THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
IN
ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY,
FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY,
RELIGION, &C., &C.

EDITED BY
JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

VOL. XI—1882

Swati Publications
Delhi
1984
# CONTENTS.

Authors' names arranged alphabetically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NARAYAN AIYANGAR, Shimoga</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. T. AUFRICHT, Ph.D., Bonn—</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṣṭi</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. BALL, F.R.G.S., Geological Survey—Query. Diamonds and Precious Stones</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REV. J. D. BATE, Allahabad—</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note,—Hunter's Gazetteer</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REV. S. BEAL, B.A., Rector of Wark, Northumberland—</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on the Bharhut Sculptures and Inscriptions</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elapāśra Nāga, &amp;c.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks on Mr. Carley's Archaeological Report</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. C. P. BELL, C.G.S., Ceylon—</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish-cumino at the Māldives</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobili Marsh</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARṆṬ BHAVĀNLĀL INDBAIJAI, Bombay—</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A BAKTRO-PĀL inscription of Subhāśa</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut.-Col. B. E. BRANFILL, Great Trigonometrical Survey—</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vânārāj and other old sites in N. E. SINGH</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROF. G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., C.I.E., Vienna—</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions from the Stūpa of Jaggatapattia</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Origin of the Indian Alphabet and Numerals</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAJRAK Grant No. XVII—Grant of Śīṅgara</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sat. 332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR. W. CARTELLERI, Vienna—</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An ABU Inscription of the reign of BHÎMADEVA II</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat. 1295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. H. DHRYVA, B.A., LL.B.—</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A COPPERPLATE Grant of BHÎMADEVA II, dated Vikrama-Satru 156</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO PRAJAPATI of NINÂKI, a court poet of Vînaladāva of Gujarāt</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The EDITOR—</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is B nuclear on the site of Dhanakāṭaka? (see p. 237)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Lāmā</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Sûparâ, Sûparâka, &amp;c.</td>
<td>236, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the date of Śaṅkarābhârâya</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pûrâna of Sûparâka</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. M. FERGUSON, Jr., Ceylon—</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and Queries,—Crow language; Chatty</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. F. FLEET, B. C. S., M.R.A.S., Belgium—</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit and Old-Cambodian Inscriptions (continued)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. CXVIII.—KEŚA inscriptions of RUDRADEVA at Amkanjón.—Saka 1264</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXIX.—W. Chalukya grant of ADITYAVARMA</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXX.—Early Chalukya inscription of Kirtivarmā I</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXXI.—Bhâhrakâṭa grant of DANDI-</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durga—S. 75</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXXII.—Râbhrikâṭa inscription of Dhrut♬</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXXIII.—Râbhrikâṭa grant of GÓVINDA III, Prabhâtâvanâ—S. 720</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXXIV.—Râbhrikâṭa inscription of GÓVINDA III</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CXXV.—Grant of GÓVINDA III S. 720</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROF. EM. FORCHHAMMER, Rangoon—</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. B. GODABOLE, Bombay—</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of CHANDRAKHYA (or-Clara)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. GOONETILLEKE, Ceylon—</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American Pygmy</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the absence of the great change of ग्रेग in the</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oriental</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR. A. F. RUDOLF HöFERNELLE, Calcutta—</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readings from the BHARHUT STūPA, No. III</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., Manchester—</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHÂNHÎKHÁN and his ANCESTORS (continued)</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 132, 189, 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D., Vienna—</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A GRANT of Â SUBHÂDEVA of GUJÂRÂT, Satru 1290</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Inscriptions from General Cunningham's Archaeological Reports</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A CHÂNLÂKTA GRANT, dated Satru 1294</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHANNES KLATT, Ph.D., Berlin—</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracts from the Historical Records of the</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAINAS</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sûparâka—references to W. L., Calcutta—</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Query,—Abul Bâqânâm Shîmî</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GORDON MACKENZIE, M.C.S., Gujarât—</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGENDS of BHÂÂLÂCHÂLLA</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REV. DR. J. MURRAY MITCHELL—</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUKÂRÂM</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANJÂBAKTA</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob's Manual of Hindu Pantheism</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barth's Religions of India</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. MÜLLER, Ph.D., Basle—</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to Sinhalâse Grammar</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. N. NARASIMHYENGAR</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rites of Rêrûkî AMMA at CHÂNDRÂGUI</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. B. PATHAK, B.A., Bengal—</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Date of ŚAṢKARÂKHYA (see p. 283)</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A KÂDAKHA Inscription at SIDDHI</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. RÂGHûNÂTHJAI, Bombay—</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay Beggars and Chieftains (continued from vol. X)</td>
<td>22, 44, 141, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BATIRÂM DURGÂRÂM DAVÉ, Bombay—</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Query,—Supărd</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. REHATTSEK, M.C.E., Bombay—</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Inscriptions from Raichóor</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEWIS RICE, Bangalore—</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhanna and Mîdanna</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

'SENEX,' Welitota, Ceylon —
Sinhalese Family Names ... 334
R. SEWELL, M.C.S., Madras:—
Dhanakolla—a Reply (see p. 95) ... 237
Rev. G. SHOUT, M.R.A.S. —
A BAHU SINGH, No. I ... 184
A BAHU SINGH, No. II ... 319
Mrs. F. A. STEEL, and Lieut. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C. —
FOLKLORE in the Panjáb (continued) —
No. 12 Síhá Charms ... 32
13 The king with seven sons ... 73
14 Popular Songs ... 163
15 Death and Burial of Poor Hen-Sparrow ... 169
16 The Rat's Wedding ... 226
17 A Story of Heros ... 229
FOLKLORE from Kıshmír —
No. 1 King 'Ali Mardí Kánum and the Snake Woman ... 230
2 Gwáshárí and Westarwán ... 239
3 How the Springs came to Kashmir ... 266
4 The Yech ... 269
5 Fatteh Khánum, the reliable wife ... 282
6 Prince Bahráng-i-Ghor and the Fairy Shíhsand ... 296
7 The Tiger and the Farmer's Wife ... 319
8 The Bear's bargain ... 340
9 The two Brothers ... 342
CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., Panjáb:—
HONORIFIC CLASS-NAMEs in the Panjáb ... 117
Lamia or Láma ... 232

A PANJÁB LEGEND ... 239
Sérák — MUNÁ — Kheráiw ... 231
Rubbing the nose on the ground—An Indian Oath ... 236
A Twists-told tales about Atak ... 296
Notes and Queries—3 Chatty ... 115
" " 5 On opprobrious Names ... 88, 173
" " 8 Khriám; 9 Jhamparí-Chafrán; 10 Khimdár—Khidmatgír; 11—Corruptions of English Words; 12 Ball-ki Melá ... 297
13 Burgat-Brigade ... 349
Twists-told tales regarding the Akhund of Swáth ... 325
(See also under Mrs. Steel).

PROF. G. THIBAUT, Ph.D., Benares:—
SOME REMARKS on General Cunningham's new method of fixing the INITIAL POINT of the GÜPTA ERA ... 321

ED. THOMAS, F.R.S., Mem. de l'Inst. de France:—
COINS of the ARABs in SIND ... 89

THE COINAGE of the EAST INDIA COMPANY at BOMBAY under the Charters of CHARLES II. with a NOTE on the INDIAN EXCHANGES of the PERIOD ... 313

J. N. U., Rhaunagar:—
A Note on the Knight's tour or the Knight's trick at Chess ... 115

PROF. A. WEBER, Ph.D., Berlin:—
Story of Varaṇaśi ... 146

E. W. WEST, Ph.D., Munich:—
AN ENGRAVED STONE with PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION from Baghad ... 223

SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEA.

An Oriental Bestiary, by Dr. E. Morris ... 86
The so-called Henotheism of the Vedas, by Prof. W. D. Whitney ... 146
Indian Alphabets on Babylonian Tablets, by Dr. A. C. Burnell ... 235
Prof. W. D. Whitney on the Cosmogenic Hymn of the Rig-veda (X, 129) ... 261
Prof. W. D. Whitney on the Transliteration of Sanskrit ... 263

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. Suprá, by Ratírán Durgárán Davé ... 34
2. Crow Language, by A. M. Ferguson, Jr., and Lieut. R. C. Temple ... 87, 115
3. Chatty, by A. M. Ferguson, Jr. ... 87
4. Hunter's Gazetteer, by Rev. J. D. Hare ... 87
5. On opprobrious Names, by Lieut. R. C. Temple ... 88, 173
6. 'Abdul Rahimí Búnúri of Mánábal, by W. L. ... 116

7. Diamonds and Precious Stones, by V. Ball ... 27
13—Burgat-Brigade, by Lieut. R. C. Temple, B.S.C. ... 349

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Royal Asiatic Society ... 306
Asiatic Society of Bengal ... 320
American Oriental Society ... 320
CONTENTS.

BOOK NOTICES.

1. V. N. Mandlik's Hindu Law; or Mayükha and Yājñavalkya; by K. T. Telang, M.A., L.L.B. ... 36
2. Jacob's Manual of Hindu Pantheism; The Vedántasástra; by J. M. M. ... 116
3. A. Barth's Religions of India; by J. M. M. ... 175
4. Barth's Bulletin Critique des Religions de l'Inde. ... 240
5. E. H. Whinfield's Quatrains of Omar Khayyám ... 240
6. Sewell's Chronological Tables for Southern India. ... 271
7. T. W. Rhys Davids' Hibbert Lectures.—On the origin and growth of religion as illustrated in the history of Indian Buddhism ... 300
8. Holle's Tabel van Oud-en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten ... 391
9. Wilson's Mackenzie Collection (Madras re-print) ... 391
10. Griffiths' Yûauf and Zulaikha of Jâmi' ... 362
11. Schiefner's Tibetan Tales from Indian sources, translated by W. B. S. Ralston ... 303
12. E. B. Eastwick's Translation of the Gulistan of Sa'di (2nd ed.) ... 303
13. Wherry's Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran, vol. I ... 304
14. Rev. J. Long's Eastern Proverbs and Emblems illustrating old Truths ... 304
15. Hoernle's Comparative Grammar of the Gaujli Languages, by A. Barth ... 333
16. Floyer's Unexplored Baluchistan ... 336
17. Lillie's Buddha and Early Buddhism ... 336
18. Geiger's Ostrófsische Kultur in Alterthum, by Dr. E. W. West ... 349

ILLUSTRATIONS.

1, 2. Carved Stones from Vijnôt ... to face pp. 4, 5
3, 4. Kâtyâya Inscription of Badradēva at Anamkâp, S. I. 1084, i, 2 front face, 12, 13
5, 6. ... 3, right side; 4, part of rear side ... 14, 15
7, 8. ... 5, rear side, lower half; 6, left side ... 15, 17
9, 10. Grant of Bhmādeva II. of Gujarāt ... 72, 73
11, 12. Râshârakūṭa grant of Daśādurgā, Ś. 675, I. and IIa, 110, 111
13, 14. ... IIb, III, and Seal ... 112, 113
15, 16. Râshârakūṭa grant of Gōvinda III. Prabhātavarsha, Ś. 726; Inscription on the temple of Virūpakṣa at Pañjadukāla; near the temple of Gaλganaṭha at Alhole; and on the shrine of Mûkaṭâ possible from Nandâvidā ... 126, 127
17, 18. Râshârakūṭa grant of Gōvinda III. Prabhātavarsha, Ś. 730, I. and IIa, 153, 159
19, 20. ... IIb, III, and seal ... 160, 161
21. Engraved stone with Pahlavi Inscription from Baghdad ... 224
22, 23. Grant of Bhmādeva II. of Gujarāt, dated Sath. 1294 ... 338, 339
Vijnōṭ and other old sites in N. E. Sindh.

By Lieut.-Col. B. R. Branfill.

Vijnōṭ is the name of a ruined town in upper Sindh, in the Ubauro taluka of the Rohri Division. The spot is very accessible, being only 3 or 4 miles south of the Rohri railway station of the Indus Valley State Railway.

It lies about half a mile or so east from the usual dry bed of the Rohri-nadi, a deserted course of the river Indus, on flats that have apparently been inundated in recent times, although the highest floods now-a-days are said never to cover the level places between the mounds of the ruins.

The outlying sandhills and drifts of the desert have now come within a short distance of the site to the south-east, but cultivation in a good season of high inundation is still carried on in the vicinity of the old site, especially on the north side.

On approaching the place one notices a great number of dark-coloured ridges and mounds rising to a height of from 16 to 20 feet above the flat ground at their base; and on reaching them, they are found to consist of heaps of broken bricks, both in small sharp-edged pieces, and in pulverized fragments, mixed with loose salt soil and a large amount of charred wood in extremely small pieces. It is the presence of this comminuted charcoal chiefly that gives the dark colour to the mounds of debris; but on examination a considerable proportion of the brick fragments is seen to be composed of semi-vitrified brick of a dark colour. An entire brick, or a large piece of one, is not to be seen on the surface of any of the undisturbed mounds, the whole having been reduced to small sharp-edged irregular fragments, apparently by the action of the saltpetre present.

Very many of the mounds, particularly the larger ones, have been excavated quite recently in lines along their outer slopes, evidently for the sake of the bricks which formed the foundations of the buildings of which the mounds are the ruins. Along the lines of excavation large brickbats, and here and there a few whole bricks lie scattered about, but mostly in a state of rapid disintegration, which seems to set in on exposure to the air. The recent excavations were made to provide metal ballasting for the Indus Valley State Railway, but the old site has probably been a quarry, for centuries, for anyone who wanted a few stones or burnt bricks, in that part of the country. Bricks of the Vijnōṭ pattern are to be seen on Muslim graves for many miles around and far into the desert to the south-east. The bricks in the foundations underground are in perfect preservation when first taken out, and measure usually 15 inches long, 10 inches wide, and 2½ inches thick; but a few were found as large as 18" X 12" X 4". They are roughly moulded but well burnt generally and of a good deep red colour. A large proportion of them are overburnt and partially vitrified, as if the kilns or clamps had been fired with the kandi (thorn-tree)
THE INDIAN ANTiquARY. [January, 1882.

wood, the heat given out by which is excessive. The underburnt portions soon crumble to powder on exposure to the air if left on the surface of the ground, but the wellburnt and overburnt parts split up into flaky or sharp-edged fragments as if the clay had been insufficiently tempered and mixed.

