the grant are Gurjara, and closely resemble those of the Iko and Umetā plates of Dadda II of Bharuch. In the word śokaśatam (Pl. II, l. 2) a peculiar form of qa occurs, which is found in a few words on Dr. Burns' Kheḍā plates of Dadda II, and throughout the Valabhi grant of Śilādītya V, dated 441. The execution of the engraver's work is good and the preservation of the plates likewise. A few letters have been slightly damaged by verdigris. The language is Sanskrit, and, as regards the spelling, throughout very incorrect. In grammar and style a difference is observable between the preamble and the portion referring to the donation (Pl. I, l. 15—Pl. II, l. 17). The former evidently has been composed by a Pandit, and is free from gross mistakes, while several bad ones occur in the latter, which in many respects closely resembles the corresponding part of the Umetā Śasana of Dadda II. As has been already mentioned, the grant is dated Valabhi, full moon day of Vaiśākha Śaka-samvat 400 (478 A.D.). The donor is stated to be Dharasenaśeva, son of Guhasena and grandson of Bhaṭṭārka (i.e. Bhatarka). The donee is Bhaṭṭa Gominda (i.e. Govinda) son of Bhaṭṭa Īsara (i.e. Īsara), a Chaturvedi of Dasa-pura, who belonged to the Kauśika gotra and to the Chhandogya śākhā of the Śāmaveda. The object granted is the village of Nandī and Nandisar, situated in the viśaya or zillā Kantāragrāmaśodaka, i.e. the Sixteen-hundred of Kāntāragrāma. The boundaries of the village are stated to be to the east the village of Girivili, to the south the river Madāvi, to the west the Ocean, and to the north the village of Dayaṭhalī. Repeated references to the Revenue Survey maps of Gujarāt and enquiries in Surat and Bharuch regarding the whereabouts of the village of Nandī and Nandisar have not led to any very satisfactory results. This much only seems certain from the mention of the Ocean as its western boundary that it lay on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Cambay. As Kāntāragrāma, after which the viśaya or zillā is named, was the ancient, and is still the modern Sanskrit appellation of the large village of Kattargām, north-east of Surat, it seems probable that Nandī must be looked for either in the Olpād or the Chorāsī Tālukās.

The use of the Gurjara characters and of the Śaka era in a grant, stated to have been issued by a Valabhi king, the close agreement of its second and chief portion with the Gurjara Śasana of Umetā, and the obvious error in the genealogy of the Valabhi kings induced both Mr. Bhau Daji and myself to declare these plates to be a forgery. Though, as stated formerly, my condemnation of them was pronounced after a cursory inspection, I do not find that a more careful examination oblige me to alter my opinion regarding them. But some facts which have been discovered since I wrote my articles on the Kāvi and the Umetā Śasanas, as well as some points which the closer examination of the grant has revealed, make the proof of its being a forgery more difficult, and force me to alter the course of reasoning which I formerly adopted.

The argument drawn from the employment of the Gurjara characters and of the

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1 Indian Ant., vol. VI, p. 16.
Śaka era is considerably weakened by the discovery that Gujarāt east of the Gulf of Cambay during a considerable period formed part of the dominions of the Rājas of Vālabhī. For a long time I distrusted the arguments used to prove the supremacy of the Valabhis over continental Gujarāt because the geographical names such as Kheṭaka, Godraḥaka, &c. whose occurrence on the plates of the Śilādityas was supposed to furnish the requisite proof, occur not unfrequently in various parts of Western India. But I am now compelled to admit the correctness of the view which I have formerly combated. For the facsimile of the grant of Dhārasena IV, dated Saṅvat 330, distinctly shows that that document was issued at Bharukaccha or Bharūch. It is not possible to assume that two towns of this name existed in Gujarāt. On the contrary it must be admitted that Dhārasena IV, when issuing his śāsana of Saṅvat 330, had pitched his camp on the banks of the Narmadā, and for the time, at least, had conquered Central Gujarāt. But if Dhārasena IV held Bharūch, it becomes exceedingly probable that the town of Kheṭaka, which is mentioned in his grant and in those of the later Valabhis kings, Kharagraha II, Śilāditya III, Śilāditya IV, and Śilāditya VI, both as the pitching-place of the royal camps and as the head-quarters of an Āhāra or Zillā, is the ancient capital of the Kheṭā Collectorate on the confluence of the Vatnah and Sherī rivers. Further, it now seems advisable to identify Godraḥaka, where Śilāditya V issued his śāsana of Saṅvat 441, with the modern Godhra, the capital of the Panch Mahāls. Finally, it is hardly possible to take the Kheṭaka, which is mentioned in the grant of Dhārasena II, dated Saṅvat 270, to be different from the modern Kheḍa, especially as the name of the village granted, Aśilapalli, agrees very closely with that of the modern Aśalā near Ahmadabad. In short, I can no longer deny that the kings of Valabhi ruled from the time of Dhārasena II over continental Gujarāt as far as the Māhā, and that they extended their sway much further south, certainly as far as the Narmadā. But if that be so, an advocate of the genuineness of our plates might argue that there was no particular objection to assuming Dhārasena II, too, having held Southern Gujarāt, and having used in this grant the Gurjara characters and Śaka era in conformity with the usage of the country. For though each Indian dynasty usually adopts one kind of alphabet only, and a change in the characters usually occurs with a change of the dynasty only, still there are some clear cases where princes, in obedience to local usage, either used different alphabets for different parts of their dominions, or changed the alphabet on acquiring or settling in a new province. Well known instances of the former kind are furnished by the inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Indo-Scythian kings who used the so-called Ariamna-Pāli alphabet for their northern inscriptions and the Indo-Pāli for those in Central India. A case of the latter kind we meet in the grants of the Rāṣhtrakūtas, who, on conquering Gujarāt about 800 A.D., gave up the Devanāgarī alphabet of their Dekhan inscriptions, and substituted for it Gujarāt characters. Nor can it be denied that the kings of Valabhi sometimes used characters differing from those on their plates. The Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bombay contains a mutilated stone-slab, found at Valabhi, which shows the curious pointed characters of Durgaganā's Jhālarpāthan inscription. It must be admitted that these facts, taken together, would make the use of Gurjara characters on plates issued by a king of Valabhi in Gujarāt, perfectly explicable, and that they certainly prevent its being used as an argument against the genuineness of our grant. The same remarks apply to the argument drawn from the use of the śāsana in the time of the Śaka era. The latter was, as we know, from Dadda's and the Rāṣhṭhod inscriptions usually employed in Gujarāt previous to the accession of the Solanki dynasty.

But in spite of the removal of these two grounds of suspicion, there remains enough to condemn our śāsana as a forgery. The first argument against it is furnished by a mistake in the stroke marking the u has, however, been attached to the left of the ra instead of to the right.

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5 Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 73. I prepared my transcript of the grant from the plate itself, not from the facsimile, and was unable to make out more of the name of the king's camp than Bhara. The facsimile has clearly vijayayaskandhaśvārād bhurukacchākhauvākād. From the victorious camp, located at Bharukaccha! The
in the genealogy of the Valabhi kings. The grant states (Pl. I, l. 4) that Guhasena was the son of Bhatarka. All the other grants of Dharasena II expressly assert that Guhasena was Bhatarka's grandson and the son of Dharapata. This version is the correct one and may be gathered from Guhasena's own inscriptions. The only complete one published enumerates, after Bhatarka, his three sons Dharasena I, Drojasinbha, and Dhruvasena I, but omits the name of Guhasena's father, Dharapatta, while, as far as I was able to make out, the first unpublished plate of his grant of Saiuvat 246 contains Dharapatta's name. If our grant were genuine, the mistake would be perfectly inexplicable. But if it is a forgery, the solution of the difficulty is easily found. For the grants issued by the successors of Dharasena II, from his son Siladiya I down to Siladiya VI, Dhruvabhata, omit the names of Bhatarka's four sons, and after mentioning the founder of the dynasty, at once turn to the description of Guhasena, premising the remark that the succession of kings between these two was unbroken and regular. A forger who had no access to a grant of Guhasena or of Dharasena II, but to one issued by a later king, might easily fall into the error which we find in our inscription, and interpret the phrase regarding the unbroken succession of kings between Bhatarka and Guhasena to mean that the latter was the son of the former.

A second mistake which these plates show, confirms this suspicion, and indicates that the forger derived his knowledge of the Valabhi dynasty from a grant of one of the later Siladiyas. Contrary to the usage of all other grants of Dharasena II, that king is in our grant twice called Dharasenadeva (Pl. I, l. 15; Pl. II, l. 17). Now the title deca is not found attached to the names of Valabhi kings before the times of Siladiya II. It actually occurs on all the grants of Siladiya III, Siladiya IV, Siladiya V, and Siladiya VI, and the first ruler who receives it, is just Siladiya II. Now a forger who had seen and not very carefully studied a grant of one of these last four or five princes, where the grantor added deca to his name, would naturally transfer the epithet to the prince on whom he fathered his own production. On a genuine plate it could not be explained, because the Gurusra princes do not adopt it any more than the earlier Valabhans.

A third ground of suspicion arises out of the cognizance and the inscription on the seal. The seals of the undoubted Valabhi grants show a bull couchant, placed in the peculiar attitude of the great stone Nandi at W a l á and facing the proper left, as well as the inscription S R Bha torakah. In no case is the animal represented standing or facing the proper right as on the seal of our grant, and in no case do we find the name of the grantor instead of that of the founder of the dynasty. It would be useless to attempt an explanation of the differences in the device and the inscription through Gurusra influence. For the Gurusra plates show on their seals nothing but the inscription S R Sama n ta Dadda. The conclusion to be drawn from the peculiarities of the attitude of the Bull and of the inscription is that the grant is a forgery, and that the forger was acquainted with the cognizance of the Valabhans, but was unable or neglected to give to the coppersmith a proper model.

A fourth argument against the genuineness of our plates is furnished by their relation to the grants of the Gurusra prince Dadda II. I have formerly asserted that the chief portion of this grant is an exact copy of Dadda's Umetà plates of Saka Saiuvat 400. A more careful examination and comparison of the two documents shows, however, that there are some important discrepancies, and that in some points the forged grant is independent, while in others it agrees with the Ilão grant of Dadda, which is dated Saka Saiuvat 417. In order to enable the reader to gain an insight into the relation of the three grants, I give their corresponding portions in parallel columns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Umetà grant Pl. 1, l. 14.</th>
<th>The forged grant Plate 1, l. 15.</th>
<th>Ilão grant Pl. 11, l. 11.</th>
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<td>कुशाली सयंवरे राष्ट्रपतिप्रियार्-</td>
<td>कुशाली सयंवरे राष्ट्रपतिप्रियार्-</td>
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* Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 66.  * Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 206.  * I have not seen the grant of Siladiya II, dated 348, which is preserved in the Museum of the As. Soc. Bombay, and do not know if deca is used there.
This synopsis shows clearly that my former expression, declaring this śāsana to be an exact copy of the Umetā grant, is too strong, but that if it is a forgery, its affinity to the latter and to the Ilāo grant presupposes an acquaintance with either both those grants or with one of them and with the political history of the Gurjara kingdom. I feel compelled also to retract my former assertion that the resemblance between the Umetā śāsana and this may be used as an argument against the genuineness of the latter. But I maintain now that its date and the statement about the writer, the minister for peace and war Reva, the son of Mādhava, furnish an additional argument for considering our grant spurious. The undoubted grants of Dharasena II, which range between the year 252–270 of the peculiar era of the Valabhi grants, are all countersigned by the minister for peace and war, the chief secretary Skandabhāṭa, while our grant bears the countersignature of Reva, the son of Mādhava. This same Skandabhāṭa, as we learn from Guhasena's grants dated Saṃ. 246 and 248, was also employed as minister by Dharasena's father. It is clear that we have here to deal with a fact which seems to go against the genuineness of our grant. In order to remove it, it might, however, be contended that Reva might either have held office simultaneously with Skandabhāṭa or during the last portion of Dharasena's reign, which as the first grant of his son Śilāditya I is dated Saṃ. 286, must have ended some time between Saṃ. 270 and Saṃ. 286. In favour of the former alternative it might further be said, that Indian princes sometimes actually employed two Śāndhyavrahikas, and the case of the Śilahāra Chhittaraja might be adduced as an instance. For, as we learn from the Bhāṇḍūp plates, that prince besides his Śāndhyavrahika Śhapaiya, a second minister for peace and war, Kapardi for Kāpara. It might further be argued that such an arrangement would be natural for Dharasena II, as he held portions of Kaṭhiavād and of continental Gujarāt. Plausible as this explanation may appear, it cannot be accepted, because through the grants of Dharasena IV we have certain evidence that the Valabhans ruled with one Śāndhyavrahika only. For both the grants of Dharasena IV, which dispose of villages in Soraṇ and in Gohevalē and of his grant of Saṃ. 330 which was issued at Bharuch, and refers to a village situated in the Kheda Zillā, were written by one and the same minister Skandabhāṭa, the son of Chandrabhāṭī. If Dharasena IV contented himself with one minister, it is certainly not likely that Dharasena II, who was a much smaller prince, kept two. The second alternative—the supposition that Reva might have succeeded Skandabhāṭa is not probable, because the office of Śāndhyavrahika seems to have been hereditary at Valabhi for a considerable period. From Saṃ. 246–270 we find Skandabhāṭa; next from Saṃ. 286–290 Chandrabhāṭī; further Saṃ. 310, Vaṣabhāṭī; from Saṃ. 322–330, Skandabhāṭa, the son of Chandrabhāṭi; and from Saṃ. 332–348, Anahila, the son of Skandabhāṭa. Now, though the grants do not state that Chandrabhāṭī was the son of the first Skandabhāṭa, that is highly probable, because Chandrabhāṭī's son is again called Skandabhāṭa, and it is customary with Hindus to name a child after its grandfather. Under these circumstances the appearance of the name of a stranger in a grant of Dharasena is suspicious. But this suspicion becomes stronger if it is borne in mind that in Śaka Saṃvat 417 the Ilāo grant of Dadda II was written by the minister Reva, the son of Mādhava, and that the general Mādhava the son of Gilaṅka wrote a grant for Dadda II on the same day that Reva, who probably was his son, is said to have written one for Dharasena II, the foe of the Gurjara kings. It seems to me that every attempt to uphold the genuineness of our grant entangles us in a maze of improbabilities. We should have firstly to assume that a Brāhmaṇa from continental Gujarāt, for as such is Reva marked by his name, succeeded temporarily to an office held for generations by inhabitants of Valabhi, while his father held office under a hostile king; and secondly, that afterwards he entered the service of that king whom his father served. It will be necessary to the facsimile appears clear, the name is not quite certain, and may be a mistake for Chandrabhāṭī.

13 This is the correct form of the name, not Vaṣabhāṭi or Vatrabhāṭi as Prof. Bhāravarākur doubtfully reads.
14 I have added that, though the modern form would be Revaṅkaṇar, a name which is extremely common among the Brāhmaṇas, especially the Nāgara living between the Tapāli and the Sādharmatī.
acknowledge that the name of the writer and the date of our grant are an additional argument against its genuineness. But while I thus think it necessary to declare the grant spurious, I must add that in my opinion it is not a recent forgery, but dates from 100 to 200 years after Sāka Saṁvat 400. The grounds for this belief are, firstly, the fact that the characters are of the real and genuine Gurjara type; secondly, the fact that the forger knew something about the history of the Gurjara period; and thirdly, the probability that in later times a forger would not have fabricated a grant with the name of a king of the Valabhi dynasty.

As regards the first point, everybody who compares our grant with those of Jayabhata and Dadda II, must acknowledge that whatever the grant may be, the letters are genuine, and agree with those of the Gurjara princes. Now Indian forgers do not, as a rule, even attempt to imitate an ancient character. But, if they do it, the attempt is of the feeblest kind possible. Nobody who carefully examines the numerous forgeries from Southern India, e.g. the Chera grant dated 159 Sāka, the British Museum grant of Pulikē, dated Sāka Sāvat 411, or Mr. L. Rice’s early Chera grants, published in the Ind. Ant., will easily see that the letters do not belong to the centuries in which the grants are dated. The same remark holds good for the few forgeries found in Gujarāt. I may mention, as an instance of this kind, a plate which was sent to me in 1879 for examination by the Assistant Political Agent in charge of Luṇāvāḍa. It bears the name of Jayasimha Siddharāja of Anhilvāḍ Pātha, but the letters belong to the last century, and the document is full of absurd anachronisms. There are also good reasons why it is almost impossible for a forger to adopt an ancient character or to imitate it successfully.

Firstly, palaeography is not a branch of learning which is or ever has been much cultivated in India. Even learned Brāhmaṇas can hardly read the ancient literary alphabets of their own provinces. They are utterly unacquainted with the characters used in inscriptions. This state of things seems to be ancient. For it is indicated by some curious blunders which Hiwen Thang makes with regard to inscribed monuments. Thus the learned Chinese traveler asserts that Tathāgata frequently travelled in the kingdom of Valabhi, and that Asoka raised columns in all the places where he stopped. Now it is a curious fact that Kāthiavāḍa possesses a number of old pillars, several of which, like those near Jasdan, at Lāthī, and near Dvārakā, are inscribed. But not one of them belongs to Asoka: they were all erected by the Western Kṣātra kings or their subjects. Hiwen Thang no doubt drew his information regarding them from the Buddhist priests at Valabhi. His erroneous statements prove that his informants were not palaeographers and antiquarians, but as ignorant of such matters as the Pandits of our days. But, supposing the case that an intending forger had mastered an ancient alphabet, he would still be very far from being able to produce a grant written in it. For the grant has to be incised by a coppersmith or Kansā. Kansās, though sometimes clever enough in imitating a given document, are utterly helpless if left to themselves. A Kansā would be able to copy an old copper plate with perfect exactness, and probably succeed in making a tolerable copy of a grant written on paper. The forger would, therefore, not only have to give him the grant in Devanāgarī characters and an ancient alphabet, but he would have to write out the document itself in the old characters, and then to have it transferred to copper. Patient and industrious as the Pandits are, so much trouble would not suit their taste, and their deficiency in historical sense and knowledge would not allow them to undertake it. Under these circumstances, and with the actual facts regarding forged grants before our eyes, it is not too much to say that a forged grant may be assigned to that period the characters of which it shows. Now our grant shows Gurjara letters, and therefore most probably belongs to the period when Gurjara characters were used in Gujarāt. The latest date which a genuine grant written in Gurjara character shows, is Sāka Sāvat 749, or 827 A.D., which occurs on the Kāvī plates. It may

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18 Burnell, South Indian Pal., p. 119.
37 See Burnell, loc. cit., plate XI.

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18 Mémoires, tom. II., p. 163.
be that the Gurjara characters continued to be used a little longer,—perhaps up to the end of the ninth century. In the tenth century they were supplanted by the northern Kāyastha-Nāgarī, which we find on Mālāja's grant and other unpublished documents. For these reasons, I think, our grant can in no case be placed later than 850 or 900. But as its characters come very close to those of Dadda's plates, it is probably older and belongs to the 6th or 7th century.

The fact that the forger knew something of the ancient political history of Gujarāt points to the same date. I have shown above that the second part of our grant agrees in the main with the Umetā and Ilāo grants, but that in two important particulars the date and the name of the writer wavers between the two. The date is that of the Umetā śāsana, while the name of the writer is identical with that of the Ilāo grant. This circumstance may be explained by assuming that the forger had access to both documents and mixed their contents. But such an assumption is not safe because the two grants were not given to members of the same family or of the same Brāhmaṇical tribe. The Umetā grant originally belonged to a Kānyakaubja Brāhmaṇ and the Ilāo grant to an Abhīchhattrā (i.e. Ahichhattrā) Brāhmaṇ. Now Brāhmaṇs are not at all communicative with regard to their family documents, and it must be a curious accident which gave to one and the same person access to both documents. It is much more likely that he saw only one of the documents, the Umetā śāsana, and took from this the wording of the second part of his composition, and the date, which he could not have possibly given. But if that be so, he must have got the name of Rēva, the son of Mādhava, from his knowledge of history. The fact that such a man existed and held the office of Sāndhiśīyagraha, could, in the absence of annals, only be known to a person who lived not long after the times of Dadda II, i.e. in the 6th or perhaps in the 7th century. Later the knowledge of this whole period of history was buried in oblivion, as a perusal of the Jainā chronicles will show.

Irrespective of this point, there is another historical fact which the forger must have known, viz., that Gujarāt for a time belonged to the kings of Valabhi. That this actually was the case, I have proved by the grant of Dhārasena IV, dated Sam. 330. Now neither the bard nor the Jainās have the slightest notion of it. Nay it will be news to most antiquarians that Bālānīch was actually conquered by the Mahārajādhirāja Chakravartin of Valabhi. Is it, under these circumstances, likely that anybody but a man who lived shortly after the time when the conquest happened should know the fact? That he knew it is plain enough, because he makes Dhārasena II dispose of a village situated probably in the Surat collectorate. The forgery would finally have been without any practical object, if it had been made during a period when the dominion of the Valabhi was over Gujarāt had ceased or was no longer fresh in the memory of the actual rulers. The forger, of course, wanted to prove his own, or his employer's title to the village of Nandīrā. If the actual rulers had not either been Valabhi or at least had known something about the fact that the Valabhi once held the country, he would certainly not have taken the trouble to insert the name of Dhārasena. He would have chosen some other king whose name was known. Hence and because the fact of the Valabhi rule over Gujarāt was soon forgotten, we are driven again to the same conclusion that the forger lived not very long after the date which he inserted in his grant.

Enough has been said, I think, to make this point credible. The conclusions to be drawn from it regarding the credibility of the chief historical statement of our grant, viz., that the Saka year 400 fell in the reign of Dhārasena II, and that Dhārasena possessed Gujarāt in that year, I reserve for another paper, in which I intend to discuss the question of the Valabhi and Gupta eras.

Plate I.

[1] ओ स्तवक श्रीबहमित: सकलपृष्ठपथालोगदापरिन्वितविचन्द्रविहत्वो निन्मुलस्मादिनिविनम्—
[2] श्रीचाँगेश्वर: परमधार्मिको निन्मुलस्मादिनहत्तकधर्मरुपमलल्लालिन: कस्मिलविनि-

23 L. 1, read "भीति:—L. 2, read विषमः"; "चरि:। लोपः."
[3] स्वाभाविकरितपारिप्रतिकारणादिकलकलकलहड़कलकपालपानिकारणादिशुमारात्मानयुक्तात्मात्मानयुक्तात्मात्मानयुक्तात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मातः
Translation.

Plate I.

Om. Hail, from famous Valabhi! (There was) the ardent devotee of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhasāṅka (Bhāṣāṅka), whose lotus feet were kissed by the diadems of all kings, that encircled them like a garland,—who upheld with his arms strong like pillars the load of the whole earth,—the fire of whose anger was extinguished by the streams of tears, flowing from eyes of the wives of all his enemies, who had been slain by his strong arm,—whose pious conduct was exceedingly efficient in destroying the crimes of the world which the Age of Sin makes foul.

His son (was) the illustrious Guhāsa, who resembled Ākhaṅḍa (Indra), because his valour was unchecked (abhaṅḍita), and Prithu because all the quarters of the world were purified by the canopy of his very extended (prāhuṣata) fame,—who protected the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by a girdle, and excelled in composing works in the three languages, viz., in Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Aparahāra, who was an illustrious king (rājahana) dwelling in the minds (mānasā) of a multitude of Pandits, and thus resembled a royal swan dwelling on lake Mānasā,—who conquered all the regions of the earth with numerous streams of blood, red like the dawn of Time, that gushed from the frontal globes of troops of hostile elephants which he split in the van of battle, who conquered all the intermediate regions,—who were always at the door of the gods (libations made in conning gifts) (śaḍdānādārākṣita), and who thus resembled an elephant king whose trunk is always wet with ichor flowing from his temples (śaḍānādārākṣita),—who was very upright (atīsāra) and exceedingly lofty (atīsūga) resembled the Himalaya which is exceedingly straight (atīsārā) and high (atīsūga),—who being very courageous (bhāhauttaśāraya) and very profound (atīgāmbhāra), resembled the ocean which is the abode of many beings (bhauśāraya) and very deep (atīgāmbhāra)—who, as the shadow of his feet (śaḍānādārākṣita) falls on many great kings (mānalāra) resembled the sun, the light of whose rays (śaḍānādārākṣita) falls on many high mountains (mānalāra).

His son (is) the supreme sovereign, the supreme lord and king of kings the illustrious Dharaṣnadeva, who is endowed with a multitude of incomparable virtues, who being thedestroyer of (three) towns of his foes, resembles Śiva who is the destroyer of Tripurā, who is the husband of the earth that is surrounded by the four oceans as by a girdle,—who has forcibly drawn towards himself by the strength of his arm the wealth of all his rivals,—who, just like Vishnu, is always attended by Fortune (lakshirti),—who, like the flood of the celestial river (gaṅga), is always engaged in purifying the three worlds,—who, having beaten down the huge dark masses of his numerous foes by means of the multitude of the trunks (of his elephants), and having beautified the whole world by the expanse of his great and exceedingly brilliant fame, resembles the sun who with the multitude of his rays destroys the extensive, hostile darkness and beautifies the whole world by his far-extending exceedingly brilliant splendour,—who, being worshipped by a crowd of wise men, resembles Brāhma, who is worshipped by the crowd of the gods— who, being clever in fulfilling all hopes and removing the sorrows of the people, resembles the clouds of the rainy season, which are efficient in filling the whole sky and remove the heat that scorched men,—who possessing great intelligence and seeing much, resembles Indra, who has a very wise preceptor (Brāhmapati) and many eyes.

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L.14, read मृदुलि: आर्थकेया शास्त्रानित; तास्किय: भापुस्तिनि गुरु; L.15, read भास्तिनि: राधादी; L.16, read वर्त. वर; महामानि; सिद्धांतं सयति; वाच्य; L.17, read मय भीष्मसंदर्शन.---

This is an exceedingly recondite pun which is only made possible by the author's having taken purāṇa (gen. pl.) as an equivalent for parāṣraya or tripurāya, which latter word is the name of the Dāitya slain by Śiva.
He, being in good health, addresses these orders to all governors of zilláhs, governors of tálukáhs, headmen of villages, officials and employed; great men, chief men and others:—Be it known to you that for the increase of my parents and of my own merit in the next world and of my fame, I have granted with heartfelt devotion, confirming the gift by a libation of water, on the day of the full moon of Vaiśākha in the year four hundred of the Śaka era, to Bhāṣṭā Gomindā (Govinda), the son of Bhāṣṭa Isāra (Īśvara), an emigrant from Dāsāpura, who belongs to the Chatuṛvedis of that town and to the Kāśiṇka Gotra in general, and studies the Cāndoga śākhā (of the Sāmaveda) for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiśāvedva, Agrihotra, the five Mahāyajñas and similar rites, the village of Nandāraka situated in the Kantāragrāma and daughter of zillāh, the boundaries of which are—to the east the village of Girivili, to the south the river Mādāvi, to the west the ocean, to the north the village of Deyathali (The grant of) this village—which is not to be entered by any royal officials, and to be enjoyed by the (grantee's) sons, grandsons and (remoter) descendents—defined by the above-stated boundaries includes the . . . . . . the rent paid by non-resident cultivators, the income in grain and gold and the right of forced labour, with the exception of former gifts to gods and Brahmans, and is to be valid as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers and hills endure. Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who by virtue of the rights conferred by this gift to a Brahman, cultivates (the land of this village), causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed by others, or assigns it (to others) . . . . . . . Written by the Secretary for peace and war Rava, the son of Mādhava. This is my sign-manual, (that) of the illustrious Dharasenadeva.

BOMBAY Beggars and Criers.

By K. Raghunatiji.

(Continued from p. 147.)

MURLIS AND WAGHÍAS.

Murlis are girls wedded to Khandobá, the lord of Jejuri. If a low caste Hindú is childless, he vows that if Khandobá blesses him with offspring, male or female, the same will be set apart for life, to worship and attend upon the deity, and he accordingly dedicates it; others again forsake their little ones under the plea of a vow made by them, while grown-up women leave the protection of their husbands, and become Murlis on the mere pretext that Khandobá had appeared to them in a dream and told them they ought to become Murlis. Māṅgas and Mahárs are not behind in having Wághiás and Murlis among them. The male is called Wághiá, and the female Murl. These hang about the temple and loiter in the streets with a bag made of tiger-skin, which they carry suspended from their necks, and with which they touch the foreheads of passers by and ask for charity. The males and females dance together with bells in their hands, and a small native drum, called in Marāthi daphri, and sing the praises of their god and lāvánis, for the entertainment of listeners. They do not live at Jejuri alone, but are scattered in distant towns and villages, and the females, under the cloak of religion, are prostitutes. An ordinary Hindú may keep one of these women under his protection, but generally and correctly speaking they are the Kasthins of Marátha and other low caste Hindús. Without the least shame for a few annas or so they will take up quarters with any one, not excepting a Musalman. The standard of morality among them, even in Jejuri, is very low, indeed, so much so that a gentleman visiting Jejuri with his servants, has either to stay outside the place for the night with his servants, or to accommodate them in his own house, to keep them from mischief at the hands of these women. The males of these people marry the daughters of Murlis, but the Murlis themselves cannot marry, they being the wedded wives of their god. "That a Murl should be a woman of abandoned character is understood to be a matter of course, even more than that a Kasthin should be so." The term Murl is applied by the natives to a loose and enticing woman. The life of these Murlis is "openly a life of prostitution, prostitution under the supposed sanction of religion," And a majority of
diseased and hideous-looking Kasbins in Bombay are the Murils of Jejuri and other such places.

Kovaru.

Kovaru are a wild-looking Karsatin people whose women, called Karvanjis, rather than the men, are fortune-tellers. They are occasionally met with in Bombay, begging, telling fortunes and playing music. They travel from place to place, and speak a language peculiar to themselves. Their women, rising early in the morning, partake of the food begged the previous day. The husband cannot join his wife uncalled, as he is supposed to obtain his own food. Dressing in rags, she salutes forth at about eight in the morning, and tying her young ones on her back or chest, and with a basket on her head, she takes her stand in front of the house-door, begging for alms. She does not offer to tell fortunes unless asked, but when questioned, whether she knows fortune-telling, she readily answers in the affirmative. She puts down her basket and sits by it on the ground. Bringing a handful of grain or a pice, the householder gives it to the beggar and sits before her. The beggar takes his right hand in hers, opens it, and after examining it for some time, tells him the number of trials and difficulties he has had since his birth, his present circumstances, his future luck, whether his wife is dead or alive, the number of children he already has or is to have, and other particulars. Only one must be prepared to ask questions, the beggar being always ready with her answers, and to the satisfaction of the questioner.

Kalongainis.

Kalongainis pretend to know everything about futurity, what awaits mankind, what is to become of this world, and when there will be a deluge. They are on rare occasions met with in Bombay. They go about in bands of three, four or five. They have a leader who holds a book in his hands and recites verses; his followers also carry books and repeat verses after their leader, more from memory than from the books, and beat drums and other musical instruments to attract people's attention and obtain grain, money, or other presents. Any one wishing to hear them sing, as they are supposed to be very good singers, calls them, and after hearing them for some time, pays them from a couple of annas to as many rupees.

Budlenes.

Budlenes resemble the Joshis, they are fortune-tellers, and go about begging with a rattle in their hands, uttering something to the following effect:—'A fortnight hence wilt thou hear of prosperity, and in a palaquin wilt thou sit within a couple of months. But unfortunately a danger awaits thee. Thus did the morning bird hâlakî whisper in my ear. Do thou therefore try to avert the danger, shouldst thou not do so in time, great loss will ensue. It is not a great thing to do, only an old waistcoat, and all will end well.' Thus does the Joshi go on repeating, keeping the rattle all the while at work. This is a very boisterous beggar, shrewd and designing.

Sâktas (ante, pp. 73, 74.)

Ghatakanchukis is a Sâkta ceremony performed generally at large gatherings of the sect. I remember one such gathering being held in Bombay in the Fanaswadi Lane, when as many as three hundred persons, men and women, were present. The meeting was held in a solitary building then known as the Bhookhândâ, believed to be infested by devils, and that these devils occasionally feasted there and sent forth odours of incense and liquor. At this ceremony equal numbers of males and females are present, and as they enter, the men sit in one place in the room, and the women in another. A dim light or two are kept burning, and the chief mover, taking a pot or vessel, places it in the middle. When all have arrived, the 'goddesses', that is, the women, approach the pot, and pulling off their kanchukis, bodicess, throw them into the receptacle, and sit down round it with their breasts exposed. The men now approach them, and worship them with flowers, sandal, red powder, wave a lighted lamp before their faces, burn incense and camphor, and offer them fish, flesh, liquor and sweetmeats. After they have eaten and drunk, the remains are made over to the men. Before worship both the men and women are counted, to see that the numbers are the same; if not, others are sent for. Each woman must know her own bodice, and each worshipper, approaching the vessel, picks up a bodice, and the woman to whom it belongs pairs with him, and they spend the night in each other's company in the room where they are met.

(To be continued).
CORRESPONDENCE
AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—The story which Professor Tawney has quoted in the July number of the Antiquary as furnishing a folklore parallel, allow me to point out, is the popular romance, given in the Jaimini Bhārata of Chandrakāśa, the scene of whose adventures is localised at Kantala-zagara, said to be Khatettar, in the extreme north-west of Mysore. The story is related in Talboys Wheeler's History of India, vol. I, p. 522; but for local accounts see Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer, vol. I, p. 137, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. xxvii.

Lewis Rice.
Bangalore, 16th July 1881.

EXORCISM OF LOCAL VILLAGE GHOSTS.

The following note on the ritual pursued when a new village or hamlet is being established may be of interest. The system prevails extensively in the Banaras Division. It extends more or less over the North Western Provinces, but I have not been able to obtain a fuller account of it than that now given, which was noted in the Gorakhpur district. The ceremony is carried out by a class of men known as Dibbaṇḍhāvas. Dīh, properly meaning "a village," is, like dīhokār grāmanyā or bhānśī, the distinctive title of the local village ghosts or deities. The Dibbaṇḍhāva is then literally "the man who ties up or binds the village ghost." This office is appropriated to the lower castes, especially Cāmārs and Dārhis (a branch of the great Pāśi tribe). It is even popularly believed that the presence of a Brāhmaṇ detaches from the efficacy of the rite.

The Dibbaṇḍhāva, when they arrive on the site of the proposed village, select a place and sit there for eleven days, and play a drum constantly. The playing of drums or the ringing of bells is, as is well known, distasteful to demons (cf. Brand, Popular Antiquities, pp. 424, 429, 431). On the 11th day the Dibbaṇḍhāvas sit on a platform (chabārā) made of mud, and all the men and women of the village are assembled. The Dibbaṇḍhāva then takes some sarsan and rāśi (kinds of mustard) and rice, and sings a song known as the pochārī gīt, a long rambling series of verses very popular among weavers and Ojās (a caste of excisors). The word is a corruption of Upādīyā-ya—a teacher of the Vedas—one of the learned classes of Brāhmaṇas. The Dibbaṇḍhāva throws the grain all round him. Then another "medicine man" known as Māṭīwā (the earthy one) sits on the platform, and places near him a piece of the wood of the gūlar tree (ficus glomerata), in which several holes have been bored. The Dibbaṇḍhāva then says "I am going to call the village ghosts" bhāt and pret), both are the ghosts of men who have died a violent death, or whose funeral obsequies have not been properly performed. The pret is considered the more dangerous of the two. His feet are supposed to be turned backwards. The Dibbaṇḍhāva then throws a little water pulse (dolichos pilosus) over the Māṭīwā, who shakes his head, and pretends to be under the influence of such and such a bhūt or pret. He rolls about and appears to be possessed of the devil. The Dibbaṇḍhāva then takes a little of the pulse from off the head of the Māṭīwā, and puts it into the holes in the piece of wood, saying "I have taken from the Māṭīwā's head the village ghost, and am now shutting it up in the holes in the wood from whence he can never again escape to injure the villages, their crops or cattle." This piece of wood is then buried under the platform, and the village is supposed to be safe in future.

The ceremony is ended by the Dibbaṇḍhāva rolling on the ground. The villagers then put a mortar used for husking rice (chōlī) on his chest, and pound bricks in it to dust for some time with a pestle. My informants could not explain the meaning of this part of the ceremony. It is probably an emblem of some kind of vicarious crushing or bruising administered to the obnoxious ghost through his representative the Dibbaṇḍhāva. The phrase expressing the completion of the exorcism is dibbaṇḍhāva gīḍḍa, "the village ghost has been tied up." In many cases the Dibbaṇḍhāva is the common local "medicine man" who looks after cases of sorcery, possession by the devil, evil eye, etc. Often, however, he has more than a local reputation, and is sent for from a considerable distance to perform this ceremony. He is greatly respected by the old women who are the reputed witches of the neighbourhood, and on these occasions they make him presents in order that he may refrain from charging them in such cases. These local ghosts are worshipped in Sāwan (July-August). Sweetmeats and cakes cooked in butter are offered on the ghost's platform, and it is adorned with flowers. The ceremony is clearly non-Aryan, and is analogous in many respects to the exorcisms performed by the parihar or "medicine man" of the Goonds in Central India.

William Crooke, C.S.
Austral, N. W. P., 9th June 1881.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS IN KURDISTĀN.

Eight miles north-east of Kuchan, on the top of an outlying spur of the northern hills, is an ancient domed tomb, said to be that of the brother of Imām Riza. Within eyeshot of this tomb, at different points of the road, are those piles of stone which have been accumulated during cen-
turies, each true believer who passes being obliged to add a stone to the heap by way of saluting the tomb, saying *salām*, as the expression is. These hills were once thickly clothed with forest growth, of which traces still remain. One of these is a *licium* tree, of great age. Local tradition states that it has been known for the last five hundred years. It is an object of special reverence among the Kurdi villagers, who consider it endowed with supernatural attributes. They say that a man who once set about cutting off some branches for firewood died instantly. All around it are piles of stones, similar to those within view of the old tomb, and each peasant who passes, not satisfied with saying *salām*, by the stone-placing process, also attaches to the branches a small fragment of his garments, which latter are generally in a condition eminently adapted for procuring small morsels without unnecessary tearing. This seems to be a universal Kurdi custom. In the Kurdi districts of Anatolia I have frequently noticed rosebushes thus covered with fragments of rag, forcibly reminding me of the similar custom in the south and west of Ireland in the vicinity of holy wells.

Another singular superstition to be found in the locality relates to the small boulders of blue limestone, which occur in great numbers on the hill slopes and strewn along the road. They are all supposed to be going in the direction of the shrine of Imām Riza at Meshed, irresistibly drawn thither by the exceeding sanctity of the place. During six days of the week they are said to remain motionless, but after sunset on Friday night they commence moving slowly, and continue to do so until sunrise. Some of these boulders, from a foot to eighteen inches in diameter and of a more or less spherical form, are quite polished on their surface, as if by constant handling, and I have no doubt they are frequently helped in their pious journey by the hands of devout persons. At Meshed there is a pile of such stones within the precincts of the mosque, and, as my informant told me, "each one as it arrives is added to the heap."—Correspondent, Daily News.

**NOTE ON MALIK-UL-MAUT.**

The third story of the collection of Panjāb Folk-Tales (ante, vol. IX, p. 209) is regarding "The Lord of Death," *Malik-ul-Maut* or *Kal*, as he is called in the Panjāb. In my notes I have merely remarked that he is a common object of belief, and as far as I can ascertain there is very little known about him. The belief in him, however, is universal, and the present note is made in the hope of obtaining information regarding him from other places. The name *Kal* is known all over Northern India to represent "death" or the "angel of death," but does not appear to be mythological, being rather a Hindu appropriation of the Musalman Malik-ul-Maut. *Kal* is apparently Cronus, Time, and also a mythological name for Yām, the Lord of the Dead, as he is called in the Panjāb, but also Kal Bhangān in this connection; and it would seem that the usage of *Kal* to represent the Lord of Death arose from a popular confusion of the senses of *Kāla*.

The word or rather phrase *Malik-ul-Maut* is of course entirely Arabic, and if *Kal* represents him and not he *Kāla*, the introduction of the belief into the Panjāb is therefore presumably Musalman, but the belief is by no means limited to the Musalmans, as the following incident will show.

I went to see the wind-up of the Dasahār festival in the city of Firozpur a short time ago. The play being enacted was the story of Rāmachandra rescuing his wife Sitā from the clutches of Rāwan. Rāwan was represented by an enormous figure some 30 feet high, his younger brother Kumbha Kāma by another somewhat smaller, and his wives by figures some 12 or 14 feet high standing behind what represented a cuscus wall, which was meant for Lanka. Rāmachandra and Lakshman were represented by two boys about 10 years of age, sons of Brahmans, who were covered from head to foot with saffron, and were followed by a ragged following of boys and young men dressed as much as possible in crimson who represented Rāmachandra's "army." On the opposite side was Rāwan's army equally ragged and dressed in dark blue. Sitā, a frightened-looking little Brahman girl about 10 years old, and covered with saffron, sat at a safe distance behind Rāwan's army attended by her "court," a miscellaneous collection of children of her own age, waiting for Rāmachandra's victory. Rāmachandra and Lakshman joined issue with Rāwan, and both attacked one of his champions (name not given), and after some sparring with swords knocked him over, whereupon their army amid a good deal of screaming obtained the victory and rushed off to rescue Sitā.

About this period the figures of Rāwan, &c. made of bams and paper (very palpably so) were begun to be burnt. Lanks and the wives went first and then Rāwan's brother. Rāwan himself was to go last at sunset, but as he could be only wounded in the neck, the difficulty was overcome by firing him by a slow-match attached to it. The spark as it proceeded up his enormous body was watched with breathless interest, until it reached the vulnerable spot, when his head suddenly went off with a great banging, as it was filled with fireworks (?), to the great joy of the multitude. The interest of the day was then over, and the people collected (some 10,000) began to disperse.
and in the crowd I saw our hero Rāmāchandra and Lakshmana and the heroine Sītā being carried away on men's shoulders like tired children, as no doubt they were.

The whole affair was of course conducted with that marvellous incongruity and that want of the sense of the fitness of things which characterise the natives of India. Rāwān was fired by means of a bambū imitation of the modern field gun and carriage (1), and the play was conducted as usual in the midst of the crowd, and anyhow. I saw the Tahsildār, himself a Hindu, quietly stop the "fight" because it began a little too early, and the Police Inspector (now a Tahsildār) showed Rāmāchandra how to use his sword so as to wound Rāwān's champion. Nevertheless Rāmāchandra and his brother were quite the heroes of the hour, and their feet were touched by any Hindu who happened to stumble against them. The main attractions to the crowd apparently were the noise, the smoke, and the fireworks, and I do not think one in a thousand either understood or cared to find out what was supposed to be going on.

But to return to Malāḵ-u-l-Māu t or Kāl and the part played by him in this remarkable "play." The promoters of the spectacle had procured a hunchbacked dwarf about three feet high, whom they had painted perfectly black except as to his lips, which were painted a bright scarlet; round his waist was fastened a black chain some three feet long, and in his hands was a black staff about five feet long, which he kept twirling about. He was attended by keepers, one of whom kept the chain in his hand. He danced and jumped about incessantly, rolling his blood-shot eyes and head in a half drunken fashion, and looked as little like a human being as he well could,—the keeper and chain adding to the delusion. This was Kāl or Malāḵ-u-l-Māu t, in this particular case the Lord of Bhēcan's death, and the meaning of the chain was that until he was unbound Rāwān could not die.

It appears that every human being has his own Malāḵ-u-l-Māu t, who remains bound until the fated hour of death arrives. Our monkey-like dwarf showed his humanity in one point. He kept on dancing in front of me, siming his staff at me in a threatening manner until I gave him a rupee, which I was told was what he wanted, when he solemnly repeated some blessings over me, which were evidently meant as intercessions for a long life.

Now the Dāshārā is a distinctly Hindu festival, and we have the curious spectacle of a belief which has a probably Muhammadan origin playing an important part in a play representing an incident of Hindu mythology. The Brahmans and pañjiks (save the mark) who were present, and explained matters to me, spoke as naturally and unconcernedly of Malāḵ-u-l-Māu t, using the words, as they did of Rāmāchandra and Sītā. The whole incident confirms what I have frequently said elsewhere, that in the Panjab at any rate (and I believe elsewhere in India) Hinduism and Muhammadanism are not broadly distinguishable, the followers of either religion believing in the superstitions of the other; for instance, as far as I can understand, there is no difference in the Panjab between the cultus of Waran (Varuna) and that of Khizar—both are gods of the water. Again Rabb, Arabic for God, is used by Hindus thus a Hindu Jati (Kambihar) prisoner said to me in Court one day when hard pressed for an answer, "Rabb ne 'apal vārā." God made me a fool. Even if Kāl as the "Angel of Death" has not sprung from Malāḵ-u-l-Māu t, as above supposed, since Kāl is an ancient name for death, yet the Hindu and Muhammadan words are now synonymous for one and the same object of belief.

R. C. Temple.

COINS OF KHARIBÉL.

Major W. F. Prideaux has described to the Bengal Asiatic Society two Himyaritic coins which he received from 'Āden in 1889, and which he ascribes to Kharibél, who is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea as sovereign of the contiguous tribes of the Homerites and Sabaeans, and on terms of friendly alliance with the Roman emperors. This monarch was probably identical with the Himyaritic king Kari'bāl Wät tār Yēh hām, whose name appears on three of the inscriptions discovered by M. Arnaud in the neighbourhood of Mārib in 1843, as well as on these coins.

ANCIENT REMAINS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

In the midst of the village of Aradan stands an edifice which at once gives the cue to the original use of the mounds one sees all over this part of the country, and which at intervals occur in great numbers up to the banks of the Atarah. Out in these plains, where there are no natural elevations, it was found necessary for defensive purposes to erect these earth heaps on which to rear castles and citadels, especially in districts like these, open to the sudden attacks of the nomads of the desert. The castle of Aradan is the first of the kind which I have seen in a perfect condition and in actual use. The mound is about

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1 Mr. Grierson assures me it is the case in Tirhut.
seventy yards in length by fifty in breadth. Its sides are very nearly vertical, and almost in line with the walls of the fortress which crowns its summit. The height of the entire structure cannot be under seventy or eighty feet. The revetment of the mound and the walls of the castle are of unbaked brick, plastered over with fine loam, almost as hard as Roman cement and of a reddish ochreous hue. The whole thing is a composite structure of square and half-round towers clinging together and having two irregular tiers of windows and loopholes, and seemingly constructed at different dates, and without following any definite plan or design, and closely resembling some of those medieval feudal strongholds one sees crowning rock summits in Western Europe. Battlements and bartizans crowd along the walls, and within them is caught a view of terraces, arched arcades, stairs heaped together in the most incongruous fashion, the entire combination as romantically picturesque as it is possible to imagine. Access is given to the interior by steep stairs within the walls, the entrance small, and well guarded by towers and outworks. In the base of the mound are to be seen cave-like openings which are used as stables, and probably as places of refuge for flocks during a hostile incursion. Within sight of Aradan are several similar structures scattered over the plain, some of them quite perfect; others half ruined, but still inhabited; and others again quite fallen into decay, a few crumbling walls only remaining to show that a fortification once crowned the mound whose sides, no longer vertical, have assumed a slope of forty-five degrees, partly from atmospheric influences, and partly through the accumulation of the wall materials along their base. All of them, however, stand in the midst of large and populous villages, and clearly indicate the nature of the grass-grown earth heaps one constantly meets with, standing mournfully alone in the silent uncultivated wastes, where no a scrap of wall or tower remains to tell either of fortalice or of village. Those mounds, we find standing along the Attarq and Girgen, were unquestionably erected with the same object as those I have just described; and their number and extent tell plainly how populous were once what are now the vast, grim solitudes of the Turkoman deserts. That every vestige of village and fort should have disappeared indicates that both were in remote times constructed of unbaked brick or mud, as in Persia to-day. It is only on those of very large size, and occurring in the irregular line reaching from Gümneke Top to Budjirud that remains of

the ancient works known as "Alexander's Wall" are to be found, in the shape of the large heavy burnt bricks which drew their bases or mark the track of the ancient ramparts.—Correspondent, Daily News.

THE MYTH OF THE SIRENS—JÁTAKA STORIES.

I.

One of the most familiar of the Homeric legends is that which celebrates the charms of the dangerous Sirens. The wise Ulysses is thus warned by Circe to beware of their allurements:

"Next where the Sirens dwell you plough the seas: Their song is death and makes destruction please. Unblessed the man whom music wins to stay Near the curs'd shore, and listen to the lay: No more the wretch shall view the joys of life, His blooming offspring or his beauteous wife! In verdant meads they sport, and wide around Lie human bones that whiten all the ground: The ground polluted floats with human gore, And human carnage taints the dreadful shore."

This passage has been interpreted by Etty in a magnificent painting, with which most of us are familiar, and of which this city may be proud to be the home.

The Sirens are described by Homer as possessing a power of enchantment in their song, as having a malevolent delight in the death of man, and an ogre-like taste for human flesh and blood. Ulysses escaped their dangerous influence by filling the ears of his companions with wax and by causing himself to be lashed to the mast when the vessel approached the dangerous coast whence floated the seductive song of the Sirens. By the classical writers the Sirens were often described as bird-like creatures—sometimes as winged women, and at other times as birds with human heads. From this and the etymological indications supplied by their name, Mr. Postgate asks,—

"Are we, then, to suppose that this beautiful myth arose from the concurrence of two circumstances on an actual voyage—the singing of birds in the woods of a desert island, and strong currents setting towards its shore and compelling sailors to lean to their oars if they would escape the shipwreck of their predecessors?"

Without attempting any judgment on this terribly rationalistic suggestion, it may be worth while to point out some hitherto unnoticed analogies to the classical myth which are to be found in the early art and literature of the Buddhists. Thus, in many of the paintings at Bōo Boedoer, in Jara, we have the figures of the bird-women. In plate civ. of the great work of

logical Examination of the Myth of the Sirens," by J. P. Postgate.

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1 From The Academy, Aug. 13, 1881, pp. 120, 121.
2 Journal of Philology, vol. 11., p. 114, art. "A Philo-
Still more curious is the story of the five hundred merchants, translated from the Chinese by the Rev. Samuel Beal. It narrates the history of five hundred merchants who, under a wise leader, determine on a sea voyage to increase their wealth. They are wrecked on the shores of a land inhabited by Rakshasas, or demons.

"Now, the Rakshasas, having perceived the disaster and the fate of the five hundred merchants, hastened with all speed to the place, intending to rescue the men and enjoy their company for a time, and then to enclose them in an iron city belonging to them, and there devour them at leisure."

Having transformed themselves from their real shape as hideous ogres into the most lovely women, they first rescued the distressed voyagers, and then cried, "Welcome, welcome, dear youths! whence have ye come so far? But, now ye are here, let us be happy. Be ye our husbands, and we will be your wives! We have no one here to love or cherish us; be ye our lords to drive away sorrow, to dispel our grief! Come, lovely youths! come to our houses, well adorned and fully supplied with every necessary; hasten with us to share in the joys of mutual love."

The merchants, after a period in which to lament their lost land, responded to these liberal offers. Time passed pleasantly enough, but the suspicions of the chief merchant were aroused by the circumstance that the women always exhorted their husbands to avoid a certain part at the south of the city. Of course he took the first opportunity of visiting the forbidden locality, and there found a number of victims of the Rakshasas still alive, and many more dead, dismembered and mutilated as though gnawed by wild beasts. The unfortunate captives told him that they also had been the lovers of the demon women, who for some time seem to love their companions, but all the while live on human flesh. The chief merchant asks if there is any chance of escape, and is told that once in each year the Horse-King visits the shore and cries aloud, "Whoever wishes to cross over the great salt sea, I will convey him over."

"Then, mounting into the air, he flew away like the wind. Mean time, the Rakshasas, hearing the thunder voice of the Horse-King, suddenly awakening from their slumber and missing their companions, after looking on every side at last perceived afar off the merchants mounted on the Horse-King, clinging to his hair, and holding fast in every way, as they journey through the air. Seeing this, each seized her child, and hurrying down to the shore, uttered piteous cries, and said: "Alas! alas! dear masters! why are you about to leave us desolate?—whither are you going? Beware, dear ones, of the dangers of the sea. Remember your former mishap. Why do you leave us thus? What pain have we caused you? Have you not had your fill of pleasure? Have we not been loving wives? Then why so basely desert us? Return, dear youths, to your children and your wives! But all their entreaties were in vain, and the Horse-King soon carried those five hundred merchants back to the welcome shore they had left, across the waves of the briny sea."

This story is translated by Mr. Beal from the Chinese version of the Abhijñākramasāra, which was done into that language by Dhamanandita, a Buddhist priest from North India, who lived in China about the end of the sixth century of our era. This, however, affords no clue as to the antiquity of the story itself. The Horse-King is referred to in the Vishnu Purāṇa and in the Prem-Sagar. Whatever its date may be, the story seems to deserve attention as a curious and close analogue to the Homeric myth of the Sirens.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

II.

The story of the five hundred merchants and the rakshasas, translated by Prof. Beal from the "Chinese-Sanskrit," and quoted by Mr. Axon in his interesting communication, is a veritable jātaka tale, the Pāli text of which is printed in Fuusböll's Jātaka, vol. ii., p. 127, under the title of the Valāha-saṅga-jātaka ( = Cloud-horse Jātaka). It is much shorter than the Chinese version. The scene of the Pāli story is laid in the city of Sīravatthu in Ceylon (Tampannadīpī). The introduction to the Valāha-saṅga-jātaka is altogether different to that given by Prof. Beal.

In the Jātaka story Buddha is represented as admonishing one of his disciples who was desirous of returning again to the lay state, having fallen captive to the charms of a certain woman he had seen. The naughty "brother" is told that women who, by their arts, cause men to lose their virtue or their wealth are yakṣikās, that by their

2 Börn Boudon, par Wilen, Brunond et Leemens (Leide, 1574), p. 155.


4 From The Academy, Aug. 27, 1881, p. 101.
blazonments get men into their power and eat them. In the Chinese version five hundred men escape by means of the horse Kesi, but in the Pali story only half this number are rescued by the Bodhisat under the form of a “white horse.”

The moral of the Pali story is this, that those who follow not the Buddha’s advice will come to grief just as those merchants did who were eaten by rakshasas; but those who take advice will safely reach the further shore (Nirvāṇa), as the merchants did by means of the white horse (valīka).

Valīka (though not registered by Childers) is a horse, and, in mythology, one of the horses of Vishnu. The epithets applied to it are sabbaseta, kikaste, and musājate. This jātaka contains one or two contributions to Pali lexicography.—

1. Kuda (in itthi kutta vīsānhi); p. 127, l. 16; itthi kutta, ibid., l. 19.
2. Muramurpaden, p. 127, l. 22. At first sight this word looks like a causative of the root mṛ (of the Vedic form mumurati = madhyah), but a closer examination of the passage in which it occurs leads me to consider it as a kind of denominate verb of onomatopoeic origin, like our words munch, chump, crunch, etc. In Marathi muramura = muttering, grumbling, and this seems to be a prakritised form of the Sanskrit mūrmanā, which in Pali would become mūramura or mūmrnra. The Sanskrit word means “a fire made of chaff,” curiously enough, in the second volume of Faussböl’s Jātaka, ii., p. 134, ll. 2, 8, the form mūmura (not in Childers) actually occurs in the sense of kūkula = Sanskrit kūkula = the hot ashes or embers of burning chaff or straw (cf. Marathi mūmrnra, mūmrnra, mūmura, embers). In Hindi mūramur signifies rice pressed flat and eaten raw; in Marathi it means parched rice, imitative of the sound made in crunching such food.

While on the subject of Jātakas, it may not be out of place to note that Mr. Beal’s Romantic History of Buddha contains several birth-stories. The Foolish Dragon, p. 231, will be found in

Fausböl’s Jātaka, Vol. i., pp. 158, 278. The Merchant who struck his Mother, p. 342, is perhaps to be identified with Jātaka No. 82.

As the Index to Mr. Beal’s interesting work is very imperfect, I here append a list of what seem to be “birth-stories”—

1. The story of Yasodhara
2. The story of the Nobleman who became a Needlemaker
3. The story of Gotami
4. The story of the Rosy Merchant
5. The story of the Two Parrots
6. The story of the Cunning Tortoise
7. The Prudent Quail
8. The Previous History of Yasada
9. The story of Narada
10. The story of Upāsana
11. The Relaxed Servant-Girl
12. The Peasant’s Wife
13. The Shell-Merchant
14. The story of Upali
15. The story of Rahula
16. The story of the Pious Elephant
17. The Bird with Two Heads
18. The history of Maniruddha

R. Morris.


NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. BRAHMANI DUCK.—Lieut. R. C. Temple in the Indian Antiquary, vol. IX (Sept. 1880), p. 290, makes some enquiries about the Brahmani Duck. Is not the name due simply to the fact that the bird is the vehicle of Brahma from which he is called Ādina vdhana? The word ādina is rather vague, meaning now swan, now duck (anās, anser), now goose, now phainoceros (vide De Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, vol. II, p. 306). I suppose the title of Brahma’s Duck was restricted to the familiar chakave-chakwē, partly from its frequenting the sacred rivers of Upper India and partly from its melancholy note.

William Crooke, C. S.
and dignity—they are rendered into awkward English rhymes, and forced and sometimes ludicrous constructions, which convey to the English reader a totally erroneous idea of the sublimity and endless variety of the original. We hope Mr. Redhouse will give us the second book in prose; it would certainly be more appropriate than his present inartistic rhymes, and, as Oldbuck said to Lovell in favour of blank verse for his epic, "it is, I have an idea, more easily written!"

Jelal-ud-din Rumi, the author of the Mevlevi, (A.D. 1204-1273), is the only Persian poet who seems to rise above his age and country, and to have something cosmopolitan in his genius; Sir W. Jones was not far wrong when he said that he could be only compared to Chaucer or Shakespeare. He possessed humour as well as pathos and sublimity; so that, in reading his long poem, we are continually delighted by the ever-varying colours of the web, in which, like the lady of Shalott, he weaves the magic sights of his genius' mystical mirror. The external form of the poem is an endless series of apologies which are continually interrupted by digressions of stiff philosophy. Fine thoughts and original comparisons are scattered everywhere with no sparing hand; and the didactic portions are a mine of mystical lore for all who are interested in Oriental theosophy. The general reader will be more interested in the apologies themselves, as the stories are often striking and new, and they are always adorned with all the splendour of their author's fervid imagination.

I do not know how far these stories have been examined as supplying materials for the investigation of the history of folk-lore. In the Cambridge Journal of Philology (No. 12) for 1876 I pointed out a parallel to a legend current in Norfolk and in Holland in the 15th century, which described a man who was directed by a dream to go to a certain place where he would hear tidings of a buried treasure, and was eventually sent back to find it in his own home. Jelal-ud-din tells the tale of a man of Baghdad, who is directed by his dream to Cairo, and there meets with a watchman in the street who had dreamed that he too would find a treasure if he went to a certain house in a certain street of Baghdad; and of course it is the man's own house. Of one or two I have found traces as hagpdahal in the Babylonian Talmud; and I have no doubt any one whose reading lay especially in this direction would make some interesting discoveries connected with the history of popular tales, and their migration from the East to the West.

Mr. Redhouse's translation, as far as I have compared it with the original, appears to be careful and accurate. He does not mention what edition or commentary he used, which sometimes one cannot but regret, as occasionally doubts arise as to the exact reading followed in the translation. He does not appear to know of the excellent edition and commentary published by Nawal Kishor of Laknau; or he would hardly have stated, in reference to the phrase in the author's preface, "I was a Kurd one evening and was an Arabic in the morning" (which also occurs in the 14th tale), that "I have not met with an explanation of this expression"; as it is fully explained by a legend given at length in the Laknau edition.

E. B. COWELL.


Though the Dharmasétras of Apastamba has long been accessible to Sanskrit scholars through the medium of Dr. Bühler's excellent edition of the text and of copious extracts from the old Commentary of Haradatta, it is not the general reader only who will feel obliged to Dr. Bühler for having translated it into English. The very peculiar style and apparently ante-Pāṇinian language of Apastamba's aphorisms on the sacred law, while rendering their study highly useful for the purposes of lexicography, and clearing them from the suspicion of having been tampered with by interpolators, must cause even the specialist to welcome the appearance of an English translation, especially as it comes from the pen of the first authority on the subject.

The importance of Apastamba's aphorisms for the history of Hindu law and usage cannot be rated too highly. They afford a clear insight into what the Hindu law-books were, before they had been converted from manuals composed and studied by the Vedic schools into law-codes of general authority, whose composition was attributed to the Vedic Bhashas and other mythical personages. There exists moreover no other Indian work on law, in which may be studied to equal advantage the growth and constitution of the Brāhmaṇical schools of law, the character of the relations between teacher and pupil, the Brāhmaṇical method of instruction and edenication, from their way of arguing (vide e.g. the curious story of Dharmaprayādāna and Kumātana, p. 98) down to the smallest details of their daily life, and the gradual rise of conflicting opinions regarding the sacred law. Those few other Dharmasétras even, which besides the Apastamba Śētra have come down to the present time, have not been preserved intact like the latter, but have been exposed to more or less considerable alterations and interpolations. The
thorough integrity of Ápastamba's law-book is proved equally by its language and by its contents. There is about it a unity of plan and character, and at the same time a fresh individuality, vainly sought for in other law-books. The inconsistencies so frequently met with in the code of Manu and other metrical Smritis are mostly due to the fact that they were compiled at a time when both the customs and practices of the earliest period of Indian history and the criticisms passed on them in a later and more advanced period, had been invested alike with a character of sacredness. The author of the Dharmaśāstra under notice does not claim for his own composition the character of an inspired work, but neither does he consider himself bound to declare his implicit adherence to the doctrines and practices of a former age. On the contrary, he condemns the ancient practice of the appointment (Niyoga) of childless widows for the purpose of obtaining issue for their deceased husbands, and the custom of recognizing as legitimate substitutes for a son of the body even the illegitimate sons of wives and daughters, and sons acquired by purchase. Ápastamba goes the length of taxing the ancient sages with transgression of the law and violence, and of asserting that their deeds, though attended by no evil consequences for themselves, "on account of the greatness of their lustre," must not by any means be imitated in the present age of the world.

The fact that Ápastamba styles himself a child of the present age of sin (Kāti Yuga), which is separated by a wide gulf from the happy times in which the Rishi authors of the Vedas were born, might be considered as indicative of a modern date for its composition. But the mass of evidence collected by Dr. Bühler in his able Introduction points in the opposite direction, and renders it highly probable that the aphorisms ascribed to Ápastamba were composed as far back as the fourth or fifth century B.C. in the Andhra country in South India (between the Godāvari and Krishna rivers). In trying to state briefly the arguments which have led to this result, we should hardly be able to do justice to Dr. Bühler's carefully balanced remarks on such a delicate subject as the determination of the date of a Smritis must needs be. It may not be out of place, however, to mention some of the leading features of his argument, viz., an inquiry into the relation of Ápastamba's Dharmaśāstra to the other works attributed to the same author, and of the Ápastamba school to the other schools studying the Black Yajurveda; an examination of the quotations from, and references to, Vedic and post-Vedic works to be met with in the Dharmaśāstra; the present and former seats of the Ápastambas, as deducible from Dr. Bühler's personal observation, from inscriptions, from later literature, and from Ápastamba's own remarks; and a consideration of the archaisms preserved in his language. Many other subjects of importance are treated incidentally in the Introduction, e.g. the geographical distribution of the Vedas and Vedic schools over India; the early history of the Purāṇas, the age of Brāhmaṇical civilisation in South India, the law of primogeniture, custom of Niyoga, and other points connected with the law of inheritance, &c.

The Dharmaśāstra attributed to Gautama, the second work translated in the volume under notice, unlike Ápastamba's Dharmaśāstra, has not come down to the present time as an integral part of a body of Vedic Sūtras; but, as in the case of the Vishṇu and Vasishṭha Smritis, its original connexion with a Vedic school may be proved by internal and circumstantial evidence. Gautama's work is considerably shorter than Ápastamba's, and far less rich than the latter in rules not found elsewhere; the interesting rule (III., 13) that a wandering ascetic must not change his residence during the rainy season, is common to Gautama and Bauḍhāyana. It shows, as has been pointed out by Dr. Bühler, that the Buddhist and Jain Vaseo, or residence in monasteries during the rainy season, must have been derived from a Brāhmaṇical source. The chief importance of the Gautama Smrita consists in the fact that, judging from quotations and references, it must be older than any other of the now existing Dharmasūtras. The claims to a considerable antiquity which may thus be raised in behalf of Gautama's law-book, might be strengthened by referring to the style of his work, which is entirely in prose, to the characteristic repetition of the last word of each chapter, to the absence of any allusion to the art of writing, whether in the law of evidence or elsewhere, to the view he takes of Śukla, as being the price paid for the bride to her family, whereas other Smritis mention it as a gratification given to the bride by the bridgroom, &c. It is however doubtful whether evidence of this description affords a safe basis for a plausible conjecture regarding the date of the Gautama Smrita, and Dr. Bühler has perhaps adopted the best course in confining his remarks on the age of that work to the elucidation of its relative antiquity, as compared with the Dharmasūtras of Ápastamba, Bauḍhāyana and Vasishṭha, and to an inquiry into the comparatively slight changes which, along with the modernisation of its language, the contents of the Gautama Smrita appear to have undergone at the time of its conversion into a law-book.

A comparison of Dr. Bühler's translations of Sanskrit law terms with the English equivalents
given for the same terms in Colebrooke's and Jones's versions, shows that in many cases Dr. Büehler has made a marked advance over his predecessors in that respect. It is hardly necessary to say that the trustworthiness of his translations is on a par with their aptness. He has followed as closely as possible the excellent Sanskrit commentary on both Smritis by Haradatta, from which the substance of the notes has likewise been mainly taken. It is not often that the correctness of Haradatta's interpretations may be justly called in question. To the instances of this kind noted by Dr. Büehler we should like to add Haradatta's remarks on Gaut. XIII, 14-22—"By false evidence concerning small cattle a witness kills ten; (by false evidence) regarding cows, horses, &c. (he kills) ten times as many." This means according to Haradatta, that a false witness kills ten, &c. of that kind regarding which hehas lied. Now the same rules occur in other Smritis, e. g. Manu VIII, 97-100, where both the published Commentary of Kullaka and the unpublished Commentaries of Medhatithi, Govindarāja and Narāyana take them to mean, either (1) that a false witness sends a greater or less number of his own relatives to hell, or (2) that he incurs the same

guilt as if he had actually killed so and so many relatives. It appears that the commentators give to the first explanation the preference over the second, because as Medhatithi says, it is an established doctrine, that a man's good or wicked deeds will send his relatives to heaven or hell. The actual prevalence of this doctrine in the Smritis may be inferred from the future rewards which legitimate marriages are stated to confer on all the relatives of him who gave the bride in marriage; and similar views may be traced in the Zendavesta, which contains a passage (Vendidad, IV, 24 seq.) precisely analogous to the passages quoted above from Gautama and Manu.

Another mistake on the part of Haradatta has been exposed by Nandapandita in his Commentary on the Vaimuktasmiti (III, 25). As it concerns a passage in the latter work, it is perhaps permitted to conjecture that a commentary on the Vaimuktasmiti now lost, has to be added to the list of Haradatta's works as given by Dr. Büehler. We must not conclude this notice without adverting to the great value and importance of those references to the analogous or identical passages in other Smritis, which have been given in the foot-notes.

J. JOLLY.

AN ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY KTÉSIAS.

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE ABRIDGMENT OF HIS INDIKA BY PHÓTIS

AND OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE WORK PRESERVED IN OTHER WRITERS.

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, PATNA.

INTRODUCTION.

To Ktésias belongs the distinction of having been the first writer who gave to the Greeks a special treatise on India—a region concerning which they had, before his time, no further knowledge than what was supplied by the few and meagre notices of it which had appeared in the Geography of Hēkataios of Milētos, and in the History of Herodotos.

The Indika of Ktésias, like his other works, has been lost, but, like his great work on the History of Persia, it has been abridged by Phôtios, while several fragments of it have been preserved in the pages of other writers, as for instance Aelian. It was comprised in a single book, and embodied the information which Ktésias had gathered about India, partly from the reports of Persian officials who had visited that country on the king's service, and partly also from the reports of Indians themselves, who in these days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants, or as

envoys bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, which was then subject to Persian rule. Ktésias unfortunately was not only a great lover of the marvellous, but also singularly deficient, for one of his profession, in critical acumen. He took, therefore, no pains to sift the accounts which were communicated to him, and the book which he gave to the world, instead of being, what a careful enquirer with his advantages might have made it—a valuable repository of facts concerning India and its people, seemed to be little else than a tissue of fables and of absurd perversions or exaggerations of the truth, and was condemned as such, not only by the consentient voice of antiquity, but also by the generality of the learned in modern times. The work was nevertheless popular, and in spite of its infamous credit, was frequently cited by subsequent writers. Its 'tales of wonder' fascinated the credulous, while its style, which was remarkable alike for its ease, sweetness, and perspicuity, recommended it to readers of every stamp. 1

1 Ktésias, though a Dorian, used many Ionic forms and modes of expression, and these more in the Indika than in the Persika. His style is praised for the qualities men-

tioned in the text by Phôtios, Dion. Halicarnas., and Demet. Phaler, who does not hesitate to speak of him as a poet, the very demure of perspicuity (ἐναργείας διημορφώμενος).
was the only systematic account of India the Greeks possessed till the time of the Macedonian invasion.

We must notice in conclusion the fact, that, as the knowledge of India, and especially of Indian antiquity, has increased, scholars have been led to question the justice of the traditional verdict which condemns Ktēsias as a writer of unscrupulous mendacity. They do not indeed wholly exculpate him, but they have shown that many of his statements, which were once taken to be pure falsehoods, have either certain elements of truth underlying them, or that they originated in misconceptions which were perhaps less wilful than unavoidable. The fabulous races for instance which he has described are, so far from being fictions of his own invention, to have their exact analogues in monstrous races which are mentioned in the two great national epics and other Brahmanical writings, and which, though therein depicted with every attribute of deformity, were nevertheless, not purely fictitious, and misrepresentations of such aboriginal tribes as offered a stout resistance to their Aryan invaders while still engaged in the task of conquering India.

These moderate views, which have been advocated by such authorities as Heeren, Bahr, C. Müller, Lassen, and others, will no doubt come eventually to be very generally accepted.

As Lassen has devoted one of the leading sections of his great work on Indian Antiquity to an examination of the reports which are yet extant of Ktēsias upon India, and as his review is all but exhaustive, and reflects nearly all the light that learned research has yet been able to throw upon the subject, I have for this reason, as well as with a view to obviate the need which would otherwise occur of having constant recourse to long foot-notes, thought it advisable to append to the translation of the Greek text a translation of this review. I have appended also a translation of some passages from Indikopleustês, which will serve to illustrate the descriptions given by Ktēsias of certain Indian animals and plants.

THE INDIKA

FRAG. I.

Ecloga in Phot. 306. LXII, p. 144 seqq.

1. Another work was read—the Indika of Ktēsias, contained in a single book wherein the author has made more frequent use of Ionic forms. He reports of the river Indus that, where narrowest, it has a breadth of forty stadia, and where widest of two hundred; and of the Indians themselves that they almost outnumber all other men taken together. He mentions the sālaka, a kind of worm bred in the river, this being indeed the only living creature which is found in it. He states that there are no men who live beyond the Indians, and that no rain falls in India but that the country is watered by its river.

2. He notices the pantarba, a kind of sealstone, and relates that when sealstones and other costly gems to the number of 477 which belonged to the Bactrian merchant, had been flung into the river, this pantarba drew them up to itself, all adhering together.

3. He notices also the elephants that demolish walls; the kind of small eses that have tails four cubits long; the cocks that are of extraordinary size; the kind of bird called the parrot and which he thus describes: it has a tongue and voice like the human, is of the size of a hawk, has a red bill, is adorned with a beard of a black colour, while the neck is red like cinnamon, it talks like a man in Indian, but if taught Greek can talk in Greek also.

* In vol. II., pp. 641 ff. 3rd ed. 1874.
* This differs from what Arrian states on the authority of Ktēsias, (see Frag. ii.) Probably Arrian has quoted the sentence more correctly than Photios. And 100 stadia is far enough from the truth. With Ktēsias Conf. Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. II, 18: τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἰνδικούς λαχθηρίους, καὶ ταῖς δύο μείζονες περαρακούς τι χαίρει λαμάποι αὐτοῖς τοιούτοις. See Mannert, Geogr. d. Gr. u. Rom. Bd. V. i, p. 74.
* Conf. Herodot. III, 94; Strabo II, v, 32.
* Conf. § 27, and Frag. xvi.
* Conf. Herodot. III, 94, 105; Strabo II, v, 1, 22.
* But conf. Strabo XV, 1, 1, 13, 17, 18; Arrian, Indica, VI, 4; Philon. Vit. Apoll. II, 19; Diodor. II, 86.
* Conf. Wellheim (Sammlung von Aufsätzen, &c. Bd. II. p. 188f) regards this as the Hydorphaes or the changing stone, sunagate, a kind of opal, remarkable for the variety of colours it displays when thrown into water.
* So Müller's text, the common reading is 77.

4 With this compare Frag. iv. below.
5 This is reconcilable with the accounts of others if for μυρίων we read μαρίων. For Megasthenes also speaks of Indian apes not smaller than dogs and which have tails of five cubits length, which answer to the Mundi ape or Simia Faunus, with the hair on the forehead projecting over the eyes, and the beard white, the body being dark. Vid. Zeilan, Nat. An. XVII, 39; conf. XVI, 19, and Strabo XV, 1, 57;—"The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs... their tails are more than two cubits in length."
6 Conf. Frag. v.c.
7 Berrocius: von de Opfer, p. 154, compares this with the Persian καὶ δείκτης. In Arrian, Ind. XV, 8, and Zeilan, Nat. An. XVI, 16 and 15, the bird is called φταρμακα. Indian however elsewhere calls it φταρμακα and so do Diiodoros and Pausanias. A feminine form Γυνης occurs in Arist. H. An. VIII, 12. The form in Ptolemy is Ποταμα. 
4. He notices the fountain which is filled every year with liquid gold, out of which are annually drawn a hundred earthen pitchers filled with the metal. The pitchers must be earthen since the gold when drawn becomes solid, and to get it out the containing vessel must needs be broken in pieces. The fountain is of a square shape, eleven cubits in circumference, and a fathom in depth. Each pitcherful of gold weighs a talent. He notices also the iron found at the bottom of this fountain, adding that he had in his own possession two swords made from this iron, one given to him by the king of Persia, and the other by Parystias, the mother of that same king. This iron, he says, if fixed in the earth, averts clouds and hail and thunderstorms, and he avers that he had himself twice seen the iron do this, the king on both occasions performing the experiment.

5. We learn further that the dogs of India are of very great size, so that they fight even with the lion; that there are certain high mountains having mines which yield the sardine-stone, and onyxes, and other seal stones; that the heat is excessive, and that the sun appears in India to be ten times larger than in other countries; and that many of the inhabitants are suffocated to death by the heat. Of the sea in India, he says, that it is not less than the sea in Hellas; its surface however for four finger-breadths downward is hot, so that fish cannot live that go near the heated surface, but must confine themselves always to the depths below.

6. He states that the river Indus flows through the level country, and through between the mountains, and that what is called the Indian reed grows along its course, this being so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height to equal the mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden. Some are of a greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected when the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male, others female. The male reed has no pith, and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith.

7. He describes an animal called the martilkhora found in India. Its face is like a man's— it is about as big as a lion, and in colour red like cinnabar. It has three rows of teeth—ears like the human—eyes of a pale-blue like the human and a tail like that of the land scorpion, armed with a sting and more than a cubit long. It has besides stings on each side of its tail, and, like the scorpion, is armed with an additional sting on the crown of its head, wherewith it stings any one who goes near it, the wound in all cases provoking mortal. If attacked from a distance it defends itself both in front and in rear—in front with its tail, by up-lifting it and darting out the stings, like shafts shot from a bow, and in rear by straightening it out. It can strike to the distance of a hundred feet, and no creature can survive the wound it inflicts save only the elephant. The stings are about a foot in length, and not thicker than the finest thread. The name martilkhora means in Greek ἀρπαγμάτως ἀρπάζων (i.e. man-eater), and it is so called because it carries off men and devours them, though it no doubt preys upon other animals as well. In fighting it uses not only its stings but also its...
claws. Fresh stings grow up to replace those shot away in fighting. These animals are numerous in India, and are killed by the natives who hunt them with elephants, from the backs of which they attack them with darts.

8. He describes the Indians as extremely just, and gives an account of their manners and customs. He mentions the sacred spot in the midst of an uninhabited region which they venerate in the name of the Sun and the Moon. 29 It takes one a fifteen days' journey to reach this place from Mount Sardons. Here for the space of five and thirty days the Sun every year cools down to allow his worshippers to celebrate his rites, and return home unscathed by his burning rays. 30 He observes that in India there is neither thunder nor lightning nor rain, but that storms of wind and violent hurricanes which sweep everything before them, are of frequent occurrence. The morning sun produces coolness for one half of the day, but an excessive heat during the other half, and this holds good for most parts of India. 31

9. It is not, however, by exposure to the sun that the people are swarthy, 32 but by nature, for among the Indians there are both men and women who are as fair as any in the world, though such are no doubt in a minority. He adds that he had himself seen two Indian women and five men of such a fair complexion. 33

10. Wishing to assure us of the truth of his statement that the sun makes the temperature 34 Weltheim, rejecting the opinion of some that this uninhabited region was the desert of Gobustan, 35 to be rather the great desert east of the Indus where the worship of the sun flourished in early times. This desert also was in reality about a fifteen days' journey distant from the mountains which produced the oyx and sardoine stones. Lassen has however assigned the locality to the Vindhyas.

36 In μον Θιέρεσι ανήσυχο τελεσσε, ιτο, θα μην πάρε το μετέπειτας. As the writer must have meant the opposite of this, φθείρεσι must be read instead of φθείρεσι.

37 Conf. Herodot. III, 104.
39 Possibly from Kāmir.—J. B.
40 Conf. Pausan. X, 28, 2; Strabo, VI, 2; Valer. Max. V, 4.
41 The reference is to the field of the pionos, επεμβηνοι γόνη, near Catana, the story of the scene being the two brothers Amphimenes and Anasos, who saved their parents during an eruption by carrying them off on their shoulders. Vitr. De nat. X, xii, 8; Pliny, XXXV, 15. Their accounts have been verified by modern travellers.
42 This fountain is mentioned by Stephan. Byz. s. v. Naxos, and a similar one by Pliny. (Hist. Nat. II, ciii, 26.)

Cool for five and thirty days, he mentions several facts that are equally strange—that the streams of fire which issue from Αττια 36 leave unscathed amidst the surrounding havoc those lands which belong to just men—that in Zacynthus there are fountains with fish whence pitch is taken out— 37—that in Naxos is a fountain which at times discharges a wine of great sweetness, 38 and that the water of the river Phaisis likewise, if kept in a vessel for a night and a day, changes into a wine which is also of great sweetness 39—that near Phaeaxis in Lykia there is a perpetual volcano, 40 always flaming on the summit of the rock both by night and by day, and this is not quenched by water, which rather augments the blaze, but by casting rubbish into it 41—and in like manner, the volcanoes of Αττια and of Prusa keep always burning. 42

11. He writes that in the middle of India are found the swarthy men called Πυγμαίες, 43 who speak the same language as the other Indians. They are very diminutive, the tallest of them being but two cubits in height, while the majority are only one and a half. They let their hair grow very long—down to their knees, and even lower. They have the largest beards anywhere to be seen, and when these have grown sufficiently long and copious, they no longer wear clothing, but, instead, let the hair of the head fall down their backs far below the knee, while in front are their beards trailing down to their very feet. When their hair has grown too long, they cut it in the island of Andros; Cf. idem. XXXI, ii; and also Philostrat. loc. cit. 1, 24. 44

45 The waters of the Phasis, according to modern accounts, are lead-coloured, possessed of a healing virtue and held as sacred, perhaps because they were thought by the ancients to have sprung from the gates of the morning sun, and therefore to have formed the dividing line between day and night. Arrian in the Peripat. Pont. Eius, no doubt with an eye to this passage of Ktesias, says that the water of the Phasis if kept in certain vessels acquired a pleasant vinous taste. V. Ritter, Erdk. II, pp. 817 and 818. Conf. Pliny (H. N. II, cii, 160) who says that the water of the Lyncestis in Epirus is somewhat acid, and intoxicates like wine those who drink it.

46 See Frag. xii, below.
47 Conf. Frag. xii, A. and B. Beaufort, an English traveler, confirms this statement. He reports that while travelling in the regions nearest the country of the Phaeacians he came upon a place where there was to be seen an ever-burning flame which like the fire of a volcano was insustainable. V. Beaufort's Caravanserai, p. 44.
48 There is a Fras in Bithynia and another in Myisa, each near a mountain. Strabo, (XII, p. 543 seqq.) mentions both; but as he says nothing of a volcanic mountain in connexion with either, Baehre inclines to think that the reference is to Fras in the vicinity of Mount Olympus, formerly called Oios, famous for miraculous fountains and things of that sort.
thus thickly enveloped their whole body, they bind it round them with a zone, and so make it serve for a garment. Their privates are thick, and so large that they depend even to their ankles. They are moreover snub-nosed, and otherwise ill-favoured. Their sheep are of the size of our lambs, and their oxen and asses rather smaller than our rams, which again are as big as their horses and mules and other cattle. Of the Pygmies three thousand men attend the king of the Indians, on account of their great skill in archery. They are eminently just, and have the same laws as the Indians. They hunt hares and foxes not with dogs but with ravens and kites and crows and vultures. In their country is a lake eight hundred stadia in circumference, which produces an oil like our own. If the wind be not blowing, this oil floats upon the surface, and the Pygmies going upon the lake in little boats collect it from amidst the waters in small tubs for household use. They use oil of sesamum and nut oil, but the lake-oil is the best. The lake has also fish.

12. There is much silver in their part of the country, and the silver-mines though not deep are deeper than those in Baktria. Gold also is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the sands like the gold of the river Paktólos, but is found on those many high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the G ríffíns, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where they are red. On account of those birds the gold with which the mountains abound is difficult to be got.

13. The sheep and the goats of the Indians are bigger than asses, and generally produce young by four and by six at a time. The tails grow to such a size that those of the dams must be cut off before the rams can get at them. India does not however produce the pig, either the tame sort or the wild. Palm-trees and their dates are in India thrice the size of those in Babylon, and we learn that there is a certain river flowing with honey out of a rock, like the one we have in our own country.

14. The justice of the Indians, their devotion to their king and their contempt of death are themes on which he loves to expatiate. He notices a fountain having this peculiarity, that when any one draws water from it, the water coagulates like cheese, and should you then detach from the solid lump a piece weighing about three obols, and having triturated this, put the powder into common water, he to whom you give this potion blabs out whatever he has done, for he becomes delirious, and raves like a madman all that day. The king avails himself of this property when he wishes to discover the guilt or innocence of accused persons. Whoever incriminates himself when undergoing the ordeal is sentenced to starve himself to death, while he who does not confess to any crime is acquitted.

15. The Indians are not afflicted with headache, or toothache, or ophthalmia, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130, and 150 years, though the very old live to 200.

16. In their country is a serpent a span long, in appearance like the most beautiful purple with a head perfectly white but without any teeth. The creature is caught on those very hot mountains whose mines yield the sardine-stone. It does not sting, but on whatever part of the body it casts its venom, that place invariably putrefies. If suspended by the tail, it emits two kinds of poison, one like amber which oozes from it while living, and the other black, which oozes from its carcase. Should about a sesam-seed's bulk of the former be administered to any one, he dies the instant he swallows it, for his brain runs out through his nostrils. If the black sort be given it induces consumption, but operates
so slowly that death scarcely ensues in less than a year's time. 23

17. He mentions an Indian bird called the Dikirion, 24 a name equivalent in Greek to ἄλσος (i.e. just). It is about the size of a partridge's egg. It bury its dung under the earth to prevent its being found. Should it be found notwithstanding, and should a person at morning tide swallow so much of it as would about equal a grain of sésamum, he falls into a deep unconscious sleep from which he never awakes, but dies at the going down of the sun. 57

18. In the same country grows what is called the Paréon, 25 a plant about the size of the olive, found only in the royal gardens, producing neither flower nor fruit, but having merely fifteen roots, which grow down into the earth, and are of considerable thickness, the very slenderest being about as thick as one's arm. If a span's length of this root be taken, it attracts to itself all objects brought near it—gold, silver, copper, stones and all things else except amber. If however a cubit's length of it be taken, it attracts lambs and birds, and it is in fact with this root that most kinds of birds are caught. Should you wish to turn water solid, even a whole gallon of it, you have but to throw into the water not more than an obol's weight of this root, and the thing is done. Its effect is the same upon wine which, when conditioned by it, can be held in your hand like a piece of wax, though it melts the next day. It is found beneficial in the cure of bowel disorders.

19. Through India there flows a certain river, not of any great size, but only about two stadia in breadth, called in the Indian tongue Hý-

par khois, 26 which means in Greek φέρων χάρα
ra ágya (i.e. the bearer of all things good).

This river for thirty days in every year floats down amber, for in the upper part of its course where it flows among the mountains there are said to be trees overhanging its current which for thirty days at a particular season in every year continue dropping tears like the almond-tree and the pine-tree and other trees. These tears on dropping into the water harden into gum. The Indian name for the tree is siptakahora, 20 which means when rendered into Greek γκέκι, ἰδί (i.e. sweet). These trees then supply the Indians with their amber. 

And not only so but they are said to yield also berries, which grow in clusters like the grapes of the vine, and have stones as large as the filbert-nuts of Pontos. 23

20. He writes that on the mountains just spoken of there live men having heads like those of dogs, who wear the skins of wild beasts, and do not use articulate speech, but bark like dogs, and thus converse so as to be understood by each other. 29 They have larger teeth than dogs, and claws like those of dogs, only larger and more rounded. They inhabit the mountains, and extend as far as the river Indus. They are swarthy, and like all the other Indians extremely just men. With the Indians they can hold intercourse, for they understand what they say, though they cannot, it is true, reply to them in words, still by barking and by making signs with their hands and their fingers like the deaf and the dumb, they can make themselves understood. They are called by the Indians Kalýstrioi, which means in Greek Κουκέτα οί (i.e., dog-headed). Their

ϕέρων would not be expressed. The river is called by Pliny the Hypobarus, vide Frag. xx.

Σιπταχόρα : Compare this with the Persian شیفتکه, 'agreedable to eat.' The Persians call an apricot شیفتکه رنگ, 'agreeable colour,' Pliny (Hist. Nat. xvi. 23) has 'arbores ea Aphyracorum voces,' where the word is disfigured.—Ty Touches.

21. India however does not produce amber, and the tree of which it is here said to be the gum, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Böehr quotes Pliny XLI. 13, 19, as a passage of no small importance for settling the question.

22. Pliny (Hist. Nat. xv. 23, 24), explains why Pontic nuts were so called. 33 See Frag. xli and xlii.

23. Ty Touches compares the word with the Persian kelek or kел, a wolf, and κελις, the head, i.e. 'keleker, 'wolf-headed.' Another word more exactly answering the sound of the Greek would be Kaluserin, the superlativ of kalus, stupid, which would convert the dogheaded people into 'blockheads,' but this is not consonant with the translation of the name.—Hieron, Asiat. Nat. vol. II. p. 364. Vide Frags. xli, xlii.
food is raw flesh. The whole tribe numbers not less than 120,000 men.

21. Near the sources of this river there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dying purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a far more florid hue. In the same parts there is a wild insect about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long. It is as soft as the worm called skilex and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees and destroying them, as in Greece the wood-house ravages the vine-trees. The Indians grind these insects to a powder and therewith dye such robes, tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue. Their dye-stuffs are superior to those used by the Persians.

22. The Kynochehaloi living on the mountains do not practise any of the arts but subsist by the produce of the chase. They slaughter the prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. They rear however great numbers of sheep and goats and asses. They drink the milk of the sheep and the whey which is made therefrom. They eat moreover the fruit of the Siptakhora—the tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, and freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 200 talents weight of amber, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1000 talents more of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually as tribute to the King of the Indians. They take also additional quantities of the same commodities for sale to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange leaves of bread and flour and cloth which is made from a tree-grown stuff (cotton). They sell also swords such as they use in hunting wild beasts, and bows and javelins, for they are fell marksmen both in shooting with the bow and in hurling the javelin. As they inhabit steep and pathless mountains they cannot possibly be conquered in war, and the king moreover once every five years sends them as presents 300,000 arrows and as many javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords.

23. These Kynochehaloi have no houses but live in caves. They hunt wild beasts with the bow and the spear, and run so fast that they can overtake them in the chase. Their women bathe once a month at the time of menstruation, and then only. The men do not bathe at all, but merely wash their hands. Thrice a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil made from milk, and wipe themselves with skins. Skins denuded of the hair, and made thin and soft, constitute the dress both of the men and their wives. Their richest men however use cotton raiment, but the number of such men is small. They have no bed but sleep on a litter of straw or leaves. That man is considered the richest who possesses most sheep, and in property of this sort consists all their wealth. Both men and women have, like dogs, tails above their buttocks but larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds in dog-fashion, and to copulate otherwise is thought shameful. They are just, and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years.

24. Beyond these again are other men who inhabit the country above the sources of the river, who are swarthy like the other Indians, do no work, and neither eat grain nor drink water, but rear a good many cows and goats and sheep, and drink their milk as their sole sustenance. Children are born among them with the anus closed up, and the contents of the bowels are therefore voided, it is said, as urine, this being something like curds, though not at all thick but fluent. When they drink milk in the morning and take another draught at noon, and then immediately after eat a certain sweet-tasted root of indigenous growth which is said to prevent milk from coagulating in the stomach, this root towards evening acts as an emetic, and they vomit everything quite readily.

25. Among the Indians, he proceeds, there

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\textsuperscript{a} The Hyparchos.
\textsuperscript{b} It is generally agreed that the cochineal insect is that to which Kt is usually refers, though his description of it is not quite accurate. For fuller particulars see Frag. xxviii.
\textsuperscript{c} See Larcher's Note on Herodot. III, 47; Plin. Nat. Hist. XIX, 1; and Frag. xxiv.
\textsuperscript{d} butter; conf. Polyen. Strat. IV, 3, 32; cf. also Pernpl. Afr. Mar. § 41, where the same expression occurs.
\textsuperscript{e} Curtius, VIII, 9, 21.
\textsuperscript{f} Conf. Frag. 3, section appended to § 33. Malte-Brun considered that this statement had reference to the Oursang-Cutang of the island of Borneo, or perhaps of the Andaman islands.
are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger. Their head is of a dark red colour, their eyes blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length [the filings of this horn, if given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs]. This horn for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point of a flaming crimson, and, in the middle, is black.9 These horns are made into drinking cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy). Nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals have neither huckle-bones, nor gall in the liver, these one-horned asses have both. Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is, in appearance and size, like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, and of the colour of cinnabar both on the surface, and all throughout. It is exceedingly fleet and strong, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it. 25. On first starting it scampers off somewhat leisurely, but the longer it runs, it gallops faster and faster till the pace becomes most furious. These animals therefore can only be caught at one particular time—that is when they lead out their little foals to the pastures in which they roam. They are then hemmed in on all sides by a vast number of hunters mounted on horseback, and being unwilling to escape while leaving their young to perish, stand their ground and fight, and by butting with their horns and kicking and biting kill many horses and men. But they are in the end taken, pierced to death with arrows and spears, for to take them alive is in no way possible. Their flesh being bitter is unfit for food, and they are hunted merely for the sake of their horns and their huckle-bones. 26.

27. He states that there is bred in the Indian river a worm like in appearance to that which is found in the fig, but seven cubits more or less in length, while its thickness is such that a boy ten years old could hardly clasp it within the circuit of his arms. These worms have two teeth—an upper and a lower, with which they seize and devour their prey. In the daytime they remain in the mud at the bottom of the river, but at night they come ashore, and should they fall in with any prey as a cow or a camel, they seize it with their teeth, and having dragged it to the river, there devour it. For catching this worm a large hook is employed, to which a kid or a lamb is fastened by chains of iron. The worm being landed, the captors hang up its carcass, and placing vessels underneath it leave it thus for thirty days. All this time oil drops from it, as much being got as would fill ten Attic kotylai. At the end of the thirty days they throw away the worm, and preserving the oil they take it to the king of the Indians, and to him alone, for no subject is allowed to get a drop of it. This oil [like fire] sets everything ablaze over which it is poured and it consumes not alone wood but even animals. The flames can be quenched only by throwing over them a great quantity of clay, and that of a thick consistency. 28.

29. But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called karpiion, but in Greek µυρωδά (unguent-roses). These trees are scarce.

Frag. of the wild ass may be compared with his account of the Karpianus.—Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 129.

9 See § 1, and Frag. xxvi.

80 Cf. Frag. xxvi, where Ælian gives fuller particulars. A somewhat similar creature is mentioned by Palladius (de Brehmian. 10) as belonging to the Ganges. He calls it the Odontotyrranos.

81 Bach thinks this may be the Chetak (Pandou chorion). Kedla, or Kyurun. Regarding the word karpiion Mr. Caldwell in the Introduction to his Dravidian Grammar thus writes: The earliest Dravidian word in Greek of which we know the date is καρπίων. Kebalan’s name for cinnamon. Herodotus describes cinnamon as the σιδηρά, which we, after the Phoenicians, call Seidra. Liddell and Scott say “this word bear a curious likeness
There oozes from them an oil in drops, which are wiped off from the stem with wool, from which they are afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone. The oil is in colour of a faint red, and of a somewhat thick consistency. Its smell is the sweetest in all the world, and is said to diffuse itself to a distance of five stadia around. The privilege of possessing this perfume belongs only to the king and the members of the royal family. A present of it was sent by the king of the Indians to the king of the Persians, and Khésias alleges that he saw it himself, and that it was of such an exquisite fragrance as he could not describe, and he knew nothing whereunto he could liken it.

29. He states that the cheese and the wines of the Indians are the sweetest in the world, adding that he knew this from his own experience, since he had tasted both.

30. There is a fountain** among the Indians of a square shape and of about five ells in circumference. The water lodges in a rock. The depth downward till you reach the water is three cubits and the depth of the water itself three erguia. Herein the Indians of highest distinction bathe [both for purification and the averting of diseases] along with their wives and children; they throw themselves into the well foot foremost, and when they leap in the water casts them up again, and not only does it throw up human beings to the surface, but it casts out upon dry land any kind of animal, whether living or dead, and in fact anything else that is cast into it except iron and silver and gold to its Arabic name kerefat, kifah.* This resemblance must, I think, be accidental, seeing that Herodotus considered 'cinnamon' alone as a foreign word. The word mentioned by Khésias seems however to have a real resemblance to the Arabic word and also to a Dravidian one. Khésias describes an odorous oil produced from an Indian tree having flowers like the laurel, which the Greeks called μυρωδέα, but which in India was called τάπτος. From Khésias's description [making allowance for his exaggerations] it is evident that cinnamon oil was meant, and in this opinion Wahl agrees.

31. On those Indian mountains where the Indian reed grows, there is a race of men whose number is not less than 30,000, and whose wives bear offspring only once in their whole lifetime. Their children have teeth of perfect whiteness, both the upper set and the under, and the hair both of their head and of their eyebrows is from their very infancy quite white, and this whether they be boys or girls. Indeed every man among them till he reaches his thirtieth year has all the hair on his body white, but from that time forward it begins to turn black, and by the time they are sixty, there is not a hair to be seen upon them but what is black. These people, both men and women alike, have eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot. They are a very warlike people, and five thousand of them armed with bows and spears follow the banners of the King of the Indians. Their ears, he says, are so large that they cover their arms as far as the elbows while at the same time they cover all the back and the one ear touches the other.***

32. There is in Ethiopia an animal called properly the Krokottas, but vulgarly the Kynolykos. It is of prodigious strength, and is said to imitate the human voice, and by night to

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** Name for cinnamon derived from the Sanskrit karunāta, but the Tamil-Malayalam word karappu or kereppu, e.g. karappu-ṭaiṭalum, Mal. oil of cinnamon. Other forms of this word are karappu, karvep and kereppu, the last of which is the most common form in modern Tamil. Rhede refers to this form of the word when he says that "in his time in Malabar oils in high medical estimation were made from both the root and the leaves of the kereppu or wild cinnamon of that country." There are two meanings of kere in Tamil-Malayalam, "black", and "pungent", and the latter doubtless supplies us with the explanation of karappu, "cinnamon"... I have little doubt that the Sanskrit karpura, 'camphor', is substantially the same as the Tamil-Malayalam karappu, and Khésias's kērpu, seeing that it does not seem to have any root in Sanskrit and that camphor and cinnamon are nearly related. The camphor of commerce is from a cinnamon tree, the camphora officinarum.

*** Conf. frag. xxvii.

** Conf. Frag. xxvii.

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** Bōldana in Sanskrit means 'giving strength'; and is applied to a balsam, and a medicinal plant: bōldā is the Physalis floriosa.—En.

*** For an account of the various fabulous Indian races mentioned by the classical writers, and for their identification with the races mentioned in Sanskrit writings, see Ind. Ant., vol. VI, pp. 133-133, and footnotes.
call out men by their names, and when they come forth at their call, to fall upon them and devour them. This animal has the courage of the lion, the speed of the horse, and the strength of the bull, and cannot be encountered successfully with weapons of steel.\footnote{Regarding the Krokotta, a sort of hyena, vide Diodor. III, 34; Aelian, Hist. Nat. VII, 22; Pliny, H. N. VIII, 81; Porphyr. De Abst. III, p. 293; Conf. Cosm. s. l., voc.; Bruce's Travels, vol. V, p. 113.} In Euboea about Khalkis the sheep have no gall,\footnote{Conf. Theophr. H. Plant. IX, 18, and Arist. Hist. An. I, 37.} and their flesh is so extremely bitter that dogs even will not eat it. They say also that in the parts beyond the Maurusian Straits\footnote{Aelian, De Nat. Anim. Book XVII, 29.} rain falls in the summer-time, while the same regions are in winter-time scorched with heat. In the country of the Kyōnians\footnote{This fragment in the Münch MS. forms a part of the 15th Section of the text of Photios.} there is, according to his account, a certain fountain, which instead of water has springs of oil—this oil being used by the people in the neighbourhood for all kinds of food. In the region also called Mētārdida there is another fountain, this being at no great distance from the sea. At midnight it swells with the utmost violence, and in receding casts forth fish upon dry land in such quantities that the people of the place cannot gather them, and are obliged to leave them lying rotting on the ground.\footnote{Strabo, Geog. Book XV.}

33. Ktēsias thus writing and romancing professes that his narrative is all perfect truth, and, to assure us of this, asseverates that he has recorded nothing but what he either saw with his own eyes, or learned from the testimony of credible eye-witnesses. He adds moreover that he has left unnoticed many things far more marvellous than any he has related, lest any one who had not a previous knowledge of the facts might look upon him as an arrant story-teller.

The Sēre\footnote{As. Crass. Gr. Test. 1, 5, and 15.} and the natives of Upper India are said to be men of huge stature, so that among them are found some who are 13 cubits in height and who also live till they are above 200 years old. There are besides somewhere in the river called the Gaitsē\footnote{Aelian, De Nat. Anim. Book XV, 2.} men of a brute-like appearance who have a hide like that of a rhinoceros being quite impervious to darts,\footnote{Var. loc.—Gaietan.} while in India itself in the central parts of an island the ocean the inhabitants are said to have tails of extraordinary length such as satyrs are represented with in pictures.\footnote{Pliny, H. N. VIII, 17; Strabo, X, 1, 41 ff.; Curtius, VIII, 9, 17; Kosmos Indikopleustes, XI, p. 339.}

Frag. II.

From Arrian, Anab. Book V, 2.

And Ktēsias (if any one considers him a competent authority) asserts that the distance from the one bank of the Indus to the other where the stream is narrowest is 40 stadia, and where it is widest, so much even as 100 stadia, though its breadth in general is the mean between these two extremes.

Frag. III.

Strabo, Geog. Book XV.

From this we can see how greatly the opinions of the others differ, Ktēsias asserting that India is not less than all the rest of Asia, and Onesikritos that, &c.

From the Indika of Arrian, 30. Ktēsias the Knidian states that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he is wrong.

Frag. IV.


When the King of the Indians goes on a campaign, one hundred thousand war-elephants go on before him, while three thousand more, that are of superior size and strength, march, I am told, behind him, these being trained to demolish the walls of the enemy. They effect by rushing against them at the King's signal, and throwing them down by the overwhelming force with which they press their breasts against them. Ktēsias reports this from hearsay, but adds that with his own eyes he had seen elephants tear up palm trees, roots and all, with like furious violence; and this they do whenever they are instigated to the act by their drivers.\footnote{Strabo, X, 1, 41 ff.; Curtius, VIII, 9, 17; Kosmos Indikopleustes, XI, p. 339.}

Frag. V.


What Ktēsias has said regarding the seed of the elephant is plainly false, for he asserts that thus commonly for Mūriptaron (Antigon. Mīrāl, 154). Conf. also Aristot. Mīr. aic. c. 123.

This section is found only in the MS. of Münch, and perhaps does not belong to Ktēsias.

\footnote{Pliny, H. N. VIII, 17; Strabo, X, 1, 41 ff.; Curtius, VIII, 9, 17; Kosmos Indikopleustes, XI, p. 339.}
when dry it turns hard so as to become like amber; and this it does not.\textsuperscript{37}

(B) From the same, towards the end of the 3rd Book of his History of Animals.

What KT\'S\'IAS has written regarding the seed of the elephant is false.

(C) ElIan, De Animal. XVI, 2.

Cocks [in India] are of immense size, and their crests are not red like the crests of our own cocks, but many-hued, like a floral garland; their rump feathers are neither curved nor wreathed, but broad, and these they trail after them in the way the peacock drags his tail when he does not make it stand erect. The feathers of the Indian cocks are partly golden, and partly of a gleaming azure like the smaragdus stone.\textsuperscript{38}

FRAG. VI.


KT\'S\'IAS in his account of India says that the people called the K\yn\a\m\o\l\g\o\i rear many dogs as big as the Hyrkanian breed, and this Knidian writer tells us also why they keep so many dogs, and this is the reason: From the time of the summer solstice on to mid-winter they are incessantly attacked by herds of wild oxen, coming like a swarm of bees or a flight of angry wasps, only that the oxen are more numerous by far. They are ferocious withal and proudly defiant, and butt most viciously with their horns. The K\yn\a\m\o\l\g\o\i, unable to withstand them otherwise, let loose their dogs upon them, which are bred for this express purpose, and these dogs easily overpower the oxen and worry them to death. Then come the masters, and appropriate to their own use such parts of the carcasses as they deem fit for food, but they set apart for their dogs all the rest, and gratitude prompts them to give this share cheerfully. During the season when they are left unmolested by the oxen, they employ their dogs in hunting other animals. They milk the bitches, and this is why they are called Kynamolgoi (dog-milkers). They drink this milk just as we drink that of the sheep or the goat.