The bricks seem to have been well laid and bonded in mud; and no lime was noticed unless in the form of whitewash on the walls and pillars when first unearthed.

The circuit of the mounds measures a mile and a half, the extreme length being over half a mile east and west, and the breadth from north to south nearly a quarter of a mile, besides a suburb of mounds at the south-west corner, now occupied by a Muhammadan graveyard, and some outlying ruins at a short distance from the old city in various directions.

Across the centre of the ruins runs a large open area or “square” from 200 to 300 yards long north and south, and about one-third as wide. On the east side of this lies a long ridge, or connected row of low mounds, which may very likely have been the principal bazaar or line of shops.

The west side of the “square” is occupied by the principal mounds of debris, which were probably the houses of the chief persons of the place, and in their centre was the temple, the ruins of which have been excavated more completely than the rest: for not only was the temple more solidly built, but from the pieces of stone still lying about, it appears to have been faced with carved stones brought across the desert from Jaisalmer. The sculpture proves it to have been Hindu, as may be seen from the objects and style, roughly shown in the accompanying plate. When the excavations were made in 1873, Mr. Fred. E. Robertson, C.E., Executive Engineer of the Râjí division of the Railway, visited and described the place and the relics found, in an account which was afterwards published in one of the Bombay newspapers, extracts from which are appended. The best of the sculptured stones discovered were delivered to the civil authorities, but it is not clear where they were eventually deposited, or what has become of them.

The writer of this paper, without any previous acquaintance with the place or its story,

found himself at the spot, whilst completing the field work of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in N. E. Sindh, at the beginning of the past year (1881). He had no time or means at command for any thorough exploration or excavation, but made a few notes of his observations, and took some rough sketches and measurements of the few remaining pieces of sculptured stone.

These indicate a style of Hindu architecture and ornamentation that was once probably of common local occurrence. Indeed the principal method of producing effects by very deep, sharp-cut incisions, in aid of a little superficial tracery, is in vogue at the present day in Sindh, and seems peculiarly suited to the exceedingly bright sunlight which prevails there.¹

The style of architecture is faintly indicated by the simple slender columns of stone, 6 or 8 inches in diameter, square, octagonal, and round, capped by a plain moulded bracket (Fig. 10), or merely supporting an ornamental finial (kalaša). Several plinth stones were noticed having an indented outline in plan, both for corner stones and centrepieces. The indentations are not all rectangular, nor the centrepieces rectilinear in plan; but there seemed a tendency in some of them to conform to a curvilinear outline of large radius. This was particularly noticed in a piece of a slab (Fig. 15), which had been part of a projecting cornice, eaves, or dripstone. The upper surface of this was an even plane standing out from the wall of the building at a slight slope from the horizontal, so as to shoot off the rain from the sculptured face of the wall below. The outer edge conformed in plan to a slight re-entering curve, and the under-surface was divided into slightly concave panels, by curved tapering ribs.

Amongst the rest, a block of stone was found that appears to have covered or crowned an image, or a niche in the wall; in plan it is about a semicircle, 20 inches in diameter, and 12" high (Fig. 6). It is carved to represent a fluted semi-dome, surmounted by a flattened knob or ball fluted somewhat like the conventional amalaka fruit. The back is flat with a projecting tenon as if to fit into a socket in the wall, and it has a socket above, apparently intended to hold a kalaša or finial.

¹ A precisely similar style of sculpture is to be seen in the grand old mosque at Ahmadabad which is apparently composed of the pillars and stones of a far more ancient Indian temple.
Altogether there may have been a score or so of stones remaining scattered about, all more or less shaped and dressed, and mostly slabs, not exceeding 4 feet in length, and less than a foot in thickness and height. Several of them had bevelled edges, with tenons or projecting tongues as if to form a mitre joint, confirming the idea that the stone was only or chiefly used as a facing to walls of brick; and as there were in all probability no stone quarries in the neighbourhood, all the stone had to be brought across the desert from Jesalmër, or up the river from Rohri. The quarries of the latter place however yield limestone of which only a few very small fragments were found here; whereas all or nearly all the stones are of a grey or yellowish sandstone precisely like that found in Jesalmër.

That so little stone remains is perhaps due to the fact of the temple, in which only it was used, being but a small one, and that all of it which was not buried deeply in the ruins, has long since been carried off by any one who wanted it, for use or ornament. Many such instances were heard of. One finely carved block has been set up in the arched opening over the door of the little village masjid at Reti. In size it may be about two feet square; divided vertically into three parts: the two outer being carved to represent very ornamental capitals of a couple of pillars or pilasters, and the middle-compartment having a florid running scroll.

At Sirwahi (or Seorai) again, two blocks of carved stone were seen at the rozah of Musa Nawab, which were evidently the base, and the capital of a pillar carved in the same style—a rough sketch of these was made (Figs. 17 and 18). They are used for stools (kursi), and the present incumbent of the rozah would not part with them on any account. He stated that they came originally from the ruins of an old building (? a temple) in the ancient fort of Sirwahi. As however no other fragment of stone was to be found or heard of at Sirwahi; it seems probable that they may have come from Vijnoot.

The excavations at the Vijnoot temple site have apparently been carried down to the foundations of the front and principal part of the buildings, the level of which is now more than 4 feet below the level of the great flat area or "square" in the centre of the town.

Notes on the Sculptured Stones from Vijnoot sketched in the accompanying plates.

Fig. 1. This is a piece of carved sandstone, dressed throughout, 19 inches square and 4 inches thick. The face is divided into two panels by the representation of rude slender cylindrical pillars, in low relief, on each side of a circular medallion, one of which contains an elephant in outline, and the other a rather intricate and irregular piece of ornamental scroll-work, of which nothing could be made out in the way of a symbol or well known pattern; the effect is produced in the typical manner of the style, by little deep sharp-cut curved tapering incisions.

Above and below the centre of each medallion is a little double triangular plate very slightly raised towards the centre and base of the triangles. The medallions are surrounded by a pattern, produced by the little deep-cut incisions peculiar to the style, and their flanking pillars are adorned with fillets or bands at regular intervals sloping in a peculiar manner as if intended to represent garlands caught up in the middle.

In the centre, between the two medallions and their pillars, is a single flat pillar with two or three horizontal bands and something of a capital bearing the representation of an object that could not be made out. It is possible that this pillar may have been intended to represent a cylindrical pier like that in the Pahladpuri temple at Multan which is of iron.

The centre of the slab containing this carving is countersunk between a raised border above and below, carved in the style of the place to represent a running scroll or roll ornament with florid scrolls in the bends devoid of any sign of a recognisable symbol or living object. The upper and lower edges of the stone slope. Rough as it is, the sketch is rather more precise and well defined than the appearance of the carving, owing to the partially decayed surface of the stone. But it is believed to be a tolerably faithful representation. The very deep vertical cuts or grooves between the pillars are hardly, if at all, exaggerated.

Fig. 2 represents one of the larger carved blocks of those still to be seen at Vijnoot, measuring 3½' long, 8½' high, and 9½' thick. The carved face is divided into five square panels, the two outside ones being larger and occupying the ends of the stone, which are higher than the centre. The three centre panels or compartments are lower and a little withdrawn behind the line of the lower border and the prominent end compartments. The centre panel contains a very peculiar object,
consisting of an upright pillar or shaft with four curved branches, springing from about the centre, two on each side, each of them ending in a pointed knob or bud: possibly intended to represent some conventional symbol for a tree.

The compartment on each side of the centre contains the figure of a monstrous lion face, with tusks, and projecting eyeballs whence rise curved horns having some marks on the brow between them. These are very rudely and irregularly carved.

The two end compartments seem to have contained seated human figures—but much too decayed to be made out.

The left-hand compartment appears to have had a group of two or three more or less human figures—perhaps Śiva with his consort; whilst the right-hand one contained a single figure—perhaps that of Gaṇapati or Gaṇāśa, the son of Śiva and Pārvati.

Decay of the stone rather than willful violence seems to have nearly obliterated these figures. The two end panels have two tall narrow niches, one on each side of them cut so as to leave a half sunk triangular flat ledge between two deep triangular holes.

The projecting lower border of the face has been highly ornamented, but the pattern is now indistinguishable.

Fig. 3 represents a large plain block of grey sandstone, 30' long, 15' high, and 9' thick. The only ornament on this stone is shown in the sketch. In the centre of the face of the stone a raised plate about an inch in thickness, of ogee shape with a spreading base, has been left. Some Hindus from Poona present, recognized this ornament, calling it pānā. From the centre of its base a round-headed pier or stump, with a spreading base, is left standing, surrounded by a deep double groove, in the centre of which rises a rounded rope-like ridge. The rest of the raised plate is ornamented by the deep curved holes, characteristic of the style. As this was the best preserved specimen characteristic of the style, the sketch was traced from the stone full size, and is reduced in the plate to one-fifth. A section of the upper part of the face of the stone is given in with the figure.

Fig. 4 is a reduced tracing and section of a block of stone, somewhat like the last described (Fig. 3). A plain deeply cut moulding divides the face of the stone longitudinally. The lower part is ornamented very effectively (considering the means used) with a continuous row of (slightly obtuse) triangles or pointed figures, adorned with symmetrically arranged little holes, very deep and cleanly cut so as to form a pattern. The upper part above the horizontal moulding had originally a running scroll with a bold florio pattern in the bends, but in such slight relief that the decay of the stone has almost obliterated the carving.

Figs. 5 and 6 is a fluted (semidomical) crowning ornament to a pilaster or niche, 20' in diameter and 12" high. The execution of this was good, precise, and symmetrical.

Figs. 7—16. These rough little sketches are intended to show the shape of sundry little fragments found amidst the debris left after the excavations, on the site of the Vijnāt temple.

Figs. 7, 8, and 9 show the shape of the pointed stone finials belonging to the style, and the last a peculiar round capital with round-headed studs projecting from two deep grooves.

Fig. 16 shows one of a row of similar ornaments. It is intended to represent a deep broken or indented square pit, from the bottom of which rises the frustum of a curved pyramid. This is very characteristic of the Sindhi style. Two of these were cut in the face of a large block (28" x 8' x 10") at 20 inches apart, from centre to centre.

As equally characteristic of the style, although much more elaborate, these rude drawings of the capital and the base were taken from a pillar found at Sirwāli (Seorai) in Bahlwalpur, Panjab, and are represented about one-fifth of full size. The base (Fig. 18) was about a cube of 12 inches, the capital 11 1/2" high and 74" square. The four faces do not correspond exactly—one half of Fig. 18 was taken from one face and the other from another, in order to secure a better record of the work.

Figs. 19 and 20 were made from the carved face of a brick, and a half brick found at Pattaminar, in the southern part of Bahlwalpur in the Panjab. There seem to have been rows of these carved brick heads, at intervals, on the walls of this ancient relic. It will be seen that Figs. 17—20 are all in the style of the Vijnāt stone carvings.

The following objects were picked up on the surface of the mounds:

Coins:—principally copper, corroded beyond recognition, measuring about half an inch in diameter and one-tenth of an inch in thickness (weights 30 to 40 grains): these were the commonest, but there were others a little smaller weighing 17 to 22 grains. A few little rude silver coins were also found, about three-tenths of an inch in diameter and one-fourteenth of an inch thick, weighing 6 to 7 grains each. They are also very corroded, but have plainly had an impression on one or both sides: and what remains gives the idea of the human figure, or a couple, rather than of a legend with symbols.
CARVED STONES FROM VIJNOT.

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

From sketches by Col. B. R. Branfill.
Beads:—round, flat, and oval, mostly of carnelian apparently—one of the flat ones had a pattern marked on it in white (enamel?). A very similar one was picked up at Sirwahi with the same pattern apparently, only rather more clearly marked, and alike on both sides (Fig. 21). Carnelian beads and ornaments of this description with almost identical markings in white have been taken out of the stone-circle graves in Central and Southern India. A few specimens of glass, green, blue and white, were found, the latter iridescent and in a state of flaky decay; and some pieces of plain (glass?) bangle, like those worn to the present day.

Many little fragments of copper or brass ornaments turned up, and amongst them a complete (though corroded) little anklet bell (ghangrī), with a ram's-head pattern on it.

Besides the above many pieces of shells, and amongst them a few cowries, some marbles of stone and of earthenware, and some burnt clay figures of animals, probably children's toys.

At a few feet or less below the surface, bones were found in the last stage of decay, and, here and there, well preserved pieces, with charred fragments in close proximity, a few of them undoubtedly human.

Amongst the debris not far from the surface of the mounds, iron spikes, such as may have been used in fastening the roof, and building timberings, were found. One or two pebble stones were picked up of an elongated or pointed shape, suggesting the idea that they may have been used as domestic Mahādeva or Līnga symbols. Two or three slight excavations were made in the mounds, which disclosed several layers of charred debris, apparently undisturbed since the burning.

The appearances generally were as if the town had been destroyed by a tornado, or an earthquake; and that the ruins, composed principally of mud or sun-dried bricks mixed with masses of inflammable materials such as timber and thatch, had then caught fire. Or perhaps an unusually high flood may have overthrown the houses, and the fire may have occurred afterwards. The marks of a great conflagration are unmistakable over the entire site, whilst it is equally certain that some of the bones and things found below the surface show no signs of having been burnt.

An old Government survey map gives the name of the place "Wingrote," and Mr. Robertson follows this by his "Vinjote"; but this form is not known by the inhabitants now, who insist that the only, and the correct present and old, name is Vijnōt.

It is not mentioned in Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, nor in the Gazetteer of Sindh, but it must undoubtedly have been a place of note and importance, and of some antiquity. It does not appear to have been a fortified city, like Brāhmaṇābād, Sirwāh, Mathela and Mau Mubārak, as the outer line of mounds around the place are too disconnected to be the remains of a continuous rampart with towers at intervals.

The presence of the Hindu temple, and the large size of the bricks throughout the ruins point to a pre-Mahammatan era. Local tradition regards it as one of the five (or seven) ancient cities of Sindh, and say it was destroyed by lightning for the wickedness of the king Dilu, or Dalu-Rāi. Extensive mounds of ruins exist a few miles to the south-west, called Dilāwar or Dirāwar, now nearly hidden by the sand. Dilāwar may perhaps be a reminiscence of the old Rāja Dilu-Rāi. The name of "Bijō Rai," who was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni at Bhatia (Anc. Geog. Ind. p. 256), seems to be more nearly connected with Bijnōt; particularly so if Bhatiya or Bāhātiya is the same as Mahātiya (the modern Nagar Mathēlo), which is only a few miles distant to the W. S. W.


The age and long occupation of Vijnōt is attested by the height of the mounds of ruins and the extraordinary amount of salt-petre about them, whilst the surrounding country is comparatively free from it.

The town would seem to have survived the advent of the Musalmans not only from the Arabic inscription on the brick and the Kufic letters on the coins mentioned by Mr. Robertson, but also from the Muhammadan gravestones attached to the S. W. corner of the place, which is still used. The newest graves only are built with
the modern small burnt bricks, whilst a few fragments of the stones from the old temple adorn most of them.

Extract from an account of his discoveries at Vijnât by Fred. E. Robertson, dated 7th July 1873.

About 150,000 cubic feet of brick bats have been collected from the ruins of Vijnâote (Vijnât) for the purpose of ballasting the Indus Valley State Railway.

The workmen employed stole all the valuables found and decamped. "One man was caught with 28 tolas weights (11 ½ oz.) of gold of which some parts of the ingots were missing." "The gold was in rough ingots without any mark."

"The other is of much greater interest, and I think a temple of some importance. In one corner of the excavation more than 50 large stones were dug up imbedded on their ends, just as if they had fallen from a height."

A list of the objects of interest follows:—

I.—Several silver coins, smaller than a two anna bit, which I have been informed are probably coins of the earlier Arab Kalifs, and have an inscription in Kufic letters.

II.—A Ganesâ with a piece of a pilaster (stone).

III.—A slab about 2 feet high, with Mahâdeva and Pârsûati in basso rilievo, unfinished; the chisel-marks as sharp as if made yesterday, so evidently not damaged.

IV.—A companion slab with the figure only rough hewn, so cannot be identified.

V.—Two-thirds of a semicircular arch, 4 feet in diameter, carved on both sides in alto rilievo in the most spirited manner, with a procession of figures about 5 inches high. The soffit is also well carved with conventional foliage.

VI.—Some carved stones apparently jambs of the door of which No. V. was the head. One stone has a lion, a woman, and an elephant.

VII.—A lion in red sandstone about 1 foot high, head missing and off foreleg, burnt.

VIII.—An intaglio in brick very finely carved, apparently a mould to cast little leaden gods in.

IX.—A piece in alto rilievo, well carved, representing a man on a horse with a cup (?) in his hand and a chobdar (macebearer) behind him.

X.—Many fragments of images admirably carved, appear to have been broken by accident, and not wilfully mutilated—some marked by fire.

XI.—Fragments of cornices, some rather rude, but others of good design and neat execution.

XII.—A brick on which the following inscription was scratched rudely:

Sâtanâ sândrâ ba shâh hi shân sâfî sâm bê lâ
Sârâr zâmâh sâm bê bâ sâm bê lâ
Kâ bêtâ hâm dê bê sê kâ bêtâ hâm dê bê

XIII.—A little stone trough about 6 inches square, apparently unfinished.

Other sites mentioned by Mr. Robertson in the neighbourhood of Vijnât are "Ther" (Têrhi), "Serwâli" and Patam Minâr.

Mr. Robertson states that on excavating the largest mound in the place, an immense quantity of broken crockery was met with; and at first sight the numberless pieces of potteryware seemed to support the statement. But the greatest part of what looks like potteryware consists of the flaky fragments of the disintegrating bricks, and the lips, shoulders and thicker parts of ordinary earthenware pots, and innumerable pieces of broken saucers. These last are the commonest fragments found on all the old sites in this part of the country. They usually have a flat knob for a handle in the middle of the inside, and were not used as saucers, so much as for the lids or covers of the common waterpots and jars. Of crockery ware or glazed pottery there is scarcely a piece to be seen; but an occasional fragment of the blue-glazed pottery was found.

The patterns impressed upon the larger pots are curious and interesting, inasmuch as they are not now in vogue, and they are precisely the same as those found on the pottery of the other ancient sites in the vicinity. They consist for the most part of a single row of circular marks, half or quarter circles, the latter such as might have been made by the finger nail in the soft clay. Others were made apparently by spreading lumps of clay on the pot, and then marking them with a succession of streaky impressions, as if done with repeated scrapes of a rough comb, producing an effect something like a shaggy beard. The circles are very clearly marked, and have a centre.

The best pattern noticed was somewhat like a Catharine Wheel, formed of 9 spokes radiating from a small central circle, and having their outer ends turned round to the left and back, hooklike.

A few instances occurred of streaks and blotches stained of a very dark colour, such as is common now-a-days. The pottery generally is of the most ordinary kind, well burnt to a
Layers of blackened soil in the excavations show that the place has been burnt down, but the mounds do not wear a generally dark hue as they do at Vijnôt. A few carnelian beads and relics of ornaments, &c., are picked up here occasionally, just like those found at Vijnôt.

The present Pir, Shéikh Sannat Ali Koreshi, incumbent of the Khángáh of Hazrat Musa Nawáb, showed the two blocks of stone, the capital and base of a pillar, sketches of which have been included in those from Vijnôt.

General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, page 254, mentions Searai as having been captured by Husen Sháh Arghun on his way from Bhakar to Múltán in a.d. 1525.

Some 10 miles north of the Nausháhrah railway station there is another ancient site—that of a fortress called Mán (Móh) Múbárak, reckoned one of the six fortresses of Rád Sahási II. (died a.d. 630),—the other five being Uch (Biloch), Searai, Nagár Mathéla, Ál÷r, and (?) Sahwán. Mán is reported to be about 550 yards in circumference, and to have had a continuous rampart, with towers or bastions at regular intervals; the ruins of fourteen of these may still be counted, and one of them is still 40 feet in height, much resembling, in short, the description of Searai. The local tradition given is that some 2,000 years ago Haskárí, a Hindu, was the Rája.

Some 500 or 600 years ago one Shekh Hákim Sáhib took up his abode here and set up a shrine for a hair of the Prophet (whence the modern name Moh (Mù in) Múbárak, or Mán.

The walls are very strongly built; on the outside is a wall about one yard in thickness, built of the large old-fashioned burnt bricks (16" x 8" x 4"), within which is a second wall built of smaller burnt bricks. A third wall is built of sun-dried bricks, and the interior is filled up with solid earth. This fort is stated to have been taken by Shah Hasan Arghun (? Husen Shah) in 1525. The mound is now occupied by a village, and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout Musalmáns of the country side.

Another place of interest near here is Pa'tán Mínára, about 7 miles south of Nausháhrah in the Khánpur division of Bahawalpur.

The writer having no leisure to visit this place sent a native messenger—who brought back word that it was a brick tower 62 feet
high and 12 feet square at base, still standing, but much decayed throughout. It stands on a sand bank, near where a river once flowed, to the south of the mounds indicating the site of an ancient town. A small low door on the west side gives access to a little vacant cell or chamber. The jambs, lintel, and sill of the doorway are of (red sand-)stone, carved with a row of deep rectangular incisions, and the remains of a lion's head in front of the sill. There appears to be another chamber in the upper story. The walls are divided into arch-headed panels and ornamented with a course of carved bricks, of the pattern shown in Figs. 19 and 20.

The tower is in several (? 3) storeys, and a few projecting stones remain to show that they were marked by wide cornices. It is to be desired that photographs and a full description of this ancient relic be taken and published.

Mathêlo or Nagar Mathêla is said to be one of Rāi Sahāi's six fortresses, above-named. It is about 45 miles N. E. from Rohri, 6 or 7 miles S. W. from Ghotki, and about 8 or 9 S. W. from Mirpur (Maharkan), both of them stations of the Indus Valley State Railway. The site of the old fort is to the west of the modern town, but east of the mounds which are said to mark the position of the ancient city. It is reported to be very like the other two old forts already described, Serwâli (Secrail) and Man-Mubârak, only not so high. It is a square of about 170 paces (nearly 650 yards in circumference) with ten or twelve round towers at the angles and at intervals between them, with the gateway on the eastern side. The ruins of some of these towers or bastions are said to be 20 or 30 feet high, and there is a high mound or platform in the centre which seems to have been recently repaired.

The following story was told by some of the elders of the place. In the Satya-Yug (the good old days), Rājâ Nand was King of Nagar Mathêla, an important city of northern Sindh. He had seven daughters, but never a son to succeed him. The eldest named Mammul went to Kâkku of Jesalmêr where she was married to a prince of that country. In her train went all the wealth and prosperity of Nagar Mathêla, and they continue to follow after her to the present day. Mayâ or Lakshmi for-

ook the place (disguised) as a bichâla, or scorpion.

Afterwards Chagdo Musalmân ruled here, and after him the Kâhâra, who was succeeded by the Mir (Biloch) till the English came.

In the Gazetteer of Sindh (1876), page 677, Mathêlo is mentioned as having been founded by a Râjput named Amurâl about 1400 years ago, and named after his grandson.

The historian Firishthâla mentions a strong fort named Bhâtiya, between Multân and Alör, which was taken by assault in A.D. 1003 by Mahmud of Ghazni, when the Râja named Bajjar or Bijê Rai was killed. General Cunningham suggests that this Bhâtiya may be the same as Mâtîla, or Mahâtîla, which was one of the six great forts of Sindh in the seventh century. (See Asb. Geog. of India, p. 256.)

It is believed that there are some other ancient sites in Bahawalpur, and the desert on the borders of north-eastern Sindh, along the courses of the rivers that have long since been swallowed up by the sand, or left by the deflection of their waters to the westward.

The continued westing of the Indus river channels has been usually attributed to the natural tendency of north-to-south-flowing rivers in the northern hemisphere to move westwards (analogous to the westing of the trade winds), owing to the increasing (eastward) diurnal velocity of the parallels of latitude which they successively cross. A more efficient cause however seems to lie in the excess of westing over easting in the winds which in the dry season blow the sand of the river beds, and the dust of the country, eastwards, tending to raise the river beds along their eastern banks, and to form a cushion as it were, which protects the eastern bank from erosion more than the western bank, gradually fills up the easternmost channels, and tends to raise the level of the country to the eastward.

For countless ages the sea breezes of the gulf and the force of the south-west monsoon have been and are still carrying the sand of the sea-shore inland, by which the desert of Ajmêr and western Râjpatâna has been formed, and the rivers between the Jamnâ and the Panjâb have been choked and swallowed up. In the southern parts of the desert the hillocks and ridges of blown sand
are said to attain a height of several hundreds of feet, and in the north-eastern parts of Sindh they commonly reach a height of one hundred feet—more than enough to prevent the annual inundation of the snow-fed Indus and its tributaries from spreading to the eastward, notwithstanding the natural tendency of the flood-waters to seek new channels right and left of their original course if there be any gradual deltaic rising of the river bed. Any western deviation of the channels is comparatively unimpeded, whilst the eastern banks are protected from erosion as above indicated by the drift-sand heaped against them by the prevailing westerly winds.

In the present state of affairs therefore the river channels must move westward if they move at all: and there is no doubt that they have so altered in times past, leaving many a town and city that once flourished on their banks to dwindle into insignificance or perish entirely in the sand wastes of the great Indian Desert.

---

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.B.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. X., p. 255.)

No. CXVIII.

In a temple of the god Rudra in the eastern part of Anamkond, which is a short distance to the north of Worañgal in the Nizâm's Dominions, there is a long and highly interesting inscription of king Rudrâdeva of the Kâkatiya or Kâkatiya dynasty, of which I have given a brief notice in Vol. X., page 211. Versions of it have been published,—in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. VII., p. 901, apparently by the Secretary, where it is stated that this inscription "had been obtained and communicated by Râjâ Dharma Veṅkaṭa Aīvara, who had been for some time in Calcutta, to urge on the Supreme Government of India his claim to the gâdit of the râj of "Paluncha" or "Kummmînât", which through some recent arrangements of the Nizâm's Government had been assigned to a rival claimant," and where the date was interpreted as Šaka 1054,—and in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. X., p. 46, by Dr. Bhau Daj, who interpreted the date as Šaka 1064. Neither of those two versions, however, represents the original at all correctly in essential points. It has also been noticed by Mr. Rice, who, recognising, from the above discrepant readings of the date, and from the fact that the sanâvatasa, the name of which is recorded as Chitrabhânu, does not agree with the above dates by respectively thirty and twenty years, that the date had not been interpreted correctly,—gave as his opinion that the inscription belonged unmistakably to the ninth century A.D., and recorded the fate of Tâila I. and Bhîma II. of the Western Chalukya dynasty.1

Through the kindness of the Haidarabhâd Political Authorities, in furnishing me with an excellent ink-impression of this inscription, I am now able to publish a revised and satisfactory version of it, with lithographs.

It is engraved on the four faces of a stone, perhaps a dhvajastambha, at the temple of Rudra, in the eastern division of Anamkond. The entire stone is about 8' high by 2' 2" broad and 1' 2" thick. Lines 1 to 41 of the inscription are on the front face of the stone, and cover a space of about 4' 8" high by 2' 13" broad. Lines 42 to 89 are on the right-hand face, and cover a space of about 5' 1" high by 11' 6" broad. Lines 90 to 150 are on the rear face, and cover a space of about 6' 0½" high by 2' 2½" broad; and, judging from the impression, there must be some sculptures between the first and last parts of lines 90 to 104. And lines 151 to line 166, the last, are on the left-hand face, and cover a space of about 1' 10" high by 11½" broad.