(B) Polydenk\'e (Pollux), Onomastik. V, 5, 41, p. 497.

The K\yn\a\m\o\l\g\o\i are dogs living about the lakes in the south of India and subsisting upon cows’ milk. They are attacked in the hot season by the oxen of India, but they fight these assailants and overcome them, as KT\'S\'IAS relates.\textsuperscript{39}

(B) ElIan, De Animal. Nat. IV, 32.

It is worth while learning what like are the cattle of the Indians. Their goats and their sheep are, from what I hear, bigger than the biggest asses, and they produce four young ones at a time, and never fewer than three. The tails of the sheep reach down to their feet, and the tails of the goats are so long that they almost touch the ground. The shepherds cut off the tails of those ewes that are good for breeding to let them be mounted by the rams, and these tails yield an oil which is squeezed out from their fat. They cut also the tails of the rams, and having extracted the fat, sew them up again so carefully that no trace of the incision is afterwards seen.

FRAG. VII.


If any one thinks that the size of the Arabian reeds has been exaggerated, who, asks Tzetzes, would believe what KT\'S\'IAS says of the Indian reeds—that they are two \textit{orguias} in breadth, and that a couple of cargo-boats could be made from a single joint of one of these reeds.\textsuperscript{100}

FRAG. VIII.


No animals of these species have a double row of teeth, though, if we are to believe KT\'S\'IAS, there is one exception to the rule, for he asserts that the Indian beast called the Mariikhora has a triple row of teeth in each of its jaws. He describes the animal as being equal in size to the lion, which it also resembles in its claws and in having shaggy hair, though its face and its ears are like those of a human being. Its eyes are blue and its hair is of the colour of cinnabar.\textsuperscript{101} Its tail, which resembles that of the land scorpion, contains the sting, and is furnished with a growth of prickles which it has the power of discharging like shafts shot from a bow. Its voice is like the sound of the voice of the pipe and the trumpet blended together. It runs fast, being as nimble as a deer. It is very ferocious and has a great avidity for human flesh.

\textsuperscript{37} Plin. Hist. Nat. VII, 2; Curtius, IX, i, 31.


\textsuperscript{39} K. E. v. vermilion.

\textsuperscript{40} K. E. v. vermilion.
FRAG. IX.

Pausanias (Boeot. IX. xxi. 4) quoting Ktēsias, thus describes the same animal.

The animal mentioned by Ktēsias in his *Indika*, called by the Indians the *Martikhora*, but by the Greeks, it is said, ἄνδροφόρος (man-eater) is, I am convinced, the tiger. It is described as having three rows of teeth in each of its jaws and as having stings at the end of its tail, wherewith it defends itself against its assailants whether fighting at close quarters or at a distance. In the latter case it shoots its stings clean away from its tail like shafts shot from a bow-string.

[The Indians appear to me to have accepted this account, which is not true, through their excessive dread of this creature.]

FRAG. X.

Pliney, H. N. VIII, 21 (al. 30.)

Ktēsias states that the animal which he calls the *Martikhora* is found among these people [the Indians or rather the Aethiopians]. According to his description, it has a triple row of teeth, ranged together like the teeth of a comb; its face and its ears are like those of a human being, while its eyes are blue and its hair of a blood-red colour. It has the body of a lion and its tail is armed with stings, with which it smites like the scorpion. Its voice is like the commingled sound of the pipe and the trumpet. It runs very fast, and is very fond of human flesh.

FRAG. XI.

From Zellar, *De Animal.* IV. 21; respecting the Indian *Martikhora*.

In India is found a wild animal called in the native tongue the *Martikhora*. It is of great strength and ferocity, being about as big as a lion, of a red colour like cinnabar, and covered with shaggy hair like a dog. Its face, however, in not bestial, but resembles that of a human being. It has both in the upper and the lower jaw a double row of teeth which are extremely sharp at the points and larger than the canine. Its ears in their conformation are like the human, but they are larger and covered with shaggy hair. Its eyes also are like the human, and of a blue colour. It has the feet and the claws of a lion, but its tail, which may be more than a cubit long, is not only furnished at the tip with a scorpion's sting but is armed on both sides with a row of stings. With the sting at the tip it smites any one who comes near it, and kills him therewith instantaneously, but if it is pursued it uses the side stings, discharging them like arrows against the pursuer, whom it can hit even though he be at a good distance off. When it fights, having the enemy in front, it bends the tail upward, but when, like the Sakians, it fights while retreating, it straightens it out to the fullest length. The stings, which are a foot long and as slender as a rush (or a fine thread), kill every animal they hit, with the exception of the elephant only. Ktēsias says that he had been assured by the Indians that those stings that are expended in fighting are replaced by a growth of new ones as if to perpetuate this accursed plague. Its favourite food, according to the same author, is human flesh, and to satisfy this lust, it kills a great many men, caring not to spring from its ambush upon a solitary traveller, but rather upon a band of two or three for which it is singly more than a match. All the beasts of the forest yield to its prowess, save only the lion, which it is impotent to subdue. That it loves above all things to gorge itself with human flesh, is clearly shown by its name—for the Indian word *Martikhora* means man-eater—and it has its name from this particular habit. It runs with all the nimbleness of a deer. The Indians hunt the young ones before the stings appear on their tails, and break the tails themselves in pieces on the rocks to prevent stings growing upon them. Its voice has a most striking resemblance to the sound of a trumpet. Ktēsias says that he had seen in Persia one of these animals, which had been sent from India as a gift to the Persian king. Such are the peculiarities of the Martikhora as described by Ktēsias, and if any one thinks this Knidian writer a competent authority on such subjects, he must be content with the account which he has given.

FRAG. XII.


He says that Ktēsias gives an account of an undying fire burning on Mount Chimaera in the country of the *Phasèlitai*. Should the flame be cast into water, this but sets it into a greater blaze, and so if you wish to put it out you must cast some solid substance into it.
Monte Chimaera in Phasellis is volcanic, and burns night and day with a perpetual flame.\(^{102}\) According to Ktesias the Knidian, the fire is augmented by water, but extinguished by earth or hay.\(^{103}\)

C. Áelian, De Anim. XVI, 37.

Among the Indian Psylloi (who are so called to distinguish them from the Libyan Psylloi) the horses are no bigger than rams, while the sheep look as small as lambs. The asses are likewise correspondingly small and so are the mules and the oxen, and in short all cattle of whatever kind.\(^{104}\)

Frag. XIII.

Áelian, Nat. An. IV, 26.

Hares and foxes are hunted by the Indians in the manner following. They do not require dogs, for the purpose, but taking the young of eagles, of ravens and of kites, they rear and train them to pursue these animals by subjecting them to this course of instruction. Taking a pet hare and a tame fox, they fasten on to each a goblet of flesh, and then making them run away, at the same time dismiss the birds to give them instant chase, and catch the alluring bait. The birds eagerly pursue, and catching up either the hare or the fox, pounce upon the flesh, with which they are allowed to glut their maw in recompense for their activity in having captured it. When they have thus become adepts in hunting, they are taken out to pursue mountain hares and wild foxes, when, on sightung the quarry, they at once give it chase in hope of earning the customary dainty, and having quickly caught it bring it to their masters, as Ktesias acquaints us. From the same source we further learn that the entrails of the quarry are given them instead of the goblets of flesh to which they had been formerly treated.

Frag. XIV.

(A) Áelian, Nat. Anim. IV, 27.

The griffon, an Indian animal, is, so far as I can learn, four-footed like the lion and has claws of enormous strength closely resembling his. It is described as having feathers on its back, and these black, while the breast feathers are red and those of the wing white. According to Ktesias its neck is variegated with feathers of a bright blue; its beak is like an eagle's; and its head like the representations which artists give of it in paintings and sculptures. Its eyes are said to be fiery red, and it builds its nest upon the mountains, and, as it is impossible to catch these birds when full grown, they are caught when quite young. The Bactrians who are next neighbours to the Indians give out that these birds guard the gold found in the regions which they haunt, and that they dig it out of the ground and build their nests with it, and that the Indians carry off as much of it as falls to the ground. The Indians however deny that the griffons guard the gold, alleging, what I think is highly probable, that gold is a thing griffons have no use for; but they admit that when these birds see them coming to gather the gold, they become alarmed for their young and attack the intruders. Nor do they resist man only, but beasts of whatever kind, gaining an easy victory over all except only the elephant and the lion, for which they are no match. The griffons, then, being so formidable, the natives of these countries go not to gather gold in the day time, but set out under cover of night when they are least likely to be detected. Now the auriferous region which the griffons inhabit is a frightful desert,\(^{105}\) and those who make a raid upon the gold, select a moonless night, and set out armed, the expedition being a thousand or even two thousand strong. They take with them mattocks for digging the gold and sacks in which to carry it away. If they are unobserved by the griffons they have a double share of good luck, for they not only escape with their lives but bear a freight of gold in triumph home, where, the metal having been purified by those who are skilful in smelting ores, they are recompensed with overflowing wealth for all the hazards of the enterprise. Should they on the other hand be detected in the act of theft, certain death would be their fate. I have learned by enquiry that they do not return home till after an absence of three or four years.\(^{106}\)


\(^{103}\) Feno, for which perhaps émfo should be read.

\(^{104}\) See Frag. XV. From this it appears that Ktesias calls the same race both Psylli and Pygmies.

\(^{105}\) Perhaps the Desert of Cobi.

\(^{106}\) The name is related from stian by Philo, De animall. propriet. 2, pp. 15 seq.; conf. Herod. III. 115; IV. 13, 27. Becht has a very long note on the Gryphons.
FRAG. XV.

(A) Eilian, Nat. An. XVI, 37.

It is said that neither the wild nor the tame swine is found in India, and that the Indians so much abhor the flesh of this animal that they would as soon taste human flesh as taste pork.


The following also are peculiarities in the nature of animals. The swine, according to Ktesias, whether wild or tame, is not found in India, and he somewhere states that Indian sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

(C) Aelian, De Nat. Anim. III, 4.

In India, as Ktesias, a writer not to be depended on, tells us, the swine is not found either wild or tame.

[The animals of that country however which are bloodless and those that lie in holes are all large.]

(D) Palladius, De Breachman, p. 5.

For the swine of the Thebaid, on account of the excessive heat, is no longer found either in the parts of India or of Æthiopia.

(E) Pallad., De Brach., p. 4.

It (India) has also palms and the largest of nuts, the Indian as well as the smallest nut which is aromatic.


Ktesias, he says, informs us that in Æthiopia there is a fountain whose waters are red like cinnabar, and make those who drink them mad.

(G) From the work of Sotion.

Ktesias relates that in Æthiopia there is a fountain of water resembling cinnabar in colour which deprives those who drink it of their reason, so that they confess all the misdeeds which they have secretly committed.

(H) Pliny, XXXI, 2.

In drinking this water due moderation must be observed lest it make you mad like those persons who drink of that red fountain in Æthiopia whereof Ktesias writes.

(I) Michael. Apostol. Proverb. XX, 6.\(^{127}\)

A swine among the roses, a proverb applied by Krates to the intractable and uneducated.

Ktesias asserts that the swine is not bred in India, either the wild or the tame kind, and he somewhere mentions that the sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

FRAG. XVI.


Onesikritos says that in those parts of India where no shadows are cast there are men who are 5 cubits and 2 palms in stature and who live 130 years without becoming old, for if they die then they are cut off as it were in mid-life. Crates of Pergamus calls the Indians who live over a hundred years Gymnetae, but many writers call them Macrobius. Ktesias asserts that a tribe of them called Pandaroi inhabiting the valleys live for 200 years, and have in their youth white hair, which turns black when they grow old.

FRAG. XVII.

Aelian, Nat. An. IV, 36.

Writers on India inform us that that country produces many drugs, and is astonishingly prolific of those plants that yield them. Many of these drugs are medicinal and cure snake-bites, which are so dangerous to life, but others are deleterious and quickly destroy life. Among these may be reckoned the poison of a particular kind of serpent, one which to appearance is about a span long. Its colour is purple of the deepest dye, but not on the head, which so far from being purple, is extraordinarily white, whiter even than snow or than milk. It is found in those parts of India which are most scorched by the sun. It has no teeth, and does not at all incline to bite, and hence one would think it to be of a tame and gentle nature, but nevertheless, wherever it casts its vomit, be it upon the limb of a man or of a beast, nothing can prevent the whole of that limb from mortifying. It is sought after for the sake of this poison, and is, when caught, suspended from a tree by the tail, so that the head may look downward to the ground. Below its mouth they place a casket made of brass, to receive the drops of poison as they fall. The matter thus discharged condenses and becomes a solid mass which might be mistaken for the gum which oozes from the almond-tree. When the snake is dead the vessel is replaced by another, which is also of brass, for the carcase then discharges a serous humour like water, which, after being allowed to stand for three days, takes also a solid form. The two masses differ from each other in colour, the one being jet-black and the other the colour of amber. If you take of the latter no more than what would equal the bulk of a sesame seed, and administer this to one either in his food or his drink, he is first of all seized with violent spasms, and his eyes in the next place become distorted, and his brain, forcing its

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\(^{127}\) This is given as frag. 29 by Lioz, but not by Müller.
way through his nostrils, runs out, when death ensues after a short but sharp agony. If a smaller dose is taken, death does not immediately ensue, but does so eventually. The black poison, again, which has oozed from the snake when dead, operates but slowly, for if one swallows the same bulk of it as of the other, it corrupts his blood and he falls into a consumption, of which he dies in a year's time. Many, however, survive for two years, dying inch by inch.

**Frag. XVIII.**

*Ellen, De Nat. As. IV, 41.*

There is a species of Indian bird of very diminutive size which may be thus described. It builds its nests on high and precipitous mountains, and is about as big as a partridge egg, and of a bright red colour like realgar. The Indians call it in their tongue *dikaiopon,* and the Greeks in theirs, as I am informed, *dikalion* (i.e. just). Its dung has a peculiar property, for if a quantity of it no bigger than a grain of millet be dissolved into a potion, it would be enough to kill a man by the fall of evening. But the death that comes thereby resembles a sleep, and is most pleasant withal and pangless, being like that death which the poets are wont to call *lusimelos* (limb-relaxing) and *abdekhros* (easy), for such a death is painless, and is therefore to those who wish to be rid of life, the sweetest of all deaths. The Indians accordingly spare no pains to procure this substance, which they regard as a genuine anodyne for all human ills. Hence it is included among the costly presents sent by the king of the Indians to the Persian king, by whom it is prized more than aught else, and who treasures it up as a sure defence in case of necessity against ills that are past all other remedy. No one in all Persia possesses it save only the king himself and the king's mother. Let us here then compare this Indian drug with the Egyptian so as to determine which is superior. The Egyptian we saw, had the effect throughout the day it was taken of restraining and checkering tears, whereas the Indian induced an unending oblivion of all ills. The former was the gift of a woman, and the latter the gift of a bird, or rather of Nature, which, through the agency of this bird, unfeeters man from the sternest bondage. And the Indians, they say, are happy in the possession of this, since they can by its means whenever they please, escape from their prison-house here below.

**Frag. XIX.**

*Apollonios (Dyskolos), Hist. Mirab. XVII.*

Ktesias says that in India is found a tree called the *parbyon.* This draws to itself everything that comes near, as gold, silver, tin, copper and all other metals. Nay, it even attracts sparrows when they alight in its neighbourhood. Should it be of large size, it would attract even goats and sheep and similar animals.

**Frag. XX.**

*Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXVII, 2.*

Ktesias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is the bearer of all good things. It flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean near a mountain well-wooded with trees that produce amber. Those trees are called *aphysecorae,* a name which means luscious sweetness.

**Frag. XXI.**

*Tsai, Chil. VII, v, 714.*

Ktesias says that in India are the trees that produce amber, and the men called the Kynokephaloii, who, according to his account, are very just men living by produce of the chase.

**Frag. XXII.**


On many mountains (of India) is found a race of men with heads like those of dogs, who are dressed with the skins of wild beasts, who bark instead of speaking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. Ktesias says that in his time the number of these men was 120,000.

**Frag. XXIII.**

*Ellen, IV, 40.*

Among the Indians are found certain insects about the size of beetles and of a colour so red that at first sight one might mistake them for cinnabar. Their legs are of extraordinary length and soft to the touch. They grow upon the trees which produce amber, and subsist upon their fruit. The Indians collect them for the sake of the purple dye, which they yield when crushed. This dye is used for tinting with purple not only their outer and their under-garments, but also any other substance where a purple hue is required. Robes tinted with this purple are sent to the Persian king, for the Indian purple is thought by the Persians to be marvellously beautiful and far superior to their own. This we learn from.
Ktésias, who says well, for this dye is in fact deeper and more brilliant than the renowned Lydian purple.

In that part of India where the beetles (κασώνες) are met with, live the Kynokephaloi, who are so called from their being like dogs in the shape of their head and in their general appearance. In other respects, however, they resemble mankind, and go about clad in the skins of wild beasts. They are moreover very just, and do no sort of injury to any man. They cannot speak, but utter a kind of howl. Notwithstanding this they comprehend the language of the Indians. They subsist upon wild animals, which their great fleetness of foot enables them to capture with the utmost ease. Having killed the prey they cut it into pieces, and roast it by the heat of the sun and not by fire. They keep goats however and sheep, whose milk supplies them with drink, as the chase with food. I have mentioned them among the brutes, and with good reason, for they do not possess articulate and intelligible speech like mankind.108

**Frag. XXIV.**

Servius the Commentator on Virgil; *Æneid,* i, 563.

*Acantho-* i. e. with a flexible twig in imitation of which a robe is artificially adorned and wrought. Varius makes this statement.

Ktésias says that there are trees in India which grow wool.

**Frag. XXV.**

(A) *Ælian, Hist. An.* iv, 52.

I have ascertained by enquiry that wild asses are found in India as big as horses. The animal is entirely white, except about the head, which is of a reddish colour, while the eye gleams with azure. It has a horn upon its forehead about a cubit and a half long. This horn is white at the base, crimson at the tip, and jet black in the middle. These paricoloured horns are used, I understand, as drinking cups by the Indians, not indeed by people of all ranks, but only by the magnates, who rim them at intervals with circlets of gold just as they would adorn with bracelets the arm of some beautiful statue. They say that whoever drinks out of this horn is protected against all incurable diseases, for he can neither be seized by convulsions nor by what is called the sacred disease (epilepsy),129 and neither can he be cut off by poison; nay if before drinking from it he should have swallowed anything deleterious, he vomits this, and escapes scathless from all ill effects, and while, as has been believed, all other asses, wherever found, and whether wild or tame, and even all solid-hoofed animals, have neither a huckle-bone (ἀρταργυρός) nor a gall in the liver, the Indian horned asses have according to Ktésias both a huckle-bone and a gall in the liver. The huckle-bones are said to be black, not only on the surface but all throughout as may be proved by breaking one to pieces. They are fleeter not only than other asses but even than horses and deer. On first starting they run leisurely, but they gradually strengthen their pace, and then to overtake them, is, to use a poetic expression, the unattainable (εὐλογείοντα).110

When the dams have brought forth and begin to lead out their young ones to the pastures, the mares are in close attendance, and guard their offspring with devoted care. They roam about in the most desolate tracts of the Indian plain, and when the hunters come to attack them, they relegate their foals, being as yet but young and tender, to graze in the rear, while in front they fight to defend them. Their mode of attack is to charge the horsemen, using the horn as the weapon of assault, and this is so powerful, that nothing can withstand the blow it gives, but yields and snaps in two, or is perhaps shivered to pieces and spoiled for further use. They sometimes even fall upon the horses, and so cruelly rip up their sides with the horn that their very entrails gush out. The riders, it may well be imagined, dread to encounter them at close quarters, since the penalty of approaching them is a miserable death both to man and horse. And not only do they butt, but they also kick most viciously and bite; and their bite is much to be dreaded, for they tear away all the flesh they grasp with their teeth. It is accordingly impossible to take them alive if they be full-grown; and hence they must be despatched with such missiles as the spear or the arrow. This done, the Indians despoil them of their horns, which they ornament in the manner already described. The flesh is so very bitter that the Indians cannot use it for food.111

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112 Used by Homer.

(B) *Aelian, III., 41.*

India, he says, produces unicorn horses and breeds likewise unicorn asses. Drinking cups are made from these horns. Should one who plots against another's life put a deadly poison into these cups, no harm is done to the man who drinks therefrom. The horn of the horse and the ass, it would appear, is an antidote against evil.

**FRAG. XXVI.**

*Aelian, Nat. An. V, 3.*

The river Indus has no living creature in it except, they say, the skölês, a kind of worm which to appearance is very like the worms that are generated and nurtured in trees. It differs however in size, being in general seven cubits in length and of such a thickness that a child of ten could scarcely clasp it round in his arms. It has a single tooth in each of its jaws, quadrangular in shape and above four feet long. These teeth are so strong that they tear in pieces with ease whatever they clench, be it a stone or be it a beast, whether wild or tame. In the daytime these worms remain hidden at the bottom of the river, wallowing with delight in its mud and sediment, but by night they come ashore in search of prey, and whatever animal they pounce upon—horse, cow, or ass, they drag down to the bottom of the river, where they devour it limb by limb, all except the entrails. Should they be pressed by hunger they come ashore even in the daytime, and should a camel then or a cow come to the brink of the river to quench its thirst, they creep stealthily up to it, and having with a violent spring secured their victim by fastening their fangs in its upper lip, they drag it by sheer force into the water, where they make a sumptuous repast of it. The hide of the skölês is two finger-breathths thick. The natives have devised the following method for catching it. To a hook of great strength and thickness they attach an iron chain, which they bind with a rope made of a broad piece of white cotton. Then they wrap wool round the hook and the rope, to prevent them being gnawed through by the worm, and having baited the hook with a kid, the line is thereupon lowered into the stream. As many as thirty men, each of whom is equipped with a sword and a spear fitted with a thong, hold on to the rope, having also stout cudgels of cornel lying ready to hand, in case it should be necessary to fell the monster with blows. As soon as it is hooked and swallows the bait, it is hauled ashore and despatched by the fishermen, who suspend its carcass till it has been exposed for 30 days to the heat of the sun. An oil all this time oozes out from it, and falls by drops into earthen vessels. A single worm yields ten kotulai (about five pints). The vessels having been sealed up, the oil is despatched to the king of the Indians, for no one else is allowed to have so much as one drop of it. The rest of the carcass is useless. Now this oil possesses this singular virtue, that if you wish to burn to ashes a pile of any kind of wood, you have only to pour upon it half a pint of the oil, and it ignites without your applying a spark of fire to kindle it, while if it is a man or a beast you want to burn, you pour out the oil, and in an instant the victim is consumed. By means of this oil also the king of the Indians, it is said, captures hostile cities without the help of rams or testudos or other siege apparatus, for he has merely to set them on fire with the oil, and they fall into his hands. How he proceeds is this. Having filled with the oil a certain number of earthen vessels which hold each about half a pint, he closes up their mouths, and aims them at the uppermost parts of the gates; and if they strike there and break, the oil runs down the woodwork, wrapping it in flames which cannot be put out, but with insatiable fury burn the enemy, arms and all. The only way to smother and extinguish this fire is to cast rubbish into it. This account is given by Ktésias the Knidian.

**FRAG. XXVII.**


It is said that Ktésias mentions certain lakes in India, one of which, like the lakes in Sicily and Media made everything that was cast into it sink down [float] except gold, copper, and iron. Moreover, should anything fall into it aslant, it is thrown up standing erect. It is said to cure the disease called the white leprosy. Another lake at certain seasons yields an oil which is found floating on the surface.

(B) From *Sétibn in scattered passages where he relates marvels about rivers, fountains and lakes.*

There is a fountain in India which throws out upon its banks as if shot from an engine those who dive into its waters, as Ktésias relates.¹¹³

lived men without a neck, and who had their
eyes placed in their shoulders.

(C) From the same.

According to Ktésias the Indian people which
is called Pandore and occupies the valleys,
live for 200 years, and have in early youth
hoary hair which turns black as they become
old. There is a people on the other hand
whose life-time does not exceed forty years.
They are next neighbours to the Macrobius,
and their women produce offspring once only.
Agatharchides asserts the same, and adds that they
live upon locusts and are fleet of foot. [To
these Ulitarchus gave the name of Manedi,
and Megasthenes reckons the number of their
villages at 300. Their women bear children
when they are seven years old, and they are
in their old age at forty.]

Frag. XXXI.

Gellius, Noc. Attic. IX. c. 4.

When we were returning from Greece into
Italy, and had made our way to Brundusium,
and having disembarked, were walking about
in that famous seaport which Ennius, using a
somewhat far-fetched but sufficiently well-
known word, called the fortunate (praepes),
we saw a number of bundles of books lying
exposed for sale. I lost not a moment, but
pounced with the utmost avidity upon these
books. Now, they were all in Greek and full
of wonders and fables—containing relations of
things unheard of and incredible, but written
by authors of no small authority—Aristaeas
of Proconnësos and Isiginos of Nicæa, and Ktésias,
and Oenoscratos and Polystephanos and
Hegesias. The volumes themselves however
were dusty with accumulated mould, and their
whole condition and appearance showed that
they were going fast to decay. I went up to
the stall however, and enquired the prices, and
being induced by the wonderful and unexpect-
ced cheapness, I bought a great lot of the books
for a few coppers; and occupied myself for the
next two days in glancing over the contents.
As I read I made some extracts, noting the
wonderful stories which none of our writers
have as yet aimed at composing, and interspersing
them with these comments of my
own, so that whoever reads these books may
not be found quite a novice in stories of the

118 Isidor. Orig. xiii. 13; Conf. Antigon. c. 161;
Diodorus, II, 36, 7; Arrian, Ind. c. 6; Strabo, XV, i;
38; and Ind. Ant. vol. V, pp. 333, 334, and vol. VI,
pp. 121, 130.
sort like one who has never even heard of them before. [Gellius now goes on to record many particulars regarding the Skythians, Arimaspians, Sauromatae and others of whom Pliny has written at length in his Natural History. These particulars have been evidently extracted from the Indika of Ktesias and are here subjoined]:—"On the mountains of India are men who have the heads of dogs, and bark, and who live by hunting and fowling. There are besides in the remotest regions of the East other strange creatures—men who are called Monocoli (one-legged), who run hopping upon their one leg with wonderful agility; others who have no heads but have eyes in their shoulders." All unbound however is his astonishment on his learning from these writers about a race of men in the uttermost parts of India having shaggy bodies and plumage like that of birds, who live not upon food, but on the perfume of flowers inhaled through the nostrils. Not far from these live the Pygmies, the tallest of whom do not exceed 2½ feet. The books contained these and many similar absurd stories, and as we perused them we felt how wearisome a task it is to read worthless books which conduce neither to adorn nor to improve life.

Lassen's Review of the Reports

In proceeding to examine the reports concerning Indian matters which yet survive from the work of Ktesias, I call to mind what I previously remarked, that on account of the unsatisfactory state in which we possess the fragments, as well as on account of the predilection of the author for the marvellous, it is difficult to separate what is exaggerated from what is true, and to give a satisfactory explanation of his statements, while further, I have shown in several examples that his descriptions, as far as they have been examined, have been found to be true in material points, though they cannot be ascribed to the reproach that the facts have been purposely disfigured by being magnified. In judging of his work, two especial points are to be taken into account. The first is, that he resided at the Court of Artaxerxes Mnesimon as his physician, and thereby enjoyed the best opportunity of questioning the Persians about all the information they had acquired regarding India. He could question even Indians themselves about their native country, because he testifies that he had seen such men, these being white, i.e. Aryans. The second is, that the extract from his work was made by a Byzantine of far later date, the Patriarch Photius, who lived about the middle of the ninth century of our era, and who had such a predilection for the wonderful and did the work so negligently, that it can offer no suitable scale whereby to measure the true value of the original. Most of the quotations, besides, concern the fabulous Indian races and the wonderful products of the country. Regarding several of his statements the advancing knowledge of Indian archaeology has sufficed to show that they had not been invented by the author, but that they originated in fictions current among the Indians. Accordingly, the accusations of mendacity heaped upon him by the ancients, with reference to his book on India, have been generally

[114] Müller places this as frag. 55 of the Persica.
[115] Müller places this among the fragments of the Periplus or Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
[116] This belongs to the life of Ktesias; conf. Müller, p. 8.
withdrawn; but it would be going too far to absolve him entirely from lying, although in most cases his corruptions of the truth originate in his desire to tell unheard of stories.

He composed his work, which consisted of one book, after his return to his own country in the year 398 B.C., but how long afterwards cannot be determined. He did not consult Herodotus or any other of his predecessors. Whether his coincidence with Skylax about the fabulous peoples is a plagiarism is dubious. Besides what I shall presently have to say about his Indian reports, it will suffice to mention only what is of essential importance, as it would be unsuitable in this place to enter into detailed researches on as yet unexplainable reports, while, as regards the fabulous nations, it will suffice to point out their Indian origin.

According to Ktesias, India was not smaller than all the rest of Asia—which is a palpable exaggeration. Like Herodotus he considered the Indians to be the greatest of nations and the outermost, beyond whom there lived no other. Of the Indian rivers he knows strictly speaking only the Indus, for it must remain undecided what is the Hypankhas be the Ganges. As the Persians had obtained exact information only of the Indus region, we must expect to find that his more accurate communications have reference to that region exclusively. Of the former river he assumed the breadth, where it was smallest at forty, and where it was widest at one hundred stadia, while in most parts it was a mean between these two extremes. These figures are, however, without doubt excessive, but none need not be surprised therewith, since at that time no measurement had been made. On the other hand it is correctly stated that it flows through the mountains as well as through the plains. Of the Indian sea Ktesias had learned that it is larger than the Grecian, but it must be considered as an invention that to the depth of four finger breadths, the surface is so hot that fish on that account do not approach it, but live in the deep below.

It must also be ascribed to fiction that in India the sun appears ten times larger than in other countries, and that the heat there is so powerful that it suffocates many persons; that there are neither storms nor rain in India, but that the country is watered by the river; there are on the other hand violent hurricanes which carry away everything that stands in their course. The last remark may be considered as correct, but the assertion that India has no rain is on the contrary false, for it is known to possess regular rainy seasons, whereby the soil is watered. The Indus region is inundated by the river only in the Delta and, to a slight extent, in the upper country, while in the north under the mountains it has heavy rains, and lower down is not visited by slight showers. On the other hand, it is correctly remarked that in most parts of India the sun at his rising brings coolness, while during the rest of the day he causes vehement heat.

His statements about the precious stones have already been elucidated. Concerning the iron taken from the bottom of a well, of which iron swords were manufactured possessing the property of turning off hail, clouds and lightning, I have already remarked that they were probably lightning conductors. As to the method of obtaining it there is no information, but there is some how gold was obtained. Every year a spring filled itself with fluid gold which was drawn from it in one hundred earthen pitchers. It was necessary that they should be of clay, because the gold afterwards congealed, and the pitchers had to be broken in order to get it out. The spring was quadrangular, eleven ells in circumference, and about two yards deep. Each pitcher contained one talent of gold. The sense of this passage can only be that auriferous ores were melted, and that the gold obtained from them was drawn out in a fluid state. That there was a spring, must be a misapprehension, and we must imagine instead that there was a cistern prepared to receive the gold. As a pitcher need not be very large to contain one talent (which is only somewhat more than fifty-three pounds) of gold, this particular may be considered as correct, but no stress need be placed on the statement that this operation was repeated every year. If this supposition is right, it follows that the Indians know how to extract gold from the ore by melting.

Of the gold it is said also, that it is not obtained from rivers by washing (which, however, is a mistake), but that it was met with on mountains that stretched far away, and was there guarded by griffins. This, as has already been remarked, is the fiction which had reached the ears of Ktesias, whereas according to the account given by others it was dug out of the ground by the ants. Of silver-mines, it is said that there are many of them, although not as deep as those in Baktiara. This agrees with the reality, because in India silver mines seem to occur only in Ud a y a p h a r a in Ajmir: on the other hand Badakshan, in the upper Oxus valley, is rich in silver. His report

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2 Müller, p. 16. 5 Frag. i. 1.
4 Schwanebeck's Megasth. Ind. p. 8. 6 Frag. ii and i. 1.
5 Frag. iii. 7 Frag. i. 6.
6 Frag. 1, 2, 5, 8. 8 Frag. 1, 8.
7 Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. II, p. 563. 9 Frag. i. 12.
8 Frag. 1, 5 and 2. 10 Frag. i. 5.
11 Frag. i. 4. 12 Frag. i. 12.
would accordingly refer to a more eastern country than the Indus region.

On the seal-ring, *Panatarba*, which is said to have had the property when thrown into the water of attracting other seal-rings and precious stones, so that they became connected with each other, the remark may suffice that an altogether satisfactory solution of this story does not seem to have been found.\(^{16}\) It must also be left undecided what we are to understand by the *elektron* (amber) which during thirty days of the year exuded like sweat from the trees on the mountains into the river *Hyperkhas*, and which turned hard in its waters.\(^{17}\) Of this much only can we be certain, that it was a gum exuding from trees, of which there are several kinds in India, especially towards the east—the likeliest quarter wherein to seek for this river.

The mention of this tree leads us to the reports concerning Indian plants, and the products of the vegetable kingdom. The trees producing the oil called *Karpion* have been already treated of.\(^{18}\) Of the Indian palms it is said that their fruits, which are called nuts, are three times as large as the Babylonian.\(^{19}\) It is evident that it was some other than the date-palm, and was no doubt the cocoa-palm, which has a nut of the size indicated.

Of the Indian reed *Ktésias* has reported that it grows in the mountain regions on the Indus, and is so thick that two men with outstretched hands cannot span it round, and that it is as high as the mast of a large ship.\(^{20}\) This report agrees with that of *Herodotus*, only that it gives a more exact description, which may be considered as true, since the bamboo can grow to the height of sixty feet, and may be two feet in diameter. *Ktésias* was the first who brought to notice that there are male and female reeds; that the latter only had a pith, and the former none; and that the former were more strong and compact, and the latter broader. He mentions also the fact that small boats were made of them, which could hold not more than three men, provided, as is probable, this statement really does belong to him.\(^{21}\)

The expression, *garments produced by trees*, can only mean cotton garments.\(^{22}\) *Ktésias* has without doubt stated that the Indians from preference use oil of sesame, and it can only be the fault of the author of the extract if the use of this oil, together with that of the oil expressed from nuts, is ascribed to the pygmies.\(^{23}\) His other statements with regard to the obtaining of oils are evidently fictions.\(^{24}\) Among these products of the exuberant fancy of the Indians, there may here be appropriately mentioned the story that those living near the Indus obtained a kind of oil from the worms living in that river, said to have possessed the property of setting everything on fire. Some have supposed from this that the ancient Indians were acquainted with fire-arms,\(^{25}\) but the report must on the contrary be used to show that poetical ideas peculiar to the Indians had already in the time of *Ktésias* become known to the Persians. There can scarcely be a doubt that the report of *Ktésias* now in question is the corruption of the ancient Indian idea that the possession of supernatural arms, which they might at times entrust to mortals, was one of the special prerogatives of the gods.\(^{26}\) The worship of snakes was particularly current in the north-western frontier countries,\(^{27}\) to which the report of *Ktésias* regarding the oil specially relates. It will accordingly be a fire-weapon lent to man by one of the serpent-gods then worshipped, but which was represented to *Ktésias* as one that really existed.

For the sake of continuity of subject, I have anticipated what is to be remarked about the reports of *Ktésias* concerning Indian animals. Of the products of the vegetable kingdom he had mentioned a *very sweet wine*,\(^{28}\) by which expression probably must be understood only an intoxicating liquor prepared from sugar and palm-juice, since we know that grapes do not grow in India. Lastly, according to our author, there existed also a tree *Parbos*, or *Parybos*, which was found only in the gardens of the king, the root whereof attracted everything to itself, such as metals, and birds also, and sheep; birds for the most part being caught by it. The root served also as a medicine against bosebol disorders.\(^{29}\) With this conception may be suitably compared that of divining-rods, by the aid whereof metals were sought to be discovered. What Indian tree is meant is not certain.

Whoever is aware of the great vegetable riches of India cannot fail to remark that the reports of *Ktésias* concerning them are extremely scanty. Possibly the reason for this defect may be partly that the regions best known to the Persians, and consequently to him, are less rich in vegetable products than those of inner India, but the principal reason is to be sought in the negligence and incompleteness of the whole extract, wherein the various subjects follow each other without a

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\(^{16}\) Frag. ii. and note.

\(^{17}\) Frag. i. 15, and note.


\(^{19}\) Frag. i. 13, and xv.

\(^{20}\) Frag. i. 6, and vii.


\(^{22}\) Frag. i. 22, and xxiv.

\(^{23}\) Frag. i. 11.

\(^{24}\) Frag. i. 11, and xxviii, &c.

\(^{25}\) *V. von Böhlen, Alter Indien*, vol. II, p. 64.


\(^{28}\) Frag. i. 29.

\(^{29}\) Frag. i. 18, and xix.
proper connexion, as well as in the circumstance that quotations from his book are by accident pretty copious on some subjects and not on others. Thus the extracts are meagre which describe ordinary things, whereas about the extraordinary, much richer extracts have come down to us. Accordingly we cannot absolve the classic writers who have preserved for us passages from the work of Ktēsias from the reproach of having selected precisely those that relate what is extraordinary and wonderful.

This reproach attaches also to his statements about Indian animals—some of those most valued and praised by the Indians, as cows and lions, are not even mentioned in the extracts, but on the contrary those only that are extraordinary and fictitious. It can scarcely be denied that Ktēsias treated of the former. About other animals he had been misinformed. The knowledge of the Indian animal kingdom which was communicated by him to his countrymen is doubly significant for the history of zoology. Firstly, it is certain that Aristotle, the founder of this science, had made use of his reports about Indian animals, and his book therefore contributed, though but slightly, to the materials whereon that eminent genius founded his observations. Secondly, through him several Indian animals first became known to the Greeks, and he has therefore co-operated so far to propagate zoological knowledge among his countrymen. To represent this addition to science is the business of zoology; for a history of Greek knowledge about India it is sufficient to enumerate the animals which he has mentioned—an exception being allowable only when an animal through some real or imaginary peculiarity appears pre-eminent over others, or when the form of the representation is characteristic of the way the author views things.

Concerning the animal most remarkable to foreigners on account of its size, docility and multifarious uses, the elephant I mean, he had been misled by the Persians into making the exaggerated statement that in war the king of the Indians was preceded by one hundred thousand of them, whilst three thousand of the strongest and most valiant followed him. It can just as little be true that these animals were used to demolish the walls of hostile towns. On the other hand, he truthfully reports what he had seen with his own eyes, that in Babylon, elephants pulled up palm-trees, roots and all. He is the first Greek who mentioned the peculiarity of the female elephants that when they were in heat a strongly smelling fluid issued out from an orifice in their temples. Of the parrots he remarked with charming simplicity that they spoke Indian, but also spoke Greek if they had been taught to do so. The Indian name of the jackal he was the first to communicate to the Greeks under the form, Krokottos, and it follows from what he says, as well as from the fables current about this animal, that the Æthiopian kind cannot be meant. The qualities attributed to it, such as that it imitates the human voice, has the strength of the lion, and the swiftness of the horse, show that the jackal already at that time played a prominent part in animal fables, and that such were generally current in India, if there were any need of such an argument.

Of the four yet remaining animals, two must be considered as real, though it is not easy to identify them. The other two have on the contrary been invented but not by the Indians themselves. The wild ass was specially distinguished by his horn, because of the horseshoe were manufactured which protected those who drank out of them from certain kinds of diseases and from poison. He was further distinguished from solid-hoofed animals by the gall on his liver and by its anklebone. The first mark suits the rhinoceros, as it possesses a large gall bladder, but not the second, because all quadrupeds have anklebones. This, however, may only be an error of the author, though one that is surprising since he was a physician and had himself seen such anklebones. According to him, they were red, which is likewise false. The great strength attributed to the animal points to the rhinoceros, but not the great swiftness. At the same time the name, kartazon, does not furnish us with any certain means of identification. The explanation of this word from new Persian is not tenable—we might rather think that Ktēsias had altered the Indian name of the rhinoceros, Kaiga (which can be easily changed to Khorga) to Karta, in order to assimilate the sound to that of Greek words whose significations are very suitable to the animal.

By piecing these remarks together it would appear most probable that by the wild ass is to be understood the rhinoceros, because there is no other Indian animal which the description suits better. If Ktēsias attributes to it a red head and a white body, whilst its colour is really grey-brown, he had perhaps been so informed. With reference to this so-called Indian unicorn, and also to the two fabulous animals, the griffin and the martikhoras, I have already remarked that it is incorrect either to recognize them in the

20 Frag. i. 3, iv, and v.
21 Frag. i. 3, and v.
22 Schwanbeck, Megasth. Ind. p. 3. The Greek is a form of kofydraka from krophiaka, a jackal.
23 Frag. i. 35, 36, and xiv.
24 kapra, strong, and Æor animal.
wonderful animals of Persepolis, or to attribute to them a Bactro-Indian origin. In opposing this view, I have shown that the similarity of the sculptured animals to those described by Ktesias is only general—that in both cases the animals have been composed from parts of such as were real, and further that an ethico-religious symbolism through miraculous animals was unknown to the Indians. The conjecture there thrown out that the old Persian miraculous animals are of Babylonian-Assyrian origin, have been confirmed by the recent discoveries at Nineveh.

About the bird, Dikairos, which was not larger than the egg of a partridge, the dung of which was dug up, and first produced sleep and afterwards death, I can say nothing more satisfactory than others. That it is not fictitious appears from the fact that the King of India had sent some of it to the King of Persia, who preserved it as something very precious, because it was a remedy against incurable diseases. That opinion, as has been suggested, cannot be meant by it, is certain, since the cultivation of that drug was introduced much later into India. It would be futile to try to explain the name because it is explained by the word just, and has been altered to assimilate its sound to that of a Greek word.

If the griffins have been indicated as Indian animals, there is no confirmation of this discoverable in the Indian writings—and so the griffins must be classed along with the Issedonians, the Arimaesians, and other fictions of the more northern peoples, which had found admission also among the Persians, where they survived till later. Just as foreign to the Indians is the Martiikhoros, whose name is correctly explained as the man-eater, but in old Iranian, because Martiya-qrda has this meaning, but the second part is foreign to the Indian language. If Ktesias has reported that he had seen such an animal with the Persian King to whom it had been presented by the Indian king, he cannot in this instance be acquitted of mendacity.

Since he has specified a pretty large number of Indian animals without exhausting the list, and has also described some of them minutely, if we may judge from the details which have been preserved, we may conclude that he had also treated at large of the manners and customs of the Indians. From this portion of the work which, had it been preserved, would have interested us most of all, we cannot expect to have learned anything about those subjects which we do not already know, but light would have been thrown upon the communications which had at that time reached the Persians from India, and upon the nature of the ideas they had conceived regarding the inhabitants of India. But unfortunately we possess only very scanty extracts on such topics, while, on the other hand, there are tolerably complete repetitions of his reports of fabulous peoples.

Of the Indians he correctly asserted that they had their black colour not from the sun, but from nature. As a proof he adduced the fact that he had with his own eyes seen white Indians, viz. two women and five men. He mentioned their great justice, their laws and customs, their love for their sovereigns, and their scorn of death. Nothing shows so plainly how little the way in which the extracts have been made is to be relied on, as the omission of these very subjects, with the exception of four of the less important usages. The first is that the Indians went on pilgrimage to a holy place distant fifteen days from the Sard mountains, situated in an uninhabited region where they worshipped the sun and the moon. During the festival the sun is said to have afforded them coolness for thirty-five days, so that they might be able to perform all the rites and return to their homes unscorched by his heat. There can be no doubt as to where this place lay. It was among the Vindhyas, one of whose off-shoots are the Sardian mountains. It is self-evident that this can only have been an isolated worship of the two luminaries, probably by a barbarous tribe, to which also the legend of the cooling down of the temperature may have belonged.

The second custom mentioned is connected with the idea formed by Ktesias of the bodily constitution of the Indians. They attained an age of 130 or 140 years, and the oldest of 200. None of them suffered from headache, eye diseases, toothache, sore mouths, or putrid ulcers. In India there was a quadrangular well, enclosed by rocks, wherein the Indians of high rank bathed along with their wives and children. It had the property of throwing out again upon the bank not only the bathers, but everything else, except gold, silver, iron and copper. It is called in India ballada, which means useful. This word is really Indian, for in Sanskrit bala means strength-giving. From this report we learn the unimportant fact that the Indians had discovered the healing power of mineral wells.

Another well had the peculiarity that the water drawn from it congealed to the thickness of cheese. If three obols weight of this was triturated to a powder and being put in water was given

32 Frag. 1, 17, and xviii; the name is also written Dikeros.
33 Frag. 1, 18, and xiv.
as a dose to an inculpated person, he confessed all his transgressions. The king used this as a means to bring the accused to a confession. Those found guilty under the ordeal were condemned to die of starvation, and the innocent were dismissed. This particular is remarkable, because the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hian, relates something similar regarding Udāna, a country west of the Indus and to the north of Peshawar. He says it was the custom there, if a doubt existed about the guilt of an accused person, to remove the doubt by administering to him a medicinal drink; those guilty of capital offenses were banished. Pliny had much earlier reported something similar of an Indian plant.48 Guilty persons who had swallowed pills prepared from its roots and administered in wine, were during the night tormented by visions, and confessed all their transgressions. Although the origin of the drink mentioned by Ktésias may be incorrect, there can be no doubt but that it was used for judicial purposes, as it is confirmed by the other two witnesses. Of such ordeals, called divya and paríśka, several are adduced in the codes of law. Among these, poison also occurs. If the accused, after swallowing the dose, felt no hurtful effects ensuing, he was declared innocent, so that the report of Ktésias is justified by the Indians themselves.49

This, however, cannot be said of the fourth custom mentioned in the fragments of the work; that in hunting hares and foxes, the Indians did not use dogs, but eagles, crows, and vultures, which they trained for that purpose.50 For this practice the Indian writings afford no confirmation, though by no means follows that the report is untrue. It is only doubtful whether eagles can be so tamed. It would be important to know whether from an oversight on the part of Aelian, who alone has preserved this report, vultures have not been substituted for falcons; in that case this custom would be one which the Indians had in common with the Thracians and the ancient Germans.

With regard to the Aryan Indians we learn nothing from the extracts from the work of Ktésias, but the fact already noticed, that they were white. He invariably speaks of but one king of India; but from this we must not conclude that at that time Western India formed a single state. It would rather appear that Ktésias did not care to treat of the separate kingdoms.

The fabulous peoples are divided into two classes, one purely fictitious, and the other embracing the aboriginal tribes that have obtained their name from some one peculiarity, and in one particular instance this name is Greek. Of the first class Skylax had already mentioned several. There is but this one fact with reference to these tribes which is significant, that since the fictions regarding them had been propagated to foreign nations so early as the time of Skylax, they must have been still earlier widely current among the Indians. It will therefore be sufficient, if, without treating of them specially, I content myself with merely establishing their claim to be of Indian origin.51 When Ktésias, following no doubt the precedent of the Persians, reported of one of these tribes that it was a very brave nation, and that five thousand men of them followed the king of the Indians as archers and lancers, so far from seeing in this circumstance a reason to consider them a real nation, as in the great epic the one-footed men brought gifts to a king, we shall only find a new proof of the wide dissemination of such fictions at that early period.

It will be suitable here to mention that Ktésias was the first Greek who had received intelligence of the holy country of the U̇ttara Kur̄u, although considering the incomplete state in which his work lies before us, this can only be shown by the help of the native writings. He had, to wit, stated that there existed a fountain called Silas, in whose waters even the lightest substances that were thrown in sank to the bottom.52 Now, ears: (see Ind. Ant. vol. VI, pp. 135-4). The Saxiopodes are mentioned by Skylax, Hekatomin, and Ktésias.—by the second as in Ethiopia, with the frequent attribution of Indian fictions to Ethiopia: Testes, Chit. vii, 629 f.; Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. vii, 14; Ktés. frag. xxvii, or Müller, Chas. Frg. 89, p. 106. They have not yet been identified in Indian writings; their name must have been Çhâdghïpâda. Possibly they were considered to have feet large enough to overshadow them. The predecessors of Ktésias had not mentioned the one-footed race called Eko- pada, who were able nevertheless to run fast—frag. xxx. The passage relating to them in the Mahâbharat, according to which they lived in the north, is cited by Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. I, p. 1022ś, and that from the Râmâyana in the Zeitschrift für d. k. d. Mory, vol. II, p. 40. Pliny (Hist. Nat. VII, 2), incorrectly considers them to have been the same as the Saxiopodes.

52 Fragn. xxviii. Megasthenes also mentions a river Silas flowing from a source of the same name through the country of the Sili, and so light that everything sank in it. The Silā is mentioned also in the Mahâbharat, VI, 6, v. 218, but north of Mera.
this is the river Śiḷā or Śailodā which one must cross before he can reach that country. It was believed that nothing would float or swim in its waters because by contact with them everything was transmuted into stone. It was only possible to effect a passage by means of the Kichak—a reed which grew there. The Greek representation offers itself as an inversion of the Indian fiction; if anything that came into contact with the water was changed into stone, it must have become as heavy as stone and sunk to the bottom. The Greeks accordingly supposed that the lightness of the water was the cause of its being in navigable.

In the extant excerpts there is no mention of the Hyperboreans, who, as we shall afterwards show, answer to the Indian Uttara kūra. According to Megasthenes, they lived one thousand years, but according to the Indian view one thousand and even ten thousand years, 87 Accordingly it is not at all impossible that at Ktesias has mentioned them under the name of Makrobioi, who lived four hundred years. These are attributed also to Ethiopia by Herodotos 87 and other writers of later date, but are probably of Indian origin.

The accounts given of the real tribes deserve more consideration, because from them several particulars appear which shed over the aborigines and their contact with the Aryan Indians a light all the more unexpected, as it has been the common practice to deny all value to the statements advanced by Ktesias in this connection.

Among the real tribes was one that was black, and dwelt above the river Hyparkhos, probably the Ganges. 84 They spent their days in idleness, ate no corn, but lived only on the milk of kine, goats and sheep which they maintained in great numbers. This notice is interesting, in so far as it shows that on the upper Ganges, or more correctly in the Himalayas, there still existed in those days black aborigines, as the great Epos also knows them there. It must be considered as an exaggeration that they drank no water, and that though not agriculturists, they subsisted also upon fruits. The fullest reports are those relating to the Kynamolgoi or Ky Noahaloi, the dog-headed, 85 who must on account of this peculiarity being attributed to them have particularly attracted the attention of the classical authors. They were widely propagated, because they dwelt near the sources of the Hyparkhos, as well as in Southern India; their number is stated to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand.

They were black, and the teeth, tails and voices of dogs, as well as their heads, are attributed to them. They understood, however, the language of the Indians. The reason for their name and their fictitious properties is evident from the circumstance that they kept big dogs for hunting wild oxen and other wild animals. If the use of dog-milk is attributed to them, this may have also been merely an invention, because it is said elsewhere that they used also the milk of goats and of sheep. The other things related of them show that they were a real nation, a tribe of the black aborigines.