The characters are well executed and well preserved Old-Canarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language of lines 1 to 8 is Old-Telugu; the rest of the inscription is in Sanskrit.

The inscription is dated in Šaka 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Chitrabhânu sanâvatasa. And the primary object of it is to record that the Mahâmanâlakârâ Rudrâdeva of the Kâkatiya or Kâkatiya dynasty, set up at his capital of Anmakuṇḍâpura, Anma-

---

1 Mysore Inscriptions, p. xliiv note, and p. lxiii.
koṇḍapāṭṭana, or Anumakonoḍanagari, the god Rudra or Mahābā, i.e. Siva,—the god Vāsudeva or Sauri, i.e. Vishnu,—and the god Śūrya or Ravi, i.e. the Sun;—and allotted either the large village of Maṭṭichēṟuvaḷa, or the village known as the larger Maṭṭičēṟuvaḷa, for the maintenance of their worship.

But the genealogical and descriptive portion of the inscription, from line 20 to line 163, gives us a variety of historical information which will prove of extreme interest when it can be properly worked out.

It gives us first the name of Trībhuvana maḷla, the grandfather of Rudradēva; but supplies us with no details in respect of him.

It then gives us the name of Prōla or Prōlēṛaḷa, the son of Trībhuvanamalla and the father of Rudradēva, and describes him as making captive in war, but then releasing again, Tailapadēva, the ornament of the Chāḷukyas. This Tailapadēva is not Taila I. of the Western Chāḷukya dynasty, as Mr. Rice thought,—but Taila III. of the Western Chāḷukya dynasty, who reigned from the Śaka 1072 (A.D. 1150-1) to Śaka 1084 (A.D. 1162-3).

It further records that Prōla defeated a king named Gōvinda, and gave his kingdom to king Udaya, and also that he conquered, and shored and branded, Gūḍa, the lord of the city of Maṇtrakāṭa; but, with what place Maṇtrakāṭa is to be identified, and who Gōvinda, Udaya, and Gūḍa were, I am not at present prepared to say,—except that this Gōvinda necessarily was not Gōvinda III. of the Rāṣṭrakāṭa dynasty, with whom Mr. Rice identified him,—and that there are some indications in subsequent passages of this inscription that Udaya was of the Chōla dynasty. And it finally records that in Prōla's time Anumakonoḍa was besieged by Jagaddēva, who, however, was repulsed and put to flight. This Jagaddēva is evidently the Mahāmanḍalēśvara, Trībhuvana maḷla-Jagaddēva, one of the Sāntara kings of Pāṭṭi-Pombechahūra, the modern Humcha in the Nagar District of Maṅsūr. His mother was Bijjadalēvi, whose sister, Chatjaladēvi,

was married to Vijayāditya I. (about Śaka 1020) of the Kāḍambas of Goa.* In his early days he seems to have been held in check by the Hoysala kings Ballaḷa I. and Vīshṇuvarṇa, as a Gadag inscription states that Ballaḷa I. attacked Jagaddēva and despoiled him of his kingdom,* and a Bēḷūr grant, dated Śaka 1039, calls Vīshṇuvarṇana "a very Bhaiṇava in destroying the strength of Jagaddēva."

But we find him afterwards, in Śaka 1071, governing at Sēṭa, and coming to Ballajēve and there making a grant of the village of Kandūr in the Koṇanāṭa Thirty of the Sāntalighe Thousand; and the fact of this inscription being dated in the Śukla saṅgasaḷa, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of the Western Chāḷukya king Jagadēkamalla II.,† coupled with Jagadēka's possession of the title of Trībhuvana maḷla, indicates that he was then a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II., and had been previously a feudatory of Vīrāmanḍāḷya VI. It was probably as a feudatory of Taila III. that he laid siege to Anumakonoḍa. Prōla's wife was Mappaṃmadēvi; and their son was Rudra or Rudradēva.

Rudradēva only styles himself a Mahāmanḍalēśvara; but with the exception of the expression pati-hitacarita, 'his whose actions were for the advantage of his lord,' in l.3, the inscription gives no indication of any paramount sovereign to whom he was feudatory; and that expression itself does not of necessity imply that he was only a feudatory noble, and the probability is that, as in the case of the Sīhāra Mahāmanḍalēsvars of Kōḷḷāpur, the title was only a customary one, and Rudradēva was really an independent king. In connection with him, the first record in this inscription is that he subdued a certain Domma, whose strength evidently lay chiefly in his cavalry. No clue is given as to who Domma was; but, as dōma, doma, or ḍama, is the name of 'a despised mixed caste,' he may have been the leader of some aboriginal tribe which had not then lost all its power. The next record is that he conquered a certain Maiḷgīḍēva and acquired the country of Polavāsa; but

---

* Pālī, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions, No. 190, l. 18-19.
† Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 301.
* P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions, No. 18, l. 121-122.
† Id., No. 180, l. 49.
here, again, there is no clue in the inscription itself, and I have none as yet from extraneous sources, to the identification of the names of this king and his country. Further on, mention is made of the death of Taila III.; this event, though it cannot be fixed precisely, even with the help of Taila's own inscriptions, and those of his successor, Šomšévara IV., is shown by the present inscription to have occurred some time before the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha of Šaka 1084, the Chitrabhānu saṅkatara. The next record is that a powerful opponent of Rudradēva then rose up in the person of a certain king Bhīma. To what dynasty Bhīma belonged, is not indicated. But the inscription intimates that he established himself by slaying a king named Gōkara. Also, as we find him afterwards in possession of the city of Chōdōdāya, it is plain that he took advantage of the death of that king, which is recorded just before the death of Taila III., and appropriated part of the Chōla dominions; this Chōdōdāya is perhaps the Udaya who has been mentioned in connection with Prōla. And the inscription mentions Bhīma in such a way with Taila III. as to lead us to infer that, during the interruption of the Western Chālukya power that ensued between the death of Taila III. in Šaka 1083 or 1084 and the accession of his son, Šomšévara IV. in Šaka 1104, Bhīma must have seized upon, but retained for a short time only, some of the eastern portions of the dominions of that dynasty. A graphic description is given of the overweening pride of this Bhīma, "the vilest of kings, a very beast of a man, the husband of his mother's rival wife, the slayer of the best of brothers while he was engaged in eating,"—and of Rudradēva's expedition against him. Rudradēva first took the city of Vardhamānānagarī, which, from the expression, "having advanced three or four steps," we must evidently look for not far from Amankonā itself. Bhīma then at once abandoned everything and fled to the forests; and Rudradēva, pursuing him, burned down the city of Chōdōdāya and cut down the forest in which he had taken refuge, and built there, in its place, a city with a great lake in the centre of it. What was the ultimate fate of Bhīma, we are not told. Lines 107 to 140 contain no further historical details. In lines 140 to 149 there is given a fanciful description of his city of Anumakonā, and in lines 149 to 158, of his troops of cavalry. Lines 158 to 163 define the position and boundaries of his kingdom. The editor of this inscription in the Bengal Journal reads:—Rudradēva prādhyāna-lavana-jala-adheśa-śrī-paryayaṇam-saṇya Šrī-kail-āntakh pracharati saṇḍa dakehīvaśyān samagrah prādhyāna Vākṣākaka-nikata-sthāyini rōja-lakṣmaṇū Kavaḷba-śāśṭa-vilasita Mālayavanta pravāraṇa pravāraṇa; and translated:—"His kingdom is bounded on the east by the salt sea, on the south by the Śrīśaila (mountains). His royal Lakṣmaṇa extends as far as Vākṣākaka; and on the north she reaches the mountain Mālayavanta." His readings, however, especially that which introduces Vākṣākaka in the third pāda, cannot be upheld. Dr. Bhaub Dājī read and translated the verse materially in the same way that I do. The Śrīśaila mountain, which was the southern limit of his kingdom, is a hill of considerable sanctity and repute in the Karṇāl District; it is to the north-east of Karṇāl itself, and is in about Lat. 16° 5′ N. and Long. 78° 55′ E. The western limits of his kingdom are not specifically mentioned; the word used is prādhyāya, which must be by metrical license for prādhyāna, 'being or living in the west, western, westerly,' i.e., as I translate it, 'the western countries,' and it seems to denote the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas. The northern boundary of his kingdom lay in the region of Mālayavante, or more properly, Mālīavanta. Dr. Bhaub Dājī calls this "the country in the neighbourhood;" while the editor in the Bengal Journal suggests that it is the Mālīgirī mountain, west of Baleswar; and Prof. Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, says that Mālayavante is 'one of the smaller mountains of India proper, lying eastward of mount Mēru.' I am not prepared at present to offer any identification of it. The extent of Rudradēva's kingdom is also sketched out, but not so definitely, in lines 111 to 114, where Bhīma and all the other kings living between the province of Kāśchi and the Vindhyā mountains are said to have been subject to him. Finally, lines 163 to 166 record that Rudradēva allotted the large village of Māṭṭīchāruvala, or perhaps the village called the larger Māṭṭīchāruvala, to provide for
the worship of the gods Śiva, Vishnu, and the Sun, which he had established, as recorded in the opening lines of the inscription.

In the verse commencing in line 107, Rūdraḍēva is called “the sole resting-place of the god of fortune who springs forth from the womb of the charming ocean of milk which is the lineage of Kāndūrāḍayā-Chāḍa.” I do not know as yet whether this simply refers to the seclusion by him of the Chāḍa dominions, or whether the Kākatiya kings claim a descent from the Chāḍa.

Dr. Burnell (Vauksh-brāhmaṇa, p. vii, note †) says that the family-name of Kākatiya or Kākatiya,—or, as he writes it, Kākateya,—is explained by the commentator Kumārasvāmi as being derived from the name of a local form of the goddess Durgā. At the same place he says that Warangal [or Worangal] is a Muhammadan and corrupt way of writing Orulkal, which means ‘One-rock,’ and is translated in Sanskrit books, that mention the place, by Ēkaśaila,—and that there is not the least trace of such a name as Aranakūṇḍa, which Lassen gives in his Map as the ancient name of Warangal. Lassen was probably led into this mistake by the writer of the introductory remarks and the translation of the present inscription, as originally published in the Bengal Journal, in both of which, though the name is read correctly in the text itself, ‘Arunakūṇḍa’ is substituted for Anmaakūṇḍa, Anmaakoṇḍa, and Anmakoṇḍa, and is identified with Worangal instead of with Anmaakoṇḍa.

Transcription.

1. Ŭni Svasti Śrī-ṛṣi-vṛjaya-śch-ābhyudaya-śc-ha bhavatu || Svasti Samadhipatapāṇcya-hāsabda-mahāmaṇḍalāśvā || Anmaakūṇḍa-puravāśa-paramamahāśvā ||
2. patri-hita-charita vinaya-viṅgha-śaṇa-śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalāśvā || Kākatiya-ya-ṛroduḍēva-ṛājula ||
3. namā-ṛaṇḍe-ṛaka-ṭaramu[ga?] Anmaakoṇḍa-paṭanamunānu sukha-saṅkhaṭāḥ-va- ||
4. nāḍuṇaṇa rāja-ṛṇa-śūnychunāda Śaka-varhamulam 1084 vuneṭṭi Chitrā- ||
5. bhānu-śauvatsara Māgha śu 13 Vācavārmanunāmu tana pēra Rudrē- ||
6. āṇu-ṛavamunā Śrī-Vasudevāra Śrī-Sūryyadēvaruṇu pratisthāṣa-sāyimche ||
7. Ṛṣyāτṭuṇga-taraṇa-ṭāṭita-viyat-saptapnaṇvaṭa jalaṁ || pāḍ-āṅgu- ||
8. rṣṭha-ṝaka-ṝaṇa-ṛaghtnam-abha-napābhava dhūmaṇḍal-ṛddharaṇa daṇḍa-kṛt-tukī-tukī-kā- ||
9. tāṇa-gataṁ tailōryam-ab-bẖū-ṛṇa-vada-ṛbhrāmaṇa ṛva rōma-kaṇḍa-ṛkṣa-veṇḍa va Ṛ- ||
10. haṁ Hariṁ || Śrī-Hēraṁṣa vivaṇa-kuṇṭalā-milaṁ-ṛalī-ḍaḷat-kumāla- ||
11. vṛṣṭ-ōj[i*]ṛiṁbhita- ||
12. [ga]ñḍha-ḥuḍha-maṇḍha-ṛṇa-ṝkaṇya-śapda || spīṭha-prīta-manā bhava ivam-ṁa mō- ||
13. [g]-daṇṭa-ṛuṛa-dvīṭi-prōḍda-ṛddalāna-sīka vikrama-lasad-daṇṭ-Śrī[ṛ]tikāṁ-śara ṛya(ya) ||
15. śrīkhaṇḍa-śrīkhaṇḍa-ṛiparipāṇḍura-puttal-iva vaktre vasatvavivaratāṁ tu Sarasvatī naḥ || Bhā- ||
16. Ṛvadṛjya-kula-śriyaḥ paurīṛya[h*] śrauta-kriyā-karmmaḥ || Śrī-Rāma-bhāva-ṛikṣhtō ||
17. janayitā yaṣya kahitav-agraṇiḥ || sō-Chiṣṭeṇḍravīrō Dravyaṁ-ṛita-ya- ||
18. tēśiṣhṇu yatī[ḥ*] śraddhāya śrīmad-Rudra-nārēśvarasya sumātṛ-vvāṇāsvālī ||
19. varṇyṛ || Śrīmat-[T]īriḥbhuvamanalo raṇa Kākatiya-vana-śauvāh || pralaba- ||
20. pu-ṛvaṇga-ṝaṇ-ṛivaṇhavya-vīr-viṣṇyāk-ṛaṇyaḥ || Śrī-Kākatiya-nārēśvara-bhrīṇah-liṣa- ||
21. kō vairāda-ḥrit-ṛb-catākaḥ sat-ṛaṭe vasu-ṛdayaḥ prati-dīnaṁ kāṁta-manā-ṛaṇa- ||
22. kaḥ dashkaṁṭā-ḥaṇḍaḥ ṛtaṇaḥ Puranarahṛ(ṛ)raḥ || Śrī-pādaṇd-ṛchchakoḥ ṛyaḥbhūṭikṛta- ||
23. nayaḥka-Tṛ(ṛ)- ||

* The honorary prefix Śrī is inserted here in the middle of the name Tribhuvanamalla for metrical purposes. Dr. Bhum Dāji's reading of Prātiṇḍa is wrong. The present form of the name, Prātiṇḍa, is probably only by metrical licence for the Prātiṇḍ of II. 39 and 39.

* Dr. Bhum Dāji's reading of Prātiṇḍa is wrong. The present form of the name, Prātiṇḍa, is probably only by metrical licence for the Prātiṇḍ of II. 39 and 39.
KAKATYA INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA AT ANAMKOND.—SAKA. 1084.


From an ink impression,—J. B.

Scale 1/4 of the original.

W. Griggs Photo-lith.
Chālukya-chādāmaṇiṃ śāvad-yuddha-nibaddha-gahvara-matiṃ yuddhāḥ ba-
banūḍha kṣaṇāt | śrīmat-Tailapadēvaṃ sāṁbāda nibhā-śaṁbhūrama-sōm sahaṇ[ā].

t-prakhyātā ripu-kṣaṇātha-khaṁcāma-vidhaṇa bhaktiṣu-anurāgā-yājanaḥ | Yō-kunṭhō-ri-
patēr-a-kunṭhā-paraśū-ālcavahyā-āgrahār-ālāsādaḥ dhārāpatā-nipātan-aika-chautuṇāh

[Gō]vijñārājā-āhavaṇāṃ | ba[d] dvāmānva tad Odāya kṣitiḥbrīdhē rājyaṃ dasaḥ

1[1]layā lunaḥkārā vihārasya tasya samarē sadvāra-ślkaḥāguruḥ | Krūddhē-

n-śoddhara-maṁcātraṭukā-nāgarīṇ[ī] niṇāthāḥय = ṣa mātrāpāṅa Guṇḍāḷa khaṁcāta eva muṇ-

ḍita-śīrāḥ kṛoḍ-aṁika-vakṣhaḥ[ī] stalaḥ | ēḍō ṣuṇāhaka-vat-pallāyaṇa parō jātō gataḥ

svāḥ puṁśu-āniūtō pi niṃ-cēsvarasya puratāḥ Prōlēṇa yuddhāya yat ||

Anyach-chā Anumākoṇḍa-nāma-nāgarīṇ śaṁvēśhita yō = yaṁ sthitā nānā-maṇḍalik-ā-

nivitō bhuvī Jagaddēvasa da dēva-prabhāḥ | stabdha-stambhita eva karyāya-karaṇē = saktāḥ

kṣaṇāṃ niṛggaṭāḥ śrīmat-Prōla-nipāsya tasya jayināḥ k[f]* brāmaḥ gauravaṃ ||

Dēvī Muppama-nāmadhrēṇa-sahitā yasyā guṇās-tārakāḥ krīṭtā śārada-chā-

[mdrik-ēva] vilasat-kāntēḥ tu n-śa[va-]ōpamaḥ | Kansaly-ēva cha Jānak-īva cha saṭī Kunt-ī-

[42] va Padū-ēva sā Paulōm-īva cha Chaṇḍikō-ēva cha va varō tasyā śābhavad-bhāminī || Tasyās-tasya

[42] sūtō janāthī | paramāṇaḥ-aika-kaṇḍā-ānkū-

raḥ Kāmaḥ kiṃ Nalakūbaraḥ Śīva sutaḥ

[42] Kṣaṇāda Jayantō thavā | Jishnūrv-vvajradharē

[42] thavā Hariṣ-ayaṃ Darāu kumārau nātē(tō) bha-

ktaḥ Śrī Girīśē hitāya jagataḥ Śrī-Ru-

[42] dṛḍēvō nripāḥ || Tvaṅgat-tuṅgā-turaṅga-puṇ-

[42] gava-chāy-ārōha-kramaṃ karmmaḥaḥ Do-

[42] mmaṃ chāra-paraṇkrama-krama-bhaṛamah bha-

[42] n[k*]tvā sakṛitāllayā | Karṇaṃ Pārttha ivē

[42] malaiḥ sara-satair vvidrāvyā vidrāvyā yō

[42] lēbhē sarva-viśēshā yukta-nagara-grāmān

[42] sa Rudrō nripāḥ || Ḫē Mēda-vidāmbā-jaṅā

[42] bha-bhāra-kahōda-kshamaṃ kahmabhūrītāṃ dūrvā-

[42] r-śoddhara-vira-maṁтра-samāy-ādān-aiku-ōf-

[42] kṣaṇāguruḥ || śrīmn-Māṁja-gītēva samā-sa-

[42] maya-prōdbhūta darpp āpahaṃ prāptā-

[42] Śrī-Polavāsa-dēsā-viḥhavān Śrī-Rudrādē

[42] vaṁ sadā || Bhīmēṇa bhīma-nakūlēṇa ku-

[42] lēna hīnō grastō mamāra gṛiha-mū-

[42] shaka-vat khaṇānē | māryjār-dīmāhaka-vārē

[42] gha mahā-āthtakahārē Gōkarṇa-nāma-bhū-

[42] jāgō bhuvī śrō-mānē || Śrīmād-Ru-

[42] dra-parākram-ōdharā-śāhavā-vyāmōhya-

[42] n-ākhyōllasaḥ chhastra-trasta-samasta-gātra-

[42] vilasaḥ Chāhōdāya-kaṃpaṭēḥ | unmatā

[42] iva visṛṣṭā iva mahā-hūt-ābhibhūḥ

[42] tē iva prōdbhārītmā iva saṁkula iva

[42] tadā prāṇāḥ prayātā divaḥ || Yāte=

[42] pi Tailapa-nripō divam asya bhītyā sarvā-

[42] tisāra-kabālkritā-gātra-yashtau | Śrī-Ru-

[42] drādēvō nripātēḥ prithvī-vikramasya Bhēmō=

[42] pi rājya-paḍavān khaṇānīkāḥ sa lēbhē | Ėkō jaṃ-

[42] buka-dīṃbhākā laghutaraśa-saṁvēśhitō jaṅbū-

16 This syllable is effaced or broken away; but it cannot have been anything but gō.

11 This points to a base ṣdās, as well as the ṣdā of the Dictionaries.
KAKATYA INSCRIPTION
OF RUDRADEVA
AT
ANAMKOND.—ŚAKA. 1084.

IV.—REAR SIDE OF THE STONE,
UPPER HALF: LINES 90-121.
[118] uñā-śastra-vichāra-n-aika-chaturā brāhmaṇ-vilās-āśrayah kalp-ākla(kripta-gatiḥ kshita-r
[119] v=īka Satānaṁda[h*] svaya[m*] pāṛṭhivāḥ || Saty-āsakta-maṇā nirasta-naraka-kleśās-
cha lakshmy-āśrayaḥ
[120] prīthvibhṛida-yad=annāita-bhūga-nilayaṁ śāśvad=-[d*] vijēmir-a-priyaḥ dusht-ārishta-vimard-
ānasu
[121] manasaṁ-abhyarthitārtha-pradō gōtra-prōddharaṇaṁ sudārśana-karō Rudra[h*] svayaṁ
Kēśavāḥ ||
[122] Asama-samara-śaañg-ōttuṅga-māta[m*]ga-ku[rn*]bhaṣṭhala-vigalaḻita-muktāhāra bhār-ābhī-
rāmaḥ || Bhava-
[123] bhava-bhaya-bhaṁ[k*]ta bhāminī-bhavya-nētr-ōtpala-dala-chaya-bhūsāḥ sōbhatē Rudra-
dēvaḥ || Asmi-
[124] n=prāśasati māhu bhuvī Rudra-dēvē rāj-ābhīdāḥ śāśmi n=āiva nar-ōttamēshu
īśāvam=ūnduti-
[125] lakē na dhana-ākulaṁ ātparēsaṁvītā na cha śatrāvēśu || Kēśa-grahas=surata-
śaṇgam-sambhra-
[126] mēhu damē-grahā yatishah n=āiva jan-ōtkarēshaḥ || śāstrō vīvāda-kathanaṁ vyavaha-rā-
jamno, (man)
[127] na kyōpi dushta-mathanaṁ mathanaṁ tv=aranyām || Dānaṁ dainya-parābhava-
āvadhi ripun-chēchēlāvadhīr=vṛvika-
[128] māṁ=chāturīyam Chaturānām-āvadhi guṇa-grāmas=tv=saṁkhyā-āvadhīṁ || tējō
bhāskara-ōpan-ā-
[129] vadhi yaśo-śāśis-ṭu Rudrasya yas-trailōky-ākrumāṇ-āvadhīr=nniravadhīr=
āḍhīṁ(dṛdha)rmēno matih śōblatē ||
[130] Prāpt-āśo-pi mahattarō-pi mahattāṁ=eś-āśrayō-pi Śriyō jama-sthānam=api
prasamma-hṛi-
[131] d=api tvam rataṁ dhām-āpi san || pitaḥ Kūmbhasamudbhavāna jahadhē
kṣhāraḥ sumadṛ ro yatō n=ai-
[132] vām Rudra-nārēśvarāḥ=yan=amanā sparaddhaṁ vṛīthā mā kṛthāḥ || Audāryaṁ
sura-sākṣiṁaṁ śī-
[133] khariṇāḥ svarṇaṁ-ākritēr=ggauravaṁ dhairyam Dēsārathēr=bbalaṁ Purabhīdō
gāṁbhīryam=ambūdindhē [ ] ī
[134] saṁdāryyaṁ MakaradāyāvatŚeragurūr-vvīdyāratīṁ kauktūkād-ādhyābjasamaru-
vēṇa ra-
[135] chitāṁ(ah) Śri-Rudradēva dhruvām || Sphāyatkaraṇavat=īndur=ambujapati[h*]
spatkābhyataye=ambaryā
[136] lōmaṁ nilasārōjāti sphuta-yaśō-dughdhādāhu samāprati || yōṭiṁśhī sphutabu-
budānti hari-
[137] taḥ kālaṁti lōkā=trayāṁ=charāchāvichchayaṁti yasya jayaḥ Śri-Rudradēva-
dhūtanā ||
[138] Pāda-niśāc-sālaṁ-śārīrāśi samārē kṛttēni khadēna yachāhtrūṇāṁ pāttēni māmaṁ-vi-
[139] lasat-paṅkṣe-ta śaṅkē hy-aḥaṁ || raktā-srotāsi Rudradēva-jañino ṇṛṇyāt-
kabāmīhāḥ plavā ā-
[140] yāntyā vijaya-śriyaṁ=cha savidhatu kirttōḥ prayanēḥ dīṣaṁ || Taśyā-stē=
Namakoṁda-nā
[141] ma-nagarī Śri-rājadhānaṁ īva ya yatro-ṛdaya-sad-akhaṁḍa-khaṁḍa-paraśu-vyājjīmīmbhāp-
ōjñīṁhiṁta
[142] Kaimdarppasya purś-īva sā ratimati śṛūgāra-bhāv-ānvitā Māhēṁśīr-īva cha Jīṣhaṁ
Vishṇu-sa-
[143] hitā Rāmābh-vilās-ōjījītā || Yatra striyō Makaraḵetaṁ-rājadānya āṇḍa-ṁra-
[144] ja-palaśa-dṛṣṭāṁ kṣī-āṅgyaḥ || trailōkya-sūndaraṇjīsaṁ tilakāyamāṇā āyina-tuṅga
Translation.

Oū! Hail! Let there be good fortune and victory and prosperity! Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Mahāmallaśvara, the Kākatiya king Rudrādeva,—the Mahāmallaśvara who had attained the pañcamaḥāśāśa of the lord of Anamaṇḍika, which is the best of cities; he who was a most devout worshipper of Mahāśiva; he whose actions were for the advantage of his lord; he who was adorned with modesty,—was continuing the government at the city of Anamaṇḍika, with the delight of pleasing conversations, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 6.)—Having established his own namesake (the god) Rudrādeva, and the god Śrī-Viṣṇu-deva and the god Śrī-Sūryadeva, on Vaṇāvara the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha of the Chitrāṭhām navatara, the Saka year 1084 being current—

(L. 9.)—I praise Hari, the bear; when he lifted up the terrestrial globe, the water of the seven oceans beat against the skies with its lofty waves, and yet reached only up to the tips of the nails of the great-toes of his feet; and the three worlds, like a drop of water, were contained in the interior of the cottage which was the point of his tusk; and the bulbs of his bristles were as if they were brahmāṇḍas! O Śrī-Pārambhika, be most graciously disposed to me; thou who art the asylum of the multitudinous hummings of the bees which are attracted by the fragrance poured forth by the clusters of the opening buds of jasmine which mingle with thy pendent treeses; and who art the asylum of the excessive splendour of that shining tusk, the single prowess of which entirely extinguishes the lustre of the tusks of the elephants of the regions! May Sanasvati always reside in my mouth; she who is as it were a mother; who elevates us with the milky waves of the ocean of milk; who is as it were fashioned from the moon; and who is as it were a little statue of a very pale colour like that of a ball of sandal-wood!

(L. 16.)—I, Achintēdravrava,—whose father was Śrī-Rāmēśvaradikshita, the increaser of the glory of the family of Bhrādarvāja, the performer of the ārauma ceremonies, the foremost words Īdāṇ śravaṇa rājaṇ Śrōmēśvarārājagāma linkitam. But they are not in the impression supplied to me; nor, apparently, in that supplied to Dr. Bhan Deōj. The context is in line 163; all the matter that intervenes is by way of a parenthesis. 12 Gopati.
KAKATYA. INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA AT ANAMKOND.—ŚAKA. 1084.

man in the world; and who am myself an ascetic, the disciple of the ascetic Advayaṃrita, with confidence describe the genealogy of the benevolent and glorious king Rudrēśvara.