They were acquainted with but few of the technical arts, had no houses or beds, but dwelt in caves and slept on couches of straw, leaves, or grass. They knew how to tan hides, and the men as well as the women wore very fine garments manufactured from them. The richest only possessed linen. They kept a multitude of asses, goats and sheep, and the greatest number of the latter constituted their wealth. Besides milk they used also as food the fruit of the Siptakhora tree, which they dried and packed up in plaited baskets and exported to the other Indians. They were very fast runners, good hunters, archers, and hurlers of the javelin. They lived especially on the produce of the chase. The flesh of the animals which they killed, they roasted in the sun. Protected by their inaccessible mountains, they were not attacked in war by their neighbours; they are represented as just men and harmless. They are said to have reached the age of one hundred and seventy years, and some even of two hundred. They carried on trade with the civilized Indians in their neighbourhood, and stood in a free relationship with the Indian king. To him they brought annually two hundred and sixty talents of dried fruits of the Siptakhora tree on rafts, and as many talents of a red dye-stuff and one thousand of elektos or the gum exuding from the Siptakhora tree. To the Indians they sold these wares, and obtained from them in exchange bread, oatmeal, cotton-clothes, bows, and lances, which they required in hunting and killing wild animals. Every fifth year the king presented them with three hundred bows, three thousand lances, one hundred and twenty thousand small shields, and fifty thousand swords.

This description throws a clear light upon the position held by the Indian aborigines towards the kings of the Aryan Indians, on their mutual relations, on the intercourse of the civilized Indians with their barbarous countrymen, and the


87 Herodot. III, 17.
88 Frag. i, 24.
89 Frag. i, 20, 22, 23, and xxi, xxii, xxiii.
civilizing influence which they exercised upon them. Secured from subjugation in their inaccessible mountains, the latter must nevertheless have been glad to live in peace with the neighbouring kings, and to propitiate them by presents, and the former to make them feel the superiority of their power. On account of the need for the means of subsistence, and for the means for pursuing their occupations, which they procured from their civilized neighbours, the aborigines were obliged to accommodate themselves to have intercourse with them, and to afford them also an opportunity, and to open a door for the admission of their doctrines and laws among them.

The Indian name of this people Sunamukha, dog-faced, has been discovered in a MS. which has not yet been published. This tribe, according to it, dwelt on the Indus. The Kalavrops considered by Ktesias to be synonymous with it cannot be satisfactorily explained from the Sanskrit; but it may have reached us in a corrupted form. To deny that the Aryan Indians may have given to a nation which they despised a name taken from the dog would be unreasonable, because the dog was a despised animal, and the name Svanpaka or Svanpaka, i.e., feeder of dogs, designates one of the lowest castes. Nor is there anything to object to the view that one of the aboriginal tribes was specially addicted to the rearing of dogs, which were needed for hunting, seeing that the wild dog is widely propagated throughout India and occurs in the Deccan, and probably also in Nepal as well as in the south and in the north, where the Yana moolgoi dwelt. This tribe also has been transferred to Ethiopia and Libya.

The third of these tribes are the Pygmies, whose name is Greek, and means ‘a fist long.’ They are mentioned by Homer, and as fighting with the cranes. It hence appears that the name has been transferred to an Indian people. The Indian Pygmies are described as very small, the tallest of them being two ells in height, but most of them only one and a half. They dwelt in the interior of India, were black and deformed, had snub noses, long hair and extraordinarily large beards. They were excellent archers, and three thousand of them were in the retinue of the king. Their sheep, oxen, asses and mules were unusually small. They hunted hares and foxes, not with dogs, but with eagles, ravens, crows and vultures, like the Indians, followed the Indian laws, and were just. They agreed further with the Indians in using both sesame oil and nut oil, as already mentioned. This is all that is stated regarding them in the fragments of Ktesias. To determine what Indian people is meant by this name, it must further be mentioned that Megasthenes ascribes the battle with the cranes to the Tispatmanoi, i.e. men three spans long, a name by which he could only designate the Pygmies, and which he had probably selected because it was an old word. Ktesias may therefore be considered as one of those writers who mentioned the battle of the Indian Pygmies with the cranes. Now the Indians ascribe to Garuda, the bird of Vishnu, eminently towards the people of the Kirata, which for this reason is called Kiratasis, i.e., the devourers of the Kirata, and the name of this people has also the meaning of a dwarf. It hence appears that the Kirata were small men in comparison with the Arian Indians, and may consequently have been easily confounded with the Pygmies. The form of the bird of Vishnu, as described by the poets, does not exactly correspond with a real bird; in the picture the form of a bird almost entirely yields to that of a man. There is nevertheless some similarity to an eagle and to a vulture as well as to a crane. If in mythology a simple bird of this kind usually only occurs, it is to be remarked that it passes at the same time for the father and king of the divine birds, and there is nothing to hinder us from believing that, according to the ideas of the people a battle of this bird with the Kirata was thought to have occurred. If the remark that they lived in the interior of India does not agree with their actual position, which is assigned to the east of Bengal, in the Himalayas, and further to the north, it must be understood that foreigners had attributed a wider extension to the name so that it designated even a people in Orissa. From this further application of the names several characteristics attributed to the Pygmies explain themselves, which partly suit the true Kiratas, who like the Bhuta people are beardless, but on the other hand wear long hair. Among them occur also the flat noses, but not the black complexion by which the Cond and other Vindhyas tribes are on the contrary distinguished, so that here also a commingling of characteristics must be assumed. Both these people, however, are distinguished by their shortness of stature. If the smallness of the Pygmies has been ascribed to their cattle also, it must simply be considered as an enlargement to the account made by foreigners.

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52 Wilford, As. Res. vol. VIII, p. 531, from the Pabbasakhandas.
53 Vasa Kennedy explained this by Kālazusru, clad in black, but the meaning does not suit.
54 Herodot. IV, 101, and Aegistharckides, p. 44, ed. Hudson, who has drawn his account from Ktesias.
55 Hted. III, 207.
56 Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 133, note t, and p. 353.
57 Persp. Mar. c. 62; Ind. Ant. vol. VIII, p. 150.
58 Wilford, a. a., mentions the chip坦nsiris, 'snubnosed.'
As we have seen above that the Arian kings kept female Kirtasa slaves and hunters, while the Pygmies are described as very brave and hunters of wild animals, and even in later times, the people of that race appear in the royal retinue, the Greek report is confirmed in this point also, while it must further be correct in stating that, though not all, yet at least one tribe of this people had adopted the laws of the Arian Indians.

The Pygmies, with their battle against the cranes have also been transferred to Ethiopia from their original home in India. Whether the legend concerning them had already reached the Greeks at the time when the poems of Homer were composed, may be left undecided.

The preceding examination of the narrative of Ktesias (which has reached posterity in so abridged and incomplete a form, and the author whereof had been accused by his own countrymen of mendacity) abundantly shows that Ktesias has in most cases only repeated statements as he heard them from the mouths of the Persians, who themselves had received them from Indians who sojourned in their country, and so we have the reports, not directly from the Indians themselves, but from the Persians. From this circumstance, it is evident why the names, as far as they have been explained, are, with a single exception, Persian, and why some names attributed to the Indians are foreign. If we consider the circuits these accounts have made in reaching Greece from India, we cannot but be surprised that in general they still bear the stamp of their Indian origin. As has been shown, Ktesias cannot be absolved from the charge of having in some instances adorned the statements he received and of having even allowed himself to tell untruths. He has also transferred Greek notions to Indian subjects, at least in the matter of the Pygmies. If we however consider his book in its original and complete form, then we see that he must have given a tolerably complete representation of the products of Western India, and of the customs and usages of the inhabitants, as well as several notices of the interior of the country. A few details serve even to elucidate Indian affairs, and there were no doubt many such, which have been lost, because after the Greeks had become more closely acquainted with India in the time of Alexander the Great, his work had been neglected by his countrymen. But the special significance of his narrative does not consist in these isolated elucidations of Indian antiquity, but in the fact that he had communicated to his countrymen the mass of the knowledge on Indian matters and the form which they had assumed among the Persians, and had marked thereby the extent of the knowledge gained regarding India before the time of Alexander. His work may have contributed to increase the desire of the Greeks to investigate foreign countries, but it exerted no influence on the development of geographical science, and just as little on the expedition of Alexander, as has already been remarked.

APPENDIX.

ON CERTAIN INDIAN ANIMALS.
FROM Kosmas Indikopleustes*6 De Mundo, XI.
1. The Rhinoceros.

This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns growing upon its nose. When it walks about the horns shake, but when it looks enraged it tightens them, and they become firm and unshaken so that they are able to tear up even trees by the roots, such especially as stand right in their way. The eyes are placed as low down as the jaws. It is altogether a most terrible animal, and is especially hostile to the elephant. Its feet and its skin closely resemble those of the elephant. Its skin, which is dry and hard, is four fingers thick—and from this instead of from iron some make ploughshares wherewith they plough their lands. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros arow or harisi, prefixing the rough breathing to the alpha of the latter word, and adding visi to it, so that the word arow is the name of the animal, while harisi is an epithet which indicates its connexion with ploughing arising from the configuration of its nose and the use made of its hide. I have seen a living rhinoceros, but I was standing some distance off at the time. I have also seen the skin of one, which was stuffed with straw and stood in the king’s palace, and I have thus been enabled to delineate the animal accurately.*6

2. The Taurelaphos or Ox-deer.

This is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia. But those in India are tame and gentle, and are there used for carrying pepper and other stuffs packed in bags; these being slung over the back one on each side. Their milk is made into butter. We eat also their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throat, and the Greeks by beating them with cudges. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untameable.

3. The Camelopardalis or Giraffe.

This animal is found only in Ethiopia, and is,

* Referring to the picture of the animal in his book.
like the hog-deer of that country, wild and untameable. In the royal palace, however, they bring up one or two from the time when they are quite young, and make them tame that the sight of them may amuse the king. In his presence they place before them milk or water to drink contained in a pan, but, then, owing to the great length of their feet, breast, and neck they cannot possibly stoop to the earth and drink unless by making their two forelegs straddle. When they make them straddle they can of course drink. I have written this from my own personal knowledge.

4. The Agriobous or Wild Ox.

This is an animal of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the tawpha, wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree it is no longer stops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail.

5. The Moskho or Mosk-deer.

This is a small animal, and is called in the native dialect the Kastouri. Those who hunt it pierce it with arrows, and having confined the blood which collects at the navel, they cut the navel off, that being the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk.

6. The Monokeros or Unicorn.

This animal is called the unicorn, but I have never seen it. I have however seen four brass statues of it in Ethiopia, where they were set up in the royal palace—an edifice adorned with four towers. From these statues I have thus delineated the animal. They say of it that it is a terrible beast and invincible, having its power all lodged in its horn. When it perceives that its pursuers are many and that they are on the point of catching it, it springs down from the top of some precipice, and during the descent through the air turns itself in such a way that the whole shock of the fall is sustained by the horn which receives no damage thereby. The scripture refers to this peculiarity, which says: save me from the mouth of lions and my humility from the horns of unicorns; and again, the one beloved as the son of unicorns; and again in the blessings of Balaam wherewith he blessed Israel, he says twice over: God led him out of Egypt even as the glory of the unicorn, thus bearing witness to the strength and boldness and glory of the animal.

7. The Khoirelops or Hog-deer, and the Hippopotamus.

The hog-deer I have both seen and eaten. The hippopotamus however I have not seen, but I have had in my possession teeth of it so large that they weighed about thirteen pounds. These teeth I sold here. I saw many both in Ethiopia and in Egypt.

8. Poperi—Pepper.

This is a picture of the pepper tree. Each separate plant clings for support to some tall tree which does not yield fruit, being very weak and slender like the delicate tendrils of the vine. Each cluster is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is perfectly green like the colour of rae.

9. Argeliones or the coocaw-tree.

There is another tree of this sort called argelia, that is, the tall nut-trees of India. It differs in no respect from the date-palm except in being taller and thicker and having larger leaves. It produces no other fruit than two or three and as many nuts. The taste is extremely sweet and pleasant, being like that of the kernels of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a deliciously sweet water which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called rhongkhesopa. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps its quality, the water in the course of time hardens upon the shell, while the water in the centre retains its fluidity till it finally disappears. If however it be kept too long without being opened, the concretion on the shell becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

10. Phobé, Delphis, Khelinda—the Seal, the Dolphin and the Tortoise.

When at sea we use the seal, dolphin and tortoise for food should they chance to be caught. The dolphin and tortoise we kill by cutting their throat, but we cut not the throat of the seal, but despatch him with blows as we do large fish. The flesh of the tortoise, like that of the sheep, is dark-coloured; that of the dolphin like the pig's is dark coloured and rank; that of the seal like the pig's, is white, but not rank.

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[83] This is still its Indian name.

[84] The ibex is said to fall in such a way that its horns sustain the force of the impact.

[85] According to the recipe for making hare-soup—"First catch your hare."
READINGS FROM THE ARIAN PÂLI.

PART I.

BY DR. A. F. RUDEL HOERNLE.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the year 1863 (vol. XXXII, page 139), General A. Cunningham wrote: "Thirty years have elapsed since the first Bactro-Pâli inscriptions were discovered by Ventura, Court, and Masson,—and during that long period but little progress has been made in their decipherment." And about the same time, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 1863, (vol. XX, page 221; Old Series) Professor J. Dowson said: "I know of no inscription in this character (Baktrian or Arian Pâli) of which, up to the present time, a complete and convincing interpretation has been offered." Although again nearly twenty years have passed since these remarks were penned, Professor Dowson's words are as true now as they were then. It is true General Cunningham and Professor Dowson themselves as well as others (e.g., Sir E. C. Bayley) have, in the mean time, done not a little towards clearing away the difficulties that beset the reading of those obscure legends. It is impossible to speak too highly of the ingenuity and success with which they have determined the value of the phonetic and numerical symbols of the Arian Pâli, so that, in this respect at least, there appears hardly anything left for succeeding investigators to add. Still, it is true that, even now, with the exception of a few very short inscriptions, no "complete and convincing interpretation" has been offered; nor will this be the case, until also the grammatical construction of those records, which both in an etymological and syntactical respect has hitherto baffled the efforts of interpreters, is fully and correctly determined. This, I believe, I have succeeded in doing in the case of one, at least, of the longer inscriptions; and I hope to be able to do the same with regard to a few others. This is all I claim. The honour of unravelling the mysteries of the Arian Pâli is mainly due to the two writers already mentioned. I merely supply the grammatical order to what has been already, more or less fully, read by them. However, it will be seen from the sequel that in the process of determining the grammatical construction, the real meaning of the record is sometimes discovered to be considerably different from what it was originally supposed to be.

The Arian Pâli Inscription, of which I now give a grammatical translation, is that commonly known as the Śud-Vihâr Inscription. A full account of its discovery will be found in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. IV (N. S.), pp. 497-499, and in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXIX, pp. 65-67 (both for 1870). It was found by the Rev. G. Yeates in February 1869, in a ruined old Buddhist tower, (a view of which accompanies this paper), in the neighbourhood of Bhâwaulpur to the north of Sindh. It is inscribed on a thin copper-plate, which appears to have been imbedded in the middle of the floor of a chamber near the top of the tower. It closed the mouth of a shaft, which had a width of 16 inches square and a depth of about 20 feet; the tower being solid with the exception of this shaft. The copper-plate itself is 30 inches square, the corners being rounded off, and the record is incised in four lines along three sides and a quarter of the fourth side, in the so-called Arian Pâli characters, which vary in size from ½ to 1 inch. It was forwarded by Major Stubbs to Sir E. C. Bayley, who appears to have presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It now forms part of the Society's collection of inscribed copperplates. A very fair representation of it is given in the Journal, vol. XXXIX, pl. ii, though it is not a facsimile, as it might appear at first sight, but a very reduced copy. The copy of the inscription itself, on the whole, accurate, with the exception of eight letters (11 to 18) on the top-line (the third of the inscription), which are quite untrustworthy. There are also a number of minor, though, for the decipherer, no less important inaccuracies, which have arisen from the fact that parts of some letters have almost disappeared in consequence of the oxidation of the copper. On the whole, however, the plate is in a good state of preservation;
THE TOWER AT SUE VIHAR NEAR BHAWALPUR

α. POSITION OF COPPER-PLATE
From Journal A. S. Beng., Vol. XXXIX.
SUÉ VIHAR INSCRIPTION.

1st. line.

2nd. line.

3rd. line.

4th. line.

A.F.R. Hoernle.

Scale 4 to 10 of original.

W. Griggs Photolith.
only in the lower right-hand corner (where the first and second lines of the inscription meet) there is a large fissure, probably caused by the instrument with which it was dug out; but it is well removed from the inscription. Most of the letters are deeply cut and perfectly distinct. But a few are partially obliterated, owing to the original incision not having been sufficiently deep, in consequence of which they have become filled up by the effects of the oxidation. Still in all such cases there are traces which, on careful inspection, cannot be mistaken.

The lithograph of the inscription which accompanies this paper is prepared from a squeeze which I took myself, and checked by repeated careful examination of, and comparison with, the original. The letters, as now given, may be accepted as perfectly accurate in every respect.

Most of the defective letters occur in the third line of the inscription, and it is generally noticeable that the third line is not executed with the same care as the first and second lines. This is shown in various ways; thus, in the first two lines the several words are separated by perceptible intervals, while in the third line they are often run together; again the subscribed nasal (anuṣṭāra) is not always placed accurately under the letter to which it belongs, but sideways so as to be apparently under the succeeding letter. The engraver evidently got tired over his work and, in the third line, did not trouble himself to cut the letters with sufficient accuracy and depth. Hence the modern decipherer's difficulties. These will be noticed in detail when I come to the remarks on the translation.

There is another point worth noting. There are distinct traces still observable on the copper-plate which disclose the modus operandi of the engraver. It appears that he first drew a preliminary copy of the inscription on the plate by means of very slight and superficially punched dots, indicating the outlines of the letters. Afterwards the letters were deeply engraved by the chisel following the dotted outlines of the copy. In a few cases, however, the engraver either departed from his copy, or, evidently from mere oversight, omitted to engrave the whole of the indicated dotted outline.

Most, if not all, these cases too occur in the third line of the record. Thus in the 18th letter (ni) of the third line, the cross-line indicating the vowel i was drawn, in the preliminary dotted copy, across the curved head of the consonant n, though in a wrong direction, from left to right, instead of from right to left, as in the 6th letter of the same line. Accordingly when the engraver came to inscribe the final copy, he drew the vowel line lower down, across the body of the consonant, as in the 18th letter of the first line (in Konishkasya). The original dotted line across the crook of the consonant n, however, is still perfectly recognisable. Again, in the 15th letter of the third line (ki of kīkhiñkini), only one portion of the cross-line, indicating the vowel i, has been fully incised, viz., that on the right of the crook of the consonant k; the remainder, on the left side of the crook, has, by an oversight, been allowed to remain in its original dotted state, which is still, though faintly, recognisable. Similarly in the 32nd letter of the third line (tha of pratipāndh), the upper half of the vertical stroke has been left in its original dotted state, while the rest is fully incised.

Two attempts have been previously made to read and interpret this inscription, but with very imperfect success. The first was by Sir E. C. Bayley, immediately after the discovery of the copper-plate, in 1870. His reading and translation are given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXIX, pp. 65-70. The reading, though incomplete and incorrect, is yet in some points more accurate than that of Professor Dowson. The latter's reading and translation were published in the same year (1870), in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N. S.) vol. IV, pp. 497-509. For the sake of facilitating comparison, I shall give both the previous readings side by side with my own, and afterwards add some remarks in justification of my version of the inscription.

Transcribed into Nāgarī characters, the record, as I read it, is as follows: a corrected Pāli, as well as a Sanskrit version being given in parallel columns. The commencement of the four lines of the inscription are indicated by numbers.

It is not shown in Plate II of the Journal.
* So in dadanati and kupañjekha, which are written as if they were dadatih and kupañchakha. Similar in-
accuracies are well known in Persian cursive writing.
* i.e., adding the, usually, omitted double-consonants and long vowels.
On the 28th day of the month Daśīś, in the 11th year of the great king, the Over-king of kings, the son of the gods, Kanishka;

* On the specified day, to the mendicant Nāgadatta, learned in the Śāṅkhya (philosophy), the disciple of the Āchārya Damatrātī, the disciple of the disciple of the Āchārya Bhava, putting up his staff (or pillar), here the owner of the Dāmāna Viha, the female lay devotee Balanandi, the owner, her mother, give a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories.

* May it be for the health and wealth of all beings.

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On the 19th day of the month Daśīś, in the 11th year of the divinely descended king, king of kings, Kanishka;

* For the religious benefit of Dhakabhala, the good, the excellent mother, and of the good and pre-excellent brother of Atereshwara of Naganata, the religious mendicant, (this) for the holy lord the Viha, this worshoer gives, turned back from his maternal (virtus ?) —fallen away from his ancestral . . . . . . ?

* May it be for a cause of happiness to all Buddhism?
It will be seen that the meaning of the record is very simple, and, with the exception of that of the first line, very different from what it has hitherto been supposed to be. The first line which contains the date of the record, the most important item of the whole, has always been read correctly. In the body of the record it is stated, that on that day a certain monk, called Nāgadatta, put up a yathī, and that two pious women, daughter and mother, offered a shrine and its customary accessories for the yathī. The pratikāvā (shrine) referred to, there can be little doubt, is the tower within which the copperplate was found. What the yathī is, I do not know; perhaps others who are better acquainted with the practices of Buddhism may be able to explain it. The word, in the modern form lākha, is applied to monumental pillars, like the well-known stone pillars of Allahābād, Delhi, Banāras and other places; but that can hardly be the meaning of the word here. The word is also applied to a monk's staff. This, at first sight, would seem to be a much more likely meaning. The dropana "setting up" or "assuming" of a staff might be a ceremony indicating the assumption of a high clerical office (as in the case of the Bishop's staff or crook). Or "putting up (=putting aside) the staff" might be a euphemism for "death:" the monk having died, his yathī may have been enshrined by the two pious ladies. It is impossible to avoid connecting in one's thoughts the curious shaft which pierces the tower, and the mouth of which was closed with the copperplate that bears the inscription, with the yathī mentioned in that inscription as having been enshrined. Can it be possible that the shaft was the receptacle of the yathī? The dimensions of the shaft, no doubt, are large; but the yathī need not have been a real mendicant's staff, or at least only such a one pro forma; in reality it might have been an object more like the famous lākha or iron pillar of Delhi; perhaps ornamented with jewels and precious stones. If so, that fact may account for the curious circumstance, observed by the discoverer, that the tower is "cut, as it were, right down the diameter" so that "the shaft is quite exposed from about 4 feet of the floor (in which the copper-plate was imbedded) down to the top of the mound (from which the tower projects) by the falling away of half of the tower whenever that occurred." The splitting of the tower would then be due to the cupidity of those who wanted to abstract the valuable yathī.

The name of the monk whose yathī was enshrined was Nāgadatta. He is described as a bishya or disciple of the Āchārya Damastrātāt (or "protector of the house"), and as a pratishya of the Āchārya Bhavān. The term pratishya means "disciple of a disciple," and shows that Nāgadatta was a disciple of Damastṛatāt, who himself was a disciple of Bhava. He is further described as saṅkhakati. This term has puzzled both Sir E. C. Bayley and Prof. Dowson. The former read it first as dhakka-keli and afterwards as dhakkhabali, and interpreted it (if I understand him correctly) as the name of the "mother" mentioned in the record. The latter reads it Sakkahati, and apparently takes it to be the name of the place where Nāgadatta lived. The letters are clear enough, with the exception of the third, which may be bha, but which much more likely is ka, as Sir E. C. Bayley first read it; for it closely resembles the ka in Kanishka, ekdīkā, etc., while it differs not inconsiderably from the bha in bhikṣusya and Bhava. The first letter is undoubtedly sena; the nasal curve at the foot is quite distinct, and exactly like that in yathī and nāhī, a little further on. The word, therefore, is saṅkhakati, which, as Professor Dowson thinks, may be the name of a locality, but which I think to be more probably a laudatory epithet of the monk, similar to those so common in the Mathurinscriptions. In the latter such laudatory terms as saṅghamita "friend of the clergy," saṅghadda "servant of the clergy," etc. frequently occur immediately after the proper name of the monk. Accordingly I interpret saṅkhakati to mean "learned in the śūkhya (philosophy)." The Sanskrit equivalent of the epithet would be śūkhya-śrīni, where śrīni

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* In the compound Damastṛatāhṣa the vowel e of tṛṣṇa has changed to o, as in the famous name Jētawana, which stands for Skr. Jētīvāna, i. e., "the grove of Jēta."

* Prof. Dowson here divides the words wrongly bhāre.
would regularly become keṣi in Pāli, just as Sanskrit kṛita “done” appears in Pāli as kāta, at the end of some compound words.

The names of the two ladies who jointly presented the shrines are given as Bālānāḍī and Bālājāya,

9 of whom the latter is stated to have been the mother (mātā) of the former.

Bālānāḍī is further described as being kichchhubini or full of penances. Sir E. C. Bayley altogether failed to read the word kichchhubini; Professor Dowson reads it dhajabina, which he thinks to be “probably a compound of the Sanskrit dhwaja, a flag.”

The possibility of such a compound must be conceded; but the word would be dhajabini; for the last letter is unmistakably si. However, the first letter is undoubtedly k joined, probably, with the vowel-sign i. The outlines of the k are quite distinct on the copperplate; and as I have already remarked, traces of a dotted line across the head of k are just recognisable. The second letter is in all probability chhū; the loop at the foot, indicative of the vowel ū, is clear enough on the plate; the body of the letter with the curve at the head of the k, and the strokes across, the perpendicular line best agrees with chh.10

The word, then, most probably is kichchhubini, or in full kichchhubbini, a compound of Sanskrit kṛichchhara “penance” and ārava “receptacle,” (with the possessive suffix in), meaning lit. “she who has a receptacle of penances,” i.e. “full of” or “much given to penances.”11 This lady is also described as an upāśākā or “female lay-devotee” and as the “owner of the vihāra,” probably the vihāra to which the monk belonged. The latter epithet shows that she must have been a rich woman who could well afford to give a pratihāna for the monk’s gāthī. Rich upāśākā ladies who built and endowed Vihāras are, by no means, uncommon in the history of Buddhism.12

Sir E. C. Bayley and Professor Dowson make the donor to be a male person; but in that case the word would be upāsako. The form upaśiṣka (with the vowel i) shows that the word is feminine, which is further confirmed by its agreeing with the other feminine words vihāra-svāminī, Bālānāḍī, kichchhubbini. Professor Dowson reads the first of these three words vihāra-tachhina; it should be tachhini. The last letter is unmistakably si. The second letter, as certainly, is mī; for chhi is usually written thus: mī. The first letter, it is true, closely resembles the letter which is trā in putrā (1st line), trā in vyattāvinā (1.2), and trā in satvāną (1.3); but neither is it very unlike eva; and the probability is on the whole largely in favour of svāminī, as Sir E. C. Bayley already read it.13

The name of the Vihāra or monastery is given as Dāmāna, lit. “relating to the Dona or Artemisia flower.” This is a sacred flower from which the Dāmanaparvan, a festival on the 14th day of the month Chaitra (March–April), takes its name. The Vihāra was probably so called on account of the abundance of these flowers on its grounds. Buddhist monasteries frequently took their names from groves of various kinds of trees or plants in their neighbourhood.14 The word was correctly read by Sir E. C. Bayley, who also suggested that it was a name, though doubtfully, and took it to be the name of the locality where the vihāra was situated. But it is much more probable that the name is that of the vihāra itself. Professor Dowson reads the word dochhāni and translates it “southern,” making it an attributive of the vihāra (“the patron of this southern vihāra”). But the letters are perfectly distinct and are clearly dāmāne; and the Sanskrit daśēśa in the sense “southern” always takes in Pāli the form dākāhina (Prakrit daśēśa and dākāhina), but not

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9 The two names have nearly the same meaning: Bālānāḍī, “she who rejoices by strength,” and Bālājāya, “she who conquers by strength.” The first part of the compounds, however, might also be bīla, “children.”

10 See the forms of this letter in J. R. A. S., vol. XX, pl. 19.

11 Or the name might be read kichchhubbini, and derived from kṛichchhara “penance,” and domi “wave,” “quantity” (with suffix in). The meaning would be the same—“full of penances.” Kṛichchhara means “pain,” “torment,” and is also the term for a particular kind of severe penance of fasting.

12 Thus, the famous lady Viśālikā, who built the Prabodhāna vihāra, near Bodhagāthā.

13 However the reading tachhini (or te̱chhìni, as I should prefer) would not affect the sense very much; as it would mean “the builder of the vihāra.” But the Sanskrit te̱chhān or te̱chhāna properly means “a carpenter,” “a worker in wood,” whence it seems doubtful whether the word could be used with reference to a vihāra, built of stone, and with reference to a woman. The Sanskrit feminine would be te̱chhāni; so that the Pāli tachhāni would show an irregular (though not impossible) change of the medial vowel a to i. Moreover tachhini would not agree with the locative dāmāne, while svāminī does (see below).

14 Thus the Badārika or Jujhe Tēro Monastery in Kosambi, the Veḷuppatha or Bambu Grovo Monastery in Bājaganā, etc. See Jātakas, pp. 53, 160, Transl. pp. 116, 221.
The locative case ḍāmāṇe is governed by the following noun svāmīn, "owner," which in Pāli may be constructed either with the genitive or locative. In full, the phrase would be ḍāmāṇe vihāre svāmīn, "the owner of the Dāmana vihāra." But vihāre is joined to svāmīn as a compound word, ḍāmāṇe remaining in the locative case, implied in the first part of the following compound; hence ḍāmāṇe vihārasvāmīn. The word ḍās, as shown by the perceptible interval between it and ḍāmāṇe, is a separate word, and refers not to the Dāmana vihāra, but to the place or time of the donation.

The record of the donation ends with the word dadojī, in the 3rd line. The rest has no special connection with it, but is merely the usual formula, which, in different variations, is always added at the conclusion of such records of donations. Among the Mathurā inscriptions the following variations occur: sarvasaṃstāñān hitasukhāya bhavatu; sarvasaṃstāñān hitasukhādhitān bhavatu; sarvasaṃstāñān hitasukhādhitān bhavatu, etc. Similar is the Latin formula quod bonum faustumque sit. The real import of the phrase was already perceived by Sir E. C. Bayley, though he failed to read the whole correctly. But Professor Dowson's version is quite untenable; the letters are perfectly distinct, and it is impossible (unless by a very arbitrary assignment of values) to get the reading kirasakhina kartam out of them. Moreover, kartam is no word at all; it is not clear of what word Professor Dowson was thinking; there is Sanskrit kṛta, "done," or kāra, "caused to be done"; there is also kṛita, "cut," and kāra, "caused to be cut"; but none of these will give a Pāli form kartam.

It will be observed that the construction of the main record is interrupted and again formally taken up at the end of the first line, when after completing the long and minute statement of the date, the thread of the sentence is resumed with the words vyātattāt vacṣa "on the specified day." This phrase has not been correctly read and understood by my predecessors. Sir E. C. Bayley doubtfully read it atreśvarassasiḥ, making it a name of the monk. Professor Dowson suggested the correct word dihesse, but he read the first part of the compound astra, from which no sense can be got. The first letter is somewhat puzzling. At first sight it looks like the vowel a with the sign of the subscribed consonant y attached below (as in ṣīhyasya); this, of course, is impossible. There can be no mistake about the lower portion which is the subjunctive y, but the upper portion must be the semivowel v; for the conjunct ey and the word vyātta are the only readings that will make sense. The ordinary form of v is angular, as in diheṣe, while in the present case it is rounded; but that is the only irregularity. Vyātta is the Sanskrit vyākta, which means "specified;" it is just the word required; for the day is minutely specified in the preceding clause.

Next follows a long clause, consisting of genitives (or datives,—for in Pāli the two cases are identical), bhūtchātusya ṣāraṇyayato ("to the monk...... who put up"). Ṣāraṇyayato is the regular genitive (or dative) of the present participle of the causative verb ṣāraṇya. Professor Dowson reads ṣāraṇyayato.30 That, however, is not a Pāli form, either verbal or participial; and it could, by no possibility, have the meaning, "they are deposited." All copies of the inscription, hitherto, give the impossible form ṣāraṇyayayato. But after very careful inspection of the original plate, I have satisfied myself that the final letter is not a but o, though the cross-stroke, indicative of the vowel a, is rather short and indistinct, so that it might easily be overlooked.

The long genitive-clause, which has been just explained, is governed by the verb dadojī "they give," which concludes the donation and occurs near the end of the third line. Sir E. C. Bayley already recognised the verb of the sentence in that word, though he read it incorrectly, svāmīkaraṇapaṇḍapraṇaṇya, where the genitive, maḥa kahatraṣaṇya, does not agree with the genitive praṇaṇya, but with the genitive implied in the first part of the compound svāmīkaraṇa. In full, it would be maḥa kahatraṣaṇya svāmīkaraṇapaṇḍapraṇaṇya. There is another instance in the new Kahaṭrapa inscription, published by Dr. Bührer in the Indian Antiquary, ante, p. 157,—maḥākahaṭrapaṇya.
as the third person singular, *dadati*, "he gives." But the subjoined nasal *s* which gives it a plural form is quite distinct. Moreover, the plural is required by the two nominatives which form the subject of the verb. Professor Dowson read *dadārīṇī*, being misled by the inaccurate position of the subjoined *s*, which is placed so far to the left that it appears to belong to the last letter *t*, while it really belongs to the preceding *da*. A similar instance of the want of care in the placement of the subjoined *s* is to be observed in the word *kapajāṇaḥ*, the final *s* of which is also placed so far to the left as to appear to belong to the following particle *cha*, "and." However the reading of those four letters *kapajāṇaḥ cha* has no inconsiderable difficulties. Both my predecessors have failed to read them; nor am I altogether satisfied with the reading I have adopted myself. I take it to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kalpajānaḥ cha*, "and customary," qualifying the following *am aprīvāraḥ*. But I only give it, *faute de mieux*. Something more satisfactory may yet be found. The first letter is *ka*, as I have satisfied myself by careful examination of the original; but the curve to the right of the perpendicular is much obliterated by oxidation. The second is the only undoubted letter, and it is *pα*. Then comes a letter which rather looks like *h* or *ḥ*, but which is not altogether unlike *ja*. The fourth letter may be *ja* or *cha*; under it is the subjoined nasal *s*, which I believe to belong really to the preceding letter, which I read *ja*.

The subject and the object of the verb *dadātī* are given in the third line. The subject are two persons, Balajayā, the mother, and Balanāidī, her daughter. The object also is twofold; a shrine for the yāthi, and the customary accessories.

The preceding remarks, I believe, dispose of all the real difficulties of the record, grammatical and others. A few minor points, however, deserve some remark.

The long vowel *a* is not distinguished throughout the inscription, except in three places. General Cunningham has shown that it is indicated by a dot or a detached stroke to the left of the foot of the consonant. In this manner *a* is once indicated in the present inscription; viz. in *dāmane*, where the short detached stroke to the left of *d*, and below *m*, signifies *a*. Most of the letters in the present inscription have a very short slanting stroke or curve attached to the foot on the left side. These marks, of course, can have no meaning; they are mere flourishes. But in two cases this foot-stroke is drawn across the base of the letter, almost at right angles with it. This is the case with the *k* of *ekādāśe*, and the initial *a* of *dāhārya*, and as in both cases the word requires a long *a* in those places, I am inclined to think that the peculiar form of the foot-stroke may have a special meaning, and that it may signify the long vowel *a*.

There is a large curve, with a loop, attached to the foot of some letters (*s* and *sh*; as in *śvāhyasya*). There can be no doubt that this signifies a subjoined *y*, and not, as Professor Dowson supposes, the doubling of a consonant. In such ancient Pāli inscriptions, the doubling of a consonant is not usually indicated, while a conjoined semi-consonant (*yor* or *r*) may be, and in the North Western Pāli commonly is, written. Of the latter practice, there are numerous examples in the present inscription; the following symbols are used: a line attached to the right of the foot signifies a subjoined *r* (as in *prāśīṇaḥ*, *prāśīhyasya*); the same, but with a loop round the foot, signifies a prejoined *v* (as in *ādhārya*, *savo*); a curve attached to the left of the foot signifies the nasal anusvāra *n* (as in *sakātesa*, *yathiṇaḥ*, etc.); the same, but with a loop in the middle, signifies a subjoined *y* (as in *māhārājaśya*, *śvāhyasya*, etc.); lastly, an upward curve to the right of the foot signifies a subjoined *v* (as in *svāmin*, *sateṣām*).

In *sakātesa* there is a symbol which, in common with my predecessors, I have read as *tas*. It is, however, somewhat different from the usual sign for *tasa* (as in the Taxila Inscription). It may be, and most probably is, that sign, only rather clumsily drawn. But it is just possible that it may be a representation

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81 See Numismatic Chronicle, (N. S.) vol. VIII, p. 126.
82 Unless the small detached strokes after *t* in *dama-trāda* may be assumed to signify *a*. But it is placed to the left of the head, instead of the foot of the letter. It is probably caused by a mere slip of the chisel; just as in *nāthakathya* where there is a similar mark to the left of the head of *n*. Two similar unmeaning strokes will be observed near *d* in *balamaṇda*.
83 The line and the curve to the right are not always carefully distinguished; thus in *putrasya* the *r* rather looks like *ta*. In *yavatārjava* the *t* is indicated by the usual sign for *t*.
The name of the month is daisika, not daivesa as Professor Dowson read it. Sir E. C. Bayley read it correctly. All the letters, including ka, are quite distinct. The month referred to is the Macedonian Daisios (May-June), as Sir E. C. Bayley states at once recognised. The form of the name which occurs here must be a Western Pāli adaptation of the Greek; ka is a common pleonastic suffix.

As regards the character which occurs no less than four times in this inscription (in attha, gatthi, yathi and pratikdhana), it undoubtedly signifies th as General Cunningham maintains (J. A. S. B., vol. XXXIII, p. 36), and not ft, as Professor Dowson thinks (J. A. S. B., vol. XXXII, p. 422, J. R. A. S., vol. XX, p. 223). It cannot be ft, because in all those places where it has hitherto been found, the Pāli requires th; thus attha, “eight,” yathi, “staff,” pratikdhana, “shrine.” Nor is there any reason why it should signify a double consonant. In such old Pāli inscriptions double consonants are not usually indicated. Hence it follows that the symbol in question must stand for single th.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MISS F. A. STEEL.


(Continued from p. 333.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 10.—Custom.</th>
<th>Opprobrious Names. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Children’s Names.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Panjab among Musalmāns, Hindus, sweepers and Sikhs alike, a mother losing several children in succession, especially if sons, will call any sons, not daughters as a rule, that may be subsequently born, by names signifying objects of contempt, in the hope that they may live. Some such names refer to certain ceremonies performed at the birth of such children, but the greater number refer merely to common objects. Examples are:

2. Chhūda..... rat.

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1 Thus mahīma mahīma devaputrama ṛṣbhrigajaka vikrī yasam, on a pillar; see J. A. S. B., vol. XXXIX, pl. iv.
3 Compare from Brāva—(2) Chhuhuhura, musk rat.
4 Dharā, dusty.
5 Gathuru, raga.
6 Karī, black.

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(4) Pirthi..... dust (prithi, earth).
(5) Mīhla..... well-robe (mīhla, Panj.).
(6) Jullī..... rage (Panj., a quilt made of rags and patches).
(7) Būtā..... a tree (Panj.).
(8) Kaula..... a cowry.
(9) Kulu..... black (reference to kudh kudh, a black dog).
(10) Khōtā..... a donkey.
(11) Račā..... dungheap (Panj.).
(12) Arūnā..... dungheap (Panj.).

There are various customs attendant on the birth of such children.

Thus in some cases the new-born child is put into an old winnowing basket or chhaj (Hindi, chhaj, Panj. chhaj), with the sweepings from Mysore—(7) Bomban, Margosa tree. (11) (12) Tippa, daughill.
The name Kaula, (8) a cowry, has apparently in the Panjāb no reference to price, as in Bengal. See Ind. Ant. vol. IX, p. 141.
The name Khōtā, (10) a donkey, is apparently confined to the Multān district.
of the house, and is then dragged out of the house into the yard attached, whence the names
(13) Chhajju .... winnowing basket.
(14) Ghastā .... dragged (Panj. ghastā, to drag).

There are other customs which give rise to names of such children as above mentioned, but
these can hardly be termed opprobrious. Thus the child is sometimes given to a faqir, and
begged from him again as alms: whence,—
(15) Khairāyati, Khairāti . . . . . alms.*

Sometimes at the Muḥarram the child is
dressed up as a faqir in honour of the Imāms,
whence,—
(16) Faqriā ... faqir.

In this connection, too, should be mentioned
such names, as—
(17) Gurdās ... servant of the Guru,
(18) Dēvīlās ... servant of Dēv, usually given to firstborn sons, but sometimes
also to children of this kind.

Another custom is—to weigh the child against
gain, and then to give grain equal to the
weight of the child, or in the case of the poor,
a little grain, to a sweeper. This grain is
considered to be the price for which the child
has been bought from the sweeper. The child
is then called
(19) Chūrh..... sweeper (Panj. chūrhā).
When several children have died, say four or
five in succession, the remainder are of course
greatly valued, which is to be seen from the
following names:—
(20) Mahingā ... dear, expensive.
(21) Ladhu .....acquired (Panj. ladhnā to
got).
(22) Lābhū .....acquired (Panj. labhnā to
got).
(23) Milkhī ....estate, property (Panj.
milakk, estate).*
(24) Jīwan .....life (jīvā, to live).
Here may be added two curious nondescript
names—
(25) Mirchā .....pepper.
(26) Makhwā ... a fly.

There is also an important class of customs
which we may call the mutilating customs
always arising from the idea of averting evil.
In some cases the mother cuts off a piece of the
child’s ear and eats it, which gives rise to the
name,
(27) Būrā ... cropped.†

Another practice very prevalent in the
Fīrōzpūr district among all classes and sects,
but particularly among Sikhs and Hindus, is
to dress up a son born after the death of pre-
vious sons as a girl. Such children have their
noses pierced in signification of their being
converted into girls, the pierced nose being the
female mark par excellence.‡ The mother
makes a vow to dress up her boy as a girl for
from four to ten years, the hair is plaited,
women’s ornaments worn, &c., and naked little-
boy girls, as it were, can be seen running about
in any village. Even where the custom is not
fully carried out, the nose is pierced and a
sexless name given, thus—
(28) Nathu..... nostril (Hind. nāth, Panj.
nath).
(29) Chhēdī ..... pierced.‡
(30) Balāqī ..... nose-ring (Turkī, bulūqī,
a nose-ring).§

These ear-boring and nose-piercing customs
also arise from a wish to spoil the “perfection”
of the child. Unblemished or beautiful children
are supposed to be the special delight of fairies,
who walk off with them, and of demons who
possess them. In reference to this a story
about Akbar is commonly told in Fīrōzpūr.

Story of Akbar, the Emperor; Birbal, the Minister;
and Dopiāzā, the Priest.

One day Akbar was wounded by a knife
which made a scar on his hand. Mulla Dopiāzā,
who saw it, smiled and thanked God. Thereupon
Birbal said to the Emperor, “Behold, the
Mulla wishes you ill, he smiles and thanks God
on such an occasion.” So Akbar ordered Mulla
Dopiāzā to be imprisoned. After this, the
Emperor went hunting one day without any
attendants, and lost himself in a deep jangal,
where he was caught by a wild tribe, who were
in search of a man without blemish to bury

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* Khairāyati also among the women seems to have
the sense of "snapegoat."—F. A. S.
* This is not the Arabic—milk, property.—R. C. T.
† Another derivation is from گ چک bērh kuchē, a
crop-eared dog. The Munchis deny the existence of this
custom, but the women stick to it, and I believe they are
right.—R. C. T.
‡ The right nostril is the one pierced, and sometimes
also the cartilage between the nostrils.—R. C. T.
§ Compare from Bencal.—29) Nakolhādī—nose-
piereed. Ind. Ant., vol. VIII. p. 382.—R. C. T.
* Bulūqī. It may repay examination to inquire into
this word further, as indicating that the custom is
prevalent in Central Asia or was prevalent among the
Mongol hordes before their irruptions into India.—
R. C. T.
under the foundations of their fort.* But when they saw the scar of the knife wound on Akbar they let him go. The Emperor re-collected Mulla Dopiaza, and thanked him in his heart, and when he returned home, he brought him to great influence.

Lastly, where evil influences are supposed to be especially powerful, as an extreme measure, the new-born child is given to a sweeper woman (mehardā) to suckle. This is prevalent among all classes, even high caste Hindus, who sometimes, however, employ Musalmān women for this purpose.

Daughters do not, as a rule, bear such names as are above mentioned: they are not usually considered so much worth preserving from evil influences.

These customs are said to be entirely confined to the women, whose lives are made up to a much larger extent than one would imagine in practising superstitious puerilities, and are not believed in by the men, who are often ashamed of their nicked ears, &c., but as a Panjābī husband, Musalmān or Hindu, has next door to no influence over his wife and her female friends, they are universal.

An examination of these names clears up two points of common observation; the frequent occurrence of names common to Hindus and Musalmāns, and the dressing up of little boys as girls.

Several of the above names have the ordinary Musalmān and Hindu additions tacked on to them to give them the ordinary look of the names in every day use. Of these the commonest is Mall, Panj. a wrestler, champion, brave man, which is by Hindus added to the names Chūhā, Billā, Būtā, Kauḍā, Chhajju, Ladhū, Lābhū, Būrā, Nathu, etc. Rām is also added to Lābhū. Musalmāns add Bakha to Jiwān, and Khāi and Shāh to Bulāqi.

These names are not confined to the poor or uneducated, witness—Nathu Mall Šrāf, Billā Mall Šrāf, Chūhā Mall Mahājān, Jiwan Bakha Sāndagar, Bulāqi Khān, all well known characters about Firūzpūr; Nathu Kalāl (Musalmān) is a large excise contractor in the district.

Gobardhan (vulgo Gōrdhana) in the Panjāb is not an opprobrious name as in Bengal, but refers to the mountain (Govardhāna) in Bindra-bān (Vṛndāvāna).

(b) Women's names.

Mothers who have lost several children are not called by special names; but second wives married on the death of former wives are sometimes called in their husband's family by opprobrious names.

The custom is for the new wife, on entering her husband's house for the first time, to carry on her head, if poor, a pot of water or milk, or a basket of vegetables; if rich to have it carried for her by a woman of the Mehrā (carrier) caste in the first case, of the gardener caste in the second, and of the cowherd caste in the third.

Such women are henceforth called in the family according to the circumstances of their first entrance—

1. Mehri ...... (mehrā, a carrier).
2. Mālā ...... (mālī, a gardener).
3. Gujji ...... (gujīj, a cowherd).

It may be noted here as a custom that a man losing two or three wives in succession, is made to marry a bird with all ceremony before another family will give him their daughter.**

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 266.)

XII.

We will now again revert to our story. We have seen how having put his enemy off his guard, Ch'inghiz Khan marched against him swiftly and furiously. When he reached the defile of Jarkhābchikha in the mountains

p. 141.—B. C. T.

* This superstitious is said to have been prevalent in the days previous to the establishment of the British Government in India, the idea being that the blood of the buried man consolidated the foundations. It is said to have been one of the ways of getting rid of condemned criminals. Lately in Calcutta when building the piers of the floating bridge over the Hooghly a regular panic was created among the poorer classes by the spread of story that the English were going to consolidate the foundations with the blood of young children.—R. C. T.

** Gobardhan, dungmade—see Ind. Ant., vol. IX, p. 141.—R. C. T.

† I add as a note three more names to indicate how some of the natives get their names; an inquiry into this phase of nomenclature might repay the trouble—
(1) Atshil, Sunday, the name of my cook born on a Sunday.
(2) Bakhrūdī, a bheesie, born on the day of the great Muhammadan feast.
(3) Negāhā, a Jatt cultivator, born at Negāhā, Dera Ghāzī Khan District, where the shrine of the great Panjābī saint Sakhi Sarwar is.—B. C. T.
Jeero-undur, he surrounded Wāng Khān and his people, and a battle ensued which lasted three days, on the third day, the Khrais being completely overcome, submitted. Wāng Khān and his son fled.

One of the Khrais who had fought in the battle said to Chinghiz:—“It would have been wrong for me to have let you take and kill my rightful Lord, therefore I have fought you for three days so as to give him a better chance of escaping. If you now order me to be executed, I shall no doubt die, but if you spare me, I will serve you faithfully.” Chinghiz replied, “he who did not wish to desert his lord but fought against me to give him time to escape is a brave fellow. Be my companion.” Chinghiz thereupon made him a commander of a hundred men, and gave him to the widow of Khūildar as her slave and dependent. Khūildar, it will be remembered, had been the first volunteer to fight, and had thus earned for himself and his descendants the right to ask for the rewards due to the widows and children. Chinghiz Khān now proceeded to divide the Khrais among his allies. To Takhāi-baʻatūr of the tribe Sukuuda (? Sulda) who had given him assistance, he gave one hundred tents of the Jirgin tribe. Wāng Khān’s brother Jakhaganbu, (Jakembo as Rashid calls him), of whom we have previously spoken, had two daughters, the elder one, Ibakha, Chinghiz had married himself, while the younger one, called Sorokhakhan, had married Tului (i.e. his son Tului), whence he would not permit Jakhaganbu’s people to be distributed. Bada and Kishhikh, the two herdsmen who had first warned him of Wāng Khān’s hostile intentions, were given the latter’s golden tent and its contents together with the people who had charge of his golden vessels. He also made over to them the family of Bankhojin of the race of Khirai to form a bodyguard, granted them the privilege of wearing their bows and arrows during the feasts, and ordered that at such feasts they were each to have a flagon of his own. He also gave them the right to retain the booty they should capture in battle and the wild animals they should secure in the hunt without sharing them with others. He extolled them saying they had saved his life, and that now he had annihilated the Khrais he had secured the throne of the Mongols. “Let my descendants notice the rewards due to such services.” During the winter following his victory, Chinghiz remained in the district of Abujakodiger.1

The Yuan-shi adds little to this account of the great disaster that overtook Wāng Khān and his people. It makes out, however, that Chinghiz Khān won two victories. The first one led to Wāng Khān being deserted by Altan, Khuchar and Chamuka, who having tried to kill him and failing fled to the Naimans.2 It calls the place where the battle was fought Chechentu-ulan.3 The Yuan-shi-lei-pen says the battle took place in the district between the Tula and the Kerulun,4 Rashidu’d-din calls the place Checher (or Chechum) Undir; Undir means height, and these heights of Chechir were probably on the eastern borders of the Gobi. They have been already mentioned in the account of Chinghiz Khān’s earlier adventures. He also mentions that the defeat was preceded by a conspiracy among some of Wāng Khān’s allies. In this Daritai Utjigen, Chinghiz Khān’s uncle, Altan Jinan, Khjurir or Khuchar Biki, Chamukha, Khum Barin, Snekki or Suwagi, Toghir of the race Tukjen Tadul (written Nugtah Bual by Erdmann), Tugai Khaguri the Mangkut, and Khutu Timur a Tartar prince. They agreed to fall upon Wāng Khān in the night, and then to become independent leaders, obeying neither Wāng Khān nor Chinghiz. Having heard of their plans Wāng Khān fell upon them, took much of their wealth from them, and scattered them, whereupon Daritai Utjigen, Khum Barin5 and the Sakhiat, a tribe of the Khrais, joined Chinghiz Khān, while Altan, Khjurir and Khuta Timur went to Tayang, the chief of the Naimans. At this time Wāng Khān was encamped at Kit-Khulukhat-alat.6 The Huang-Yuan, as is frequently the case, is here almost verbatim in accord with Rashidu’d-din. It mentions the conspiracy just named, and calls the conspirators Dalitai Ojin, Andan, Jinan, Khuchar-begi Chamukha, Balin, Sogtai, Tolinkai Takhai, Khulukhain and

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1 Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shih, pp. 97-99.
2 Hyacinthe, p. 29; Dougias, p. 40; see also De Mailla, IX, pp. 33 and 34.
3 Hyacinthe, p. 30.
4 Gaubil, p. 10.
6 Erdmann and D’Ohsson both make this a tribal name and read it as a section of the Naimans.
the people of the race Khudud. It says they excused their action on the ground that they could not trust Wang Khan. That Wang Khan having defeated them Daltae Ojin and the races Balin Sakhai and Nunjin joined Chinghiz Khan, while Andan, Juin, Khochar Beg Khudukhna and Chamuka fled to the Naiman ruler Tayang Khan. This authority calls the place where Wang Khan was then living Jigan Khan.

Pelis de la Croix, doubtless quoting from some late authority whom he does not name, tells us the van of Chinghiz Khan's army was commanded by Kharachar, while Wang Khan's was commanded by Chamuka. The battle began by a struggle between these advance guards whose commanders hated each other very cordially. Kharachar was beaten, whereupon Suida Behadur at the head of the old veteran troops joined with the Su Moghuls, charged Wang Khan's main army so vigorously that it fell back, and Chamuka, who came to their assistance, also gave way. Meanwhile the two wings of Chinghiz Khan's army under Hubbe and Irka attacked the enemy's two wings. The fight was continued obstinately until Chinghiz advanced in person with his sons and the reserve so rigorously that the Kiria broke and fled. As we have seen, Chamuka had conspired against and abandoned Wang Khan before the fight.

We are told in the Yuen-shi and by Rashidu'd-din that the Kirai chief in his flight reproached himself for having been persuaded as he had been by his son, whom he accused of being the author of his misfortunes. The Huang-yuan says he exclaimed to Sankun—We are relatives, can we die apart now that we have been undone by these people? Father and son according to the Yuen-ch'ao-pi-shi escaped to the district of Didikash, and the river Nyekun which Palladius suggests was probably the boundary between the Naimans and the Kirais. There Wang Khan, wearied with his journey and suffering from thirst, went to drink in the river. He was seen by a Naiman scout called Khorsuebechi, who captured him, and although Wang Khan explained who he was, he would not believe him, but killed him on the spot. Sankun who was some distance off rode away to Chuail. There he arrived with his companions Kokochu and his wife, and while looking for water saw a wild horse being bitten by flies. Dismounting from his own he gave it to charge of Kokochu, and crept towards the other intending to shoot it. Kokochu thereupon determined to desert him. His wife reproached him, saying “He clothed you in fine clothes, fed you with good food, wherefore would you forsake your lawful Lord?” Kokochu replied that as she would not go with him, she perhaps wished to marry Sankun.

She retorted with a Mongol aphorism. “Let them say that women have dogs' skin on their faces” (i.e. have no shame), “nevertheless I must ask you to give him this gold cup from which he may drink.” Kokochu threw down the cup, and then with his wife returned to Chinghiz, to whom he related how he had deserted Sankun. That exacting master said: “How can I receive such people as companions?” He therefore had Kokochu put to death, but rewarded his wife, and gave her to one of his officers. This authority does not tell us what was the end of Sankun. In the Yuen-shi we are told he first fled to Si-Hia or Si-Sia. There, being convicted of plundering, he went to the kingdom whose name is written Kuchakesi by Hyacinthe and Kweissil by Douglas. De Mailla says that having been driven away from his he fled to the Kesshe by whose king he was attacked and killed. The Yuen-shi-lei-pan says that after Wang Khan's defeat his rival returned to the Onon, whence he sent detachments in pursuit of him. He was captured, but the same day he again escaped and fled to the Naimans, where he was killed. It calls the place where Sankun was put to death by order of the ruler of the country Kutse, and there can be little doubt that the place meant under

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9 i.e. the ubiquitous ancestor of Timur whom his panegyrista introduce at various points in the story to exalt the virtues of their master's ancestry, and whose mention is a proof that the story is a late invention.
10 Subutai.
11 i.e. the Tartars.
12 i.e. Jebe.
13 De la Croix, Hist. of Genghiscon the Great, pp. 55 and 56.
16 I find a station Chel on the map, north-east of Barkul and south-west of Chaghan Tala, which possibly answers to this Chel.
18 i.e. Western His or Tangut comprising the modern Kansu and the northern part of Shen-shi.
19 Hyacinthe, p. 31; Douglas, p. 48.
21 Gauhil, p. 10.
the various disguises of the name was the Uigurian principality of Kaoch in Eastern Turkestan as Mr. Douglas says. Rashidu’d-din says that after his defeat Wang Khan fled to a place in the country of the Naimans called Nirgun Ussun. There he was seized by Khorij Subajan and Tungor Iteng Shal, two frontier commanders of Tayang the Naiman ruler. They put him to death, and sent his head to their master. Sankun fled to a place whose name is read Ashik Balgasun by Berezine, and Istu Balghasun by Erdmann, but the name is evidently corrupt. It doubtless ought to be read Itzina, as it is given in the Huang-yuan. Thence he hastened on to the frontiers of Jul or Chul on the extreme borders of the Mongols, and thence he went to Buri Tibet (i.e. to the country of Tibet, which is so called by Carpin, Davezac, p. 658). Having engaged in plundering there he was attacked by the inhabitants; he again fled to the country of Kashgar. D’Ohsson says to the district of Kuman on the borders of Kashgar and Khoten. Erdmann says to the borders of Jin and Kashgar and the district of Guisan.

There he was attacked and killed by Kilij Arslan, the chief of the tribe Kilij or Khalaj in a place called Kusaku-char-kusha who sent his wives and children prisoners to Chinghiz Khan, and shortly after himself submitted to that chief. He was probably the Arslan chief of the Karluks of whom we shall have more to say further on. The Huang-yuan calls the place where Wang Khan was captured the river Nikiam-ul, and names the Naiman chief who killed him Kholsu-bachi and Tedusha. It says that Sankun fled to Sisia, passed the town of Itzina, and reached the country of the Bolin Tufan. He fell upon the people there, and plundered them, but the Tufans drove him and his followers away westwards. He was eventually killed by Khelimihakhala in the country of Chergeziman.

Ssanang Setzen, whose narrative of these events is of hardly any value, dates the defeat of Ong Khaghan, as he calls Wang Khan, in 1198.

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28 D’Ohsson calls it On Ussun, which name means the ten rivers in Turkish, op. cit., vol. I, p. 82, note 2.
29 See Erdmann, note 160.
30 Vide infra.
31 i.e. the Chah of the P’o-su-n’i-phet’i above mentioned.
32 Erdmann reads it Guasatu-juu-gamesh, D’Ohsson Kusabatu-char-kushna.
34 This is a well known town of Tangut, which will occupy us again in a later page.
35 i.e. the Buri Tibet of other authors.
36 i.e. Kilij Khan.
37 i.e. the Kusak-char-kusha of Rashid, perhaps the country of the Black or Rock Kirghis is meant. Huangyuan, p. 176.
the histories of Ogotai and Kuyuk, Chinghiz Khan's successors. He devotes a chapter to the history of the Uighurs, a second one to that of the Kara Khitai, and the story of the Khurems Shahs and of the Mongol governors in Persia from the retreat of Chinghiz Khan to the invasion of Khulagu. The second part of his work describes the events of the earlier years of Mangu Khan, including a full account of Khulagu's expedition in Persia and his destruction of the Ismaelites or Assassins, whose history both in Persia and Egypt he tells, as well as the origin of that of the Battinans, a branch of the Shahs. Juveni is an excellent authority for the later period of Chinghiz Khan's career, but for the earlier part his narrative is very jejune. For this part of the story he had neither the materials nor the skill of Rashidu'd-din.

He does however mention the struggle between Chinghiz Khan and Wang Khan. He tells the two herdsman who warned the former of his danger Geleg and Tadeh (the Kishlik and Badai of Rashidu'd-din), and tells us they were rewarded by being created Terkhsans. Mirkhawend tells us the title carried the privilege of exemption from taxes, of entitling the bearer to keep for himself any booty he might capture in battle, of free access to the palace at all times, and of exemptions from punishment until more offences had been committed. The privileges extended to a descendant of a Terkhan down to the ninth generation. Mirkhawend tells us that when Shâh Rukh Sultan was governor of Herat, many of these privileged descendants of the Terkhsans were at his court.

Abulfaraj, whose narrative at this period is largely constructed on the basis of that of Juveni, tells us that in 599 Hijra, i.e. the year from 20th September 1202 to 9th September 1203, A.D. When Unach Khan, who is the same with the Christian king John, ruled over a certain race of the barbarous Huns called Kherith, Chinghiz Khan was in his service. He became jealous of him, and secretly determined his ruin and death; of this Chinghiz was warned by two youths. Unach Khan fell suddenly upon his tent but he had withdrawn with his people in time and concealed himself. Abulfaraj then tells us how a battle was fought at Balshua between the rivals in which Chinghiz was unfortunate. This was followed by a second, in which he was victorious. His rival was killed and his wives and children made prisoners. He then describes how the two youths were rewarded as we have already mentioned. Abulfaraj accounts for Unach Khan's defeat by the fact that he had married a daughter of the ruler of Kara Khitai, who had persuaded him to apostatise. Abulfaraj dates this struggle as we have seen in 1202-3, in which he agrees with Rashidu'd-din and the Yuan-shi. It is curious that in the year 1202 the Mongols are first mentioned in the European Chronicles. Martin of Troppau, generally called Martinus Polonus, whose account concludes in 1277, and the Chronicon Cittanense have under that year the phrase—Anno 1202 Tartari cum uxoribus ex Indiam montibus egressi, while Vincent of Beauvais in his Speculum Historiale, which ends in 1249, gives 1203 as the year of the beginning of the Tartar supremacy.

Rubruquis has a confused account of Wang Khan whom he calls Unk, and makes him the brother of Johannes. He tells us he ruled over the Crit and Merkit who were Nestorian Christians, but that he had become an apostate and a worshipper of idols, and had surrounded himself with idolatrous priests who had recourse to necromancy, &c. He says he was master of a certain town called Caracearm. On the death of his brother Johannes, Rubruquis says Unk caused himself to be proclaimed Khan, and moved with his flocks and herds to the frontiers of Moal, i.e. of the Mongols. At that time Chinghiz, a certain Mongol who was a smith, harried some of Unk Khan's animals. The latter marched an army against him, whereupon he fled among the Tartars and there concealed himself. Unk Khan having plundered the Moals and Tartars returned home, thenceupon Chinghiz addressed the Tartars and Moals, saying: "It is because we have no leader that our neighbours oppress us." They thereupon made him the chief of the Tartars and Moals. Having collected an army furtively he fell upon Unk, and defeated him. He fled to Cathaia.

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35 Erdenmann, notes 125 and 129.
38 Von Hammer, Golden Hordes, p. 64, note 5.
39 Wolff, Gesch. der Mong. t.c., p. 44 note 79.
40 By this Rubruquis no doubt means Kara Khitai.
Unk’s daughter, our author adds, was captured and given by Chinghiz in marriage to one of his sons, and she became the mother of Mangu. According to Joinville “The Tartarins lived in a great berier (of sand)” and were subject to Prester John and the emperor of Persia whose country bordered on theirs, and to many other bad kings, to each of whom they did homage for the pastures where they kept their cattle.” They were held in such contempt by their suzerains that when they took them their tribute they turned their backs and not their faces to them. Among the Tartarins was a sage man who visited the various steppes and conferred with the men whom he met and pointed out to them the condition of servitude in which they were, and having summoned them to a meeting, shewed them how, if they chose themselves a leader, they might break the yoke. Accordingly each of the 52 clans who were present produced an arrow which was marked with its name, and by the wish of the whole people they were placed before a child five years old, and it was decided that whichever name appeared on the arrow selected by the child they should nominate themselves a chief from that clan. The choice fell of course on the sage man who was no other than Chinghiz Khân, and who demanded that if they wanted him to lead them they must swear by him who had made heaven and earth to obey the laws he should make for them. He accordingly drew up some regulations against theft, adultery, &c. He then told them that the most powerful of their masters was Prester John, and ordered them to be ready to march against him the following day. If we are beaten, which God forbid, he said each one must seek safety in flight. If we win I order that the pursuit must continue for three days and nights, and no one on pain of death must seize any of the booty, which shall be fairly divided. The next day they fell on the enemy, and defeated him, killing all those whom they found bearing arms. The priests and other religious they allowed to go free, while the rest of the people were reduced to slavery.

Marco Polo gives a longer account of the struggle. I have already quoted his notice of the ill-starred negotiations between the two chiefs for a marriage between their families. He goes on to report that Chinghiz was greatly enraged at Prester John’s insolent message to him, and threatened him with vengeance. He collected his people, and marched against him. Prester John professed to have contempt for this army, but he in turn collected his forces. Chinghiz, he says, advanced to a vast and beautiful plain called Tan doduc, which was in Prester John’s country, where he pitched his camp, having an innumerable host with him. Prester John pitched his camp 20 miles away, and both armies rested for two days that they might be fresher for the fight. During this delay Chinghiz summoned his astrologers to foretell who was going to win in the approaching battle. The Saracens essayed in vain to forecast the issue, but the Christians were more successful. Having split a cane in two, they put the two halves side by side, so that no one should touch them. One piece they named Chinghiz Khân and the other Prester John. They then read a psalm from the Psalter, and went through other incantations, upon which the cane which was called Chinghiz approached the other without any one touching it, and got on the top of it. This very promising augury greatly delighted the Mongol Chief, who always after treated the Christians very kindly. In the battle which followed, Polo says the slaughter was very great on both sides, but eventually Chinghiz won the victory, and Prester John was slain, and his kingdom passed into the hands of Chinghiz Khân. The divination by means of twigs to which Marco Polo refers was much practised in the East. Rubroucis tells us how when he visited Mangu Khân’s wife who was ill, he joined some Nestorians in repeating some verses of the psalms over two twigs held together by two men. Colonel Yule says that the Chinese method of divination is conducted by tossing into the air two symmetrical pieces of wood or bamboo of a peculiar form. The process, he says, is described by Mendoza, and more particularly with illustrations by Doolittle.

The process is one of very great antiquity. Herodotus tells us how among the Skythians the soothsayers used to foretell the future by means of a number of willow wands. A large bundle of these having been brought in, the
soothsayers untied them and laid them on the ground separately. While he was still speaking he collected them again, and made them up again into a bundle. The Enarees or woman-like men, he says, had another plan which they claimed to have been taught by Venus. Taking a piece of the bark of the lime tree they split it into three strips, and kept twining the strips about their fingers and untwining them while they prophesied. We are further told by the Scholiast on Nicander that the Magi were accustomed to divine by means of a wand of tamarisk-wood. Mr. Rawlinson aptly compares this with the verse in Hosea: "My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them." Tacitus reports of the Germans, that their mode of divining was to take a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, cut it into fragments, which they marked, and then to throw at random on a white garment. In questions of public interest the priest officiated, in private matters the head of the house prayed to God lifting up each piece three times successively, and prophesying according to the way the marks successively rose. Ammianus Marcellinus reports a similar practice among the Alans.

Among the ancient Rugians it was the fashion according to Saxo Grammaticus to throw three pieces of white wood and three of black into their bosom, the former denoting success and the latter failure. An old law of the Frisians shews that even after they became Christians they retained this form of divination. A clause of this law speaks of Tali de virga praecisi quos tenes vocant. Teene in Ger-

A CHINESE INSCRIPTION FROM BUDDHA-GAYA.

At p. 193 ante, Professor Beal has given some account of two Chinese inscriptions discovered at Buddha-Gaya by General Cunningham, under whose instructions his assistant, Mr. Beglar, photographed them. We learn from the Pioneer that the Executive Engineer in charge of the works reports to the Magistrate of Gayâ the discovery during last year (1880-81) of several more Chinese inscriptions, and Mr. Garrick, Assistant to the Archaeological Surveyor, having been sent to photograph them, has obtained from Mr. H. A. Giles of the Chinese Consular Service the following translation of one of the most perfect of them discovered, we believe, by Gen. Cunningham himself in the Mahant’s house:

This pagoda was erected by the Emperor and Empress of the Great Sung dynasty, in memory of His Imperial Majesty, T’ai Tsung.

By command of His Imperial Majesty, our divinely enlightened, most glorious, most virtuous, most filial sovereign of this Great Sung dynasty, and of Her Imperial Majesty, our most gracious, most virtuous, and most compassionate Empress,—I the Buddhist priest, Hui-wen, have been humbly commissioned to proceed to the country of Maga-

MISCELLANEA.

man or Tar in A. S. meaning pieces of the young branch of a tree. In Thevenot’s Travels we are told that “the Kojas or registers of the Corsairs or pirates among the Muhammadans were accustomed to try their fortune by means of camees before fighting, and they called the process ‘Do the book.’ They generally used arrows for the purpose. Two men sat on the ground opposite one another, each holding two arrows by the head. The ends of the two contrary arrows were fixed together, one in another by the notches where the bow string comes in shooting, so that the four together only made two stiecks in a parallel line. The Koja then said a prayer, and it was pretended that thereupon the two arrows, one of which represented the Christians and the other the Turks, approached one another in spite of those holding them, and after fighting one got above the other.” Colonel Yule says this is perhaps the divination by arrows forbidden by the Koran.

He adds that P. della Valle describes the process as practised by a conjuror at Aleppo, who by his incantation made the four points of the arrows come together without any movement of the holders, and prophesied from the way the points approached each other. The Tibetan Buddhists also use two arrows in divination as described by Polo, and according to Mr. Jaeschke they call this form of necromancy da-mo or “arrow divination,” and Colonel Yule adds that so late as 1883 Mr. Vigne witnessed the application of this form of the black art for the purpose of discovering the robber of a Government chest at Lodiana.

1 This term may be rendered by “Venerable Ancestor.”
of the Immortal Saints, and be enrolled for ever among the ranks of the faithful; hoping thus to secure to the House of Sung divine protection through all generations.

"Recorded this 19th day of the first month of the 2nd year of Ming Tao" (A.D. 1063).

The pagoda or whatever the structure was, appears to have been constructed in honour of the second Emperor of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 976-988) and by order of Jon Tsung, the fourth emperor who came to the throne in A.D. 1023. The legend, so to speak, above the inscription, is engraved in what Chinese scholars know as the "lesser seal," used where an ornamental style is considered desirable. The inscription itself is in the usual style current since the 4th century of our era.

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The Fifth Oriental Congress met at Berlin on 12th September last under the presidency of Dr. Dillmann. The Indo-European section was presided over by Professor Albrecht Weber, who opened it with an able address. The following notes indicate the principal points of interest to Indianists:

Professor Max Müller read a paper on the study of Sanskrit in England, and another on Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in Japan, and exhibited a facsimile of a Japanese manuscript of the Vajracchedikā, lately published as the first fasciculus of the Ancileol Oceaniae.

Professor Windisch, in a paper on the Hindu drama in general and the Mūrīchakraśikā in particular, contended for Greek influence on the development of the drama. His views were disputed by Professors Pischel and Jacoby, the former expressing a hope based on an examination of a Sanskrit drama from Nejāl—that fresh light might be derived from that quarter on the early history of the Hindustāṇ stage.

Dr. Oldenberg read a paper on the Lālitaśīvala, pointing out the composite nature of that work, and the characteristics by which we have to be guided to discriminate the really original portions of the text.

Professor Monier Williams read two papers—one on the Saṃhāra and Brahmaṇyāgama ceremonies of the Brahmans, which was illustrated by Pandit Shyāsanaji Krishnāvarma; the other on the application of the Roman alphabet to the expression of Sanskrit, advocating the system of Sir William Jones, as slightly modified since and generally used by English scholars. In connection with this paper, Professors Joh. Schmidt and Ascoli were commissioned to form a committee to consider a uniform system of transliterating Sanskrit and Zend, chiefly for linguistic purposes. Pandit Shyāsanaji Krishnāvarma discoursed on 'Sanskrit as a living language in India,' and deprecated the publication of Sanskrit texts in the Roman alphabet. He also gave some account of a Sanskrit address to the Congress by Rāmatāri, a Hindu lady.

Prof. Ascoli read a paper on the influence of ethnological distinctions on the changes of languages; and Dr. Collitz on the peculiar class of Vedic compounds formed by repetition.

Dr. Deussen gave a résumé of a work, about to be published by him, on the Vedantic system of philosophy.

With reference to a letter addressed by Prof. Weber to The Times, May 19, 1889, on the Sanskrit Text Society, the section unanimously adopted a resolution, proposed by Prof. Dolber of Jena, that considering the increasing difficulties in the way of the publication of Sanskrit Texts in Europe, the section expresses a hope that the managers of The Sanskrit Text Society may be successful in permanently maintaining a Society, the important services of which are gratefully recognised by all competent scholars. In reply Prof. Eggelein expressed his and Prof. Cowell's readiness to use their best endeavours in accordance with the wishes of the Congress.

In the Archaeological section, presided over by Prof. von der Gabelentz, the Rev. S. Beal read a paper on the Buddhist councils at Rājagṛha and Vesālī, translated from the Chinese Vinaśa-pitaka. Professors Bastian and Oldenberg took part in the discussion which followed particularly on the meaning and use of the term Narāja. Dr. J. Burgess submitted a Memorandum on the collection and translation of Indian historical Inscriptions, exhibiting specimens of excellent facsimiles of a number of them, and gave a short account of the progress of the Archaeological Surveys in Northern and Western India. Professor Ludwig of Prague followed with a resolution which was unanimously adopted, to the effect that the Archaeological section of the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists expresses its desire that the Indian Government will promote as far as lies in its power the exertions of its archaeological surveyors, General Cunningham and Dr. Burgess, in the systematic collection and publication of the numerous and important Indian inscriptions.

The Rev. J. Long read a paper on Eastern Proverbs, and the section expressed its appreciation of the importance of Oriental Proverbs in the light they throw on the social condition and feelings of Eastern races.

On Friday, 16th September, the last day of the meetings, the above two sectional resolutions were adopted by the Congress.—(Communicated.)
AN INSCRIPTION AT GAYA DATED IN THE YEAR 1813 OF BUDDHA'S NIRVANA,
WITH TWO OTHERS OF THE SAME PERIOD.

BY PANDIT BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI.

The inscription which is the principal subject of this paper is in a temple of the Sun which stands on the west side of a neat masonry tank called Dakhsha-Mana, near the Vishu-pada at Gaya. This temple has been repaired in later times and seems to have been then altered. The shrine and spire are ancient and in style resemble the temples of Mahabodhi and Taridweli at Buddha Gayā. The front court has apparently been built at the same time as the repairs were made, but the pillars used in it must have belonged to some older temple. An inscription recording the fact of the repairs is placed at the side of the doorway of the temple, and from it we learn that these repairs were carried out by Kulachandra, grandson of Dilara, and son of Simhara, of the Vaghr family. The work was completed on Saturday, the 13th day of the dark half of Magha, in Vikrama Sambat 1431, i.e. a.p. 1374, during the rule of Firuz Shah at Delhi.

Kulachandra was probably a petty king, but he did not rule at Gaya, which he seems only to have visited as a pilgrim. We are not told from what place he came, but it is said he was king of a Western country. From the form of his name, I conjecture that he may have been a Thakura of some place in the Panjab or Sindh.

The temple in which it occurs is dedicated to Surya, and contains an image known as Dakshinaditya—Sun of the South. In it we read that—

"The Thakura Sri Kulachandra... repaired the fallen temple of the lord, the worshipful Dakshinaditya..." This shows that this temple was then known by the same name it still bears.

Now the inscription to be noticed is placed on the left-hand side of the door in the front wall of the temple court, and records the erection of a temple to Buddha, whereas that in the court of which it is now, is dedicated to Surya. It is therefore probable that this inscription was brought from elsewhere and inserted where it now is, at the time the repairs were made. It is possible, however, that this temple may have originally been a Baudha one, but having been deserted under the Muhammadans, the Brahmanas may have imported into it an image of Surya, and at a later date, on their solicitation, Kulachandra may have undertaken the repairs under the belief that it was an original Sun temple.

The inscription was brought to light by General Canning, who, in his first Report, only referred to the date, but in a later one he gave a reduced copy of the inscription, with a transcript of the first half line, and the date in the last line. He again refers to the date in his Corpus Inscriptionum (1877) where he reads it as 1813 and co-ordinates it with Wednesday, 4th Oct. 1335 A.D. With these exceptions nothing has hitherto been done to elucidate this inscription.

When I visited Gaya in May 1869, I examined all the inscriptions at the place, and this one among the rest, bringing with me a facsimile and a transcript made directly from the original, which I now publish. It is in Sanskrit verse and engraved on a slab of smooth blackstone in 25 lines, each 17" in length, and in letters resembling the old Bengali alphabet of the 12th century A.D.

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1 The modern town of Gaya stands on the left bank of the Phalgu, between two small hills—the Bômagaya on the east and Gayáresha on the south, with the Vishupada temple at its foot. The northern portion of the town, now called Sibhagunj, is the southern part of the ancient Gaya, the site of which is shorn with fragments of antiquity. Between the two parts is a tank known as Ut Tra-Mana, on the side of which also stands a temple of the Sun. In contradistinction to this one, that on the south of the town was called Dakhishaaditya.

2 Arch. Surv. Ind. vol. III, pl. xxxv, and p. 126. The plate contains many errors, and no one who had not examined the original could correct them and read it with certainty.

3 Pref. pp. v, vi, ix. In the Reports, he co-ordinated the date to 7th Oct. 1341 A.D., but with the change of the reading of the inscriptions the date from 1819 to 1813, he alters the corresponding hypothetical date to 4th Oct. 1335—the result in either case giving 478 B.C. as the date of the Nirvana, which is the one that the General wishes to establish from this inscription.
Transcript of Gaya Inscription.

INSCRIPTION FROM GAYA, DATED 1813 OF BUDDHA'S NIRVANA.
Translation.

1. Obeisance to Buddha—the pure! obeisance to Dharma—the bliss! obeisance to the Sangha (community)—the lion! for the crossing of the world-ocean.

2. The country called Kama, which was full of fathomless virtues, adorned with all kinds of comforts and (whose population) was of beautiful dress, lay towards the eastern part.

3. In that (country) was a king called Jayatunga Simha, who was illustrious as the sole lion among the crowd of elephant-like hostile kings, possessed of a mind versed in arms and the body of the Sattus, and who was distinguished by manifold marks of courtesy.

4. Being ashamed on seeing in the whole world his liberality even exceeding (people's) desires, the Kalpa-Parishta, as far as this earth is concerned, went entirely away somewhere, and he, being known in the three worlds even as the chief of kings by the prowess of his victorious sword, and he, of faultless body, is beyond praise from the multiplicity of his praise-worthy virtues.

5. His son was Kama Deva Simha, like the sun, who in mere frolic gave presents of horses and elephants to multitudes of suitors.

6. Kama because (he was) lovely, devoted because worthy of worship on account of the rise of his splendour, and Simha on account of his prowess; an incarnation of Dharma;—he who for this reason was long possessed of glory; renowned in the three worlds as ruler of the earth; great through the name held by his family and a treasury of arts.

7. His son was the illustrious Purushottama Simha by name, whose arm makes glad a good country, a well-wisher of the world, lord of prosperity (Lakshmi), master of the earth, and best of men (purushottama), who is a visible Narayana.

8. With whom that wise and glorious one—the ocean, however deep and keeping the world within its boundary, could not equal itself, being possessed of jhada (waterness or sluggishness); and to whom—beloved for his exceeding valour and glory—the cruel lion is not equal, being a destroyer of wretched deer; nor the moon stained as it is with spots.

9. Now he, with devotion, has constructed this Gandhakuti of Buddha, graceful and like a hall of emancipation and bliss, for the spiritual benefit of the pious Mahakasya Simha—the son of his daughter Ratnasri—departed, as it were, to see the sublime Jnapura (heaven).

10. The ascetic Dharmarakshita, residing here as overseer (adhishta), who is * Literally 'a chamber of perfume', an epithet applied to Bandhita temples. The large temple at Buddha-Gaya is called, in the inscriptions, Makhapandavakuti-pratista, (ante, vol. IX, pp. 162, 163); and the room in which Buddha lived in Jetavana at Sravasti was also known by this name.—Cunningham's Bharhut Stupa, pl. xvii., and p. 123, No. 22.

* The Saigha or church is represented by the Budhists under the figure of a lion, from its constant activity. In the cave temples Budhha is represented by a Chaitya, Dharmas by a wheel, and Saigha by the lion.

This may refer to the capital being towards the west of the country.
splendid, versed in myriads of sciences, very attentive, possessed of complete knowledge (nātha), celebrated as the spiritual teacher of the king of the country of Kāmā—ornament to the circle of the world—(he during the erection), carried on the work (karmāntara, nirmanā) of this (Gandhākṣī) the appearance of which by its constant lustre removes the darkness of hell.

11. He (Purushottama-sīhā) also having himself bowed to, and by his noble qualities besought the illustrious Aṣokachalla—the crest jewel of the kings of the Sāpādālakṣa mountains (and) here the Indra-like Chhindha king,—the religion of the Muni having decayed—effected a restoration of (or by) order*—highly wonderful in this age of strife (kali), difficult to be overcome.

12. Since in the religion of Bhagavat, worship is here (offered) to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by instrumental music in the highest key (pānchamagada) together with Rambhā-like Bhāvāsins and Chetis10 dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Anaṅga (Kāma) (worship) increased by hospitable entertainments.

13. Here indeed are almshouses dispensing divine food, and lovely drinking places, and also the inviolate religious law adorned by multitudes of the learned, unceasing new work on every side here at the holy Chakravāda, for the duties of the Buddhas are varied in manifold ways,—ah! over.

14. There was the praiseworthy Śrī Vāsudeva honoured like Acyuta,11 the diadem of the family of the Nandins; after him the renowned Śrī Jīvanāgga, the best of virtuous men, his son; and his son the pure, famous Śrī Manjavānā, a moon in the ocean of his family, and root of delight—rapidly composed in brief compass this pure, praiseworthy eulogy.

15. The chief of scribes, the handsome Indranandān wrote it, and by the lovely engraver Rāma, it was cut in letters. Bhagavat having

died, in the year 1813, in the dark half of the month Kartika, the 1st day, Wednesday.

Remarks.

The interest of this inscription lies in the date from the Nirvāna of Buddha. Now even in the time of Hiwen Thsang in the 7th century, the date of the Nirvāna was doubtful. In three inscriptions recently published by General Cunningham, from Sāhasarām, Rūpā, and Bāirā, a date occurs, and though the records are not very clear as to whom it refers, there is reason to believe they are reckoned from the Nirvāna of Buddha; and from them Dr. Bühler deduces the date of that event as between 453-2 and 472-1 B.C., which closely agrees with that assigned to it by Prof. Max Müller12 and still earlier by General Cunningham himself.13

Owing to the scarcity of inscriptions referring to this epoch, the one which is the subject of this paper, though belonging to a comparatively late age, naturally excites some curiosity as to whether it supports the Burmese and Sinhalese date of the Nirvāna or any other recognisable date for that epoch.

To clear this up we must try to make out the age of the record. The inscription relates the construction of a Gandhākaṭī or temple of Buddha by a king named Purushottamaśīhā for the benefit of the deceased son Mānīkyāśīhā of his daughter Ratnārī. The genealogy stands thus:

1. Jayatunāgasīhā,
2. Kāmadēvasīhā, son of Jayatnāga,
3. Purushottamaśīhā, son of Kāmadēva.

These names, however, are otherwise unknown to us: evidently they were merely tributaries, and probably of obscure family.

Their residence was probably at Chakravāda, a place I am unable to identify. It may possibly be towards the west of Kāma and thereabouts, for in speaking of the founder of the family in the opening ślokas mention is made of the Kāma country, and Dharmarāk...
shîta, the ascetic who superintended affairs about the temple, is called the teacher of the king of Kamā. I identify Kamā with the present Kamān, for we infer from the record that the king was tributary to the lord of the kings of the Sivâlîka mountains. The 11th sîkâ says—"On the Baudhâ religion having suffered degradation he (the king) re-established it by bowing hereto, and beseeching Chhinâ a king, who was like Indra, and also the renowned Aśoka Challa, who was a crest jewel of the kings of the mountains of Sapādalaksha." From this it appears that the Baudhâ religion was greatly in the decline at Gayā at this period, and, in order to get a temple erected for the sect, this Purushottamaśīra had to ask the assistance of the two kings Chhinâ and Aśoka Challa,—the former perhaps ruler at Gayā, and the latter his superior. Chhinâ, however, does not appear to be the proper name of a particular king, but rather of a ruling family, and a branch of it was ruling in Rohilkhand and part of Oudh at the end of the tenth century. An inscription of the dynasty found at Devalī in the Bareli district in 1826 or 1827, was copied by Mr. H. S. Boulston, and published by Prinsep. 1 This inscription furnishes the following genealogy:

In the Chhinâ dynasty:

Vairavarman

[Inscribed in a column]

Bhushana Malhaṇa md. { Anahilā, dr. of a Châlukya king

Lallā

Saṃ. 1049 (a. d. 993).

This record is of earlier date than the Gayā inscription, and we are without information how long the dynasty ruled after this.

At Buddha Gayā I found another inscription of the Chhinâ dynasty, 12 on the pedestal of a colossal of Buddha in the chapel in the Mahânt's monastery. A considerable portion of it is broken off, and no date remains, while the losses make it difficult to make out. The alphabet appears to be of the 10th or 11th Christian century, and it furnishes the following list of kings:

Born in the Chhinâ dynasty of Siddha (?),—

Vallabharâja,

His son Deśārâja,

Āyîchha (Āditya),

......

Sangha,

... siddha (?),

Dharma,

Sâmanta,

Puruṣabhadrā.

Then follows the name of the Ākṣaya Jayasena, who was a disciple of Kumgarasena, and in connexion with them occurs the name of Uddanapura, which, though unable to identify it with any modern name, I believe to have been a capital in the Gayā district. For, in another inscription found in a temple of the Sun at Gayā, the same place is also mentioned.

From this it would appear that they may have been petty rulers at Uddanapura, and consequently of Gayā, under the Pâla dynasty, and may have continued so till the time of the inscription under notice. This, however, may require further consideration.

King Aśoka Challa, on the other hand, appears to have been a prince of considerable importance in the neighbourhood of the Hâmalayas. Sapādalaksha 13 is an old name of the Sivâlîka hills, and the name (sapādalaksha, literally 'one and a quarter lakh') must have been given them from the number of hills in the range. The Sâkîrt name may have got corrupted into the Fâkri Sadâlakha, and thence into Sivâlîka. There is an inscription of this Aśoka Challa on a metal trident at Gopeśvara in Garhâwâl, of which a copy was published by Mr. Prinsep in 1836. 14 Prinsep, however, read Śrîmadânapamallâ instead of Śrîmadânakâshalla, and in a footnote expresses his opinion that Śrîmadânanâkâshalla would be the proper grammatical form. Without the guidance of a correct facsimile I cannot be quite certain of the text of the whole inscription, but am inclined to read it thus:

Edward J. B. Champion

of the family given above is from my own transcript.

1 Jour. As. S. Ben., vol. VI, pp. 77 ff. General Cunningham has given an excellent facsimile of it in his Reports, vol. I, pl. II, p. 355. Comparing this with Prinsep's transcript, "hardly doubtful in a single letter," we find many discrepancies in the latter. I retranscribed it from the original, and the order of succession


Translation.

"Hail! The illustrious Aśoka Cālla, having achieved various conquests, set up, like a pillar, this arm of Mahādeva in the great temple in his dominion. He acquired fame by re-establishing it there, for to re-establish what is fallen, being uprooted, is an act worthy of great men."

Now I have no hesitation in identifying this king with the Aśoka Cālla of the Gayā inscription,—(1) because of the epithet Challa affixed to both names; (2) because the character of the alphabets in both inscriptions is of one age. The apparent variations in the alphabets are owing to the difference of locality, not of time,—that used in the one, being the alphabet of Eastern India, and that of the other, the letters used at the same period further west. Being without date, however, it only assists in indicating the locality of his kingdom.

Another interesting inscription of this king was found at Buddha Gayā by Mr. Hathorne in 1835, lying near the Mahābuddha temple and communicated to Mr. Prinsep,19 but the transcript and translation published by him are full of errors. Unfortunately the inscription seems to have disappeared; my enquiries for it, made on the spot, were unsuccessful, and we must content ourselves with Mr. Hathorne's facsimile, which has been carefully taken, and though some letters may be doubtful, it is generally legible and is transcribed thus:—

Transcript.


L. 2 ैक धनिणक साहसकोष्पतिन विलेन्द्रवन्दनवत्ममकादम्दशुकर — कारुणिक —

L. 5 तात्तक: This ought to be either महाकुक or महाकत.

L. 6. The first letter न looks like र्ध, and the mistake may have been made from the close similarity of न (see छल्ल प्र in l. 3) and र्ध in the 5th line.
This inscription probably recorded the presentation of some image of Buddha. The donor was Sahañäsivā, a treasurer and dependent of Prince Dāsarattha, the younger brother of king Aśokāchalla, who by his name and titles is identified with the king mentioned in the other inscriptions. And here we have a date—74 years expired of the reign of Lakṣmanassaṇa. The first numeral is clear enough, and the second though resembling 3, I consider as intended for 8—the old Bengali form of 4, and which is derived from the ancient letters S, S. Thus I read the date with confidence as 74. Now the era of Lakṣmanassaṇa, still occasionally used in Tirhut, began in A.D. 1109. Assuming this to be correct, the date of the inscription is 74 + 1108 = 1182 A.D.

Now at this is of the time of prince Dāsarattha, the younger brother of king Aśokāchalla, and Purshottama’s inscription at Gaya is of Aśokāchalla himself; and as Dāsarattha is not spoken of as having succeeded his elder brother, they must be regarded as contemporaries and the inscriptions of about the same date. Hence we find the date of Buddha’s Nirvāṇa as derived from this inscription to be about 1813—1182 = 632 B.C.

As the date of the Gaya inscription probably precedes that of the last by a few years, it will give the date of the Nirvāṇa in close agreement with the Pugun date, and as Kārtika Vat 1st fell on a Wednesday, in Vikrama Samvat 1227 and 1233, viz. 28th Oct. 1170 and 20th Oct. 1176, and the Puguns and Burmese frequently visited the locality, and even erected temples there, it is most probable that the date of the inscription coincides with A.D. 1176, and thus the date of the Nirvāṇa assumed in it is 633 B.C.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.
COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

(Continued from p. 333.)

No. 11.—Folk-Tale.
The Wonderful Ring.—Told by a Fārīd boy.

There once lived a king who had two sons. Now when he died one of the sons squan-dered the treasure and money and jewels in such a ruinous way that his brother said, “Take your own share, and go.” So he took his share and spent it all in a short time.

When he had nothing left he asked his wife to give him what she had. But his wife said “What have you left me? I have nothing but this one small jewel, and take that if you will.” So he took the jewel, sold it for 400 rupees, and taking the money with him set off to make his fortune in the world. On the way he met a man with a cat which he wanted to sell. So the king’s son bought it for 100 rupees. By-and-by he met a man with a dog, and asked the price. “Not less than 100 rupees,” said the man. Then the king’s son bought the dog too for 100 rupees. Not long after this he met a man with a parrot. “How much do you want for that parrot?” asked he. “Not less than 100 rupees,” answered the man. So the king’s son bought the parrot also. He had now only 100 rupees left.

At last he met a jōgī carrying a serpent,* and said “Oh jōgī, what is the price of that serpent?” “Not less than 100 rupees,” answered the jōgī. So the spendthrift gave him 100 rupees and took the serpent.

He had now no money left at all and so was forced to work for his living: but the hard labour wearied him dreadfully, for he was a king’s son and not accustomed to work. Now when the serpent saw this, it pitied him, and said, “Come, prince, with me to my house.” So it took him to its house, saying, “Wait you here till I call my father.” Then the serpent went to its father, saying—“Father, I was caught by

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1 Ajab mundra, the Wonderful Ring. The mundra is a ring either for fingers or ears made of glass or some material not metal, and worn by jōgis. It is a protection against evil and is supposed to bring the wearer whatever he wants—ud story. The responsibility of the correctness of the text of this tale lies with me.—R. O. T.

* For jōgī and serpent see former story, *Son of Seven Mothers,* ante, p. 147.—R. O. T.
a jōkō, but a man who was passing by, bought me for 100 rupees, and has been kind to me; so I have brought him to see you."

"Bring him here," said the Snake-father. Then the snake went outside to the prince and said, "My father calls you. He will ask you three times what reward you desire for saving me, so mind you answer, 'I want nothing but your ring' as a remembrance."

Sure enough the Serpent-father said at once, "And now, my prince, ask for anything you please, and it is yours." But the king's son said, "I want nothing, for I have everything God can give." Then the Serpent-father asked again, "Tell me what you desire, and it is yours." But again the prince answered, "I have everything that God can give." However when he was asked the third time, he answered—"I want nothing, but I should like your ring." At this the Snake-father became very sorrowful, but taking the ring off his finger said, "If I had not promised, I would have turned you into a heap of ashes on the spot, for you have asked for my most treasured possession. But to redeem my promise, take the ring and go."

Now when they got outside, the king's son said to the serpent's son, "What is the use of this ring to me, and why did you make me ask for it? It would have been better if I had asked for heaps of gold and silver instead of this ring."

But the snake said "I will tell you how to use the ring. First make a holy place, put the ring in the middle, sprinkle it with butter-milk, and then no matter what you ask for, your desire will be instantly granted."

Then the prince went on his way with the magic ring. By-and-by he came near a city, and said to himself, "I must see if what the serpent told me is true." So he made a holy place, put the ring in the middle, sprinkled butter-milk over it, and said, "Oh ring, get me some sweetmeats for dinner."

No sooner had he said this than the sweetmeats appeared. Then the prince ate his dinner and set off to the city. There he heard a proclamation which set forth that whosoever should build a golden palace with golden stairs to it in the midst of the sea, in the space of a single night, should be given half the kingdom, and the king's daughter in marriage, but that if he failed he should be beheaded.

So the prince went to the court and said, "Oh my lord, I will do this thing."

The king looked at him astonished, saying "How can you do such a thing? Many princes have tried, failed, and lost their lives. See, here is a necklace made of their heads. Do not be rash, but go."

However, the prince was not to be persuaded. He said again, "I will do this thing."

Upon this the king ordered him to build it that very night, and placed sentries over him lest he should run away. When night came and the sentries saw the prince lie down to sleep quietly, they said among themselves "How will he build the palace?"

Towards morning however the prince awoke, got up, made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the buttermilk, and said "Oh ring, build the golden palace with the stairs in the midst of the sea." And immediately the palace appeared, stairs and all. The sentries seeing this ran and told the king, who came with all his court, and there sure enough was the golden palace with the golden stairs built in the midst of the sea. Then the king gave the prince half of the kingdom, and the princess for his bride on the spot; but the prince said, "I don't want your kingdom," and went off to the palace he had built in the sea. However, they sent the gods and saints and is here used by the snake-father to show his holy character.—R. C. T.

Serpents are supposed to be able to transform themselves into human beings, this is called چھاچار, lit. control of the will.—R. C. T.

A چہاچار—square place plastered with cow-dung used by Hindus when cooking or worshipping. The place chosen for cooking or worshipping and also for burning dead bodies is considered to be purified and hence sanctified by being plastered with cow-dung.—R. C. T.

35 गौड़ properly the marriage palasquin, but used also for the marriage itself as here. See former tales.—R. C. T.
princess after him, and he took her into the palace, and there they lived together.

Now when the prince went hunting, he took the dog with him, but left the cat and the parrot in the palace to amuse the princess.

One day when he returned she was very sorrowful, and when he asked her what was the matter, she said "I want to be turned into gold just as you made this palace of gold."

So to please her the Prince made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the butter milk, and said, "Oh ring, turn my wife into gold!" And immediately she became a golden princess. Now one day when the prince was out hunting, the princess washed her head, and while she was combing her hair, two golden hairs fell from her head.

She said to herself: "My golden hairs are of no use here, for there are no poor people to whom I might give them." So she made a cup of leaves, put the hairs into it, and let it float away over the sea.

At last it drifted to the shore where a washerman was at work. When he saw the cup of leaves with the golden hairs in it, he was very much pleased, and took it to the king of that country, who in turn showed it to his son, and the prince was so struck by it, that he declared he would marry the owner of the beautiful golden hair or die.

Saying this he lay down on a dirty old bed, and refused to eat or drink anything. Now when the king saw his son's state, he was very sorrowful, and cast about how he could find the golden-haired princess, and called all his ministers and nobles to discuss the matter. They thought it over, and agreed that no one but a wise woman could help. So the king called all the wise women of the city, and one of them said "I will do it on condition that the king grants me all I ask."

Then the wise woman had a golden barge made in which was a silken cradle swinging from silken ropes, took four boatmen, and set sail in the direction whence the cup of leaves had come; telling the boatmen to stop rowing when she put up her finger, but to go on rowing when she put it down.

In two or three months they reached the golden palace. Then the wise woman knew at once that this must be the place where the golden princess lived, so she put up her finger, and the boatmen stopped rowing. Then she went into the palace, and when she saw the princess sitting there, she went up to her swiftly, put her hands on her head, and said "I am your aunt." But the princess said "I never saw you before." Then the wise woman answered, "My child, you were quite a baby when I used to visit my sister."

Then she sat down by the princess, and talked to her, and lived with her in the palace.

One day she asked the Princess "Your palace is in the midst of the sea. Tell me how it is your husband comes and goes."

The princess answered "We have a ring which gives us anything we want, and by its help my husband comes and goes. He never forgets his ring, but takes it with him."

Then the wise woman said "My daughter, supposing a tiger were to kill your husband, how would you get out of this palace?"

The princess thought there some truth in what the woman said, so that night after her husband had come in, and they had had their supper, and were going to bed, she said to him, "Supposing a wild animal were to kill you when you are hunting, and you had the ring with you, there would be no one to look after me here, and I should die. So give me the ring."

The prince thought there was reason in what the princess said, so before he went away the next day, he gave her the ring.

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1. donât, a cup made of pipal or fig leaves for food and water by the poor—see former tale, "Prince Lionheart," note, p. 231. From the first there is a great similarity between this and that tale.—R. C. T.

2. This incident occurs again in the popular Panjabi poem by Ĥâhim Shkh called Sassâ Panâ, in which Sassâ, the king's daughter, is thrown into the river in a golden box, and floating down the stream is rescued by a friendly washerman, who eventually presents her again to the king her father. A romanized version of this poem is now being published by me in the Journal Roman Urdu Society.—R. C. T.

3. See above in former tale for this custom—"Son of Seven Mothers," p. 147—R. C. T.

4. mâtâ—phaphe kulin. See former tale, p. 231.

5. C. T.

6. dâr, a large boat; bârî, the diminutive form, is the common boat of the Panjâb: —Hind. câf kishâ.—R. C. T.

7. mâtâ, the ordinary swing cradle of India.—R. C. T.

8. The Panjabi custom is when visiting relatives or friends for women to place their hands on girls' or children's heads before sitting down as a token of friendship and goodwill.—R. C. T.

9. See above in former tale for this custom.—"Son of Seven Mothers."
When the pretended aunt asked the princess if she had got the ring, she answered "Yes, I have; see, here it is." Then the wise woman said to her, "Come and have a sail on the sea," and when they reached the bottom of the golden stairs, she said, "Let us have a sail in this golden boat." So they went into the golden boat, and then the wise woman raised her finger, and the boatmen began to row. The princess when she saw this, wept and said "What are you doing, aunt, and whither are you taking me?" But the wise woman slapped the poor princess several times till she was silent.

At last they arrived at the city, and the wise woman sent word to the king that the princess had come. Then the king sent his covered palaquin\textsuperscript{12} for her, and took her away. The king was very much pleased at having found the princess, and sent her to his son's palace, but she said, "I will only agree to marry your son after six months provided my own husband does not appear meanwhile." Then the prince thought this was not a very hard condition, for it was not likely her husband would turn up, and if he or any guardian did, they could easily be killed; so the princess lived in a palace by herself, and would not even look at the prince.

Meanwhile her husband had come back from hunting, but when he called out to the princess from the sea shore, there came no answer. However, when he went into the palace, the parrot flew up to its master at once, saying, "The princess's aunt has carried her off by some trick, and the palace is empty."

Then the prince fell on the ground in a fit, and when he felt better, he got up again, and the parrot said, "Wait here, my prince, and I will fly away and find out where the princess is." So the parrot flew from city to city and from house to house, till it found the princess at last in a king's palace, and recognized her at once by her golden hair.

It flew up to her, and said, "I have come to look for you. Where is the ring?"

Then the princess said, "It will be a difficult task to get back the ring, for the wise woman always keeps it in her mouth."

\footnote{\textsuperscript{12} \textit{dilā}—here the large covered palaquin used by women of rank; not the marriage \textit{dilā} above mentioned: \textit{dilā}, the diminutive, would be a more appropriate word here. — R. C. T.}

Now the cat had gone with the parrot to search for the princess, and she came forward and said, "I'll get the ring. My plan is this. Let the princess ask the wise woman for some rice for supper to-night; then let her leave some of it, and scatter it in front of a rat-hole. When the rats come to eat the rice, I will catch one, and put its tail up the witch's nose while she is asleep. Then she will sneeze, and the ring will fall out of her mouth." So they agreed on that plan, and the cat did as she had proposed, and brought the ring to the prince. He was overjoyed and immediately made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the buttermilk, and said "Oh ring! bring my wife to me." At the same moment the princess appeared, and was very much pleased to find her dear prince once more.\textsuperscript{13}

I append the text of the tale as taken down from the narrator, as a specimen of village Panjābī. The spelling of modern Panjābī is not in practice fixed, and the variations found herein represent faithfully the orthography of the scribe who took it down for me in the Persian character. — R. C. T.

\textit{Aṭjāb Mānder.}

\begin{quote}

Istarah chār sau rupaiya apnā kharāch karke, agge ṭūryā, rāh vich kharāch kuṁ palle na rhā. Mandāfī kharke, khaṅ lāgā, ose bāhōt dukh pāyā. Ohūdā dukh vekhike Sap ne ākhāyā, ke, Bādshāh-
\end{quote}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{13} The ending of this tale differs from that of the "Prince Lionheart" in its extremely lame character. — R. C. T.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{14} The marriage \textit{dilā} above mentioned: \textit{dilā}, the diminutive, would be a more appropriate word here. — R. C. T.}
FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB

December, 1881.

351

zaq, mere, mere nain chal. Ghar lojke oohni akhyay "tna aithe khilo, main andaro bap nain puchh awan." Sap ne bap nain akhyay "Ik adni me sau rupaiya dekho jo ki kolaen chhadlaya hai, oohni main tere ko lalay hain." Sap de bap akhyay "Mere ko bula lek." Badshahzade nain akhyay, "Mera baap tainin twain akheeg, ko, Badshahzade, jo kujh mangna hai, mang le; tad ton Mundra mang, hor kujh na mang." Pher badshahzade Sap de bap kol gh. Oane akhyay "Jo kujh mangna hai, mang." Badshahzade ne jawab diita, "Parmeshar da ditta sath kujh mere kol hai." Oane akhyay "Mera dada bachen hai, jo kujh mangna hai, mang le." Oane akhyay "Parmeshar da ditta bahut kujh hai." Oane akhyay "Sun, mera tisra bachen hai, jo kujh mangna hai, mang le." Oane akhyay "Mainun hor kujh nain chhabdita, siraf ik mundra darrak hai." Sap de bap ne is bate utte bahot afsos kiita, par apne tijhe bachen nain purna wakhe wunde meltke legde ditta, te akhyay "Je main bachen na karid, tain tainin ethi bheassam kar dink." Kyun tain mere kolon bharta chha mangt hai? Jha, hun lojta. Sap da beta oohni bhir leye aya. Pher Badshahzade ne akhyay "Eh tu mainun kii bap kolaen diwaya hai? Daalataan de qer na diwa: sonni chandy na diwaya. Insni main ki gur hai? Ehli ki gur hai?" Sap ne akhyay "Ehde vich eh gur hai, ke chaukna pake, laas leke, chhe utte chhirakke, jo kujh mangnga so eh devege." Eh gal daske, Sap apne ghar nun chalal gh. Badshahzade apne rath pya, te Shahr do kol jake apas jo vich kahan lagha "Dekhaye, ke eh mundra enjaiy hai jehu jyaya sap na dasya sinti." Oane chaukna pake te lasse utte chhirakk, te akhyay "He mundra, mainun khun nain laadu mihiht de." Ose vele laadu mihiht agayo. Badshahzada khake agge tuarya.