(L. 20.)—There was the glorious king Tribhuvanamalla, born in the Kākatya lineage, the effecter of the widowhood of the wives of his mighty enemies. Glorious was Śri-Tribhuvanamalladēva, the ornament of the Śri-Kākatya kings,—who distanced the hearts of the greatest of his foes; who day by day bestowed wealth upon worthy objects; who charmed the hearts of lovely women; who was the seducer of a crowd of evil women; who was the worshipper of the water-lilies which are the feet of Purnahara, and who humbled (all other) leaders (of men).

(L. 24.)—His son,—the place of the enjoyment of the nectar of meditating on the water-lilies which are the feet of Śiva; the robber of the glory of the good fortune of the great auspiciousness of the lovely women of his enemies; the destroyer of the pride of the greatest of his foes; a very Laṅkēśvara in respect of the pride of fearlessly engaging in battle,—attained celebrity under the name of Prōlērāja. In an instant he made captive in war the glorious Tailapadēva, the ornament of the Chālukyas, whose habit was skilful in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose inmost thoughts were ever intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud; and then at once he, who was renowned in the rite of severing the throats of his (captive) enemies, let him go, from goodwill (produced) by (his) devotion. Having made captive him who was named Gōvindarāja and who was skilful above all others in discharging the shining trickling rain of (the flashes of) the smooth edge of his sharp battle-axe,—he, the pillager of his country in war, the preceptor for the initiation of excellent heroes, who was fierce against the hostile kings, liberated him, and then sportively gave his kingdom to king Udāya. Then the shameless Guṇḍa,—who was the lord of the lofty city of Māntrakāṭa, and who, having been defeated by him in his anger, had his head shaved and his breast marked with the sign of a boar,—became intent upon flight, like a lamb, and betook himself to his own city, though, in the presence of the lord of kings, he was called upon by Prōla (to come forth) to battle. And again,—that (famous) Jagaddēva,—who was attended by many chieftains, and who was like a god upon earth, and who stood encompassing the city named Anumakōṇḍa,—was made (by him) to stand motionless as if paralysed, and, being unable to accomplish his object, departed at once; how can we describe the majesty of the glorious and victorious king Prōla? The queen, who was named Muppa ma,—whose virtues were (like) stars, and whose fame was like the autumn moon, but for whose charming beauty there is no object of comparison; who was like Kausalyā, and the chaste Jánakī, and Kuntī, and Padmā, and Paulomī, and the excellent Chāyādikā,—became his beloved wife.

(L. 43.)—From her there was born to him, for the welfare of the world, a son, the king Śri-Rudrēva, who worshipped and was devoted to Śri-Girīśa, and who was the sprout of the excellent bulb of supreme felicity; (in comparison with him), what is Kāma, or Nalakābara, or Śkanda, the son of Śiva, or Jayanta, or Jishna, the wielder of the thunderbolt, or Hari, or the two young Dāras?

(L. 49.)—Having at once with ease broken (the power of) Dōmma, who was skilful in mounting numbers of excellent horses, prancing and tall, and who carried himself with elegant prowess,—and having, as Pārtha did Karpa, again and again put him to flight with hundreds of shining arrows,—he, the king Rudrā, acquired a number of towns possessed of all things that were the best of their kind.

(L. 55.)—I always praise Śri-Rudrēva,—who is capable of trampling upon the burden of the mass of the annoyance of the Mēdas; who is the sole preceptor for initiation in the acquisition of lofty and brave counsels and opportunities which are hard to be resisted by the (hostile) kings; who destroyed the pride, that arose in the time of war, of the glorious Maḷigaṇēva; and who acquired the wealth of the country of Śri-Polavāsa.

15 By the rules of Saṅkha, this name, in this passage, may be either Advaṃkātra or Dvayaṃkātra. I follow Dr. Bhaṭa Dāji in reading Advaṃkātra.
16 See note 8 above.
17 See note 8 above.
18 Śiva.
19 See note 9 above.
20 Kṛṣṇēka, as one word, means 'a tortoise'; but this does not seem to be what is intended here.
21 Śiva.
22 A particular mixed caste, the offspring of a Vaidēha by a Kāravāra female.
(L. 61.)—Like a house-mouse (scared) in dense darkness by a fine young cat, so the serpent named Gākṛṣṇa, who was of low birth, but who took himself to be a hero in the world, died instantly when he was seized by the terrible mongoose Bhīma. Then the vital airs of the graceful king Chāḍādaya,—whose whole body was terrified by the gleaming weapon named ‘the bewilderer’ which was the fear that sprang from the prowess of the glorious Rūdra,—being, as it were, made mad, or made oblivious, or possessed by a great demon, or greatly overcome by agitation, or thrown into confusion, departed to the sky. Though king Taillapa went to the sky, his delicate body being wasted by violent diarrhoea through fear of this most valorous king Śrī-Rūdra-deva,—yet Bhīma assumed a transitory position of sovereignty. Just as one young jackal, surrounded by many still more insignificant jackals, despises the earth through vain-glory in imagining himself to be a king, and matches himself with a lion, and then, causing all the regions to reecho with the confused noises of his howlings, becomes terrified and is rendered incapable by the (mere) shaking of the mane of the lion, and goes away somewhere or other (and hides himself),—so Bhīma, the vilest of kings,—a very beast of a man; the husband of his mother’s rival wife; the slayer of the best of brothers while he was engaged in eating,—being intent upon attempting to swallow the skies, matched himself against the terrible Śrī-Rūdra-deva, and ascended to the highest summit of the mountain of pride increased by rivalry. Having heard, through his spies, of the wealth of the kingdom of Bhīma, and of his evil deeds, the glorious king Rūdra commenced his preparations for an enterprise of victory; and he, who had no adversary of equal standing with himself, joyfully and quickly then set out for good fortune, being led along by the array of his whole army, and being attended by his forces, which straightway were made ready. At the time of his setting out on his expedition of dawning victory, the clouds fell down through the perturbation caused by the augmentation of the alternations of the uproar that sprang from the rumbling of his low-sounding drums; the earth trembled; the mountains tottered; the tortoise suffered; the serpent was perplexed; and the elephants of the points of the compass were stafified. Through fear of Rūdra-deva, the (hostile) kings,—frightened by the uproar, and roaming about (vainly) in (the face of) his active preparations, and trembling with the fever of having their ears filled with the rumbling of the low-sounding drums used in his simultaneous enterprises,—abandoned their treasure in their houses, their elephants and horses on the road, their relations halfway along their path, and their harems in their forts. Having rapidly advanced three or four steps, the king sacrificed first the city of Vardhamāna-nagarī, as if it were the pounding of grain or as if it were a preliminary oblation, in the fire of his anger which was increased by the knitting of his eyebrows. Trembling with fear at his glances, as (the Pāṇḍara prince Bhīma trembled at the glances) of Duryodhana, and being disquieted in his body, he, Bhīma, abandoning all his possessions, shamelessly betook himself to the forests, accompanied by his brother, his mother, and his wife. Then the king pursued him, and burned the city of (the king) Chāḍādaya, a city of not great importance,—just as Ājanāya (burned) the city of Laṅkā, which was like the city of the gods, and which was graced by the amorous pastimes of crowds of fawn-eyed women. And he cut down the forest which was his fortress, the inrificacies of which were its door-bars; and he made there a great and wonderful lake in the centre of a city.

(L. 107.)—How shall be described the prowess of king Rūdra-deva, the lord of the earth, who is the sole resting-place of the goddess of fortune who springs forth from the womb of the charming ocean of milk which is the lineage of Kandurādaya-Chāḍā; who destroys the pride of the race of petty warriors; who possesses the wealth of the whole world; and who, like Rāma, cuts down the multitude of his enemies with his axe? The earth was pounded by the hoofs of his excellent horses, prancing and tall; the sky was pervaded by the number of his excellent umbrellas which possessed the (white) radiance of the moonlight; the regions were filled by the masses of his chauris which were as

yanāgarī.

Or, perhaps, “the city called the lesser Chāḍādaya.”

Hanumān.
beautiful as a number of full-moons; and his enemies ran away when they saw the setting out of the armies of the king.

(L. 111).—When Bhima and other kings living between the province of Kānchi and the Vindhya (mountains),—who day by day were heard of by Śrī-Rudradēva,—saw him (in person at last), they became for a long time (unable through astonishment to close and open their eyelids), as if, mortals (though they were), (they had become) gods possessed of the lovely women of the immortals; and then, having returned (to their senses), they betook themselves to that same Rudradēva, asking for protection.

(L. 114).—I praise king Rudra, in whose mind there never enters any suspicion of pride, though he makes hundreds of learned people the sole recipients of his wealth; (just as) the ocean, having made Śrī-Purnabottama the sole possessor of Śrī, still (concedes and) wakens up the earth with the murmuring of its waves. The king Śrī-Rudra is himself a very Chaturānana, a very Satāmada, upon this earth,—having humbled the highest of kings, as Chaturānana has subjected the rājakula-birds to himself; being the sole place of the production of wealth, just as Chaturānana’s sole habitation is that which sprang from the waterlily; being the sole cause of the happiness of the best of learned men; being skilled above all others in investigating many sacred writings; being the asylum of the recreations of religious practices, just as Chaturānana is the sole place of the amorous dalliance of Brāhma; and having his behaviour fashioned in accordance with the sacred precepts, just as Chaturānana has an existence which is determined by (the duration of) a Kalpa. Rudra is himself a very Kēśava,—having a mind intent upon truth, as the mind of Kēśava is devoted to Satya; having thrown aside the miseries of hell; being the asylum of good fortune, as Kēśava is of Lakṣāmi; being the supporter of the earth; being the abode of endless enjoyments, as Kēśava’s abode is the hoods of Ananta; being ever dear to the most excellent of the twice-born, as Kēśava is to the king of snakes; being the destroyer of evil misfortunes, as Kēśava was of the evil Arishta; being the giver of desired objects to learned people, as Kēśava is to the gods; being the raiser of his family, as Kēśava was of the mountain (Gōvardhana); and being of handsome appearance, as Kēśava is the wielder of (the discus) Sudarśana. Beautiful is Rudradēva, who is charming with the necklets of the pearls which have dropped down from the tall elephants in the contests of his unrivalled battles; who destroys the fear that is generated by Bhava; and who is adorned with the petals of waterlilies which are the beautiful eyes of lovely women. While this same Rudradēva rules the world,—the title of king belongs only to the moon, and not to the greatest among men; the condition of lordship belongs only to Incūntilaka, and not to those who have accumulated riches; fierceness of brilliance exists only in the sun, and not among enemies; the catching hold of hair is confined to the act of sexual intercourse; the holding of staves exists only among ascetics, and not among the body of the people; disputations are confined to the sacred writings, and exists not in litigation; and there is nowhere any attrition of the wicked, but only of the arāṇi-wood. The liberality of Rudra is limited only by the disappearance of poverty; his prowess is limited only by the destruction of his enemies; his wisdom is as extensive as that of Chaturānana; and his virtuous qualities are without any limit: his lustre is as extensive as the heating power of the sun; the mass of his fame is limited only by pervading the three worlds; and his intellect shines without any limit in (the study of) religion. O ocean,—though thou pervadest the regions; though thou art very great; though thou art the sole refuge of the great; though thou art the birth-place of Śrī; though thy heart is propitious; and though thou art the abode of jewels,—thou wast drunk up by Kumbhasamudra (and didst become) a salt ocean: but not so is this king Rudra; therefore do not vainly enter into rivalry with him! Verily Śrī-Rudradēva was fashioned by Abjasamudrā by joyfully selecting liberality from the tree of the gods, dignity from the mountain which is made of gold, fortitude from Dāsāraithi, strength from Parabhit, profundity from the ocean, beauty from Makaraśiva, and delight in learning from Śūra-

---

28 Śiva. The play is on the meanings of śi, —'lord,' and 'a name of Śiva.'

21 The wood of the Vicious religious, used for kindling fire by attrition.

29 Agastya.
garn. Wonderfully victorious is Srí Rudrādeva; in the ocean of milk which is his widely diffused fame, the moon plays the part of an opening waterlily, the sun plays the part of a waterlily in full bloom, the moving clouds play the part of blue waterlilies, the stars play the part of bright bubbles of water, the regions play the part of shores, and the three worlds play the part of tumbling billows.

I think that, in the river of blood (shed in the battles) of the victorious Rudrādeva, the heads of his enemies, which have been cut off by his sword in war and have fallen into the charming mud which is (the particles of) their flesh, are stepping stones, and the writhing headless trunks are boats, both for the goddess of victory as she approaches him, and for his fame as it sets out for the (utmost) regions.

(L. 140.)—His (capital), the city named Anumakopā,—which is as it were the capital of Srí, and which was created by the power of his excellent and unbroken axe that cut to pieces (his foe),—is like the city of Kandarpā, being full of delight, as that is possessed of Rati, and being full of the condition of love; and it is like Māhāndra, in being possessed of (temples of) Jishṇu and Vīṣṇu, (as the other is of those gods in person,) and in being full of the elegance of plantain trees, as the other is of the amorous play of Rambhā. There the women,—whose eyes are like the petals of blue waterlilies; who are of a leader form; who are the best of the lovely-eyed women of the three worlds; and who move lazily on account of the weight of their full and high breasts,—are as it were the capital cities of Makarakētāna. There, in the houses of the Brāhmaṇas, the clever parrots, assembled with the young students, recite, in spite of attempts to prevent them, the Vedas, together with all the Vedāyās, and according to the pada and the krama methods which are studied by all those whose pleasing conduct consists of investigation. In the houses of the harlots, the low musical notes of the young parrots,—who imitate the actions and the sounds that are produced at the time of sexual intercourse, and who are the full moons of the tumultuous ocean of the excitement of love,—in the day time make all the regions vocal.