NOTES ON THE KURRAL OF TIRUVALLUVAR.


(Continued from Vol. IX., p. 199.)

No. IV.

Chapter III.

The third chapter of the Kurral is entitled 'The greatness of Ascetics.' I will first simply translate the ten couplets very literally:—

I. Among things excellent the greatness of ascetics (living) according to (their) institutions, is desired by the decision of the scripture.

II. If you (attempt to) declare the measure of the greatness of ascetics, it is as if you reckoned up the world's departed ones.

III. The greatness of those who, discerning


Pichchoh jado an shikār khejke oḥ khāvind, agāl shāhzādā, khande de utte āyā, tān osne awāz dātā, kisse de jawāb na dātā. Tote ne apne mālī nān pachhānko ujkhe āke ākhyā, ke Shāhzādī nān obdī māsī chhalak legāyī hai, mahāl khālī pyā hai. Eh sūnko Shāhzādā ghash khākē āgī pyā. Pichchoh jado hosi āt, tadān utṣhyā.

Tote ne akhyā, ke, Shāhzādā, tān ethe rahe, main ujkhe, os stār dā pattā leśā. Qissakotā totā shahr pahlancho ghar ghar upādā phir. Ik ghar os Shāhzādā dā pattā āgī. Ohde sone de wāl veckhe pachhān lī; "Tān Shāhzādī de ko nahtā gāryā." Ākhyā, "main tere labhan wāste āyā hānā.

Phir toten puchchhīhārī, "Mundrā kithe hai?" Shāhzādī ne ākhyā, "Mundrā milān okhā hai; pachhekuṭṭā hamesha ohde māhī vich rakhtī hai." Ohde bill boll, "Main mundrā kisse hikmat nāl kādī lángā: hikmat eh hai, ke Shāhzādī aj rāt nān pachhekuṭṭān nān ākhe 'main chail khlāwāngt.' Kujh chānwāl khāke chhaihā ātā.

he who understands the way of these five: in his power is the world.’

VIII. The greatness of the men of the full word (whose words never lack fulfillment) on this earth, the word of mystery points out.

IX. It is hard even for a moment to endure the wrath of those who have climbed the hill of virtue and taken their stand there.

X. The virtuous are antapañc: for these, having put on righteous kindliness towards every living thing, go on in their ordered path.

The epithets applied to ‘ascetics’ in this chapter are—

(1st couplet) Nittar:—this is a participial noun, ‘those who have put away,’ i.e. earthly affections. √ ni = destroy. [Comp. S. na, nis, nes]: ‘deny’ is used in this sense. This is the S. tyāga.

(2nd) tur and ār. This also is a part. noun: = ‘those who have put away.’ √ turra ‘distance.’ Comp. S. dā, durr, dūram.

(3rd) arram-pūnd ār. ‘Virtue—who have put on as an ornament,’ ‘clothed with virtue,’ ‘who have arrayed themselves in virtue.’ Arram has been discussed; pūnd ār is a part. noun. √ pun(d) Kan. pūd, hūd; comp. S. bhūsh.

(4th) aind um-kāpp ān. ‘He who has kept under restraint the five,’ i.e. the senses. (Mānava-dī. II, 199. B. Cūta, xvili, 51.) The root kā = ‘guard.’ Comp. yād = ‘tie.’ Another form is kād. Comp. S. kād, kāra. Prison. Lāt. carcere.

(5th) aind ‘avitt ān: avi-th-ān = ‘he who has extinguished.’ The root avi is used intransitively, also—to be boiled soft, to perish. S. hā, compounded with ava: avalāhā.

(6th) peri-y-ār—‘the great.’ Root—per. (S., gara).

(7th) aind-in-vagai-teri-v-ān—‘he who will understand the way of the five; vagai, manner, way;’ (Ger. veg). Root teri: cognate with tār, and with tēl. In Kan, tī; Tel. telu.

(8th) nirai-mori-mānd ār—fulness—word—men, i.e. ‘men whose word is fulfilled.’ The word nirai is an abstract noun formed from √ nir by adding a (S. a). This root is found with single or dental rāsa, and with various strengthenings: thus, nira, nirappa, nirambu, nirau, nirai. The group is very comprehensive, and the derivatives are very many. In Sans. nirvāna [nis + vah] is its equivalent. Mānd ār is S. manus, manuṣhya. Other forms are manu, manuṣhan, manudan, mānidan. For mori, see further on.

(9th) ‘gupam-ennum-kundr ‘ēri-nindr ār’—those who have climbed and stood upon the hill called quality (good quality, virtue). Kundru, ‘hill.’ (Tel. konda) Comp. S. kunda.

(10th) anya ar, or arra-v-ār. With regard to the word anya ar, I confess I am doubtful. It is used for ‘asetic,’ but is said to be compounded of am, ‘beauty,’ tan, ‘kind,’ and so to mean ‘those who possess gracious kindliness of soul’: a beautiful idea, but here, I think, rather far-fetched.

The words for ‘authoritative writings’ are nīl, panvel, marrai-mori.

(1) Of these nīl means ‘thread,’ and by metaphor ‘a treatise.’ It is related to the verb nīva al ‘say, speak.’ The same met. is found in S. sātra.

(2) Panural is probably pañjī+nuval (nīl)—‘thread of cotton,’ treatise.’

(3) Marrai, ‘mystery; mori, ‘word.’ Either of these alone, or in a compound, as above—veda, ‘sacred-book’ as marrai (comp. S. marman); mori is probably another form of the same.

In the fourth couplet, in somewhat obscure language, is set forth the idea of the development in the ‘better world’ of the Virtuous Soul. He is a seed which planted in that better soil shall grow and yield immortal fruit.

The story of Indra’s curse, referred to in couplet 5, may be read by the Tamil scholar in Kamhar’s Rāmāyanam, Bāla-Kāndam, 4th Parālam, Agaliyappadalam, 72, &c., where the beauty of the verse contrasts with the uncoyness of the story.

I think it will be evident that our author did not, at least exclusively, contemplate in this chapter a Jaina saint, as has been supposed. In Jaina works this latter is (1) ‘Lord of the world.’ (This might seem to be pointed to in couplet 5.) He is (2) ‘Free from bodily and ceremonial acts;’ (3) ‘omniscient’; (4) ‘Supreme Lord;’ (5) ‘god of gods;’ (6) ‘one who has crossed over the world’ (līthan kāra); (7) ‘possessor of a spiritual nature, free from investing sources of error;’ (8) ‘one entitled to the homage of gods and of men;’ (9) ‘Viceroy over all human infirmities.’ (See Wilson’s Hindī Sāc, p. 187.)

But a Jaina saint could not have ‘wrath’ as in couplet 9; nor is couplet 5 quite consistent with Jaina doctrines, though the poet may refer to a current story, without accepting it. Nowhere, indeed, does the eclecticism of Ti rū-
valluvar seem to me more conspicuous than in this chapter. Every system has its ascetics, and self-denial is everywhere mighty.

Certainly there is much here which might be compared with the teaching of the Christian scriptures, and I can fancy in the Tamil verses an echo of each words as these: "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill;" "Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little;" "I have overcome the world;" "This is the victory which cometh over the world, even your faith;" "He that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." Comp. also Rev. ii, 26, 27; vi, 17.

His knowledge and experience would extend to the Christian establishments in Meilappur, to the Buddhist works in the Vihara Rath of Mahamallapur (Foulkes in Ind. Ant. vol. VII, p. 7); to Dandis and Tridandis, Yogi—probably to the Madhavacharises—with their adaptations of Christian doctrines and institutions; and to the Jaina monasteries. These had different institutions (orukkam) and revered different sacred books (pauvval); while all appealing to a mysterious 'word' or scripture (marrai-mori). The worth and power of the whole is summed up in couplet 10.

CHAP. IV.

The title of the 4th chapter is the "emphatic commendation of virtue:" arranvali-urruttal.

Arran = arram—Nouns in α in Tamil may optionally end in α; the final nasal is no essential part of the word. Vell 'strength': a great number of words having vol or bal are found in the South Indian languages, all having the primary idea of 'power'; S. bal.

Urruttal is made up of v ol or bal, a causal insertion + al, termination of verbal nouns; in, ur, u ḳ are the chief roots in the Dravidian dialects which predicate existence. in more especially seems to assert 'position,' ur, 'sensation' and ḳ, 'reality'.

I translate the 10 couplets, of which it is to be noted that they are perhaps on the whole the most polished in the book: absolutely perfect, flawless gems in Tamil:

I. It yields distinction, and it yields happiness: than virtue what greater acquisition in life?

II. Than virtue there is no higher acquisition; than forgetfulness of it no deeper destruction.

III. In every possible way, ceaselessly whenever opportunity is afforded, do deeds of virtue.

IV. In mind be spotless! So much is virtue. All else is empty noise. (Gītā, xvi, 1.)

V. Virtue is that which hath walked with foot that slips not through envy, lust, wrath, or evil speech. (Bhag. Gītā, xvi, 21.)

VI. Do deeds of virtue, not saying, "then we shall know" : that, when thou diest, shall be undying help.

VII. When you compare the bearer of the litter with him who rides therein, you need not further speak of the tendency of virtue.

[The commentator says: because their respective positions are the result of virtue and vice in a former state of existence. (S. John, ix, 2.)]

VIII. If he do good, suffering no day to fall profitless, that will be a stone which will close up the way of living days.

[Com.: 'this will prevent his passing through other forms of being.' These two couplets express the belief of nearly all Hindus of every sect.]

IX. What comes through virtue is pleasure: all else are outside of it, and are void of praise.

X. What is to be placed in the category of things to be done is virtue: what should be shunned is vice.

In the 4th couplet adal is either an optative mood—'be thou' or a verbal noun—'the being.' The general translation takes the latter: 'to be spotless in soul is virtue.' The Tamil scholar must take his choice. In the second line nīra: this is the construction referred to in No. II. of these notes (vol. VIII, p. 397): mudal-a. Nir, 'water' (S. nīra), thence, 'juice,' 'essence,' 'essential property.' The commentators and all translators following them, take the latter meaning. I would suggest the literal and, I submit, more practical translation: 'other things are all as resounding waters.' To a poet living on the surf-beaten S. Thomé sea-shore this would be a very natural metaphor.

The teaching of this chapter is obviously to some extent that of the xviiith chap. of the Gītā: action is not to be forsaken. Great as are ascetics, it is in the performance of virtuous deeds that men are to partake of the highest enjoyments and merit the greatest rewards. In this chapter we have, however, I believe, a higher moral teaching than is to be found in any Hindu book, at least of earlier date than itself.

And since the writer (1) was an avowed eclectic; (2) was unfettered by caste; (3) was
CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.
BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.
(Continued from p. 339.)

XIII.

We have seen how Wang Khan was killed by the Naiman frontier commander. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi says that when the mother of Tayang, the Naiman chief, who was called Gurbayessu, heard of his death, she said “Wang Khan was a great ruler, bring me the head to see if it be really his, and if so, then we will make a sacrifice to it.” She accordingly sent some people to Khoriushichi, who had killed him. They cut off the head and took it to her. On seeing that it was really his, they began playing musical instruments to it, so as to attract the spirit of the dead chief, and also made a sacrifice. During this proceeding a smile passed over the face of Wang Khan. Tayang noticing this smile, and taking it as a bad omen, crushed the head with his foot, whereupon one of the bystanders named Keksiusabrakh said “You have cut off a dead man’s head and crushed it with your foot, now even your dog anticipates misfortune. Your father Inanchabilge once said ‘I am old and my wife is young. My son Tayang is weak. He was born in answer to my prayers. I fear he will not be able to protect my numerous people.’ Your dog now anticipates defeat. Gurbayessu (i.e. Tayang’s mother) is strong, but Tayang our ruler is weak, and has no talent for anything but hawking and hunting.” The other authorities of the extreme east, Chinese and Mongol, say nothing of these events, but De la Croix, apparently quoting Abu’lkhair, has a passage somewhat like the one abstracted from the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. He tells us that when Tayang saw the head of Wang Khan he could not help insulting it, on which Abu’lkhair remarks, “ ‘Tis a base action to rend the beard from a dead lion.” Rashid-ud-din merely tells us that Tayang reproached his followers for having killed the old chief, especially of S. Paul, would have a peculiar charm. I do not add special references to the Christian scriptures.

This chapter ends what is considered to be the Introduction to the Kurraj.

2 History of Genghis Can the Great, etc., pp. 57 and 58.
3 Erdman, p. 208; D’Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 82; Abul’ghazi, p. 58.

* Hyacinthe calls him Aru-Khasau.
* Hyacinthe reads this name De-dalda.
Temujin or Chinghiz Khan, and therefore, instead of accepting Tayang's proposal, he sent messengers with six bottles of wine to his rival to inform him of what had happened. Douglas adds to this notice (apparently from the She wei or "Woof of History" by Chin-Yunseih) that wine was previously unknown to the Mongols, and their chief, who did not like the first taste of it, made a remark which sounds somewhat trite to our sophisticated ears. "A little of this stuff," he said, "raises the spirits, but an overdose confuses them." In return for the information and the presents, he sent his correspondent 500 horses and 1,000 sheep and made an alliance with him against the Naimans. In the authority translated by De Mailla the Ab-lah-hwuh-sze of the Yuan-shi is merely called the chief of the Ouang-coupo, (a corruption of Vangut). There we also read that the Mongols had hitherto been unacquainted with wine and only used a certain intoxicating liquor made from milk. The rest of the story is told in the extract from Douglas, and is probably based on the same authority. In the Yuan-shi-fei-pien Ah-lah-hwuh-sze is called Alausse, and we further read that he was the chief of the White Tata, that he belonged to the stock of the ancient chiefs of the Tukne, and that Tayang proposed that he, Chamukha, and himself should form an alliance against Chinghiz Khan. Rashidu'd-din tells us that in the spring of the mouse year Tayang Khan sent a trusty messenger named Jukanan to Alakush Tikin Khuri, the chief of the Ongut. Erdmann thus translates his message: "They say that a Padishah who has the saebel has arisen in our country. He aspires to heaven and to subdue the sun and moon. As you know there cannot be two swords in one sheath, two souls in one body, two eyes in one socket, so there is not room for two Padishahs in one realm. Be my right hand, come and help me, and I will make his reign my own. Alakush, who was conscious that the Naiman power was on the wane, while that of Chinghiz Khan was rising, after consulting with his sons and chiefs, determined to throw in his lot with the latter, and sent one of his people named Turbidas to acquaint Chinghiz with what was passing. According to D'Olssoon's account Tayang in his letter to Alakush spoke contemptuously of Chinghiz as "the wood prince," referring to the woody country inhabited by the Mongols, but this seems to be a mistranslation. Abu'l'ghizzi in his notice instead of the simile about the two swords in one sheath uses a quaint Eastern illustration drawn from the imagery of his own time and country, and very contrary to that of the early Mongols. "Ten dervishes can find room on one piece of carpet, while the whole world is too small for two sovereigns." The Huang-Yuan calls Alakush Alakhushi-dikikholi of the race Bangu. This work also makes Tayang ask if there can be two masters in this world, and seems to suggest that this can be so in the heavens where the sun and moon divide authority between them. He calls the messenger sent by Alakush to Chinghiz, Dorbitashi. In Miles' Shajrat ul Atrak he is called Noorishah. Having thus brought together the various authorities we must illustrate the meaning of their statements by a commentary. As will be seen Alakush Tikin is made the chief of the Potata or White Tartars by some authors and of the Ongut by others. The Potata or White Tartars, by which name the tribe was known to the Chinese, were a section of the Tartars proper who, when the race was broken and dispersed, settled in the In-shan mountains, where it made itself felt in the latter years of the Tang dynasty. In the year 860 this section of the Tartars submitted to Chu-ye-che-sin, otherwise called Li-kue-chang and his son Li-ke-yung, who were chiefs of the Sha-to or Turks of the Sandy Desert, who afterwards founded the Tain dynasty in China. This explains Gaubil's statement that the chief of the Potata was of the stock of the ancient princes of the Turks. The Sha-to Turks were a tribe subject to the Khakan of the Western Turks. They lived originally, according to De Guignes, near lake Lop, whence they retired in the 8th century to escape the encroachments of the Tibetans to Poting, north of Jighur, where they became eventually subject to the Tibetans, who planted them at Kan-chau, in the western part of

1 Douglas, pp. 43; Hyacinthe, p. 31.
2 Douglas, pp. 43 and 44.
3 Op cit. tom. IX, pp. 35 and 36.
4 i. e. of the Turks.
5 chamukha, pp. 10 and 11.
6 i. e. 1204.
7 i. e. music played in front of the royal tent every day, and a symbol of sovereignty.
8 Erdmann, pp. 299 and 300.
12 Viadelou, pp. 338 and 329.
13 14 i. e. his power.
Shen-si, and employed them as their advance guard in their attacks on China. On the rise of the power of the Hoei-che or Uighurs, the Sha-to tribe, to the number of 30,000, went eastwards, and eventually were posted by the Tang emperors as a frontier guard to protect the district of Koko Khotun from the depredations of the Uighurs and other tribes. This was in 836 under their chief Chi-i. The latter's son, She-sin, did great services to the empire and was given the style of Kue-chang by the Emperor, and allowed to add to it the name Li, which was the family name of the Tang dynasty. He was posted with his people at Koko Khotun of which he was appointed governor. Presently he rebelled with his son Li-ke-yong, and his troops having been dispersed, the two chiefs sought refuge among the Tartars of the In-shan mountains, who put them at their head. 22 As I said, these princes became the founders of the Tsing dynasty, who dominated over Northern China for a short time, and were the first "Barbarians" who had the distinction of giving a distinctly recognized imperial dynasty to China. Under their name of Po-ta-ta or White Tartars they are mentioned in the Liao-shi in the notice of the flight of Yen Tashi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, where we are told that, after crossing the He Shui, i.e. the Kara-golor Black river, he met Chung-gur the Siang-wen of the Po-ta-ta, who offered him 400 horses, 20 camels and about 1,000 sheep. 23 The Po-ta-ta of the Chinese were called Ongut by the Mongols. The t in the name is the ordinary Mongol plural. Ongut, we are told by Rashid of the Ahsa, meant 'a wall,' and the tribe was so called because it garrisoned the wall which the Chinese emperors had built from the sea of Jurehi, i.e. of Manchuria to the Kara Muran, to restrain the incursions of the Kirins, Naimans, and other nomades. This wall, by which Rashid understands the great Chinese wall, he tells us was garrisoned by the Ongut, whence their name. In several MSS of Rashid, the name is given corruptly as Atgh or Ateko. It would seem the name was also applied to the In-shan range, the Karaun Chidun of the Mongols, and that it was from this natural defence, and not from the great wall itself, that the Ongut derived their name. 24 The chief of the Ongut at this time was, according to Rashid, Alakush Tikin Kuri. In his biography in the Yuan-shi he is called A-la-wu-ssu Ti-gi Ha-li. 25 Alakush is Turkish, and means a pied bird. Tikin is a title much affected by Turkish Princes. Kuri was, says D'Ohsson, the same honorary title that was given to Chinghiz Khan. He says it ought perhaps to be read Ku-tse or Fu-tse. 26 In his biography in the Yuan-shi Alakush Tikin is called chief of the Wang-gu (i.e. Ongu), while in the text of the work he is called chief of the Po-ta-ta, proving that the two names are synonyms. 27 Before we go on with our story we must illustrate one of the extracts before quoted in which it is said that Alakush Tikin sent Chinghiz a present of six flasks of wine, which was a new drink to the Mongols. This wine was no doubt the well-known Darmsson or rice-wine of the Chinese, about which Marco Polo writes: "Most of the people of Cathay drink wine of the kind that I shall now describe. It is a liquor which they brew of rice, with a quantity of excellent spice, in such fashion that it makes better drink than any other kind of wine. It is not only good, but clear and pleasing to the eye, and being very hot stuff, it makes one drunk sooner than any other kind of wine." The process of making this wine is described in the Jesuits' Memoires, tom. V, pp. 468 et seq.; see also Yule's Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 427. Rubruquis also mentions this rice wine. In describing the famous silver tree made by Master William of Paris he tells us that at its feet were four lions, which all vomited forth milk, four other conduits went to the top of the tree, and he adds "et unum ex illis canalisibus fundit vinum, alind caracosmos, hoc est lac jumenti defectatum, alind boal hoc est potum de melle," alind cervosiam de vivio que dicitur terracina. 28 Let us now resume our story. We are told in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi that when the Ongut chief sent to warn Chinghiz of his impending danger, he was hunting in a district.

27 Breitsehneider, loc. cit. Marco Polo just mentions the Ongut, whom he calls Ung, saying it was the name of the people of the country of Gog and Magog, which he placed near that of Prester John, i.e. near Trebiz. (Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. I, p. 276.)
called Tiemian keer, and he at once took counsel with his companions. Many of them said, "Our horses are exhausted, what is to be done?" But his brother Ochigin replied, "Why do you wish to excuse yourselves with the plea that your horses are exhausted? I have horses that are still in condition." How can we be quiet after hearing such words? His other brother Belgutei also urged that life would not be worth living if they were deprived of their bows and arrows and that brave men died with their weapons. Although the Naimans were inflamed by the size of their country and the number of their men, he urged that it would not be difficult to rob them of their bows and arrows, and that if attacked they would abandon their herds of horses, their dwellings would become empty and their people would fly to the mountains and forests. He therefore urged an advance. Chinghiz approved of Belgutei's counsel. Returning from the hunt he passed through Abchikhatorge to the river Khalkha, and halted at Keltagaikada, near Ornan. There he mustered his army and nominated commanders of 10, 100, and 1,000 men. He appointed six Jerbis—the meaning of which, says Palladius, is not explained, but they were probably some head officials of the household. He also appointed 80 men for the night watch, and 70 men called Sanbans as body-guards. These watch guards were picked young men, active and big, chosen from the houses of the millenarians and centurians. Arkhaikhasar was ordered to levy 1,000 brave men and to take command of them. They were to act as an advance-guard in battle and as watch-guards in time of peace. Ogelcherbi and Khudusikalchah were nominated commanders of the 70 Sanbans. Chinghiz now addressed his men saying, "Archer Sanbans, body-guards, masters of the feast, and doorkeepers; in the day-time you must be at your several posts. After sunset when your duties are over, and when you have handed over your work to the night-guards, you must sleep inside. After they have fed the horses and seen to them, the night-watch must camulate the camp. The

porters in order one after another must take charge of the doors, and in the morning when hot water is brought, let each one go to the camp and commence his duty. Each one's turn is for three days." Each millenarian, centurian, Jerbi, etc. had his proper post assigned to him. Chinghiz now in the year of the mouse, i.e. 1204, in the 4th moon and on the 16th day made a sacrifice to his standards and went to war against the Naimans. Palladius says this sacrificing to the standards is a custom still prevailing in China when a special prayer is recited by the commander. This practice of sacrificing to the standards seems to have been practised by the Mongols in their invasion of Europe. Thus we are told by Miechof that at the battle of Wahlstadt, when a large number of the Tartars had fallen or fled, one of their standard-bearers appeared with a standard having on it two cross pieces in the form of the Greek letter Khi (X), above which was a head of horrid aspect and black colour having a long beard. This head was violently shaken while incantations were sung, whereupon a smoke or vapour with a horrible stench proceeded from it and deprived the Poles of the power to resist.

The Yuan-shi calls the place where Chinghiz consulted his people,TEMEGOOL, i.e. the river Temge, and tells us the majority of them counselled delay on the ground that the spring was only just commencing and the horses had not recovered from the hardships of the winter, and urged that they should postpone the campaign till the autumn. It also reports the speeches of Ochigin and Belgutei, and says that, having decided to follow their advice, Chinghiz moved his camp to Mount Chindakhán, and gave the command of the advance-guard to Khubiri and Jebe or Chepe. Mr. Douglas calls the former Khubilai, Chinghiz Khan's grandson, but that chief was not then born, and the one here mentioned was another Khubilai, known as Kubilain Ogen. De Maillat's authority makes Ochigin urge that if their own horses were thin, so must these of the Naimans be, and it tells us that when Chinghiz Khan had made up his mind to advance, he sent to ask

30 i.e. the plain of Tiemian.
31 Query the place which gave their name to the Urnault or Ornan.
32 The name, Palladius says, is Chinese.
33 It is a Chinese custom to wash the face with hot water, and this means "when Chinghiz rises from his bed."—Palladius, note 372.
his brother-in-law, Pulu, to join him with his troops, and the two went together and encamped at the mountain, Kientekai, where Chinghiz distributed commands among his officers, and appointed Khubilai and Chêbe to command the advance guard. The Huang-yuan calls the place where the conference took place the river Timuqai. It makes Ochigin say that his horses were still strong if the others were lean, and that it was not possible to draw back now; makes him foretell a great victory, that Tayang Khan would be made prisoner, and that such a consummation deserved that they should exert themselves to the utmost. It says the sacrifices to the standards were made at the full moon. Chinghiz assembled his people again at the river Khalkha and the mountain Gentegai, and gave his relatives Khubilai and Jebe command of the vanguard. Rashidu’d-din, as reported by Erdmann, calls the place where the conference took place Temgegh-yah-yentul-guljut. He confounds Ochigin, the brother of Temujin, who gave him counsel on this occasion, with Daritai Ochigin, his uncle, a pardonable mistake, since Ochigin or Uchigin, as we have seen, was a sobriquet borne by the youngest son of the family. He calls the place where the army was mustered Galtagai.

The later Persian writers who try to glorify Timur’s ancestry introduce Kharachar Noyan, his supposed ancestor, on every available occasion, and we accordingly read in the Shahejrat ul Atrak, which was founded on the work of Ulugh Beg, that Chinghiz, on his persuasion, now appointed his son Tului to the buljungha, and Khubilai and Jebe Noyan to the burunghar, and also to act as the munghulai or advanced guard. Juji was placed near the tugh or standards in the division called the ghul or the main body. The command of the unghar (sunghar) or right wing was given to Chaghatai, Temujin’s son, and that of the jonghar or left wing to the Prince Ogotai, while Karachar Noyan was placed over the bustunghar or rear division. Temujin himself with the sunghurs or picked men took up his post with the uk-chunghar (Sakeh). This notice is of as little authority as the elaborate account of the battle which follows in the same account.

Let us now turn again to the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. We there read that on leaving his camp Chinghiz Khan went up the river Keralon, Chebe and Khubilai being sent in advance. When they reached Saarikeher they met a Naiman patrol who was posted on the hill Kankanchara. In the struggle which followed the Naimans captured a horseman who rode a white charger with a bruised back, and remarked on the poor condition of the Mongol horses. When Chinghiz Khan himself reached Saarikeher he was advised by Dodaicherbi, as their numbers were small and they had come a long way, to spread his men over the whole extent of Saarikeher and to order each man to light five fires so as to produce the effect of a large armament. "Though the enemy is numerous," he added, "their ruler is weak and has never been out of his country; he will doubtless be misled and frightened by this plan." Chinghiz followed Doda’s advice. In effect, the patrol which were looking out from the mountain said to one another we heard the Dada were few in numbers, whence then so many camp fires, numerous as the stars. They thereupon withdrew, and took their captive to Tayang, and reported to him how the Mongols filled the whole of Saarikeher and were being reinforced daily. Tayang was then on the banks of the river Khachir, which is in Kankhái, and he sent a messenger to his son, Guchuluk, with these words, "The Dada’s horses are thin, but they have as many fires as there are stars. Their forces are no doubt very great. I once was told they are a very hardy race, that if you strike them in the eye they will not wince, and if you strike them in the cheek they will not turn aside, if we engage them now it will be difficult for us to beat them. Their horses are thin. Let us cross the golden mountain, and having organized our people entice them thither. When they have crossed the golden mountain their horses will be exhausted, while ours will be in good condition, and we can engage them in battle and conquer them." Guchuluk, having heard this, said "Tayang is a woman. He is again frightened. He says there are many Dada, whereas have they come? A large part of the race is with us and with Chama kha.

40 Erdmann, p. 301.
41 Miles, op cit., pp. 74 and 75.
My father has not hitherto travelled as far as a woman with child goes when she seeks a comfortable place or a calf on its way to the manger, therefore he is afraid," and he ordered these words to be repeated to Tayang. When the latter heard that his son had compared him to a woman, he said, "Oh strong and brave Guchuluk. Mind that in this fight your bravery does not dissolve into feebleness." Meanwhile one of his officers named Khorisubichi, the same who had killed Wang Khan, said to Tayang, "Your father Inanchabilge, when fighting against an equal enemy, never shewed him his back nor that of his horse, why are you afraid beforehand? You had better let your mother, Gurbysessu, command the army. Although a woman she would do better than this. It is a pity Keksusabakh should have grown old and the discipline of our troops should have so weakened. Assuredly good fortune has overtaken the Dada." Having said this, he struck his quiver and quitted Tayang's presence. Tayang was naturally angry and said, "The life of a dead man, and a body devoted to suffering are the same. Be it as you wish, let us meet our enemies and fight." He therefore set out down the river Tamir (i.e. the well-known western tributary of the Orkhon) and having crossed the Orkhon (i.e. the Orkhon), arrived at the eastern flank of the mountain Nakhu (?) and the place Chakurmait (?). When the scouts of Chingizh reported the enemy's army in sight, he placed his army in order of battle. He undertook the command of the van himself, gave his brother, Khasar, the command of the centre, and Ochigin of the rear guard. Meanwhile the Naimans disposed themselves along the precipitous sides of the mountain Nakhu, and their patrols were driven in right up to the mountain. At this time Chamukha was with the Naimans, and Tayang asked him, "Who are these pursuing our men like wolves when they chase a flock of sheep right up to the very sheep fold?" Chamukha replied, "They are four hounds belonging to Temujin which have been fed on human flesh, and whom he fastens with an iron chain. These dogs have brazen foreheads, hewn-out teeth,awl-shaped tongues, iron heads, instead of horsewhips, they have crooked swords. They drink the dew, ride on the wind, and in battle eat human flesh. They are now unchained and set free; their mouths water, they rejoice. These four hounds are Chebe, Khubilai, Jelmi, and Subeitai." Tayang replied, "If this be so let us withdraw further away from this ignoble race." He accordingly withdrew along the mountain, and presently halted, and said, "Who are those detachments following the others like young colts which, having sucked enough milk, frisk round and round their mother?" Chamukha answered: "They are the two tribes Uruut and Mahkut who kill all the men bearing sword and spear and strip them of their clothes." Tayang replied, "Then let us retire still further from this ignoble people," and ordered his men to scale the mountain still higher. Again stopping, he asked Chamukha, "Who is that coming on behind bearing forward like a hungry vulture." Chamukha said, "That is my friend Temujin dressed from head to foot in iron mail. He flew hither like a hungry vulture. Do you see him? You used to say that should the Dada show themselves their skin and hoof should be striped like those of a sheep. Look now." Tayang only muttered "Dreadful!" and gave orders to withdraw still higher up the mountain. Again he asked, "Who is that behind with the multitude of warriors?" That, said Chamukha, is the son of Khoitun, who was reared on human flesh. His body is thrice the size of other men. He can eat a three-year-old sheep at a single meal. He is dressed in three suits of mail, and was borne here by three strong bulls. He can swallow a whole man equipped with his bow and arrows without him sticking in his throat. He can eat a whole man and is not satisfied. When he is wroth he can pierce 10 or 20 men over a mountain with the arrow Anchua." When any one begins to fight with him, he shoots the arrow Koibur, and even across a wide desert it will bring down a man in armour. With his big bow he can hit a man at 900 paces, and with his little bow at 500 paces. He is not like ordinary men, but resembles a huge snake. He is called "Jochikhasar." Tayang said, "If this be so, let us scale a high mountain together." Again he asked, "Who is that behind all?" Chamukha said, "That is the youngest of all the sons of Khoitun, named Ochigin, he is lazy and likes to

**A euphemism for a latrine.**  **i.e.** The Tartars. **i.e., a mode of presenting arms.**

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*Palladius says the Anchua and Koibur were some kind of unknown legendary arrows: op. cit., note 394.*
lie down early and get up late; but he never was late among the warriors." Then Tayang reached the summit of the mountain.

Chamukha, as his antecedents might suggest, now deserted the Naimans, and sent word to Chinghiz what he had told Tayang, adding that the latter, having heard his words, was distracted with fear. He suggested that his men should hurry up the mountain irregularly, for no one had spirit to fight, and added that he had himself abandoned them.

Chinghiz seeing it was already late, contented himself with surrounding the mountain Nachu. During the night the Naimans determined to escape. Men and horses, however, fell over the precipices, and many were killed. The next day Tayang was captured. Gushuluk succeeded in escaping. This narrative, with its peculiar touches of romance, reads, as Palladius says, like some popular legend worked up by the author.

In the Yuan-shi we are told that when Tayang was at the Khankai Mountains he was joined by Tokhto, the chief of the Merkit, by Alin, a chief of the Kirais, Khushuk Bed-sei, a chief of the Taisi-Uirat, together with the tribes Durbot Tatar, Khatagin and Salju. It says that it was a loose troop horse which strayed from the Mongol camp to that of the Naimans, which let them know by its poor condition that the Mongol army was not in a state fit to fight, and which induced Tayang to suggest a retreat that his enemies might be enticed to pursue him. This unanimous policy was resented by the Naiman chiefs, who suggested that Tayang should give place to his wives if he were not bolder. It also says that when Chamukha saw the strength of the Mongol army, he exclaimed, "Of old the Naimans were to the Mongols as a ewe to its unborn lamb, but now is their strength small and not as formerly." He thereupon withdrew his contingent. The general who reproved Tayang for his timidity is here called Khulun bache. According to the Yuan-shi the battle lasted from dawn until sunset when Tayang himself was slain and his men were broken. Darkness overtook the retreating Naimans, many of whom were killed in falling over the precipices, while many others were slain and made prisoners, and the hordes Durbot Tatar, Khatagin and Salju submitted to the conqueror. De Mailla calls the Taishi-Uarat of the Yuan-shi tiehionela, and adds the Pieki to the other tribes, but this seems to be a corruption of Bedse or Bigi, and to be a mistaken use of Khushuk's second name. According to the Huang-Yuan it was when Tayang reached the river Orkhon that he was joined by Toto, the leader of the Merkit, by Jasanso, the brother of Wang Khan, with Alun Tai-shi, and also by Khudukhu begi, the leader of the Uirat, and by Chamukha, with the Durban Tatar, the Khatagin and Sanjia; otherwise there is nothing new in this account. According to Rashidul-din the Altai was a river on the borders of the Kinekhaï. He says it was a thin horse with a worn-out saddle that escaped to the Naiman camp and calls the chief who preserved Tayang and quoted his father's bravery, Khuri Subaju, and says that having done so he withdrew from the assembly. He tells us further that Tayang himself was wounded in the battle, and withdrew with Khuri Subaju and some others to a height. In vain his officers tried to rescue him and urged him to renew the fight. He was too weak from loss of blood. Khuri Subaju, determined to restore his fortune, led back the soldiers who had gathered again about the standard, to the fight. He then with the other chiefs again approached his master, saying "O Tayang, how much longer will you fly like a woman? Halt but once, and let us fight the enemy, and fall or conquer." Tayang heard him, but was silent. He again addressed him: "Oh Tayang Khan, your wives, especially your beloved Gurbyesu Khatun, have all arrayed themselves in full parade, have set your house in order, and await your arrival, rise, and let us go." Still he remained silent. Again he spoke out: "Oh Tayang Khan, the women at your command have decked themselves in their choicest robes, especially Gurbyesu Khatun, whose costume equals in value that of a Chinese parure, and they await your imperial return. All is ready for you. Do arouse and come."

These phrases did not move him, but he curled himself up together. Thereupon as all his

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48 Yuan-shi, pp. 103-108.
49 Hyaenitha, pp. 31-33; Douglas, pp. 45-47.
efforts seemed vain, Khuri Subaju went to the commanders and warriors, saying, "If any strength remained in him, or if a breath were left in his soul, these words would have moved him. He is helplessly huddled together. Happier is the lot of Temujin, who springs from the earth on to his horse, and links its bridle to life and triumph." Doubting their master's recovery, the chiefs said to one another—"If we stay here we must be witnesses of his death, and must become prisoners to the enemy, we had better join issue with the foe, and surrender our lives in the presence of our Padishah. It may be that when he sees the death of his followers he will come down from his place of refuge, and go and join them." With these words they rushed into the fight, and struggled bravely till they were killed. Temujin would willingly have given them quarter, but they refused it, and preferred to die. Chinghiz Khan remarked: "What misfortune may happen even to one who has such warriors." Rashid also speaks of the large number of Naimans who perished in the flight among the precipices of the mountain Nakhukhun, which D'Ohssoon reads Naku. In regard to Tayang Khan, Abu'lghazi says that those who were left in charge of him seeing all their companions were killed, took their chief on horseback and fled, but Tayang died on the way. Mirkhwend seems to say that he had been left alone, and that aroused by the gruesome noise about, he slipped away, and after much suffering, reached a place whose name is read Ai by Erdmann, where he died a few days later from the effect of his wounds and the loss of blood. Sassanang Setzen puts the campaign against Tayang, whom he calls Tayan Khakan, in the year 1200. He says that Tayang assembled the eight tribes of the Beteken, and led out his army of 80,000 men. The fight, he says, took place on the river Sakiram. He says that Baghurul Noyan, of the tribe Ugushin, Ukulen Tserbi, son of Boghorji, of the tribe Arulad, and Khucar Dashi, of the Okkon, commanded the army of Chinghiz. Schmidt explains the Beteken of this notice as a mistaken reference to the Potata of the Chinese. Naiman means eight. He also adds an interesting note in reference to the father of Tayang, Inanj Belga Buku. He disagrees with D'Ohssoon's Turkish etymology of the name, and says it is the well-known Buddhist name, Injana Belga Bilik, Injana being the ordinary Mongol corruption of the Sanskrit Jñana, of which Belga Bilik is the translation. This is very interesting, as it points to the Naimans having been Buddhists.

Carpini tells us that after Chinghiz had conquered the Tartars, the Merkit and the Mecris, the Naimans became very jealous at his elevation, for they had had a ruler who had been very vigorous, and to whom these tribes had paid tribute. On his death however his sons, who were young and ignorant, and could not restrain their people, succeeded him and quarrelled. Nevertheless they made a raid upon the territories of the tribes above named which were now subject to Chinghiz and killed a number of men, women and boys. When Chinghiz heard of this he collected his people and attacked the Naimans and the Kara-kitais (!) in a narrow valley between two mountains through which Caripini says he himself travelled. The Mongols defeated the confederates with great slaughter, reducing those to slavery who were not killed. The site of the battle is perhaps also mentioned in the itinerary of the Tausit monk Ch'ang Ch'un, who visited Chinghiz Khan in Western Asia during the years 1221-1224. On his way his conductor Chinkai or Chen-hai, who was one of Chinghiz Khan's officers, said to him: "We are now come to the most difficult part of the road*, we have before us the po-hu-tien."* "What do you mean by the field of white bones?" said the traveller. "That is an old battlefield, a field of death," said Chen-hai. "One time a whole army perished there by exhaustion; no one escaped. A short time ago at the same place the army of the Naimans was destroyed by Chinghiz. Who ever crosses that place in the day-time and in clear weather will die from fatigue, and his horses also. Only when starting in the evening and travelling the whole night, is it possible to reach water and grass on the next day by noon." The locality seems too far to the south-west for the great fight with Tayang, and it may be that some later battle with the Naimans is here referred to.

*** Erdmann, p. 304.
‡ Id., note 45, page 355.
* i.e. the Kerait.
* The field of white bones. ** i.e. exposed to the sun.
† Breuschneider, Notes on Chinese Travellers, etc. pp. 28 and 29.
ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTES.

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

(Continued from Vol. II, p. 289.)

No. XXVII.—Scraps of Legend and Folk-lore.

I.

The Kavéri river from its magnificent twin-falls on either side of the romantic but perilous island of Sivasamudram—falls in height, volume, and grandeur far surpassing the famous Rhine-fall at Schaffhausen—runs for 50 miles eastward through a savage wilderness of ravines and hills, a parched and dreary tract overrun by thin, thorny jangal, uninhabited and almost pathless. In this part of its course the river divides the district of Kōmbatūr on the south from Maiśur and Salem on the north; and just where issuing from its eastward march through the desert, it bends abruptly southward, and hence forward rolls broader waters through populated and cultivated plains on its way to Trichināppali and Tanjaur, there is a curious seldom-visited locality called the Smoking Rock. Issuing from its long, narrowed, and pent-up course through the desert, the Kavéri here spreads into a broad expanse, the banks nearly level with the water, and from the middle of the flood a column, apparently of white smoke, arises and drifts away upon the wind. No rocks or falls are visible to account for this continually ascending cloud of spray-mist, for such it is; but the natives say there is a hole or chasm, four palm-trees deep, into which the water falls; nothing however can be seen of this from the bank, and the smoke-like column seems to arise from the bosom of an unbroken stream. The effect is striking and peculiar. There is a strange wild legend connected with this spot.

Long ago, it is said, in the days of the Chōla kings all the countess gods of Kailāsa, great and small, with the thousands of Rishi, Sākta, and Asurās, came down to be incarnate on earth in the form of a miraculous cow. The four Vedas became the four legs, Brahma and Vishnu the two horns, the sun and moon the eyes, the holy mountain the body, Vāyu the tail, Lakshmi the womb, the divine atmosphere (akāśa) the ears, and so on through all parts of the body, and Yama (death) was its calf. Thus symbolically formed, the cow with its calf went to bathe near the temple of Śiva, and met in a street the king's son making a procession; in the crowd the cow and calf became separated, and the calf getting bewildered was run over by the chariot of the king's son and cut in two. The king's son was greatly alarmed at this ominous incident, and still more so, when the cow came seeking its calf, and on finding the two halves, put them together and sought to give milk, but finding it would take none, shed tears profusely. The cow then went to the bell hanging before the court of justice, and rang it loudly, at which the old king, his wife, and ministers, hearing what had taken place, almost swooned with fear and grief. A council was held, and it was decided that the king's son should, in expiation, fall before the chariot-wheels, and himself be cut in two. So amid the great grief of the people, the king set out to see the atonement performed. The young man demonstrated on the ground of the advantage that neighbouring rival kings would gain if the heir were so sacrificed, but as the Brāhmaṇas declared that without it there would be no rain and no crops, the king ordered the chariot to move on, which ran over the young man as he lay prostrate and cut him into two pieces, which were presented before the cow, and the crime of killing the calf thus expiated. The king in great sorrow at his loss was about to kill himself, when the illusive cow dissolved into its component divinities, who appeared in their proper guise, raised the son to life again, and decreed that he should be installed with his father under the title of Bhupāla Chōla, and that the old king should afterwards receive final beatitude without the pain of any future birth. Bhupāla Chōla was sixteen when he came to reign, and ruled prosperously for many years, when, in a hunting excursion, he discovered a great chasm which swallowed up and wasted the water of the Kavéri river. He employed a great multitude of men to fill it up, but all their efforts were unavailing, though the king resided for eight years close by, the better to superintend the work. At last a Rishi told him that his labour was in vain, for the chakra of Vishnu had entered the earth there, and that the only remedy was for some virtuous king to enter the chasm and seat himself on the chakra, when the gulph would close. So after many
ceremonies and distributions of gifts, this Hindu Curtius proceeded in state to the river, and solemnly cast himself into the chasm, which immediately closed. Some of the water, however, still finds its way in and throws up a smoke-like cloud to mark and commemorate the spot and the sacrifice. On the bank opposite there now stands a hoary old temple, within the enclosure of which is a range of ten or twelve huge black Lingas stones, each in a canopied cell; obligations to these are supposed to be efficacious in removing barrenness. Not far below, the wide river is bridled with a curb of stone, being suddenly narrowed to less than half its width between rocky walls with sharp granite reefs in mid channel, through and over which the swirling flood rushes in foaming rapids and broken falls with a roar audible afar, and just at the entrance of this dangerous strait, is the romantic "Goat's leap" crag, also not without its legends.

II.

When a wealthy Hindu meditates purchasing a horse, his first attention is directed not at all to the "points" a European would naturally look at. He looks not at hoof or hook, at head, shoulder, or wither, but seeks first to satisfy himself as to certain external marks never dreamt of by a Western horse-fancier, but which are of primary importance in determining his choice. These are the presence or not of certain circles or curls of hair on particular parts of the body. These are called Tamiḻ surī or flowers, and by them a judgment is formed of the temper and quality of the horse. If these hair-curles bend inward, it is a good sign, but if outward, bad; and there should be two such curls on the head, two on the breast, and two on each side; one on the back of the neck and one in the hollow of the neck. Each curl indicates a particular god, and by them it is decided whether the possession of the horse would be fortunate to the owner—whether it would bring health, good fortune, or otherwise. A Hindu will not buy a horse, however good-looking in other respects, unless these surī or hair-curles are present, turning properly, and in their right places. The colours of a horse are also much attended to as omens of good or ill. Coalblack, so much admired in Europe, is held the most unlucky. Turpin's Black Bess would have found no admirers amongst Hindus.

Grey is good; red and white not good, but white knees, a white spot on the forehead, and a white tail are admired. A perfect Hindu horse should have the four hoofs, the head, and the tail all white. A red horse gives its rider success in love-affairs.

III.

In his excellent and laborious work, The Early History of Mankind, Mr. Tylor brings together, in the tenth chapter, a number of instances of remarkable customs for which no special reasons can be assigned. In this category may, I think, be placed the scruple of the Kōragars and some other of the slave-castes of Kannada against carrying anything with four legs, animate or inanimate, whether animals, chairs, cots, &c. They will carry no four-legged piece of furniture unless one leg be taken off, and as they are often employed as coolies this sometimes causes inconvenience. The Kōragars are the lowest of the fifteen slave-castes of Kannada, none of whom may intermarry, and their women still wear an apron of twigs and leaves over their buttocks. Once this was the only covering allowed them, and a mark of their deep degradation, but now when no longer compulsory, and of no use, as it is worn over the clothes, the women still retain it, believing its disuse would be unlucky—one instance out of many in which badges, originally of degradation, have become cherished observances. Colonel Dalton mentions a similar restriction as to four-legged articles amongst the Baigas of Central India, where the women are not allowed to sit or lie upon any four-legged bed or stool.

Amongst the lower spurs of the Palani mountain range west of Dindigul, in the Madurā district, there is a jangal tribe called Kuneivār, whose women are never allowed to wear white clothes: none could tell why, but it was said that within memory women offending against the rule had been cast from a high rock.

The late Raja of Vijyanagram, one of the most enlightened and estimable of Hindu princes, and a member of the Viceroy's Council, would not allow the employment of iron in the construction of buildings in his territory, because believed to be inevitably followed by small-pox and other epidemics. No reason is assigned for this belief, which is rather opposed to practices obtaining elsewhere: e.g. in Persia it is lucky to drive a nail into the holy trees by shrines; the
Romans knocked long nails into the walls of cottages to avert the plague; and in China silk-cotton trees are haunted by dangerous female demons called Han tu Pun tian a k, which are exorcised by driving long iron nails into the tree; if a nail be driven into the head of one of these demons, she immediately becomes human.

IV.

Many years ago when on circuit at Palani in the Madur district, South India, I was struck by the unusual name of a witness—"Irunköl." This is the polite form of the second person plural imperative of the verb signifying to stay or remain, and the equivalent in English might be "Stop, sir!" or "Pray, remain!" I found that this appellation had gone down from generation to generation in a family, and originated in this wise. On the death of Matthu Virappa Nāyakar, one of the last kings of the Southern Pāṇḍya-déśa, in 1695, his son Chōkānathe Nāyakar succeeded, but being a child only three months old, his grandmother, Mangamalā, as regent, conducted the affairs of the kingdom for eighteen years. This Hindu lady was renowned for her good works, and her name still lives in the mouths of the people. During her regency she built many temples, and constructed water-reservoirs and choultries or rest-houses throughout the country and on the principal lines of pilgrimage. One day when eating betel-leaf and areca-nut she heedlessly took it up with her left hand. This was a great sin, and on consulting the Brāhmaṇas how to expiate it, they recommended her to make roads shaded by avenues of trees along the principal travelling-routes of the kingdom. This was done, and her avenues, more or less complete, still remain; one, of huge-limbed Banyan trees interlacing so as to form a sun-proof canopy overhead on the N.E. side of the town of Madur, is still called by her name. Other avenues run out for miles towards Ramesvaram, Tinnevelly, and Trichinappalli, that towards the latter place is still in generally good condition for more than 50 miles. This beneficent princess being once at Palani, where there is a famous temple, on visiting it in state and ascending the temple-steps, observed a young man retreating in confusion, and said to him kindly Irunköl, = Pray remain! That man's son was named Irunköl, and the name has descended from father to son even to this day, for I heard of it existing in that neighbourhood quite recently. The remembrance of the gracious word, once spoken so long ago by one of the old royal dynasty, is likely to be cherished for generations to come, and in the hot dusty season, when travelling is easiest, as the long files of loaded carts and trains of pilgrims pass under the shade of the avenues she planted, the name of Mangamalā may still long be gratefully spoken, though the palaces built by her ancestors know her and her line no more, and all things have become new there. A dim undefined tradition exists in the city of Madur that Mangamalā was imprisoned and starved to death with peculiar cruelty, food being placed close without the bars of her prison, just out of reach. No cause or further particulars are given, and we may hope it is but a tradition, and that so useful a life had no such horrible ending. But the sands of her ancient dynasty and the old order of things were fast running out. Her grandson coming of age assumed the government and ruled for 19 years, or till A.D. 1732. He died childless; disputes arose as to the succession, and his widow most unwisely applied to the Muhammadan power at Trichinappalli for assistance. The famous Chanda Sāhib, who makes so prominent a figure in the pages of Orme, intervened. Intrigues followed, and the end was the subjugation of Madur and the extinction of the old Pāṇḍya dominion. It is amidst these intrigues and revolutions that the histories of Orme and Colonel Wilkes commence.

Mention has been made of the temple at Palani. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Southern India, and is built upon a low rocky hill overlooking a fine tank. The edifice is spacious, stone-built, on the plan usual in the Tamil country, with lofty entrance and Gopuram above, the walls and roof of the gate-way profusely painted with mythological subjects in very bright colours of red and green; a fine flight of steps leads to it up the hill. The cause of its foundation is characteristically Hindu. Śiva, it is said, one day presented a fruit (palam) to his younger son, Gaṅga, whereas his elder son, Subrahmanya, was much offended. To soothe him Śiva said "Palam ni," —Thou art a fruit. And to commemorate this honour, the whispers only, we pass them by: the stories of her and however vary much.
the temple was built, and Subrahmanya's image set up therein, and the place named from Siva's words! The temple, however, has a special miracle connected with it of daily occurrence. Numbers of pilgrims resort to it, specially from Madras and places still more distant, bringing with them milk in small châttis or pots sealed up. If on being offered in the temple at Palani the milk is found fresh, the votary is assured of the favour of the god and the success of any undertaking he may have in view, but the reverse should the milk have turned sour. It is asserted, however, that the milk is for the most part miraculously preserved fresh. One continually meets parties of wayfarers on the roads leading to the shrine, carrying the sealed-up pots of milk slung to a stick across their shoulders, often gaily decorated with peacock-feathers. Doubtless there was an understanding between the Brahmanas at each end of the pilgrimage, between those who seal and those who open the pots, for it was used to be whispered that the declaration of the Brahman who opened the châtti and tasted the milk, as to its freshness or the contrary, depended a good deal on whether the offering made was considered satisfactory and suitable to the appearance of the votary. In the pre-railway days the freshness of the milk would be really something miraculous, the distance between the shrine and Madras being over 400 miles, about a month's journey. Now it could probably be accomplished in two or three days. I know not whether conditions have been altered to meet this change, or how the miracle withstands the rush of the iron horse.