(L. 149.)—The army of the horses of Srí Rudrādeva invades not the sky, because it is the place where Vīṣṇu placed his foot, and touches not the earth with its hoofs, because it is (as sacred as) a cow; but,—filling all the regions, and terrifying his enemies with its prancing, and day by day putting them to flight and killing them in the battlefield,—it is victorious. His horses are of most pleasing shape,—of low sounding neighings,—possessed of all the excellent characteristics that are made famous by the writings that treat of horses,—adapted in their make for speed and weight,—very long-lived,—and trained in the five kinds of paces.

(L. 158.)—His extensive kingdom reaches (on the east) to the shore of the salt sea; his regal power always extends over the whole country of the south as far as Srīsaila, and standing (in one direction) on the confines of Kaṭaka, (in the other direction) it has the western countries for its boundary, and it has its northern region in the country of Mālayavanta, which is charming with its precipitous heights.

(L. 163.)—The king Rudrādeva, who is esteemed by good people, gave here, as a permanent grant, the great village named Mattichēruvāla to (the gods) Śrī Mahāśēva and Ravi and Śaari, for the performance of (their) worship.

CHAIṬYAS.

BY NARAYAN AIYANGAR, SHIMOCA.

In Bauddha works, their temples are called Chaityas, and one of the Buddhist precepts is Chaityas vandha svargakāmam, i.e. he who longs for Svarga should worship the dagāba

**Or, perhaps, "the village called the greater Mattičēruvāla."

1 Properly speaking it is not the temple (Chaitya-gṛhā) but the dagāba inside it that is called a Chaitya. In a

secondarly sense it is used by Jainas and Buddhists, however, to denote a temple containing a Chaitya; and is also applied in Buddhist books to a sacred tree as well as to a stūpa.—Ed.
ing to be attached to it, construing it in some places as Buddhāyatanas. If this meaning is correct, it is conclusive regarding the post-Buddhist origin of the Rāmāyana. It seems therefore necessary to examine the places in which the word occurs, to see if anywhere really does mean a Buddha temple.

1. In II, 3, 18, Daśaratha in order to celebrate Rāma's installation orders food with daksinā to be ready in devāyatanas and chaityas. Here the latter word has been construed as chatusāphathas.

2. In II, 25, 4, seeing that Rāma has decided upon going to the forest his mother blesses him, “May those (gods) whom you, my son, salute (pranāmae) in āyatana and chaityas protect you in the forest.”

3. In II, 50, 8, Rāma, on his way to the forest passed the Kosāla country (Kosāla), which was soiled with chaityas and yāpas (chaityaśaṇamānātan). Here chaitya has been rendered as devāyatanas.

4. In II, 71, when Bharata is brought back from his uncle's country to Ayodhya on the death of the king, he finds the devāyatanas empty, worship not performed, in them, and that the birds (that had built their nests) in devāyatanas and chaityas were not lively.

5. In II, 100, on seeing Bharata at Čitrakūṭa, Rāma puts to him many questions: sūkha 43 says “Is the country (under your rule) full of hundreds of chaityas, chaityaśaṇamānātan?” The commentator says that in some copies chaityaśaṇatāh occurs instead of chaityaśaṇa, and that in either case the word denotes the places where the chaitya ceremony was performed at the completion of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, etc. (āśvamedhāsamahyānāchaitya-prakāchasamādhā).

6. In V. 12, 14, Hanumata searched for Sita in houses and chaitya houses (chaityagrihas). Mahāsātrita construes them as Buddhāyatanāni, but Govindarāja takes them to be the halls (maṇḍapas) at chatusāphathas.

7. Sūkha 17 also says all roads and vedikī chaityaśaṇamānātanā were searched. Mahāsātrita says chatusāphathas aśvāmānāh brahūvādvedikī, Govindarāja says—chaityaśaṇamānāh chaityaśaṇamānāh.

8. In V. 15, Hanumata saw in the Aśoka forest a chaityaśaṇa, which had one thousand pillars and was very high. Here both the commentators take it to mean a building like a Buddhāyatanā; but the word again occurs in V. 39, where Govindarāja takes it to be a building like a devāyatanā.

9. In V. 22, 29 Rāvana, though wearing ornaments, is described to be fearful like the chaitya of the burning ground—śāntaḥchaityaśaṇamānānaḥ bāhurūpāḥ bhāyāṅkaraḥ.

10. The word also occurs in the Mahābhārata. When Bhishma had charge of the government, the country was full of chaityas and Yāpas—“chaityaśaṇatākātāḥ,” I, 109, 13. The same is stated as the case when Subhrot reigned, I, 94, 29. (I. cal. 223.)

11. In the Ārasaṇa-caritra, Adh. 12, where Arjuna reminds Kriṣṇa of his divine nature and of the several heroic deeds done by him, sūkha 35 says—

   “O Achyuta, when you were seated in the middle of the chaitya shining with your lustre, the Rishis came and solicited your protection.”

The word chaitya is derived from the root chā cha, to collect, and the commentary on Amara called the Gurubddaprabodhika says that it denotes a building, because it is the result of the collection or putting together of stones, etc. chaityaśaṇaḥ chaityam. But it will be seen that in some of the above quotations the word is used in close connection with yāpa, the sacrificial post. The ceremony performed at the end of the great sacrifices is called chaitya, i.e. the collection of the sacred ashes and other relics and the grouping them into the form of a tortoise, or of the bird Garutmat as in the sacrifice called Garudacharya; chāta being the sacred things thus collected, it appears that the building constructed to preserve them for the purpose of worship was called chaitya or chaitya. This place of worship, from its connection with Vedic rites, is probably of older date than the devāyatanās. The quotation No. 11 above shows that it was also used as a place of congregation, as our temples are where religious and caste subjects are discussed.

It is therefore clear that the Rāmāyana alludes to the Bhārāmāyana and not to the

---

8 I give this description from report and cannot vouch for its correctness, though I feel sure that originally chaitya was connected with the Bhārāmāyana sacrifice.
Bauddha Chaitya. The commentators are not consistent in saying that chaitya means a Brāhmaṇical building when it is mentioned in connection with Rāma and his country, and a Buddhist building when mentioned in connection with the enemy's country, forgetting that Vālmīki has people Lankī with vedic students and sacrificers, without ever mentioning the Buddhists.

No. 7 mentions chaitya trees, so called probably because instead of constructing a building it was also the custom to plant trees with revetment round their stems, where the chayana ceremony was performed. In course of time, however, all revetted trees began to be called chaitya trees; and to such trees, which are generally found in all villages, Kālī dāsa evidently alludes when describing the Dasāra country in his Meghadūta. Mallinātha quotes Viśva: chaityam āyatana Buddhavandya chod-desapāḍaṇe.

The ceremony performed after the burning of dead bodies is sañī-chayana, in which, after collecting the bones, a portion of the ashes is grouped into a human form, and bāsāli or food offered to it. I take the ānasāna-chanāya, alluded to in 9, to be a monumental building erected on such spot in memory of departed kings and other great personages.

It may therefore be presumed that in accordance with custom a chaitya was built in memory of Buddha, and that his disciples began to worship and multiply it by taking his funeral relics to different parts of the country, while the sacrificial chaityas of the Brāhmaṇas became scarce owing to the opposition made by the Bauddhas to animal sacrifices, and the Brāhmaṇas themselves having prohibited the asvamedha for the Kaliyuga.

It will be seen that the Rāméṣṭha mentions temples and idolatry; but these seem to be of old date in India, though not so very prevalent as at present. Stenzler's Gāthāna Sūtra 9, 66, preserves the going round of Devyātanā. Griha-dēvatās or household gods are mentioned in 5, 13.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.
BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.
(Continued from p. 287, vol. X.)

Mānabhāvas.¹

The founder of this Mānabhāva sect was Kṛiṣṇāmbhat Joshi, a worshipper of Vetāl. Vetāl pleased with his devotion asked Kṛiṣṇāmbhat what was his desire and it should be satisfied. Kṛiṣṇāmbhat said that as his name was Kṛiṣṇa, he would like to be transformed into the god of that name in outward appearance. Vetāl was sorry at the request, but since he had promised he could not refuse, and therefore presented him with a crown, adding that when he put it on, he would look like the god Kṛiṣṇa. Vetāl however advised him not to make a bad use of the gift, and to wear it only on proper occasions and for charitable purposes, and that any bad use made of it would ruin him and send him to perdition. Having got the crown, he made over charge of his office and vataṇ to his relatives, and taking advantage of the gift, went on from house to house visiting and enticing away married women and grown-up girls. The fame of Kṛiṣṇa's re-appearance having spread far and wide, brought many a woman to Kṛiṣṇāmbhat's arms, and he enjoyed them to the full extent of his depraved heart. When his fame was at its highest pitch, it reached the ears of Hemādpant, minister to the rājā of Dēvagiri, who tried to ascertain the cause of Kṛiṣṇa's re-appearance. He propitiated his tutelary god Gaṇeṣa, who revealed to him the secret. Hemādpant, vexed at Kṛiṣṇāmbhat's wicked conduct, sent a confidential person, charged to spare no pains to induce Kṛiṣṇāmbhat to accompany him to Paithān. The clerk thus sent pretended to be a great believer in Kṛiṣṇāmbhat, prostrated himself before him, and prayed that he would be graciously pleased to accompany him to his village, as the men and women were anxious to worship him and to place themselves at his service, that the women had given up tasting food until they saw his handsome and comely appearance. Flattered by the speech of the clerk, he accom-

¹ A large portion of this account is translated from the Prākrit Dictionary of Modern Bharatīkhand: Poona, 1881, and here and there extracts are made from Mackintosh's Blackclothed Mendicant Devotees, Madras Jour. of Scien. and Lit., for 1886.
panied him, little knowing the destruction that awaited him. Conducting him to a seat in Hemadpant's house, Hemadpant, in accordance with the customs of the country, asked Krishnabhat to bathe, as the dinner was ready. The god of course would not do so, as he would require to remove his crown, but Hemadpant, persisting and showering abuse on him, made a sign to one of the bystanders, who took the crown off his head, and the would-be god stood in his original form. He was at once made a prisoner, along with his followers, their heads shaved, and as a mark of dishonour, they were given black clothes to wear and ultimately banished.

The Mahbhavas however deny this, and say that they are the followers of Balarama, Krishna's brother, and that the colour of the clothes which Balarama wore was black. On this plea they say that black clothes were not formerly regarded as a sign of dishonour by all, and hence their sect has not sprung from wickedness, but is as pure as any other. The name of the sect is derived from mahā and anubhava, or men of great knowledge. The sect is said to have come into existence about the year 1125 Sakas, when Hemadpant was minister to RÂmachandra of Devagiri. If this be true (see vol. VI, p. 366,) the sect was formed about 650 years ago, that is, it originated about 75 years before Janesvara. Their head is called a Mahant, and their head-quarters is in the Berar provinces. They have five monasteries—Narmath, Narayana, Rishima, Pravara and Prakasamath. Subordinate to these are others. Under each Mahant are a number of disciples, and a successor is appointed to him from amongst the disciples by votes. A Mahant has insignia of honour and state, a palaquin, seal, chaoris, and peacock-feather fly-flap. Mahbhavas do not teach their religious doctrines to others than their own disciples. Their sacred books are written in a peculiar alphabet, and this, like their doctrines, they do not teach to strangers. Capt. Mackintosh says they think it necessary that each and every member should be taught to read at least the commentaries of the Bhagavat Gita. Their sacred books are the Bhagavat Gita, Linnidhi, Lilamritasindhu (Sanskrit), Buhkmimvavalyanvara, Bddilid, Gopivilasa, and other Marathi books in verse. Some of the Mahbhavas assuming the name of Sopan, Nivrati, Jahnobai and Muktabai have written abhangs, or verses describing and praising the light caused by the closing of the nose, the ears, and the eyes. The founder of the sect is held in great respect and worshipped as the true incarnation of Vishnu. They worship also Dattatraya. The Krishnacharitramita, written by him, is held in the highest esteem. They abhor the rough stone or timber blocks besmeared with red paint and stuck up in fields or under trees, and if they know that there is one in the road they are travelling they will make a circuit to avoid it. They consider it meritorious to make converts to their faith, but they exercise a very considerable degree of caution in guarding against persons of improper character being admitted into their society. They are always anxious to avoid giving the least umbrage to the relatives and friends of a candidate. Margashirsha is their sacred month, and Krishnahamshati and Gokalashtami are their festivals.

They are considered by Brahmapa as most degraded and heretical. At meals food is served out only once, and before sitting to dine they loudly repeat Krishna's name and then eat.

The secular class among them marry and do not shave the head. A man wishing to marry places his bag on that of the woman's he loves, and if she does not remove it, her consent is understood as obtained and the marriage settled. After this the man and woman lie on separate beds, and the man repeating, 'Sri Krishnachanda gudabagunadá diñ, meaning 'Krishna's confusion is come,' the woman answers, Khushté evundyé, meaning 'you are welcome,' when the man and woman roll towards each other, and embracing one another are husband and wife. The Mahbhavas bury their dead at some distance from the usual burning ground, heaping round the body a quantity of salt. They perform no funeral ceremonies, observe no mourning, sitak, and perform no shraddh. Cruelty to life they abhor to such an extent that on Dasara holidays, when goats, sheep, and buffaloes are offered, they leave their houses, and live for a couple of days or so in jangals. They never drink water without straining it, and, turning the cloth upside down float it in a running stream to restore
the insects to water. They go begging with a wallet in one hand, and a staff in the other. They never take anything not put in their hands nor pluck a fruit from a tree though the owner tells them to do so.

**BHATS.**

*Bhats*, according to the legend, were created from the sweat of Śiva's brow and driven out of heaven because of their persistence in singing his praise and his consort's. They are beggars and reciters of stories. They compose songs and are generally good linguists.

**DANDIS.**

*Dandis* carry a staff, *dand*. They wear one long ochre-coloured cloth, the head passed through a hole in it, and the cloth hanging from the shoulders to the feet. They do not touch fire, and so never cook, nor do they beg— as Brāhmaṇas and others feed them. Besides the staff, they carry a piece of matting to lie on, and a hermit's water-pot, *kamandalu*. As a class they are learned, giving much time to study and thought. They worship no images, and say that idols are only pictures to help the ignorant to remember the Supreme Spirit. Zealous religious teachers, they are treated with much honour and reverence.