V.

Once in a field outside a village in South Kâmadâja I noticed a large square marked in lines with chunam or whitewash on the ground, with magic symbols in the corners, and the outline of a human figure rudely drawn in the middle, passing by the place again, I observed that flowers and boiled rice had been laid on leaves round the figure within the square, and was informed that a house was to be built on the site marked out, and the figure was intended to represent the earth-spirit supposed to be dwelling in the ground there who was thus worshipped, and formally requested to leave the spot. Without this ceremony, performed before any earth had been dug up, it was believed there would be no luck about the house. I do not know what class of gods or spirits this earth-spirit could be referred to, or whether there is any analogy between the belief and the feng-sin idea, so potent in China, which governs the position and construction of all buildings.

VI.

People in England dislike, or used to dislike, starting on a journey or voyage on a Friday, but the Hindu rule is much more complicated. It is unlucky to go westward on Friday and Sunday, or eastward on Monday and Saturday, north on Tuesday and Wednesday, or south on Thursday. This rule depends, I believe, on astrological influences. A journey begun on Tuesday is liable to result in loss by thieves or fire at home; loss too is likely to follow, a journey begun on Saturday, and sickness a start on Sunday. Wednesday and Friday are both propitious days, and a journey begun on either will be gainful: the worst days for travelling are Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday. Amongst bad omens for travellers are seeing lightning fall, meeting a widow or a single Brahman, a crow flying across from right to left, or a dog barking on a house-top. On an expedition with any special object it is good to meet a married woman bearing a metal water-pot from a tank, or any one wearing a silver armlet, or carrying musical instruments.

It is worth comparing the old Greek belief regarding lucky days as recited at length in the last 64 verses of Hesiod's Works and Days. The old bard runs over all the days of the month and the businesses proper on each, and ends with quaintly observing, "Sometimes a day is as a stepmother, sometimes as a mother; happy and fortunate is he, and blameless before the gods, who knows all the signs and interdictions, and avoids transgressions."

MAITHILA FOLK-LORE,—VARARUCHI AS A GUesser of ACROSTICS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

Some time ago I contributed to the Indian Antiquary (ante, p. 89) a note on the Indian origin of the American "Sixteen Puzzle." The two following tales tend to show that another fashionable amusement, the solving of acrostics, was known in India at an early date. They
were taken down by me from the mouths of
two pandits of Maithila, and form part of the
vast amount of unwritten tradition current in
the mouths of such men. I do not think that
the verses quoted have been printed before,
but it is possible they may, and if any corre-
respondent can give me clue to their whereabouts,
I shall be the first to welcome it.

In the modern acrostic, the first letters of a
series of words are taken, and these spell another
word having a distinct meaning. This word
has first to be guessed, and then the key words,
all from more or less obscure descriptions.

In the present acrostics the Indian unit is
the syllable and not the letter. A series of
verses is selected, and the first syllables of each
are taken together and form a word of no
meaning. This last is given, and from it the
verses have to be guessed.

In the Kathá Sárit Ságara, Bk. I, Chapter
V, occurs a portion of the story of Vararuchi.
Mr. Tawney's translation, somewhat condensed,
runs as follows:—

A certain painter came to the court of Yogan-
anda in Pátaliputra, whose court Vararuchi
attended. The rest of the story as told by Var-
aruchi is:—"He painted on a sheet of canvas
the principal queen and Yogananda, and that
picture of his looked as if it were alive, it only
lacked speech and motion. And the king
being delighted loaded that painter with
wealth, and had that painting set up on a wall in
his private apartments. Now, one day when I
entered the king's private apartments, it
occurred to me that the painting of the queen
did not represent all her auspicious marks;
from the arrangements of the other marks I
conjectured, by means of my acuteness, that
there ought to be a spot where the girdle
comes, and I painted one there. Then I de-
parted, after thus giving the queen all her
lucky marks. Then Yogananda entered and
saw that spot, and asked his chamberlains who
had painted it; and they indicated me to him
as the person who had painted it. Yogananda
thus reflected while burning with anger; "No
one except myself knows of that spot, which
in a part of the queen's body usually concea-
ced, then how can this Vararuchi have come
thus to know it? No doubt he has secretly
corrupted my harem." Foolish men often find
such coincidences. Then, of his own motion
he summoned Sakatála, and gave him the
following order: "You must put Vararuchi
to death for seducing the queen." Sakatála
said, "Your Majesty's orders shall be exe-
cuted," and went out of the palace, reflecting,
"I should not have power to put Varar-
uchi to death, for he possesses godlike force of
intellect; and he delivered me from calamity;
moreover he is a Brahman, therefore I had
better hide him, and win him over to my side." Having formed this resolution, he came and
told me of the king's causeless wrath which
had ended in his ordering my execution, and
thus concluded, "I will have some one else put
to death in order that the news may get abroad,
and do you remain hidden in my house to
protect me from this passionate king." In
accordance with this proposal of his, I remained
concealed in his house, and he had some one
else put to death in order that the report
of my death might be spread.

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Then it came to pass that one day a son of
that Yogananda named Híranyagaúpta, went out
hunting, and when he had somehow or other
been carried to a great distance by the speed of
his horse, while he was alone in the wood, the
day came to an end; and then he ascended a tree
to pass the night. Immediately afterwards a
bear, which had been terrified by a lion, ascended
the same tree; he, seeing the prince frightened,
said to him with a human voice, "Fear not, thou
art my friend," and thus promised him immu-
nity from harm. Then the prince, confiding in
the bear's promise, went to sleep while the bear
remained awake. Then the lion below said to
the bear, "Bear, throw me down this man, and
I will go away." Then the bear said, "Villain,
I will not cause the death of a friend." When in
course of time, the bear went to sleep, while the
prince was awake, the lion said again, "Man,
throw me down the bear." When he heard
that, the prince, who through fear of his own
safety wished to propitiate the lion, tried to
throw down the bear, but wonderful to say, it
did not fall, since Fate caused it to awake.
And then that bear said to the prince, "Become
insane, thou betrayer of thy friend," laying
upon him a curse destined not to end until a
third person guessed the whole transaction.
Accordingly the prince, when he reached his
palace in the morning, went out of his mind,
and Yogananda seeing it, was immediately plunged in despondency; and said "If Vararuchi were alive at this moment, all this matter would be known. Curse on my readiness to have him put to death". Sakatala, when he heard this exclamation of the king's, thought of himself "Ha, here is an opportunity obtained for bringing Katyana out of concealment, and he being a proud man will not remain here, and the king will repose confidence in me." After reflecting thus, he implored pardon, and said to the king, "O king, cease from despondency, Vararuchi remains alive." Then Yogananda said—"Let him be brought quickly." Then I was suddenly brought by Sakatala into the presence of Yogananda and beheld the prince in that state; and by the favour of Sarasvati I was enabled to reveal the whole occurrence; and I said, "King, he has proved a traitor to his friend"; then I was punished by that prince who was delivered from his curse; and the king asked me how I had managed to find out what had taken place. Then I said—"King, the minds of the wise see everything by inference from signs, and by acuteness of intellect. So I found out all this in the same way as I found out that mole." When I had said this, the king was afflicted, with shame. Then, without accepting his munificence, considering myself to have gained all I desired by the clearing of my reputation, I went home; for to the wise, character is wealth.

Another and more elaborate version of the same story I obtained some years ago from a Tirthakta Brhmaq. He stated that the story was unwritten, and was an ujjhit which was current in every person's mouth, under the name of the story of "Sasemirai". King Bhoja's wife was named Bhumati. A painter one day painted a picture of her, which he showed to Vararuchi. The latter remarked that it was an admirable likeness, but that only one thing was wanting to make it perfect—the representation of a mole on the inside of Her Majesty's thigh. The painter accordingly corrected the picture by supplying the omission, and presented it to the king. On seeing the picture, the king became extremely enraged at the daring way in which the mole was exhibited, and ordered the painter's execution as a penalty for his venturing to discover a peculiarity which none but he himself had hitherto known. To get himself off, the painter said that the position of the mole had been told him by Vararuchi; upon which the rage of the king was turned upon the latter, who was ordered in his turn to the place of execution instead of the painter. To avoid the scandal of killing a Brahmaq, the king's prime minister bribed the executioner to substitute some less worthy victim, and taking Vararuchi, hid him in his own inner apartments, disguising him as a woman.

Some time after this, the king went out to hunt, and, becoming separated from his retinue, was obliged to pass the night under a tree. Now, this tree was inhabited by a tiger, who lived under it, and by a bear, who lived up amid the branches. In order to escape the claws of the former, the king climbed the tree, where he persuaded the bear that he was his friend (mitra), and that it was his duty to offer protection to a suppliant who had taken refuge with him. This obligation the bear admitted, and agreed to watch turn about with him throughout the night. The king went to sleep, and the tiger tried to tempt the bear to throw him down, but the latter refused to do so, as the king was his friend. After a time the king's turn to watch came round, and the bear composed himself to sleep, then the tiger began to tempt the king, saying, "Throw the bear down to me that I may devour him. For if you do not do so, I will assuredly eat you up in the morning." Foolish Bhoja believed this, and tried to loosen the bear's hold on the branches, but the latter had been awake, and had heard the conversation. Having pretended to be asleep all the time, he now, as it were, awoke, and asked what was the matter. The king, taken aback, said that he was only shaking him to see if he were asleep; and the bear appeared satisfied, but kept awake the rest of the night.

At daybreak the tiger went away, and the bear, taking the king on his back, carried him to the edge of the forest, where he put him down, and, after upbraiding him for his ingratitude, engraved upon the king's tongue, with his claws, the word sasemirai. The king hastened home, but when he got there he was like an idiot, and could only babble the words, sasemirai, sasemirai. When asked any question, he would only give the same parrot-like reply sasemirai, sasemirai. All the doctors and all the learned men of the court tried their best to cure him,
but without avail. At length the prime minister produced Vararuci (still disguised as a woman) to see what he could do. Vararuci looked at the king, and then repeated the following lines, of which the first syllable sa is the same as the first syllable of the mystic word asaṁvara:—

सदापरिवर्तनां बच्चनं का विचित्रता ।
अस्मि समस्माल गुणाणं हते कि तेन शैल्प ॥

That is to say, "What cleverness is there in deceiving the guileless? What heroism is there in slaying those who climb into your lap and sleep there?"

Thereupon the syllable sa disappeared from the king's tongue, and he also now only said semīḍa. Then Vararuci recited these lines, beginning with se, the first syllable of semīḍa:—

सैतुमस्मुद्रामुणि गंगारासरमैः ।

वनाका मुख्ता परिमित्राणी न मुख्ता ॥

That is to say, "Even a Brāhmaṇ-slayer receives absolution from his sins at the Ocean of the Causeway, or at the union of the Ganges and the sea, but not a friend-betrayer."

Thereupon the syllable se disappeared from the king's tongue, and he also now only said mīḍa. Then Vararuci recited these lines, beginning with mi:

मित्रमेथि कुत्रास्य च वनियसामानका ।
ते ना नरकं शीत्य चाविधानिकरो ॥

"A friend-betrayer, ingrates, breakers of trust, these men go to hell as long as the sun and the moon endure."

Thereupon the syllable mi left the king's tongue, and he also now said only ra, ra, ra, whereupon Vararuci recited the following lines commencing with ra:—

राजा एव राजपुतनं यद्य कथामनविचित्र ।
देहि दानं दिजातिवेद दत्तारपि कृpus ॥

"Thou art a king, and the son of a king; if thou wish good fortune give gifts to Brāhmaṇas and praise God." Thereupon ra disappeared from the king's tongue, and he spoke like other men.

Astonished at the intimate knowledge of his late adventure displayed by the seeming woman, he said to her:—

याम शतां कौमलिनी अरुणा नव गच्छल ।
ऋषिवास्यगृहनुणां कार्यं जानार्यं उपरि ॥

"The Virgin dwelleth in the city, nor doth she resort to the forest. How then, fair one, do you know about the bear, the tiger, and the man?"

To which Vararuci replied:—

देवसुपपस्तदेव जीवित म मातस्वल ।
तेनाह दृष्ट जानार्यं भानुस्यासितं लयं ॥

"By the favour of Brāhmaṇa, the Goddess of learning dwelleth on my tongue. Therefore, O king, I know it, as (I know) about Brāhmaṇi's mole."

Thereupon king Bhūja recognised Vararuci, and acknowledging his former error of judgment forgave him, and gave him great honour.

A story of a somewhat similar description, the point of which also depends on an acrostic, runs as follows:—

Once upon a time a papis and a barber (napit) went forth together into the world to seek their fortunes. Their success was unequal; while the Brāhmaṇ made his fortune, the barber earned only a bare subsistence. After being absent some years, they started for home, the one laden with his gains, and the other empty-handed. One night the barber was tempted to murder his sleeping companion, and sitting on his head was about to kill him with a sword, when the latter awoke, and finding his entreaties for mercy in vain, besought his murderer at least to carry a message home for him to his friends, only the word "apraśīka.

After killing and robbing his companion, the barber returned home with his ill-gotten gains, and made some excuse for the absence of his friend, telling at the same time the mystical message apraśīka to his people. After some lapse of time, the Brāhmaṇ had not returned home, and his people began to search for him, using the above word as their clue; but no one could explain it. At length they came to Vararuci, who interpreted it as follows:—

अनेन तव पुत्रम ।
प्रमुखस्य वनालेस ।
विकाराव्य वेन ।
खुत्न निर्भर यो ॥

"Thy son's head was swiftly smitten in his sleep in the forest with a sword by this man, who mounted on his head." It will be noted
that the first syllables of each quarter śloka spell aprāśikha.

In conclusion, readers of Mr. Yates' edition of the Nalodaya will, of course, understand that I do not offer the above two stories as the only instances of Sanskrit acrostics known. The essay on alliteration attached to that work contains several examples of much more complete acrostics than either of the two given here.

CORRESPONDENCE

M. de Harlez on Zoroastrism.

M. de Harlez complains that I have misunderstood his hypothesis about the origin of Zoroastrism, when writing my notice of his essay on that subject (ante, pp. 274-276); that he does not suppose that Zarathushtra lived about the time of Darius Hystaspes (as he may have lived some centuries before), but he believes that the oldest portion of the Avesta, which contains the doctrines of the Zoroastrian reform, was composed about the time of that monarch, or perhaps a century earlier; and that these doctrines were not accepted in Persia proper till after the time of Darius, though they may have been generally taught in Media Atropatene, Khvaresmia, and Mazanderan as early as B.C. 700, about which time he supposes that the Iranian religion, in its progress from the east, first came in contact with Jews in Media, and, further, that the Turanians from whom Zoroastrianism may have borrowed some of its customs were not the north-eastern Turanians (the deadly enemies of Iran), but those of Media and parts adjacent.

Admitting, of course, that all Turanians were not at all times enemies of Iran, the extent of my error appears to have been that I too hastily assumed that the radical reform connected with the name of Zarathushtra was supposed to have been carried out in Persia by Zarathushtra himself; whereas M. de Harlez seems to be of nearly the same opinion as myself, namely, that the Zoroastrian religion had already assumed its purest form long before it entered Persia proper from the east or north-east. We differ, however, as to the probability of the reform having been due to Jewish example, which is certainly rendered far less possible by this view of the hypothesis. And the faith of Darius in Aūramazdā also requires some special explanation if it be assumed that he was not a Zoroastrian.

With these remarks I may leave the readers of M. de Harlez' essay to judge whether my notice of his theory was not otherwise fairly correct.

E. W. West.

München, 22nd October 1881.

A FOLK-LORE PARALLEL.

Many of the readers of the Antiquary will no doubt remember the story of Intaphernes, as told in the IIIrd book of Herodotus, chapters 118-120. He had been guilty of an outrage in the palace of Darius, and that monarch seized him, his sons, and all his relations, with the intention of putting the whole family to death. The wife of Intaphernes kept coming to the palace of the king and lamenting, and at last moved Darius to compassion. He accordingly sent her the following message: "Lady, king Darius grants you the life of one of your relations who are in prison, so that you can save any one of them, that you may select, from capital punishment." The lady thought over the matter for some time, and answered: "since the king grants me the life of one, I choose my brother out of the whole party." When Darius heard this, he was astonished at her speech, and he sent her the following message: "Lady, the king wishes to know on what ground you choose to rescue your brother from death, instead of your husband and children, for he is less near to you than your sons, and less dear to you than your husband." Thereupon she gave the following answer: "O king, I might get another husband, if it should please God so to ordain, and other children if I were to lose these; but as my father and mother are dead, I could not possibly get another brother; this was the reflection that prompted my answer." Herodotus tells us that Darius was so much pleased with her sagacity that he granted her the life of her eldest son also.

It has been often pointed out that there is a great similarity between the answer given to Darius by the wife of Intaphernes, and the following somewhat unromantic sentiments put into the mouth of Antigone by Sophocles, (vv. 909-912):

πάθεις μὲν ἀν μοι, καθήκωντος, ἄλοχος ἡ
καὶ πάν ἀπ' ἄλοχος φωτός, ἢ τοῦδ' ὑπακοῦ.
μητρός δι' Ἀιδών και πατρός κεκεφαλήων
ὑπ' ἄγγελος δαίμον ἔδει πᾶντα γοινὶ.

Dr. Donaldson was of opinion that Herodotus was in this case the borrower. Blakeley remarks, "the argument comes in so strangely in the play, introduced by the question,

τίνος νόμον δὴ ταύτα πρὸς χαρὰ μὲν λέγω--;

that it is difficult not to conceive it taken from some popular imported story, rather than the home growth of Sophocles' imagination. If, therefore, there be any truth in the story of Phutarch,
(De Malign. Herodoti. c. 26), and if Herodotus really recited a portion of his history at Athens before the Antigone was composed, it is perhaps more easy to suppose that Sophocles adopted from him than the converse.

But possibly the story is part of the common heritage of the Aryan races, for it is found in the Uchchhanga Jataka, No. 67 in Fausboll’s edition. In this Jataka we are told that three husbandmen were by mistake arrested on a charge of robbery and imprisoned. The wife of one came to the king of Kosala, in whose realm the event took place, and entreated him to set her husband at liberty. The king asked her what relation each of the three was to her. She answered—“one is my husband, another my brother, and the third is my son.” The king said—“I am pleased with you, and I will give you one of the three, which do you choose?” The woman answered—“King, if I live, I may get another husband, and I may get another son too, but as my mother and father are dead, it will be difficult for me to obtain another brother, so give me my brother, king.” When the king heard this, he was pleased, and set all the three at liberty. The teacher (i.e. Gautama Buddha) then proceeds to inform his disciples that the same woman had in a previous birth delivered the same men, and that he himself was on that occasion been the king, viz., Brahmadatta of Banaras. The gāthā which the woman uttered in the presence of the king, is less romantic even than the speech of Antigone, so I give it in the original Pali: Ucchāngā deva me putto, pathe dhāvanitā paṭi, taṅ ca desaṅ na passāmi yato sodariyām āmaye ti.

C. H. Tawney.

MUHAMMADAN BELIEF IN HINDU SUPERSTITION.

I have noticed and commented both in this journal and elsewhere on the mixture of superstitions believed in by the lower classes of Hindūs and Musalmans in the Panjāb. This belief by the one class of religiousists in the superstitions of the other is not however confined altogether to the illiterate as the accompanying quotation will show. It is from the very popular Panjābī poem Sassī Punnātā by Hāshim Shāh, a poet whose works are well known to all Panjābīs.

Putting Sassī into the box they launched her, Like Noah in the Deluge; Even Bāshak Nāg gave no help, But shamed her with black ashes; On both sides wandered evil spirits And demons flew about.

Hāshim watched the fortunes of Sassī To see what would happen next.

Here, it will be observed, is a fine mixture of religious sentiment. The story of Noah’s Ark is of course as much the property of the Muhammadans as of the Christians. The unfortunate Sassī is put into a box and launched into the sea “Nāh Tafās walainā,” “like Noah in the Deluge,” and then we are told that Bāshak Nāg gave her no help. Now Bāshak Nāg is Vāsūnd son of Kādyapa and Kadrā, and is the same as Śēṣā or Śēṣā Nāgā, the serpent who upholds the world and is king of Pātala. He is as eminently Hindu as Noah is Muhammadan. In modern mythology Bāshak Nāg was the preserver of the Vedas, and is commonly looked upon as the general helper of mankind. The point in the verse is that even Bāshak Nāg, the general good friend, deserted Sassī in her extremity, and not only that, but helped to shame and disgrace her. The expression “Dhāl syah bagendā” corresponds very much with the Hindī dhāl (or khāh) surād, and I am told has its origin in the Hindu punishment of witches, viz., of painting them black, putting them on a donkey facing towards the tail, covering them with ashes, and driving them out of the place: hence, “to cover with black ashes” is to thoroughly disgrace, to make utterly wretched.

To go a little further: baldeh is of Arabia origin, bālde, a calamity, and is used both in Hindī and Panjābī for a female sprite, but I am not prepared to say only by Musalmans; however the ādē dādī, male sprites, in the next verse are distinctly Hindī in origin.

Now Hāshim Shāh can hardly be called an ignorant man as native education goes, and this stanza is not the only instance of his belief in Hindī superstitions, for another occurs in the second stanza after it. That he was a good Musalman is shown by this opening stanza which I quote below, and his “education” is apparent in his fondness for interlarding (and thereby spoiling?) his poetry with Arabic and Persian words and phrases. He opens his poem thus:

Sīft Bāṭ tā’ḍā.  
Hīkmat ō hādāwānd Wāli,  
Mālik muṅk malak dā,  
Lākh karēj karan chaturkāṇā  
Koi pachhāṅ na sakādā;
NOTES AND QUERIES.

9. THE MUHAMMADAN HAJJ.—The historians tell us that Pilgrimage was first enjoined by Muhammad on his followers in the 6th year of the Hijira. Upon this turn two or three important questions:—

1.—How happens it that the performance of Pilgrimage is enjoined in a Sûra so early as Sûra-e-Hajj?

BOOK NOTICES.


The tenth volume of Professor Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East is the first of the series that deals with Buddhist Scriptures; but it has been quickly followed by the eleventh, Mr. Rhys Davids's translation of seven select and important Suttas, and the twelfth, now in the press, promises not only Mr. Rhys Davids's translation of the Patimakkha but also Dr. Oldenberg's translation of the Mahâvagga. In Messrs. Trübner's Oriental Series Mr. Rhys Davids has published the first volume of his version of the Jâtakas, and a volume by Dr. Morris is promised. English translations seem fairly to keep pace with the rapidly increasing number of editions of the original Pâli texts.

Neither part of the present volume was quite unknown in an English dress: Professor Max Müller's part of the work is a revised reprint of his version published in 1870 (as an introduction to Captain Rogers' Buddhaghosa's Parables—from the Burmese); and about a third part of the Sutta Nipâta had been translated by Sir M. Coomâra Swamy (Trübner, 1874). Perhaps no part of the Pâli sacred books is so well known as the Dhammapada: the edition with Latin version by Dr. Fausboll may be said to have been a starting point for Pâli studies, and it was followed by other translations—notably the German by A. Weber and the English now reprinted. As Captain Rogers' book was withdrawn from sale, this reprint will be welcomed for itself: and Prof. Müller has rewritten and expanded his former preface, an important exposition of a consistent theory on the vexed question in Buddhist literature—the dates. The difficulties so well known in most departments of old Indian study—the silence of direct native authority on the subject of chronology, and the painful collection of negative evidence, beset Buddhism in no small degree. It will be satisfactory to many that Prof. Max Müller, with the weight of his varied learning and experience, supports a belief in the high antiquity of much of the Buddhist Pâli Canon as it has come down to us. "There seems no reason to doubt that Buddhaghosa had before him old MSS. of the Pâli Canon, and that these were in the main the same as those written down at the time of Vaṭṭatagamani (n. c. 80)," and again: "I cannot see any reason why we should not treat the verses of the Dhammapada, if not as the utterances of Buddha, at least as what were believed by the members of the Council under Asoka in 242 n. c. to have been the utterances of the founder of their religion," and further (here Dr. Oldenberg's work has put the question in a new light, and to this point Prof. Müller follows him) "I think we may be nearly certain that we possess the principal portion of the Vinaya-pitaka as it existed before the Council of Vesâli (n. c. 377)." Beyond these statements, with the present evidence, few would probably care to go far: the questions of more precise dates, of the relation of original text and commentary, and of the time of arrangement in Three Baskets, are very open to debate. Prof. Müller upholds the date (n. c. 477) he formerly gave for Buddha's death: he holds Bühler's argument for that date from the famous

* It is to be hoped that a Pâli Text Society, formed in London, will soon be able to add largely to this number.
Edicts of Asoka to be mainly right: and if it is so, stronger support could hardly be desired. Though he thus abandons the traditional n. c. 543, he gives Buddhist antiquity an advantage of many years over the dates of Mr. Rhys Davids (412) and those of Professors Westergaard and Kern (388-397).

The Dhammapada consists of 423 stanzas; and when taken without the prose commentary (which is of the common Buddhist kind, giving at length the occasion of Buddha’s pronouncing each separate stanza) is, though the sequence of idea is not always clear, a piece of literature as likely to please and interest the European reader as any part of the Pali scriptures. There are here none of the repetitions or trivialities so common in the prose parts: the thoughts are of the highest Buddhist strain, and the manner is generally solemn and fine. The Sutta-nipata is a worthy companion to the Dhammapada in all these respects. It is hardly necessary to say that the translators’ names are a guarantee both for the accuracy and for the style of the translation.

The gnomic character of Buddhist works like these probably exerted some influence on non-Buddhist Indian literature: and it is an interesting question how far the latter literature in its gnomic part is indebted to Buddhist sources.

R. A. NEIL.


This Catalogue was eagerly looked for by students interested in the history of Chinese literature. And now it is before us, we are astonished at the amount of labour it must have required, and are gratified to think that such a task has been done in England by one of our own scholars. Professor Douglas tells us that the number of Chinese volumes named in his Catalogue amounts to upwards of 20,000. These have accumulated during the last fifty years, but hitherto have remained practically useless on the shelves of his department. The labour of reducing these to an orderly arrangement can scarcely be understood by those not conversant with Chinese books. Mr. Douglas has adopted a very convenient method for reference, by following the alphabetical order of the different authors’ names. After the name follow the different works composed by the several writers. The tables of the works are translated into English, and where it is possible, the year of publication is added with the size of the book. To accomplish this, every volume must have been examined, and the author’s name ascertained from actual inspection. The difficulty of this undertaking may be easily imagined. Mr. Wylie in the Preface to his Notes on Chinese Literature has named some of the earlier catalogues of Chinese books compiled in European languages, among which we find that by Fourmont—being a complete list of the Chinese books in the Royal Library at Paris; by Remusat and Jules Klaproth, of the same books; by Father Avakum of the St. Petersburg Library; and by Siebold and Schott, of the books at the Hague and Berlin; but none of these are to be compared either for method or extent with that now before us. Mr. Bullen, the keeper of the department of printed books, is therefore so far correct in saying that “this is the first catalogue ever published in Europe of an extensive Chinese library.”

The character of the work necessary to the production of this book may be understood, partially at least, by quoting one or two examples. Thus under the heading “Bible” we have some seventy-four translations of the Christian Scriptures or portions of them made by various writers and at different times. Each of these has its date, translator’s name, and place of publication, affixed to it. Among them we find a copy made by order of the Taeping Teen Wang, containing the Gospel of St. Mark only; and in immediate connection with this, translations by R. Morrison, printed at Malacca, by the Basel Evangelical Mission; by Dr. Marshman; by Gützlaff, Medhurst, Bridgman and others. The arrangement of these translations alone, selected from such a large body of books, must have required much time and patience, and the books so arranged form a Thesaurus for a comparison of idioms and phrases which is of the highest importance to have definitely understood and accepted in their true sense. We are most of us familiar with the controversy which is still continuing in China, or what is known as the Term question; but this controversy is really of less consequence than others which might, and doubtless will, be raised over phrases which, when thoroughly examined, will be found to be inadequate as vehicles of the sense intended in Holy Scripture. To take one example, we will select a passage given us in Mr. Douglas’ Catalogue at the bottom of the third page, viz., that used in a sermon by the preacher of the Chinese Union on the Text, “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” Passing by the phrase “hau sua chay” for “poor in spirit,” about which grave doubts might arise, the phrase “teun koo” for “Kingdom of Heaven” must be entirely unintelligible in the sense designed, unless explained by a note or paraphrase. In fact “teun koo” is not unfrequently used in Chinese books as the equivalent of “India,”
and so the phrase might be rendered, "The empty in heart have merit, for theirs is India." If we are ever to arrive at a correct and intelligible version of Holy Scriptures into Chinese, such a Thesaurus as that afforded us in the Catalogue under notice, will be invaluable, and a student already familiar with the classical and Buddhist books will know how to avail himself of it. Scarcely less noticeable are the thirty-four copies of the Yih king, which are arranged in consecutive order in the Catalogue. The different editions of this important work range over a considerable period from 1612 to 1853 A.D., and are mostly the product of native students. Nothing in fact brings home to our mind the conviction of the really studious character of Chinese scholars so much as the repeated editions of these classical works, issuing from the Native Press, and in arranging them as Mr. Douglas has, this conviction is forced more and more on the mind.

The work before us extends to over 271 large quarto pages; and we cannot omit to name the very complete list of works arranged alphabetically—found in the Appendix—by reference to which each author's name may be ascertained and the particular work referred to the groups found in the Text. Altogether, this Catalogue reflects the highest credit on the patience and scholarship of Mr. Douglas, and it proves his fitness for the distinguished position he holds. In such a mass of useful information it would be strange if no mistakes occurred; and we venture to point out to Mr. Douglas that the Lâng yen Sáttra, named on p. 154, is a well-known Sanskrit work called the Saûrágama Sáttra, and has already been partly translated into English; also that the work by Wang-Pû, named on p. 229, can scarcely be rendered into English as the "Perfect Way"—the expression Ching Taim being a well-known one for the "perfection of wisdom" arrived at by Buddha under the Bo-Tree at Uravilva in Magadhá.

There are a few other oversights in the Catalogue relating principally to Buddhist terminology, which simply show that Mr. Douglas is not exempt from error in every particular, and yet they but throw out in full relief the excellency of the work he has so successfully completed.

We cannot conclude this notice without congratulating Mr. Douglas on the very clear and serviceable Chinese type used for his Catalogue. Mr. Stephen Austin deserves much praise for procuring such good type specimens as those before us, and much more for being able to put them up in a correct and practical form. We hope the day is not far distant when Chinese students in England will have equal facilities for quoting passages from original works in native type, as exist now at Vienna and St. Petersburg. Until this is the case, we cannot expect much to be done in the way of intelligible criticism in this branch of literature. And for this reason, as heretofore, the study of Chinese will languish and remain unpopular. We hail therefore the appearance of this work, as an augury of better times in store for us.

We must also express a hope that readers in the British Museum will be able to avail themselves of the books in this Catalogue. It has been a great privation to the few interested in the subject, that up to the present time, these books, so much coveted, have not been available for use. We now have a rich field for study opened up to us. Let us not be disappointed by any official or technical difficulty, but let Mr. Douglas's Catalogue be found among the other volumes on the shelves, for the guidance and advantage of the few students who will search its pages.

S. B. EAL.


These ballads, locally called Kofa, are selected from a collection of 400 made for the translator by Sayyid Fazal Shah, a living poet of Haidráhád.

Some show considerable traces of Persian influence of a Sufi type, but the most interesting are love songs alluding to popular legends. The sentiment is often rather that of home sickness than of personal affection, and here the inspiration is strikingly local, and even amusing in its naïveté. For to the Sindi poet, the scanty jungle and austere fruits of the desert must furnish figures for which more favoured bards can draw upon the palm and vine or the noble forest flora of the North.

The mud fort of a robber chief is the "proud palace" where the imprisoned maiden sighs for liberty and her beloved people—the squalid servitude of the women of a nomad tribe.

This very tone, however, guarantees the genuineness of these ballads as good samples of original folk songs; and the translator and the Sayyid deserve the thanks of scholars for their contribution to our knowledge of a neglected subject.

W. F. S.
# INDEX

| Abbáš | 68 |
| abbe | 170, 252 |
| abbole, abode | 129 |
| Abdul Asiz | 67 |
| Abdulálah the Wahhábi | 67-69 |
| Abhayavaind | 76 |
| Abhinanda Gauja | 46 |
| Ághrá | 157, 158 |
| abhisháka | 58 |
| abhíkram, death | 510 |
| Abulfaraj, Greg. bar Hebrews | 13, 15, 337 |
| acaantho | 311 |
| Acalanda-Bharata | 166, 167 |
| dhanyesa | 130, 164, 165, 345 |
| Ácháhi (Sin.)* | 169 |
| Achyuta,—Vishrú, g | 344 |
| Achyutakya (Vi.) | 65 |
| Ačingani | 53 |
| acrosties and Varanuchi | 366f |
| addika, o. | 64 |
| Adéyavatta, v | 243 |
| addhikrika, o. | 284 |
| adhírāja | 60, 65, 66, 103, 127, 129, 165, 166, 186, 251, 284 |
| adhishthána | 69 |
| adhishtháya | 343 |
| Áddaktris | 123 |
| adimahapappavravánśa | 57a |
| Áditya, Áyichha (Chhín.) | 345 |
| Áditya-saú, K. of Magadha | 193a |
| Àdityavarná (Kád. of Ban. and Hang.) | 249, 253 |
| Àdityavarná (spurious W. Chal.) | 37, 133 |
| Ádityavarná (W. Chal.) | 244 |
| Ádtan, Mt. | 299 |
| Afgánis | 274 |
| Agastya | 102 |
| Agni, g | 54 |
| agunihátra | 250, 256 |
| agrahára | 132, 188, 248, 250 |
| agramamahásh | 185 |
| agríobous or wild ox | 323 |
| Ágaunće, v. | 244 |
| Áhichchatra | 250, 251, 252 |
| Áhmádabád, t. | 45 |
| Airávata, or Eràpata, serpent king | 258, 259 |
| 'Ájib mundrá | 330 |
| Ájita (Śrā.) | 35 |
| Ájuriká, v. | 76 |
| Ákbar Pásha | 191 |
| Ákkar, story of | 332 |
| Ákhiradálà—Índra, g. | 285 |
| Ákshób unknown | 273 |
| Álakhushídhi gikhurí, the | 274 |
| Vangút | 555-57 |
| Álambushá, g. | 258 |
| Aĺbrúmi | 214, 217 |
| Álexánder, k. | 20, 272, 322 |
| Alexander's Wall | 291 |
| Álphabet, Indian | 96 |
| Altan son of Khutlug Khán | 115 |
| Ámara, (spur. W. Chal.) | 37, 133 |
| Ámára | 254 |
| Ámásanshá's Nárámán-dágan-kánà | 101 |
| Ámárávát, co. | 110, 246 |
| Amardhrl, by R. Sewell | 58 |
| Amábláí of Jogái | 72 |
| Ámá Bháváni, Amá Mátá | 245 |
| amber | 310 |
| Ámáerá, q (doubtful W. Chal.) | 37, 133 |
| American puzzle | 89 |
| Amítbáhu Buddhá | 83, 94, 247 |
| Amnuá II. (E. Chal.) | 244 |

| Amogháshidha | 273 |
| amritapuñi | 66 |
| Anahíla | 281 |
| Anávádli, q. (Chálukya) | 345 |
| Anághilapattaka, c. | 43, 169 |
| Anarkol inscription of Rúdrádeví | 211 |
| Ánanda | 247 |
| Anaga, —Kámadéva, g | 344 |
| Anantavarmá, (Gá.) | 243 |
| Andhásaradhvání, —Śiva, g | 233 |
| Ándhás | 272 |
| Ándhura co. | 235 |
| Andhrabhritya dynasty | 225, 226 |
| Andhirki, r. | 244 |
| Ángundí | 38 |
| Ánegatáhantí | 298, 299 |
| Ánukávaliká grammar | 73 |
| anyagáhá | 324 |
| Angája | 170 |
| anyarága | 66 |
| Aníválaí of Páthán | 43 |
| Ániruddha, g. | 38 |
| Ánjánáya, —Hansmán, g | 129 |
| Anúr, ṭ. in Kachh | 245 |
| anukávaliká | 249 |
| antagar | 333 |
| Antigon of Sophokles | 370 |
| Antigonos | 272 |
| Antiokhos | 165, 272 |
| anuyáya | 59 |
| Apabhramása | 285 |
| Apastamba, &c. Sáttras by G. Bühler | 294, 295 |
| áphytaevox trees producing amber | 310 |
| Ápsaraşpriyá (Śrā.) | 35 |
| Apparas, g. | 257 |
| Árabia Felix | 314 |

## Abbreviations:

- e.—city.
- Cha.—Chaulukya.
- Chhín.—Chhindas.
- Chh.—Chhás.
- co.—country.
- d.—district.
- Early Cha.—Early Chaulukya.
- E. Ch.—Eastern Chaulukya.
- g.—god, goddess, or supernatural being.
- Ga.—Gaṅga.
- Gá.—Gaṅga.
- Gup.—Gúptá.
- Gúr.—Gújara.
- Hóy—Húyála.
- k.—king.
- Kad.—Kadamba.
- Kád. of Ban. and Hang.—Kádámba of Banawasi and Hangal.
- Kád. of Goa.—Kádámba of Goa.
- Kásh.—Káshtrakúja.
- k.—k.
- l.m.—land-measure.
- m.—mountain.
- m.—motto.
- n.—name.
- village.
- t.—town.
- tr.—tribe.
- v.—villages.
- W. Chal.—Western Chaulukya.
- W. Chh.—Western Chhínas.
INDEX.

Arabs, Ta-shi ........................ 197n
Aradan, v. .......................... 289
Arakan 195, 196
Aralktaṭṭ inscription 65
Archaeological Notes 363f
argellia, or the cocoanut tree. 323
Arghatirtha 188, 189
Arun 171
Arhan, k. ............................ 145
Arhats ................................. 126
Arian-Pāli inscriptions 324
Arisias ................................. 314
Ariṣimha ............................... 313
Aristas of Prokonnesos 313
Aristotle ............................... 317
Arjunādeva ............................ 218
Arjunavijaya .......................... 94
Arunārāja, k. .......................... 161
dropayato ............................. 329
arrow-divination ..................... 339
Arslan of the Khilij tribe 336
Artakshatatar, k. 31, 32
Artaxerxes Mnemon 314
artweqs ............................... 188
Ārya-Avalokitēśvara 82, 83, 245,
273, 274
Āryabhaṭa ............................. 183
Ārya-Navājūra ........................ 195
Ārya-Tārādevī, g. 185-190, 273, 274
Āryavarmā, Buddhist pilgrim. 246
ās ......................................... 156
āvāna ............................... 131
ashtadakopāṭana ........................ 186
Asiatic Societies, Royal 55, 94
" .......................... Bengal 274
" .......................... French 183
Āsilapallikā, v. ........................ 278
Āsoka ................................. 213, 248
Āsoka inscriptions—
1st edict .............................. 105f
4th & 5th .............................. 83f
6th, 7th, 8th & 9th ........................ 180f
10th, 11th & 12th ........................ 209f
13th & 14th ............................ 269f
Āsokakālla (Chin.) 344-47
ass, wild .............................. 303, 311, 317
Assassins or Ismaelites 337
āśāvedha .............................. 253, 254
Āśīviliya-Koḍā, v. ........................ 160
Āteruk ................................. 21
Avraja ................................. 53
Atharvaveda, k. 31, 32
Ātramātā, g. .......................... 371
Ārunagzeb ............................. 184
Awadhā Śatāka ........................ 184
Avalokitēśvara 82, 83, 248, 273, 274
avānipatitilaya ........................ 37, 132
Avar, tr. .............................. 173
Avilā beggars ......................... 72
Awans and Jods ........................ 244
Axiakne ............................... 269
Āyichha, Āditya (Chin.) ................ 345
dyukatka, o. .......................... 284
Ayvoře, t. ............................. 189
Azes, k. ............................... 226
Bāchaladēvi (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.) 251, 254
Bāchehaṭṭi ............................. 2
Bādāmi inscriptions 57-65, 102, 104
Bādāvi, v. ............................. 60, 63, 65, 67
Bāhaka ................................. 157, 158
Bahman Yacht ........................ 123, 124
Bahurupi beggars ........................ 71
Baiga ................................. 364
Baikal lake ............................. 20
Bairāt rock and inscription 154, 344
Bairdejpale ............................ 99
Baitul aqṣā at Jerusalem 372
Baktrians ................................ 308
Bālačandra’s Upādēsa-kaṇḍa-
ītyiti ................................. 160
Balačevā ............................... 170, 256n
Balādīya, k. ............................. 152
balden ................................. 371
Balajavā, devotee ........................ 326, 328, 330
Balajandī, devotee 326, 328, 330
Balajija ................................. 185, 189
Balāñjiga .............................. 189
Balākāragaṇa, s. ....................... 189n
bali ......................................... 286
Bali, g. ................................. 36, 38
Bali ......................................... 170
baliya ................................. 129, 254n
Baljuna plain. 138; and lake 266
Baljuntu ............................... 267
ballad ................................. 304, 318
Ballavaraṇa, k. ........................ 129
Balāṇe caves ............................ 155
bambu ................................. 298, 316
Banācher .............................. 38
Banada-Makamāye, g. 67
banaiṭi ................................. 38
banajīva, banajīva ...................... 185
Banajīgas .............................. 274
Bānākula .............................. 38
banaṇja, banaṇja ........................ 185
Bānārasa (Maḥā) ........................ 36-39
Bānārasi ............................... 188, 189
Bānāsakar inscription ................. 66
Bānāsura, g. .......................... 38
Banavāse, o. ........................... 249, 254
Banavāsi, c. ........................... 250, 254
Banavatpuravarādhāśvara 252
Bāṇa-Vijayādhara 36-39
Banka island .......................... 197
Bankāpura, c. .......................... 129
Bapya, Bappabhaṭṭāraka, Bap-
patmahārāja 58n
Bappārā ............................... 57n, 58n
Bappavarasas, k. 104, 105
Bāṟanāśi 164, 166, 167
Basadi ................................. 132
Basava, g. .............................. 185
Bāshak Nāg or Vāsuki 371
Bhaṭṭa, Gātra 188n
Battinans, a branch of the Shihāhs 337
Beggars of Bombay 71f, 145f, 286f
Behram Gor, k. ........................ 52
bīḍe ......................................... 189
Belgutei 17, 140, 179, 358
Benfey’s Vedica and Linguis-
tica ................................. 156
bēṛa, a large boat 349n
Berlin Oriental Congress 340
besaṇḍi ................................. 59
betrothal ceremonies ................. 46
bhā ......................................... 156
Bhadrachellam telukta 239f
Bhagavān, Buddha 344
Bhagavati, g. 189
Bhairava, g. 105
bhānakasa .............................. 259
bhāṇḍāgīrīka, o. ......................... 346
Bhānunatt, q. of Bhoja 368
Bhārāsvāja gōтра 85n
Bharata ............................... 145, 166, 167
Bharhut Stūpa inscription. 118f, 255f
Bharukachchha, c. ........................ 278
Bhāskara,—Sūrya, g. 251, 253, 254
Bhāṭa ................................. 96
bhāṭārā ................................. 62, 103, 164-66
Bhāṭārka (Vā.) ........................ 218, 222, 225
bhāṭī ......................................... 286
bhāṭṭāraka ............................. 189n, 244
bhāva ................................. 88
Bhava Āchārya 326, 327
Bhavāni of Ku hablar 72
bhāvānt, dancers, ...................... 344 & n
Bichma I. (Chaul) 162
Bhinaśeṇa 170
Bhīmāvarga ............................ 94
Bhōja’s Karaya, Rājamārtā-
īya, &c. ................................. 46
Bhōjadēvi ... 75; Bhōja and
Varnauchi 368
Bhōja 272
Bhujvā caste ........................... 232n
Bhūlākamaṇa, — Sūmēśvara
III. (W. Khāl) 131
Bhōpāla Chōja 363

376
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX.</th>
<th>377</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhūtahāna (Chhin.)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūtānayikā, g.</td>
<td>62, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhuvanaśikamalla, — Sūnanda- vara II. (W. Chāl.)</td>
<td>127, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bījāpur inscription</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bījānāshīlī, v.</td>
<td>127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimbisāra, k.</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binnapaśīnī</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binnapanā-geduyā</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birbal, story of, and Akbar</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird-dung poison</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird marriage</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birdwood's Industrial Arts</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birūyāwī Bohorās</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood covenant</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōdhidharma, Bud. pilgrim</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōdhissattvas</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodho tree</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodies of Buddha</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohorās</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay beggars and criers</td>
<td>71f, 1404, 2306f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowl of jade</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmā, g.</td>
<td>61, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brahmachārīn</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brahmādāyā</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadatta, k. of Banāras</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmāni duck</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmayāja ceremonies</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhīrāspati</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛjārās</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei, Borneo</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>24, 185-88, 273, 343, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; as monkey king</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhagāyā</td>
<td>194, 195, 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhagāyā Chinese inscriptions</td>
<td>193, 339, 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhagāysha</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhagupta</td>
<td>219, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhās</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha's Nirvāṇa, date of</td>
<td>341f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buddhaivamman</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist chronology</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; coins</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; inscription at Dāmbi- bal</td>
<td>185, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; inscription at Gāyā</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; pilgrims to India</td>
<td>192f, 246f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; sculpture</td>
<td>4n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budlendes</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budu the Durbār</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budvantara</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bühler's Sacred Laws of the Aryas</td>
<td>294f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būrauk</td>
<td>172-74, 208, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būndahish</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdung Bakhub</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buriat tr</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnett's Tanjore Catalogue</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burtē</td>
<td>15-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burut tr</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta Review</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camelopardalis or giraffe</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castes of the Tamiš</td>
<td>85f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>87, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chacentul-ul, battle of</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakrapālīta</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakravāda, t.</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chakiri</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chña</td>
<td>344-346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukya kingdom</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukya temple at Nālanda</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukyāvaharana</td>
<td>127, 129, 186, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukyas, Early</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Eastern</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Western</td>
<td>58, 102, 132, 162f, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukyas</td>
<td>126, 131, 185, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukya-Vikramavarma</td>
<td>188, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmarājā</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmabhārgāv, Satvari of</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champa, Simā</td>
<td>196, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmunda (Chaul.)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chāmitya, o.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandā Sāhāb</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandālā</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrabhātī</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandradēva, Bud. pilgrim</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrāditya (W. Chāl.)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta Maurya</td>
<td>213, 226, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandramayyas</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrayan-bāgīlu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ang-ch'un, a Taoist</td>
<td>117, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamma Bōdhissattva</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapar, the Ghebrī</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapotakasas</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chārayānța</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitavāṃsa, Bud. pilgrim</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charu</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chārvakāsa</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaśtāna, (Keh.)</td>
<td>157, 221, 224, 226 and n, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭaya, Chaṭṭaṃa, (Kād. of Ban. and Hān.)</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṭṭabhārmā</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaṭṭarūnīga</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaṭṭurdaśavāidyā</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaṭṭurdeṣa-dārāma</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaṭṭurvedin</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaṭṭurvidya</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukyas</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chauda</td>
<td>348n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaunakā</td>
<td>348n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaunakāṣṭikā</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāvunda II. (Sīn.)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāvundaśārya, (Kād. of Ban. and Hān.)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelunī</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chērā grants</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōtīs, female servants belonging to a temple</td>
<td>344 &amp; n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāhānbū tank, inscribed Jain images found at</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhindas</td>
<td>34f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chhathāpālna</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidambaram</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-I, Buddhist priest</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikkā Jāla, Māyāsir</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimera Mts</td>
<td>307-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China temple at Nālanda</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese books in the British Museum</td>
<td>373, 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; inscriptions at Bud- dhagayā</td>
<td>193, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; pilgrims to India</td>
<td>196f, 196f, 245f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; translations from Sans- skrit</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chintādēva, Bud. pilgrim</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīng-lī Khān and his Ances- tors</td>
<td>12f, 111f, 135f, 171f, 206f, 234f, 264f, 333f, 355f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīng-lī Khān...12, 13, 20, 115-17, 135-42, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīpuṇasika people</td>
<td>321n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chīrī, Mulaya formula</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi'sec, Bud. pāñ</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittāvarna, Bud. pāñ</td>
<td>247-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittār, N. Arkat</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chītāpāla</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōmas, Chōmas</td>
<td>131, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōlanātha Nayakār</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōkōdēva or Jokōdēva (Kād. of Ban. and Hān.)</td>
<td>219, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōhas</td>
<td>131, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choy-līn-čha</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōńki-khamba</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of Buddhist</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-fa-lan, writer</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chūryā, female ghost</td>
<td>229n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāṇḍikrit, Patanjali</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-ye-chi-sin, founder of the Tain dynasty</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāṭiya-pāka, v</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocks</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocoanut tree or arcellia</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin legends</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins of Kharabād</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins of Pathān Kings</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columba (Quilon)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress of Orientalists at Berlin</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperplate grant to Eastern Chalukya</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, to Gāṇga</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, to Kaliṅga</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, Misc.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laneous.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, to Valabhi</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, to Western Chalukya</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosairs</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qrow language</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>custom of Kurdistan</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dādhimatī, r</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dādhipadra, v</td>
<td>159-161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāhāk</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dair Usum</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai Setzen</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daisios, mouth</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakhur Bakhadur</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakshināditya—Śūrya, g</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālārāya (Vṝṣa)</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalvāykeśe, Maśūr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damatratā, Āchārya</td>
<td>326, 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dambal Buddhist inscriptions. 185, 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dānakasirivūr, v</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dānddākheṭhā, o</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dānddāhi, o.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāndamandala, co.</td>
<td>38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāndanāyaka, o</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāndanāyakitī</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dopal</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darasun, rice wine</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daritai Utjīgin</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius Hystaspes</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Intapheres</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darmesteter, J.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārul-Ḥarb</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daśāpura, c</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daśara</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daśaratha (Chin.)</td>
<td>346, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dates, Indian</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, in figures, 63, 65, 67, 129, 132, 159, 186, 243 and errors, 252, 343, 346</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, in numerals, symbols, 157, 243, 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, in words, 60, 104, 125, 157, 243, 244, 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Indian inscriptions and coins</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, the voyager</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>days—lucky and unlucky</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēm</td>
<td>152a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death from poisons</td>
<td>309, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēgula</td>
<td>127, 164, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deh, Tukabā of</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devign Baldak</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delphil, the dolphin</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Maill's Hist. China</td>
<td>135-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēmālāvē (Sing.)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Melho's Castes of the Tamil Nation</td>
<td>85f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dērābāha, k</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dērānāh</td>
<td>67-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēśākāra (Chin.)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēsāmukh beggars</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēsāpāde beggars</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēvā</td>
<td>279, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvārai inscr.</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvānāmāpiya</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvānand, author of the Jaināñdrāma</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvānandāchārya</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvānand-Kollār, v</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvārāja (Sūra)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvāsakāti (Śādāraka)</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvāvarāmā, k.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvāvardārāmā (Ga) of Kaliṅga</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyāthali, v</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyākā (Sūra)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhamāchakam</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammapada, by Max Müller</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārā, c</td>
<td>161, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhāra</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhārdpārvaka</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārānā II (Va.)</td>
<td>277, 295, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārāvarṣha—Dhruva (Rāṣh.)</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmā (Chin.)</td>
<td>343, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmākāyā</td>
<td>193-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmakhēdī (Ga)</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmāpura, c.</td>
<td>185, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmakhekita, an ascetic</td>
<td>343-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmāstāras</td>
<td>294-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmavolā, c.</td>
<td>185, 188, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhaulā inscr.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhōpēśvar of Indāpur</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruva (Rāṣh)</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhṛvabhāṣa, k.</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvejastambha</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīyāsa</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhigatapas, Dīgahapatas</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhikabādaś, Eṣoreci</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīkairon, dīkairos, or dīkaios, a bird</td>
<td>301, 310, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīkどんど</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dindigal</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīryhatapas, Dīgahapatas</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīu, Dyo</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divākara, author</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divination</td>
<td>338, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divine mothers</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīveja ordeal</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōhad inscr.</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōkū Kathun</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōlā</td>
<td>48, 348s, 350n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolphin—dolphus</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dombārī caste</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doms</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōnū, cup of pipal leaf</td>
<td>348n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōpiātū, Mullah to Akbar</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dougias's Catalogue of Chinese Books</td>
<td>373f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowson on the Indian Alphabet</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drēcase, bird</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drāṅgī (Sūra)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūṛāt betrothal</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōkahanāhārīs</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan's Geog. of India</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūnā, k</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgāchārya on the Nirukta</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgābhāṣā (Śūra)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgādāmā (Śūra)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dānā</td>
<td>168, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvāparayuga</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvārākā, c</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvārāta, c.</td>
<td>195, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēvānāsiddeldēpura</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyārāyakōśa of Hēma-chandra</td>
<td>44, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyārāyamāhākāvyā</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth spirits</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eclipse, lunar</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, solar</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen Agrāhāras</td>
<td>185, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėkāśāleśa—Pūrsāvanāthā, g</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Arid</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephants</td>
<td>305, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Hassa</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellamāmā, g</td>
<td>245, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emblems, on iron weights</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

emblems, on seals of grants... 243, 244, 250n, 277, 279

‘Erxiercere, ekagrahbas 31n

equinox.... 244

Erāpata, Airāvata rāja... 258, 259

Egeve... 104

Egeya, d... 166

Exorcism of Village Ghosts... 288

Fā-chin, Buddhist pilgrim... 196

Fadhil, poetess... 184

Fa-hian... 183, 319

Fairy Queen... 94

Faushūb’s Sutta Nipātā... 372, 373

Fazl Shāh... 374

Ferguson’s Tree and Serpent Worship... 54, 56

Firdausi... 212

Firoz Shāh... 341

flasks... 4

Folklore... 160, 288, 360, 370

Folklore in the Panjāb—
Sir Bumble... 40

Princess Pepperina... 80

The son of Seven Mothers... 147

Prince Lionheart and his three friends... 228

Opprobrious Names... 331

The Wonderful Ring... 347

Folklore Parallels... 190, 370

forged copper-plate grants. 277, 282

fountain of red water... 300, 313

Frūbak... 124

Fu-nan (Cambodia)... 197

Gadh Hīṅglāz... 245

gadīmba... 129

gadīna... 188

Gaiteśa, Gaiteśa, riv... 305

Galela, d... 243

Galītāpadīpa... 45

gama... 189n

GaṇavardhanaMahādāhi... 79

Gaṇḍhārī, temple... 343 & n, 344

Gaṇḍhārānandā temple... 110

Gaṇḍharva... 166

Gangā, r... 131, 285

Gangas... 37

Gāgās... 243

Gāṇḍyavanāsa era... 243

Ganjam plates... 243

Gantchichor, ca... 245

Gardahilla... 222

Garuṣa... 321

Garuṣa... 256n

Gau Bāhu... 115, 135

Gauḍavāka... 44

Gautama Buddha... 370

Gautama Sūṇāti... 295

Gautamiputra, k... 72

Gauḍāniga... 341n

Gavārī, beggars... 341f

Gavāra, t... 341f

inscription of 1813 A.D.

Nīrviṇa... 341f

Gāzulapalle... 99

Geography of India by G. Duncan... 56

Ghatakanchhū ceremony... 287

Ghazni... 37

Gīps... 50

giraffe or camelopardalis... 322

Girivī, v... 286

Gīrmar inscr... 105, 106, 126

Gībārdhan, hā name... 333

Gōdāvarī, District plates... 244

Gōhrā... 161

Gōhrākha, v... 160, 278

gōhrākātēya... 159

Gōgā-Nārāyanā,—Vīṇ, gu. 159

Gol, ca... 245

gold in India... 315

Gond... 9

Gonda people... 321

Gondopare, k... 214

Gōpāla, k... 105

Gōpēśwar in Garbhā, inscr... 345

gōśeane... 167

Gōsāī... 146

Gōtami... 283

gōtra, Hārīta... 66

Kāṣyapa... 254

Kauśika... 286

gōrachār... 48

Gōvindagānī, Karmastavāṭāldha... 101

Gōvind-Reṣīḍīpalle, v... 99

gōumkāṭā... 284

griﬃns, gryphon... 300, 308, 318

Growse’s Mathura Memoir... 96

Gudda... 139n

gudda, effigy... 332n

guddadheoga... 189

Gudrāhā, d... 244

Gugga Guru... 93

Guhaśena (Va)... 285

Gujarat... 96

Gūgānpode (Māisur) inscriptions... 36

Gumache Tepā... 20, 21

Gūpala-vaśāra Temple... 110

Gunapala’s Risikattācharita... 100

Gunḍa... 163, 164

Gunḍa inscription... 157

Guppadugga, v... 166

Guptas, 125, 214n, 215-19, 221, 227

Guptaśa bīla... 126

Gūrjara, c... 160

Gūrkhān, title... 174

Gūrkhān of Kārī Kīlī... 202

Gūshanā—Koporo... 215

Guthrie, Col. S... 54

Gymnetae... 309

Hādāpadalara-Krishnapannā

yaka... 67

Haidarābād plates... 88

Haihayas... 169

Hajī, Muhammadan... 372

Hakas... 14

halā, l m... 159

hana, paṇa... 188, 255n

hariś, sheringadale... 349n

Hantu Puntianak, g... 365

Hannūvān... 129, 254

Hannumanta, g... 62

Hānunjal, t... 249, 254

Har, —Sīva, g... 129

Haradatta... 286

Haralūkōṭe inscription... 36

Harasāta inscription... 218n

Hareshvardhana, k. of Sama-
ta... 196

Hari,—Vīṇ, g... 254

Harīharā I. (Vī)... 62, 63

Harīkṣāri (Kād. of Ban-
Hāng)... 249

Harīyappavodeya,—Harīhara
I. (Vī)... 62, 63

Hariez Orizoune du Zoro-
astrisme... 274f, 370f

Hashim Shāh... 371

Hāzrat Ali... 133-4

Hegesias... 313

Hēkatais of Miletaos... 296

Hellanikos... 314

Hēmāchandrā’s Dvyārayakō-
sha... 46

Andokārthi-
savgrahe... 100

Saddānuk-
savriti... 101

Hēmāchārya’s Banājār... 44

Hērījuggi, Hojjuggi, fullmoon... 254

Hēsīgonos... 313

Hīmdrī, mt... 131

Hīmālaya, mt... 285

Hīmāvatī, mt... 223, 254

Hīndugadēśa... 222-3
INDEX.

Hindustâni Language by E. G. Lyall .......... 155
Hingljar .......... 245
hippopotamos .......... 323
hieveragkarba .......... 103
Huang Nu .......... 117
Hven Thang ...58, 121, 193, 344
horg-deer or koiherephas .......... 323
horned ass in India .......... 311
Horse-king .......... 292
horse, marks of luck .......... 394
Ho-Yun, Bud. priest .......... 183
Hoysalaus .......... 39
Huan-chin, Ch. pilgrim .......... 246
Húan-ching, a Buddhist teacher 109
huckle-bone of the Indian ass .......... 311
Hui-Ning, Bud. pilgrim .......... 184
Hun-chiu, Bud. pilgrim .......... 194
Huas (?} .......... 272
’Yrôxos, r. ...30 & n, 315, 316, 320
Husálikatti inscription .......... 131
Huvishka .......... 213, 214, 216, 331
Hwui Lun, Chinese Budhist. 110
Hwui Ming, Bud. pilgrim .......... 185
Hwui-Nich, Chinese pilgrim .......... 246
Hwui-Ta, Chinese Bud. pilgrim .......... 195
Hwui-Yen, Chinese Bud. pilgrim .......... 248
Hydroporuses, stone .......... 390

Iamboulos .......... 313
Ibex .......... 323n
Idha .......... 169
I-Jong, Bud. pilgrim .......... 248
Ilâo plates .......... 280
Ilvala and Vâstâpi .......... 162
Inândaras, beggars .......... 71
Indâmpr, Dhôpâsvara of .......... 72
India, Ancient .......... 296
India, T. Wheeler’s History of 184
Indian Inscription and Coin dates .......... 213f
" Museum .......... 54
Indra, g. .......... 43n, 54, 333
Indra, k. .......... 244
Indra’s curse .......... 333
Indrâbhâtâmaka .......... 344
Indranandin .......... 344
Indra Tirtha .......... 198, 199
Indravarmâ, (Gâ.) of Kaliinga 243
Indus, r. .......... 298, 315
Inscription and Coin dates .......... 213f
" from Buddhagayas .......... 346
" from Gayâof 1813
An. Nirva .......... 341f
" at Jaugada .......... 195
Inscription in India .......... 340
" Bharhat Stûpa .......... 118f
253
" from Kâma .......... 34
" of Naqab-i Rustam .......... 29
" at Sûrighâra .......... 324
" Pallava, S. 690 .......... 35
" in Chinese at Bud- dha Gayâ .......... 339
" of Piyadasi .......... 83, 105, 180, 209, 209
insect yielding purple .......... 319
Irâbânâja slabstone monu- ments .......... 97-99
Iralar, tr .......... 98
Iron, unlyccty .......... 364
Irunkol, proper name .......... 365
Iââkîl, tr .......... 224
Isigounos of Nikacea .......... 313
Ismaelites or Assassins .......... 337
Ismaîl, Shâh .......... 139
Ishtadvra .......... 252
I-tseung, Bud. pilgrim .......... 121, 122,
194-35, 197, 246-47
Ittige-baliu, Maisûr .......... 1-3
Iturgian .......... 268
Jackal .......... 317
Jade bowl .......... 55
Jaffnapatam .......... 86
Jagadamba, g. .......... 73
Jagadâkâmalla I.,-Jayasiri- Ña
III. (W. Châl.) .......... 188
Jainêndra .......... 78
Jainêndra Vîchâraga .......... 75f
Jâma-Banâjigas .......... 185, 274
Jâma images, inscriptions on .......... 158
Jaina .......... 273
Jâns .......... 334
Jakenbo .......... 204, 207
Jakhanbo .......... 109
Jalladhara .......... 121
Jambudvipa .......... 121
Jana, k. .......... 93, 119
Jannâthâpurâ, c. .......... 36, 39
Jânâ, jâni .......... 48
Janjâs .......... 244
Jarisimi beggars .......... 73
Jâtakas .......... 291, 293
Jatâyus .......... 168, 170
Jâs .......... 50-52
Jaujada insc .......... 105
Jaya-adâmâ, (Kah.) .......... 157, 221
Jaya-kâya, k. of Nâpâl .......... 198n
Jaya-anta, (K. G.) .......... 250
Jayantipura, c. .......... 251
Jayasînhana (Chât.) .......... 160-162
Jayasînha I. (E. Chât.) .......... 244
Jayasînha,—Jayavarmâ II.
(Kâd. of Ban. and Hâng.) .......... 253
Jayasînha III. (W. Chât.) .......... 188
Jayatîvarâpatadhâja (? Pall.) .......... 37
Jayatungasînha, k. .......... 343, 344
Jayavarmâ I. (Kâd. of Ban.
and Hâng.) .......... 249, 253
Jayavarmâ II. or Jayasînha
(Kâd. of Ban. and Hâng) .......... 249, 253
Jeda Noyan, the urut .......... 112-13
Jeju .......... 286
Jelal tr .......... 112
Jelâlu’d-din Rûmî .......... 294
Jelmi .......... 236
Jetavana monastery .......... 109, 327n
JhaflîjÛvena,—Siva, g .......... 130
Jih-kwan (Adityasena) .......... 110, 193n
Jîndâyla .......... 189n
Jînapura, heaven .......... 343
Jimênâra .......... 131, 346
Jimânaga .......... 344
Jînânâmaka-Buddhas .......... 273
Jods and Awâns .......... 244
Jogâ, Ambâbâ of .......... 72
Jogîn, beggars .......... 73
Johor .......... 26
Joinville, M. .......... 398
Jokîdâva or Chokîdâva (Kâd.
of Ban. and Hâng.) .......... 249, 253
Jovian cycle .......... 220
Juchî Khân ..... 18, 115, 204, 208-9
Juchî Khasar .......... 204
Jurit tr .......... 16
Juveni, Alaiû’d-din Ata Mulk 116n
336-7
Jyôtistâttwa .......... 89, 90
Kabul Khakan .......... 140, 142
kadamba, kadamba .......... 250
kadamba, kadamba, kalamba .......... 251n
kâdambarit .......... 250n
Kadambras .......... 250
Kâdambas of Banawâsi and
Hângal .......... 249f
Kâdambas of Goa .......... 250
kadamba-tree .......... 250
Kâdphises .......... 215n
Kahân inscription .......... 125
Kaikâsî beggars .......... 72
Kâkâtya or Kâkâtiya dynasty .......... 211
Kakubha, v. .......... 126
Kâl, g. .......... 289, 290
Kalâbaras .......... 134
Kâlaka a saint .......... 222, 223
INDEX.

Kālāmukha, s. 130, 131
Kālikā.—Durgā, g. 62
Kalikā 285
Kalininga, co.106,194,197,243,248,271
Kalūga, ks. of 243
Kaliningad, Kalingānagara, c. 243
Kalivallabha.—Dhrūva (Rāsh.) 168
Kalivyuga 61, 131, 189, 344
kal-mane 60
Kalōngāna 287
Kalpaśītra 79
Kālsi inscription 105
Kalyāna, c. 131
Kalyastra, Kāloṣṭpuru, 301, 321
Kāmā, Kāmavāna incip. 34f
Kamā, co.—Kamaun 344, 345
Kāmadēva, (Kād. of Ban. and Hāg.) 249
Kāmadēvasinha, k., son of
Jayatunga inscription 343, 344
Kamathēvara, Śīva, g. 62
kāmāvāra 257n
Kambojas 272
Kamphāra, v. 244
Kāṭchi, c. 37-39, 124, 125-165
Kandhahar cave 153
Kandāli, t. 244
Kapālarika 259
Kanerki, k. 216n
Kang-hi 135
Kanha, K. Śatāvahana 226
Kanishta, k. 213-16, 219, 223, 224,
227, 326, 327, 331
Kanuvuru, v. 127, 131
Kānhphātes. s. 146
kāνvapu insecta 311
kanyādāna 48
Kantāragrāma, d. and v. 227, 228
Kāoche principality 336
Kāpīdhvaja kinge 38
Kāpisa, co. 110, 195
Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa 61
Kapuredigarhi inc. 105
Karačār 335
Kārāngure, v. 249, 254
Karakhitai tribe 337, 357
Karakorum 14
Kāraṇa of Bhōja 46
Kārāri Śāktas 73
Kargudhuri inscription 249
Karnadana or Vīhāravāmāi 192
Kārṇa I. (Chaul.) 160, 162
Kārnāprāvaranas 319n
Karnul plates 244
kapnωv, cinnamon 303 & n, 316
karīsonon 317
Karuvāra or Avalōkītēśvara 273
Karuvāra 287
kastouri or musk-deer 323
Kāśyapa Mātanga 122
Kāšaka, co. 104, 105
Kathā Sarit Sāgara 367
Kattargāma 286
Kavrē, r. 363
Kavikāntahārana 46
Kāvi language 94
Kendu Chino 115
Kensingtoon Museum 53
Kēralas 134
Kōkolōpatti 250n
Kēraba 68
kernos 54
Kērolun, r. 13, 15
Kēsāb Chandra Sen 55
Kēsvā, Vīśṇu, g. 251, 254
Kēṣhica, Vīśṇu, g. 251, 254
‘Keshicōn 292
Kēsī, Horse-king 292
Khaḍgīla 191
Khaṭharāta dynasty 223
Kalalajin Alat, battle 239, 266, 267,
269
Khaṇḍaljīvānsa 189
Khandesh 155
Khandobā of Jējurī 72, 286
Khaṅgāra, k. 160
Khaṇa 168, 170
Kharibād, coins of 290
Khasa race 346 & n
Khasar, br. of Tēmūjin 267-8
Khāśi 9
Khetaka, t. 278
Khlebome, the tortoise 333
khorelepahas or hog-deer 329
Khubilai Khan 117, 173, 178,
207
Khubilār 237, 334
Khulagā 337
Khichaka reed 320
Kiche 17
kīchkūnī 328 & n
Kielie tr. 113
KLISI 123
Kinc-hu (Jan-chau) 109
Kirai Tughrul 117
Kīrāi, tr. 13-15, 19
Kirā and people 321
Kirtītēvāma I.—Kirtītēvāma II.
(Kād. of Ban. and Hāg.) 249
Kīrtītēvāma II. (Kād. of Ban. and Hāg.) 249
Kīrtītēvāma I. (Early Chal.). 57-59
Kīrtītēvāma I. (Kād. of Ban.
and Hāg.) 249, 253
Kīrtītēvāma II.—Kirtītēvāma I.
(Kād. of Ban. and Hāg.) 249
Kishkindha 38
kistēna 1-10, 97
Kisuvol, c. 162, 169
Kīnga 96
Kēchre plates 58
Kōjana-Pārvatadalli, v. 131, 132
kośēvāna 255
Koi language 259
Kolūn, father of Chinghiz 234
Koko-Khotun 357
Kol 9
Kōlāpur 245
Kōlāpur Bhāvānī 72
Kōllāpur, c. 66
Koṅjāra 64
Kongayi. (Ga.) 38
Kongurut Turks 12, 175
Konīk k. 108
Kōrragārs, tr. 364
Kopār or Gushana 215
Korehi the Barīn 113-14
Koripan, prince 94
Koroṣhōtaka, d. 243
Korvaru tr. 287
Kosmas Indicōlēuste, ext. from
233
Kota 9
Kotars, tr. 10
Koyas, tr. 55
Koukūkladphizes 215, 216
Krim, co. 13
Krishna 94, 38
Krishnā District plates 244
Krishnāgiri in Salem, Legend of 191
Krishnāvarmā (Kād. of Ban.
and Hāg.) 249, 253
Kṛṣṇāyuga 131, 189
Krokhotta, krokhottos—Jackal 304, 312
Kahaharātas 225, 226
Kahapakaka, Buddhīst 144
Kāhāravā, r. 160
kāhampra 157
Kahāravā dynasty 157, 219, 221,
222, 224, 227
Kāhāravā dynasty 157, 219, 221,
222, 224, 227
Kahātrīsa 346
Kahāmandra Vīṣadāsa 46
Ktēsia's Indika 206f
Kuhn, Dr. A. 156
Kuiblyn, co. 197
kula, (grain-measure) 167
Kulabhaṭṭa (Śūra) 35
Kulachandra of the Vyāghra
family 341
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Mahāmāyadāśvaracāya, o. 63, 132, 160, 250, 252, 253, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Mahāmāyā, — Durgā, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Mahānāgaśa, o. 186, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Mahānīdāya, o. 146, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Mahārājya, 60, 65, 66, 103, 127, 129, 165, 166, 185, 251, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Mahārājya, o. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104, 105</td>
<td>Mahāśaṃsānta, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Mahāsattaka, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>Mahāsattava, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>Mahāvālī, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 79, 225</td>
<td>Mahāvāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>Mahāgajña, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Mahāgajña, s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Mahāśāra, — Siva, g. 61, 130, 189, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Mahā, r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mahādārāja's Vādādyā, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mahāmud of Ghazni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Mainā—graṇtula religiosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>Maitihila folk lore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Maitṛāyaṇyas,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193, 196</td>
<td>Maitréya Boddhisattva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>māgyān, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Mahādhēvā, k. of Miyula or Mithila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Makka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Makrobioi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Malaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Malāpahāri, r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Malōla, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-102</td>
<td>Malayagiri's Sādhānāvarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Saptatikā, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Malēcheni, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Mahānāgaśa of the Chhinda family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Malik-ul-Mut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129, 131, 132, 188</td>
<td>malla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Mallikārjuna, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Mallabālī plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, 37</td>
<td>Māmālapūra, Māmālapūrā, 36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>Mānasā, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121, 122</td>
<td>Mānd-chā, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Māndi—an Indian people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Māṅga, tr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385</td>
<td>Mangamālā of Madurā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Māngu Khōn, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Mahālī, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Mahālī, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Mangalarāja, Mangalīśa, Mangālīśvara, (Early Chail.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Manigavalli, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Māṅkēśvara, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Māṅkīyāda, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Manikyāla, o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikyasinha, grandson of Purushottamasinha</td>
<td>343, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikyavada, v.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikyavalli, v.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniruddha</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjunadin</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manku, tr.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manro</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantrin, o.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSS. on Palm-leaves</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mndwh-gandh</td>
<td>230n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mndya</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mira</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marasimha</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maravar caste</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Polo</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardavali, v.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marib</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maricha</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigara</td>
<td>36, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markham’s Voyages of Davis</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage to a bird</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage customs</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marthkora</td>
<td>298, 306, 307, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinus Polonus</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maruti, g</td>
<td>31, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwatis</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mees, Asikitha</td>
<td>64, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Asayuya</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Asiya</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Bhadrapada</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitra</td>
<td>63, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeyshtha</td>
<td>61, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattikka</td>
<td>105, 244, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha</td>
<td>188, 243, 341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaśira</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalgun</td>
<td>132, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusya</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākhya</td>
<td>157, 244, 286, 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurā Memoir, Growse’s</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māttar, l. m...62, 131, 167, 188, 254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṭtwdd, exorcist</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurusin [Gibraltar]</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māvalavaram, Māvalvaram</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maviḍī-ṇu, v.</td>
<td>35, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavludīva (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max Muller’s Dharmapada</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayāravarmā I (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249, 250, 253, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayāravarmā II (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayāravarmā III (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehrā caste</td>
<td>232n, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merkit, tr</td>
<td>15-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru, m.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesul</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mevel of Jelalu’d-din Rūmi</td>
<td>296f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metadrida</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhasold of Rājāpur</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mān Bhūga</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migasanmaddakavi</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇhā</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇhā</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇhā</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇhā</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mineral wells</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming-Yuen, Bud. pilg.</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miraj plates</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirāi caste</td>
<td>323n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misraķēśi, g.</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithila or Miyula</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithras, g</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mochadēva, Bud. pilg.</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mochajirī</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhātpadra of Abhinanda</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongols</td>
<td>117, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monokeros or unicorn</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocelli, one-legged men</td>
<td>313, 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morbi insc</td>
<td>218n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morbi</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moskhos or musk deer</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother goddesses</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother of seven sons</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mottoes on seals</td>
<td>243, 244, 277, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myricchhakatiśi</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrula, -Sira, g.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigakshavarva temple</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigavarmā (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrisibrāmā</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muchalinda lake</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudugal, v</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugasākhā-Hublī, v.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammadan marriage ceremonies</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammadan and Hindu superstition</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukali</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukkana-Kadamba (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālagandhakuti</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulasangha, s.</td>
<td>189n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūm-perjeyps</td>
<td>164, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundakalāttu, v</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundanjir, v</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung, king</td>
<td>109, 110, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muni</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municraum</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municrauma</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murlis</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musalmān legend of Krishnagiri</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musk deer or moskhus</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhadkas</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhapatnīs</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nādhāmari (spurious W. Chal.)</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namode</td>
<td>120, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgradatta, a monk</td>
<td>326, 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgamāṅala plates</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgānanda</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarjuna’s Prayānavaśā-śatra-śāstra</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgaas</td>
<td>266n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgaśena</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgavadana</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvadhana (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvārma I (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvārma II (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.)</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāhāpāna</td>
<td>223-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāimann, tr</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naiēda</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakhara</td>
<td>189n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nākimaya</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakhotra, śravāna</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nala</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālānda monastry 109-11, 192-35,</td>
<td>246, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelapānajataka</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalavādi, d</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalodaya</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>names, opprobrious</td>
<td>331f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>names, proper</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandaprabhājañavarmacah, k.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Kalīga</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandī</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandīlaraka, v.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandikāśvara, v.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandisar, v.</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandivanśa</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqsh-i Rajab insc</td>
<td>29, 33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqsh-i Rustam insc</td>
<td>29f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narada, g.</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naravarmā, k.</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyana, -Vishnu, g.159-161, 249,</td>
<td>343, 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nareyagnet, v.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narmadā, r.</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narshih, k.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsinga</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nats, tr</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navagraha</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarātra</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navañagar</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nava Vihara</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Padagāḍha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Padampur, t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>pādanyadānapajāsīva, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Paśu-śrī-Āgrahāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Padmāvati, g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>pāga, paga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pallavi inscription of Naqsh-i Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Pāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45, 46</td>
<td>Pāppalādās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>pakhā, bahula, ...64, 341, 344, 346, ...66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67, 105</td>
<td>129, 132, 157, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Paksitihitrī or Tirukalakunram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Paktōlos, riv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Pāla dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>Palani, in Madurā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Palambi, t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, 39</td>
<td>Pālār, r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>Palgire, v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Palladins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pallava inscription dated Saka 690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Pallava, ...38-39, 102, 134, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Palm leaf MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97, 99</td>
<td>Palmanci, vill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Pandyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Pampā-Bāmāgāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>pana, hāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>paścādāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 103</td>
<td>paścāmāhāpātaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104, 125</td>
<td>290, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>554</td>
<td>paścāmāhāsādabāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>paścāmāhādāyaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Paścāsādāhāntaka of Vardha, mihira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Paścāvastuaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126n</td>
<td>paścāndra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Paṇḍare live to a great age...309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Paṇḍita, ...129-131, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>paṇḍita and apaṭi, story of ...369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>965</td>
<td>Paṇḍiyā-deśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Pandore—an Indian people...213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Paṇḍuvar mane, Paṇḍuvar guji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Pan-paṇ (Banka?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>pannsun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>pān{k}a[k], betrothal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>pantarba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>Pānṭhīpura, c. 249, 254, and errata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170, 171</td>
<td>Pāpaṇāthā, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 127, 129, 186, 251, 284</td>
<td>paramabhattāraka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>paramamādhēvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161, 162</td>
<td>Paramāras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 163, 127, 129, 165, 186, 251</td>
<td>paramēvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90, 91</td>
<td>Paramēvara,—Siva, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256n</td>
<td>Parsārāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Parīśār caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>parīśob, parīśos or parībos, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>parīśaḥ ordal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>Parpadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Pārīvānāthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132, 188n</td>
<td>Pārīvānāthā, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Parthava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Pārvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>Pārvatīvallabha,—Siva, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>Parysatsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>paṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162ff</td>
<td>Paṭṭadakal inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162, 169</td>
<td>Paṭṭadā Kūvvalal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>paṭīlā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Peda-Maadāli plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Pegan date of the Nīrāgya 347 &amp; n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, 39</td>
<td>Pekkiṣa-Voradaga, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Pęnyā, n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Peṅkuṇḍapāḷu or Peṅkuṇḍaparu, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>pepper—piperi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58f</td>
<td>Pepperina, Princess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Persepolis, c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Petenikas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190, 191</td>
<td>Peter the Pedlar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Phakka (Stra) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307, 308</td>
<td>Phāsācitālai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Phāsis riv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>phākē—the seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Phōsios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>pilgrimage, Muhammedan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64, 102, 164</td>
<td>pillars, inscribed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>pīpi—pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>pīriy-arasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Pītakhorā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165, 166</td>
<td>Pītāmahā,—Brahma, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84, 103</td>
<td>Pīyadasī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Pīyadasī inscriptions—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>1st Edict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>4th and 5th Edicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Edicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>10th, 11th and 12th Edicts,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>13th and 14th Edicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Polekēši II. (W. Chal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Po-li, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Po-li-sse, Persia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes and Queries:—

1. Proper names:—  55
2. Guggaśa Guru     93
3. Shaikār Firād Shākar Gaṇj, 38, 154
6. Cinerary urns 154
7. Crow language 183
8. Brāhmāni Duck 293
9. The Muhammedan Hajj 373

nūṭā-ante-gaṇdān 127

Nyāga 130

Ogotai 337
Oil, lake oil 300
Oil of the skōlēx 312
Ojuśa, exorcists 288
Okotai 238
Olan Eke, or Koilun 114
Onēśikritos 309, 313
Ongut or Po-tā-ta 337
Oeceri, k. 216
Oejalamsūi 186
Ordeal 319
Oriental Congress at Berlin 340

Orchines du Zoroastre par C. de Harlez 274
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Po-lu-see, Sumatra, co.</td>
<td>194, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polystephanos</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponnakuguva</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pótardya</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po-ta-ta or Ongut</td>
<td>367, 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póta varman</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pottery from kistvaens</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhakara, k.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratihā</td>
<td>187, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratihā sūtra</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratihāvarrā, Bud. pilg.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prakṣāsamati, Bud. pilg.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prākṛit</td>
<td>69, 61, 168, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramārā</td>
<td>161, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prāṇāyāna</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prāṇāyāma-śdra-śākā</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasēnajit, k. of Kāsala</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratikāra</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratyāhāra</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratydhāra-Sūtras</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayāga</td>
<td>188, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prest John</td>
<td>14, 38, 36-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithivimulā, k.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prithivitevetālaha</td>
<td>60, 103, 127, 129, 164, 165, 166, 167, 185, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithu</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithudakasvāmi</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prometheus</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper names</td>
<td>55, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proverbs, oriental</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psyllo</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pājdjī</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pājā</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pājāyāda, grammarian</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaha</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulikēśi I. (Early Chal.)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulikēśi II. (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>37, 58, 61, 133, 135, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulinda</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulappa</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulumāya</td>
<td>225-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulyā, n.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruṣabhadrā (Chhin.)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purūṣottamāsiniḥuka, k. son of Kāmadhāvasiniḥ</td>
<td>843-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārva ḍavāli, v.</td>
<td>131, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pygmies</td>
<td>299, 300, 314, 321, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qība</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quādā</td>
<td>195, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabb = God</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rag-bushes</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahūla</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājaḍhānī</td>
<td>60, 127, 159, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājaḍhānīha-Rājaḍhānīha (Ksh.)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājagriha</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājākāla</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājāmalla</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājāparamśvara</td>
<td>66, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāpura, Mhasob of</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājāpurasa</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājādhishka</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākṣaśa kings</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākṣaśa</td>
<td>292-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma</td>
<td>129, 168, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmābhadra</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambha</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramēśvaruni</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmōkān Roy</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣaṇa</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāndā</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājājuba, satrap</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāpa</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāṣṭraṇāla, o.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṣṭraṇāla, o.</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāṣṭraṇapati</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasōpada, v.</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathanpurachakravālapura, o.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanagiri, v.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanārī, dr. of Purnshottamaśiniḥuka</td>
<td>342, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raṭṭagiri, v.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravaṇas</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāvaṇa</td>
<td>169, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣaṇa</td>
<td>63-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redhouse’s Menavi</td>
<td>293f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rekapallī Tālūka</td>
<td>99f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remains in Central Asia</td>
<td>291, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renugroti, v.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvā</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvāsidvēpa</td>
<td>57n, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛhūgino</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhinoceros</td>
<td>317, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūnd, t.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richinari, tr.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rīkṣaṇṭra Vyākaraṇa</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ring, the wonderful</td>
<td>347f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rīṣhābha</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛīshī</td>
<td>94, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rocks, inscribed</td>
<td>59, 61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic History of Buddha</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romany, Domnrapyana</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope-dancers</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubraquis</td>
<td>18, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rude-stone cemetery</td>
<td>1f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrabhūti</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrāpadā, (Ksh.)</td>
<td>157, 221, 223, 224, 226, 227n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrādeva (Kākātya)</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrangoil</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūmāṭkā</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śabarī</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāndākṣaṇa-chandrikā</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāndākṣaṭra</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāsana Bīkī</td>
<td>140, 142, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifice to standard</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādārśavādvāryā (Via)</td>
<td>64-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahtēnyakhamayādāya</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadikāsamad</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāgarapōta, a merchant</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagara</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagōtā</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahaṇāśa</td>
<td>346, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāhāqū Sāhī</td>
<td>222, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahasārām inse</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāka dates</td>
<td>61, 63-37, 108, 129, 169, 211, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāka era, starting point of the</td>
<td>57, 214n, 217, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakakāla</td>
<td>222, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakambhari</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatāṭāla</td>
<td>367, 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śant, tr.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakunipāka</td>
<td>104, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakaresīvādī</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakavārha</td>
<td>60, 63, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākhā, Chhandōga</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākhāchāndeśadraśvāja</td>
<td>250n, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakra,--Indra, g.</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākridyā</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākta</td>
<td>73, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāṭi</td>
<td>187, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākun or Sengun</td>
<td>234-37, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākyādiyā</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākyāśramanas</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem, Musalmān legend of</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriṣhnaṅgiri</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sali, rīv.</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śālīvāhana, k.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāluṇddaha-Śākavārha</td>
<td>64, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sansi</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samādhi</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samādhi</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samādhi</td>
<td>84, 127, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmanta (Chhin.)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samastabhuvāndraya</td>
<td>127, 129, 185, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmanta- Vyākaraṇa</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samataṭa, co.</td>
<td>196, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambhūgākṣaṇa</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāmham,--Śiva, g.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāngamamahādeśad</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Sānganāśvara,-Śiva, g. ..... 169
Sāṅgha .......................... 189n
Sāṅgha .......................... 343
Sāṅgha (Chhin.) .......... 345
Śāñkara,—Śiva, g. ..... 251, 254
Śāñkaraśtha, Śānkarasimha, k. 190
śānkrātī, uttarāyāna .......................... 129, 188
śāṅkhakṣiṣṭi .......................... 327
Sammatiya school .......... 197
Samudragupta ................. 219
savat .......................... 158, 159, 343, 346
savatara, Ānanda ..... 129
", Chitrabhānu .......................... 211
Jaya .................................. 105
Nandana .......................... 65
Plavainga ................. 65
Prabhava .......................... 65
Pramāṇi .......................... 64
Śāṅkhāra .......................... 132
Śaradvahīrī .......................... 254
Śōbhakṣiṣṭi 64, 67
Subhakṣiṣṭi .......................... 62
Subhāna .......................... 169
Śukra .......................... 63
Yuva .................................. 188
Sauabarūs, k. ................. 214
San-ch'ing ................. 24
Sanhiviugradhādikṣīta ........ 285
Sandhyā ceremonies .......... 340
Vātācārtya 213, 227n
Śaṅgha .......................... 343
Śaṅgha (Chhinda) ........ 345
Śaṅghavarma, Bud. pilg. ... 248
Sanis, n. ................. 55
Sankhē beggars .................. 73
Sankun or Sengun ..... 207-9, 216,
266, 335, 336
San-pdo, 'Three precious ones' 24
Sanskrit MSS. .......... 43
Sanskrit Text Society .... 340
Śānta, Śāntaya, Śāntivarman
II. (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.) 249,
253, 254
Śāntināth, temp. .............. 44
Śāntivarman I., (Kād. of Ban.
and Hāng.) 249, 253
śantri ...................... 152n
Śānvārī beggars .............. 73
śāṇvald, a knife-grinder ..... 228n
Saṇḍalakṣa, mts. ........ 344-46
Śaṇjaya Malaya 95, 96
Śārapalli, c. ............. 243
Saravasti, g. .......... 131, 188
Sardous, Sardian mts. ... 299, 318
Sariastes, Armenian king ... 269
Sariputra ................. 83
Śarvaśāndeva, Bud. pilg. ... 246
Sārvaśātivādīna, s. ................. 197
sārvarāṇavīya .......................... 63
sārvarāṇavatana .......................... 131, 188
sārvarāṇikāra .......................... 39
Sārvasiddhā-Āchārya .... 164, 165,
170, 171
śāna .......................... 138, 137
śānanādēla .......................... 273
Sasanian inscr. of Naqš-i
Rustam .......................... 29
Śāśāṅkamani,,-Śiva, g. ... 233
śāsemīr, story of .......... 308, 309
Śau, a king's daughter .. 349n
Śau, a king's daughter .. 349n
Śau, a king's daughter .. 349n
Śau, a king's daughter 371
Śāvata Kōsha ................. 44
Śātakān̄ni, Śātakarni .......... 225-27
Śāvatāvaha dynasty ........ 225-27
śatavahana .......................... 343
Śattarāda (Jām) .............. 46
Śattigā,-Śattiyārāya II. (W.
Chāl.) .......................... 249n
Śattigāna-Chatta,-Kundama
rassā (Kād. of Ban. and Hāng.) 249
Śatwā of Chāmbhārāgūrā .... 72
Śatīyārāya I.,-Pulikētī II.
(W. Chāl.) .......................... 37, 61, 244
Śatīyārāya II. (W. Chāl.) ....... 249
Śatīyārāya - Dhruravāra - In-
dravāra .......................... 57n
śatīyārāya vakulatilaka 127, 129,
188, 253
Śatīyāravāma (Gā. of Kalinga) .... 243
Śatīyāravāma (Kād. of Ban. and
Hāng.) .......................... 249, 253
Śaṭṭā the Wahhābī .......... 68
Saudāsa satrap .............. 226
Śānakas ..................... 45, 46
Saurāśṭra, co. .............. 160
Saurāśṭra dialect .......... 108
Śauromatae ................. 314
śava .......................... 346
śaiva-lakṣaṇa ................. 345
Śāvandurga Rude-stone ceme-
tery .................................. 1f, 99
Śāvēla Chāla ...................... 96
Saxo Grammaticus ........ 339
Sayyid Ahmad the Wahhābī .... 69
seal, or phākā .......................... 323
seals, emblems on... 243, 244, 250n,
277, 279
śēkha .......................... 119
śēna ................................ 285, 346
śēnpāt, o. .......... 157, 158, 160, 161
Sennar's Inscriptions de Piyā-
dasi .............................. 276
Śēndrakas ................. 244
Seng-chi, Bud. pilg. .............. 196
Sēres .......................... 305
serpentine poison .......... 309
śēkāh .......................... 160
śēṭṭi, śēṭṭi ................. 185, 188, 189
Seven Pagodas .............. 36
seven mothers, son of ... 146
seven sons, mother of 151
Sevenwell's Report on the Amdar-
vati Tope .......................... 56
Shahāhari, k. ............... 31, 32
Shāh Rukh Sultān ............ 337
Shahryār .......................... 223
Shahzādā Mīrcha .......... 80f
Sha-li, co. ................. 109
Shaman .......................... 15
Shang-tī, Bud. pilg. ............ 247
Śhāyāt īd Śhāyāt ............... 124
sheep in India .............. 305, 309
Schen-hung, Bud. pilg. ........ 196
Sheriff Ghālib ................. 68
Shi-li-fō-shāi .......... 197
Shi-li-fō-yaum, Malayā .... 197
śhōdaśāta 284, 286
Shorkār .......................... 97
Shun-shi .......................... 135
Side—an Indian pool ........ 313
Śiddhaṭpur, t. ................. 45
śiddhaṁ .......................... 157, 273
Śiddhaśvara,-Śiva, g. ....... 129
Śīgī full-moon .............. 254
śīha, śinīha .......... 157, 158, 160, 343
Śīla or ŚAILoda, r. ....... 320
Śīlāhāras .......................... 38
Śīlaprabha, Bud. pilg. .... 195
Śīlās fountain .............. 319n
Śīlōmaddas ................. 171
śinīha .......................... 343
Śinhamukāra .......................... 87
śinhādānūkhaṇa 250n
Śinhārāja (Vāy.) .............. 341
Śin-chā temple .............. 109
Sin-chin, Bud. pilg. ............ 248
Śīnd Ballads ...................... 374
Śīndi .......................... 105
Śīndharāja, k. ................. 160
śīnāga .......................... 249
Śīn-ko, Corea ................. 249
Śīn-tu, co. ................. 110
Śṛra毒性 tree ................. 301, 302, 320
Śirens .......................... 291
Śiriṣūṭumāyi .......................... 227
Sirisavitthu ................. 292
Śiriṣyādēvī (Kād. of Ban. and
Hāng.) .......................... 254
Śittā .......................... 168, 170
śīṭār .......................... 43n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>33, 165, 250, 251, 285, 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svādēvī</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvālīka or Sapādālakṣa nāts., 344.</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvāmudram</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvānti</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandabhāṣa</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta (Gupt.), 125, 126, 219.</td>
<td>222, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāśtricēt</td>
<td>313, 319n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śākēśa worm</td>
<td>297, 302, 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkloy of Kāryandā. 313, 315, 319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ślabone Monuments in Madras</td>
<td>97f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoking rock</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snakes</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake story</td>
<td>347f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōḍrānga</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śūlamāṇḍalam</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soḷankī</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solen, Chōjan</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solon, tr.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōma</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śōmadēva-yati</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmanāth and inc.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmeśvara II. (W. Chāl.)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmeśvara III. (W. Chāl.)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōparīka</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorgūdu or Surkatu Noyan</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōpādanyānaśākā</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spindle whorls</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirits</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāmanas</td>
<td>143f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrēmika or Bimbisāra, k.</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēlōghin</td>
<td>155a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrībhōja</td>
<td>194, 196, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrībhōjadēva’s Śarasaviṭṭha-dhārana</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīdvā, Bud. pilg.</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Dharanāva, mot.</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīgupta</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīharsha’s Naiśadhačarita</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīkahētra</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīnivāsa-apura (Masur) inscr.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēripthēvīvallabha</td>
<td>60, 103, 127, 129, 164, 165, 166, 185, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Sarvāvahī, mot.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Tribhuvandānāku, mot.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvaralāha (Ga.)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrutakṛtī</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See-pin., Chin. pilg.</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standards, sacrificed to</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrupas</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śṭānugōḍhpura, c.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone inscriptions, Chauvūkya. 158</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>341, 345, 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone inscriptions, Early Chau-</td>
<td>57, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>345, 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>62, 64, 104, 166, 167, 170, 171, 189n, 341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, g.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>127, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>339, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>249, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>249, 251, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėšvra, tr.</td>
<td>197n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>188, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėśvra, tr.</td>
<td>127, 129, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vásudēva ...160, 189, 213 &amp; n, 214, 216, 217, 227, 344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanshāhāra, g. .......... 193n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vātāpi, c. .............. 58, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vātāpi and Ilvala ....... 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatsadāma (Śūra) ....... 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaṭta, baṭṭa ............. 188n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāyu .................. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedāgarīvavara ........ 198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēddagāvariya .......... 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīdas .................. 139, 188, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedia und Linguistica by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Benfey .......... 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedidhrapitaka .......... 195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēdāpura ............... 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veḷḷāla ................ 86, 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veṅkaṭaramanḍa, g. .... 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ventristoquistis ....... 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viḷḷaḥaṇa ............... 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vidyādhara .......... 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyādhara kings ....... 38ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyānagara, c. ......... 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṣṇu .................. 185-187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vihārapāla or Vihārasvāmī .... 192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vihāri ................. 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayabhaṭṭarikā (W. Chal.) ... 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayāditya, (W. Chal.) .. 60, 61, 103, 165, 166, 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayāditya,—Amma II. (E. Chal.) .... 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanagara, c. ......... 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanagara kings .... 62-67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanāpura, c. ....... 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijayāvīrya ............ 60, 127, 186, 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijayāvīryasahastara ... 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanāwarā (Kād. of Ban. and Hāṅg.) .... 249, 253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayāśvāra,—Śīva, g. .... 169, 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijyāpanāya .......... 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijyādhara ............. 36, 38, 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrama, Vikarāmāka (Kād. of Ban. and Hāṅg.) .... 249, 253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya k. of Ujjayini ... 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya, Mahāvīla, k. 36, 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya I. (W. Chal.). 57, 58, 132-135, 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya II. (W. Chal.) .... 163-167, 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya VI. (W. Chal.) .... 127, 185, 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramānkābhundayā Kāyēya ... 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramasaṅvat ......... 159, 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramavarsaka ......... 188, 254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vījendi, v. ............. 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinaya-pitaka ........... 340, 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnḍhya mts. ........... 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viḍra-Balabha ......... 185, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viruds—banner .......... 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virūpākṣa, Śīva, g. .... 163ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visa, vīsa .............. 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visaladēva (Chaul.) .... 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visāya ................ 57a, 164, 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṣṇu .................. 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇa, g. 36, 37, 57, 68, 61, 189, 250, 251, 253, 273, 285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnu temple at Gaya ... 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnuvardha (Hoy.) ... 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnuvarmā (Kād. of Ban. and Hāṅg.) .... 249, 253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṣṇuva ................. 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vismavasi .............. 272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇa pāḍam plates .... 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vopaḍavā’s Dhātupātha ... 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhagārgya Śānikā .... 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulaḍi, n. .............. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāghra dynasty ....... 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyattadivase ........... 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyatāṭa ................. 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahhabis .............. 67f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahlsstad, battle of ..... 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waṅhān Wīdeya .......... 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weights, iron .......... 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh’s Military Reminiscences ...... 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West’s Pahlavi Texts ...... 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler’s Hist. of India .... 184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wool-growing trees ...... 311</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabatāla, Nestorian Patriarch .... 184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñikā (Śūra) ........ 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaksāvahī .............. 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takut, tr. ............. 19, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamā .......... 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yama ................. 131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasada ................. 293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasādharā .......... 293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazōvarman of Kānauj ... 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yathī ........... 327, 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāvanas .............. 197, 272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yelun Tashi .......... 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yen-mo-na ............ 197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yessugē Khān 12, 15, 17, 111, 262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yēswir inscription .... 133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yīh king ............... 574</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim .............. 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandopheres .......... 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōga ........... 130, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōgananda .............. 367, 368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōgāśīthā ............. 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chau, Bud. pilg. .... 109, 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-hau, Ch. Bud. pilg. .... 246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-hwai, Bud. pilg. .... 247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-T’ai, Ch. Bud. pilg. .... 246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yudhishthira .......... 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yueh-chi .............. 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugasrūṣā .......... 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zarathustra ....... 275, 276, 370, 371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zingan, tr. ........... 52, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zingari ............... 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoroastrism .......... 274f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Correction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156a, l. 21</td>
<td>for Merki’s read Merkis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44a, l. 22</td>
<td>for Śṛipūj Guṇaratna Sāgara read Śṛipūj Guṇaratnasāgara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44b, l. 12</td>
<td>for Kundraśādchariśa read Kundraśādchariśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45a, l. 6</td>
<td>from bottom, dele six.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45b, l. 1, 2, 5, and 15</td>
<td>for Maitrāyaṇyaśa, read Maitrāyaṇyaśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45c, l. 18</td>
<td>for white Yajuveya, read white Yajuveya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 34</td>
<td>add a. p. after 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61b, l. 21</td>
<td>for getting read getting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65b, l. 38</td>
<td>for bright fortnight of the Prabhava samvatsara, read bright fortnight of the month Bhādra of the Prabhava samvatsara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90b, l. 5</td>
<td>from bottom, for v. read v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100a, l. 39</td>
<td>for MS. of, read MS. in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100b, l. 11</td>
<td>for Karandaśa read Karandaśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101a, l. 12</td>
<td>for Jayasimha read Jayasimha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101b, l. 13</td>
<td>for Kadamba read Kadamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101c, l. 41</td>
<td>for Śāktyāyana-vyākaraṇa read Śāktyāyana-vyākaraṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102a, l. 5</td>
<td>for Adhy. I, l-III, 2, by Hemachandra read by Hemachandra; adhy. I, l-III, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102b, l. 6</td>
<td>for Mahākāya read Mahākāya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108a, note 1, 2</td>
<td>for dharm-lipi read dharma-lipi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110, note 3</td>
<td>dele the note, and read 1 The Marāṭha country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111b, l. 3</td>
<td>for Sakyā- read Sākṛā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125a, l. 27</td>
<td>for Peropolitaśa read Peropolitaśa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125b, l. 40</td>
<td>for Kāyotarpam Moodrah read the kāyotarpam madhrā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153b, l. 4</td>
<td>for Mahākāya read Mahākāya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159a, note 2 (a)</td>
<td>for nyāṣṭhaṇṇaṁjñāṁ āmśaṁ mahāpiṭṭih, read nyāṣṭhaṇṇaṁjñāṁ āmśaṁ mahāpiṭṭih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159b, note 1</td>
<td>for can, read may.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159b, note 1, 2</td>
<td>for can, read may.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161b, l. 32</td>
<td>for Thākors read Thākors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162a, l. 37</td>
<td>for and two read and contains two.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162b, l. 43</td>
<td>for maṇḍariṁ read maṇḍariṁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183, l. 3</td>
<td>for 8 read 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184, l. 42</td>
<td>for unsatisfactory. Mr. read unsatisfactory. Mr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189b, l. 34-35</td>
<td>for thee, who are propitious read thee, who art propitious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206, l. 7</td>
<td>for Chaldas read Chaldas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210b, note 60</td>
<td>for vol. VI (1877), read vol. V (1876).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211a, l. 9, 9</td>
<td>for bot. for of the Bengal Asiatic Society, read—of the Bengal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233b, l. 42-44</td>
<td>for It is dated, in words and figures, in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year, read It is dated, in words in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year, but in figures in the 268th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239a, l. 38 and 47</td>
<td>for Pāṭhāpurā read Pāṭhāpurā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>for Pāṭhāpurā read Pāṭhāpurā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note 16</td>
<td>add In the writing the above, I was guided also by the fact that, though the Elliot MS. Collection reads Pāṭhāpurā here and in two other places, yet it reads in four other places Pāṭhipura, and in one instance Pāṭhipura. Since then, I have received impressions which show clearly that the reading of the original is Pāṭhipura in five of these passages, and Pāṭhipura in the remaining two; and I have also received another impression of the present inscription which, though it shows again that the letter is damaged in the original, leaves but little, if any, doubt that the upper part of it is sa,—i.e. Pāṭhipura.—Pāṭhipura was another name of Ñāgulā itself; as one of the other passages in question runs Pāṭhipura, abhāṅkaraṁ Hāmaṇyaśa saṃsāraṇaṁ parumānaṁ &amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254b, l. 5</td>
<td>for Pāṭhāpurā read Pāṭhāpurā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255b, l. 2</td>
<td>for I am, &amp;c., twice, read We are &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257a, l. 4</td>
<td>for Kārṇatiṁ read Kārṇatiṁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3039, n. 81, l. 1</td>
<td>for Pandava read Pandava octorūrītānuṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3355, l. 27</td>
<td>for vigorously read vigorously.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>