**VARIOUS OTHER CLASSES.**

*Dombāris* are tumblers and rope-dancers, their women are prostitutes, and both men and women are thieves.

*Bālsantāhis* are fortune-tellers and weather prophets. They wander about the streets early in the morning, roving people for the day's work.

*Dakot-Joshis* wander about the streets early in the morning to raise people. They are astrologers, fortune-tellers and beggars.

*Dauris* or drum-beating beggars go about singing and beating the drum.

*Bānāmathis* are beggars and tricksters. They live chiefly on the earnings of their wives, whom they attend as musicians.

*Jethis* are beggars and wrestlers.

*Dāsaris* are a small class of religious beggars who move from place to place chanting prayers and blowing a horn.

*Kolhatis*, both men and women, are tumblers and beggars, and the women are prostitutes.

*Tapohans* are beggars whose austerities and devotion constitute their wealth.

*Gopālis* sing, dance, wrestle and beg.

*Holars* sing, dance with peacock's feathers hung all round, with bells, and beg.

*Kāpdīs* cover their heads with clothes and beg.

*Bhutes* go about with a lighted torch in their hands. Their bodies are covered with strings of shells (*kawdis*).

*Dānglis* are worshippers of Śiva, and beggars.

Besides there are many more, the names of some of which are Bāgdis, Deolis, Johkris, Jatis or Yatis, Jogis, Jollis, Kalsutris, Kaṅgīrīwalas, Khāmsutris, Kālbeles, Pīṅgles, Pārvates, Rāuls, Sarvades, Śilāvants and Triandes.

(To be continued.)

**MISCELLANEA.**

_A QUERY._

_Supdri_, the Gujarāti, Marāthi and Hindustāni word for betel-nut, is a puzzle. The Sanskrit word for it is _pāgi phala_ (Prākrit _pophala_) and the Dravidian _adikē_, from the latter of which comes our scientific _Areca catechu_. The Marāthi term for nut-cracker, still in ordinary use, is _addikītya_, connected probably with _adikē_, and meaning literally, the 'betel cutter.'

Why, then, and when did the Dekhani people banish _adikē_ in favour of _supdri_, though they did not reject _addikītya_ also from their vocabulary? Can any reason be assigned for this dismissal of the parent and partiality for the derived term?

Can it be shown that the word _supdri_ was introduced after the thirteenth century by the Musalman conquerors of Gujarāt and the Dekhan? or is it possible to derive it from _Supārā_, the Śūrparaka of the Mahābhārata (vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX. p. 44 note 94), the capital according to the *Viśvakoila* of Aparānta or the Kōkana (vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 259), once a great port?—whence if it could be shewn that betel was exported in large quantities the name _supdri_ might have been derived. So far as I know, though there is a good deal of garden cultivation near Bassein and Supārā even at the present day, there is not so much betel produce as to justify a connection between Supārā and _supdri_.

_Ratīrām Durgārām Dave._
PART III.

I PROCEED with the examination of the Pillar Inscriptions in the order of the photographs in General Cunningham's work on the Bharhut Stūpa, commencing with Plate xv.

(19.) Two inscriptions on the inner face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, top, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 44 and 45, and referred to on pp. 45, 115, 135. One is read variously, bahuḥ kathikā nīgoda on p. 45, bahuḥ kathikā nīgodaḥ nādode on p. 115, and Bahuḥ kathikā Nīgodaḥ nādode on p. 135; the other Susupālo kōdāyā vetikō (or Vedukō) Ardameko. Letter for letter, the first is—

(a) Bahuḥkathikā nīgoda nādode.

And the second—

(b) Susupālo Kōdāyā Vetikō a-
rāmako.

The scene to which these two inscriptions refer is correctly described on p. 115, with the exception that there are two figures (not one), represented on the right side of the scene as looking on. They are very badly preserved, and one, of which the turbana only remains, might be overlooked, especially as the head of the other, by its side, is gone, and only the upper part of the body, with the hands folded on the breast in adoration, remains. That these remains, however, belong to two separate figures is clear from the fact that the turban and the body are not in a perpendicular line, the latter being sideways, below the former. It may also be noticed that the object in the upper left-hand corner, which General Cunningham takes to be another tree, is rather one of the egg-plants, after which the garden (the Vetikō aṛāmako) is named. The meaning of the first inscription is not fully explained by General Cunningham; nor, indeed, is it without difficulties. I take it to mean "the many-elephant-nyagrodha tree under irrigation." I explain nādode as a locative absolute (of time), to which pavaṭṭa might be supplied (or understood), as in the Jātaka scenes Nos. 8 and 9 (see Part I.).

It is possible that the inscription is incomplete,

1 On p. 135 the presence of two figures is mentioned.
wild elephants collected in a herd, gathered flowers and strewed them (at the stūpa)." But later on Hwen Thsang refers to the phenomenon again, on p. 326, where he relates everything said by Fa-Hian: "In old times there were some bhikshus who, on the invitation of their fellow-monks, came from a remote country and went to pay homage to the Stūpa. They saw a herd of elephants that was going to and fro. Some plucked off the grass with their tusks, others sprinkled water with their trunks. Each of them brought rare flowers, and the whole of them did homage (to the Stūpa)." This last incident of the foreign pilgrims witnessing the worship of the elephants is, as General Cunningham has already noted, evidently intended to be represented by the two men standing in the background to the right of the bodhi-tree. However, it is not at all improbable that similar stories were believed and told about a number of sacred places of the Buddhists. In any case, the curious coincidence (if it be nothing more) of the scene related by the Chinese pilgrims, strongly confirms the correctness of my interpretation of the first inscription. The second inscription on the sculpture merely contains three detached names; viz., those of the two spectators and of the garden in which the whole occurrence represented in the sculpture took place. The names of the two former are Susupāla and Kōḍāya. The Sanskrit equivalent of Susupāla is Śīvupāla; that of Kōḍāya I do not know; probably the word is Kōṇḍāya, and may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit Kauṇḍinya, the ordinary Pāli equivalent of which, however, is Kauṇḍinī.  The 'egg-plant' is in Sanskrit vṛṣṭa. In Pāli it usually becomes vṛṣṭa, but in Prākrit it appears in the form vṛṣṭi; and from the close connection of the twolanguages it cannot be surprising to meet with the latter form also in Pāli. This is not the only instance of a new form or new word with which the inscriptions of the Bharhat Stūpa make us acquainted; naṇḍa also is a new word; and a still more striking example is the verb cand with the genitive in No. 22 and dhokanto in No. 23 (below). From vṛṣṭa comes the adjective of relation vṛṣṭika, "full of egg-plants." One of these egg-plants from which the garden took its name, is represented in the upper left-hand corner of the sculpture. Accordingly written in full, with the addition of the double consonants, anusvārās and long vowels, the two inscriptions would run as follows:

(a). Bahuhaththiko nīgrodho naṇḍa (pavatto).
And the other—

(b). Susupāla Koṇḍāya Vṛṣṭika ārāmakā. or in Sanskrit, Bahuhastiko nyāgrodho naṇḍa (pavrīti); and Śīvupāla Kauṇḍinya (2); Vṛṣṭika ārāmakā. In English, "the nyāgrodha tree (called that) of the many elephants, under irrigation;" and Susupāla (and) Koṇḍāya; the Vṛṣṭika (egg-plant) garden.

(20.) An inscription, in the intermediate space, below the last-mentioned scene (No. 19), is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 43, and referred to on pp. 115 and 135, where it is read and explained correctly—

Bahuhaththiko,
or in full, Bahuhaththiko (scl. nīgrodho), Sanskrit Bahuhastiko (nyāgrodha), i. e. (the Nyāgrodha-tree, called that) "of the many elephants." It refers, of course, to the scene (No. 19) under which it stands.

(21.) An inscription, on the side-face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xv, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 38, and referred to on p. 134, where, however, it is not explained. It is there read Vajapi Vijadhāro; but letter for letter it runs—

Vijati vijadharo.

At first sight the word looks as if it were vīnjapi; for there is a shallow indentation between vi and ja which looks like the anus-

* A scene very closely resembling the present one, occurs twice among the sculptures of the great Stūpa at Sanchi; viz., on the back of the uppermost beams of the Northern and Western Gateways. See J. Ferguson, Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 118, 120, Plates x and xii; also A. Cunningham, Bihāra Tāpes, p. 229. In both cases a herd of elephants is seen approaching and bringing offerings of flowers and garlands to a sacred tree, which from its outward form especially the pendant roots, on Pl. x, 1, I take, with Gen. Cunningham, to be a Nyāgrodha rather than (as Mr. Ferguson thinks) a Pipal. On the left of the scene on Plate xii, two elephants are apparently represented as fetching water from a stream, to sprinkle
in the ordinary Hindū fashion, on a small platform or stool of stone, and holding in her raised right hand, what looks like a bunch of flowers of the Pātalī (or Trumpet-flower) tree.9 If the reading Vījajī be accepted, I should propose to take it as the name of the queen, being in full Vījajī, Sanskrit Vījajī, or rather Vījajīkā, lit. "the chatterer."10 But I have no doubt myself that the other reading is the correct one; in any case, the apparent anuvāra cannot be correct.

(22.) An inscription, on the left side of the lower bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, top, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 63, and referred to on pp. 11, 89, 90, 127, 136. It is read variously, Ajātasatru Bhagavato vandate on pp. 90 and 127, but Ajāta Satu Bhagavato vandate, on p. 11 and Ajātasatru Bhagavato vandate on p. 136. The correct reading is Ajātasatru Bhagavato vandate, or in full, Ajātasatru Bhagavato vandate, or in Sanskrit Ajātasatru Bhagavatān vandate, i.e., "Ajātasatru worships the Blessed one." The vowel u in sutu is very slightly engraved, and might be overlooked. As to the genitive Bhagavato, used instead of the accusative, see the remarks on No. 16 in Part II.11 The details are correctly explained on p. 89.

(23.) There are two inscriptions on the left side of the middle bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, middle. The first is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 66, and referred to on pp. 112, 113, 137. It is fully read on p. 137, Mahāśāmāyikāyaen Arakaguto Devaputu dhakato Bhagavato sāsani paṭisondhi; but only partially on p. 113—Bhagavato sāsani paṭisondhi. No explanation is given; and, indeed, there are not inconsiderable difficulties in the way of explaining it. Letter for letter the inscription is—Mahāśāmāyikāya Arakaguto devaputu dhakato Bhagavato sāsati paṭisondhi,
which, as I take it, would be in full: Mahâsâmâyikâya Araghagutta devaputro dhokkanto Bhagavato sârî pratiśvâdiniḥ; or in Sanskrit Mahâsâmâyikâya (sah. sahâdyâhâ) Aradhaputro devaputro vandan Bhagavantini sârî pratiśvâdiniḥ; i.e., lit. ‘at the time of the Mahâsâmâyika assembly Araghagutta, a son of the gods, humbly bowing to the Blessed-one, praises his re-birth.’

To dispose first of the grammatical peculiarities and difficulties; mahâsâmâyikâya is a faulty spelling for mahâsâmâyikâya; the word is derived from mahâsâmaya with the suffix ikâ, which causes the lengthening (urîrdhi) of â in sâmaya. Another anomaly in this word is the feminine termination in ikâ, instead of the usual âkâ. It is, however, just possible, that the final syllables ikâya are a mistake for kiya (or, in full, kiyaṇa); a slight upward curve of the horizontal topstroke of kiâ would make all the difference and turn it into ki. It will be presently seen there are some other signs of careless tracing of the letters of this inscription. Mahâsâmâyikâya (or -âkâya) is a locative singular, feminine; to complete the sense, sahâdyâhâ, or some such word, must be supplied. In the word Araghagutta, the curious dot must be noticed between ha and pu. It resembles an anusâra, but of course it is a meaningless note. A similar meaningless dot will be observed in the word devaputro, between va and pu; again another, attached to the bottom of dho in dhokato; and once more, there is one, though not quite so distinct between sd and md of Mahâsâmâyikâya. Another instance has been already noticed in No. 21, in viśâṭi. Perhaps these dots are mere flaws in the stone; though some certainly look as if they were made by the mason’s chisel. The word dhokato is noteworthy; it is not mentioned in Childers’ Dictionary, nor do I recollect having met it in any other work, Pâli or Prâkrit. Yet the word is still in use in the more vulgar forms of Hindi, where dhok (also spelt dhok) means “obeisance,” “salutation.” With this word I would identify the Pâli dhokato or, in full, dhokkanto, nominative singular of the present participle, agreeing with araghagutto. Bhagavato I take to be the genitive singular, governed by dhokkanto, which is construed with the genitive after the analogy of the verbs vaṇaḥ and nam. The last letter of the word sârî is very indistinct. At first sight it looks like ni, and in the photograph this appearance is intensified; but on closer inspection it is seen that the edges on both sides of what looks like the perpendicular of n (⊥) are broken away, so as to form an irregular triangular hollow (Λ), as if the intermediate raised space between the legs of t (Λ) had peeled off. It may be that in cutting the legs of t, the stone (which is more than usually soft or rotten) gave way in the intermediate space, or that the mason originally cut ni by mistake, and in trying to alter it into ti made a mess of it. In any case, that the letter is really meant for ti, is quite clear from the context of the inscription.

In pratiśvâdini, the last vowel i is not very distinct, and it looks as if the final anusvâra had been run into it by the engraver. The inscription, as thus interpreted by me, fully agrees with the sculptured scene. In it we have a large assembly gathered round the throne of Buddha; prominent in the assembly is the figure of a person (Araghagutto) who humbly bowing before the throne touches with his left hand the feet (or rather feet-marks) of Buddha, and is evidently saying something. We are told in the history of Buddha, that once while he resided in the Mahâvâna vihâra, “he delivered the discourse called the Mahâsâmaya Sûtra, when a kela-lakshya of devas and brahmas became rahats and an atyayka [(i. e. an im- nerable multitude) entered the three paths." An amusing illustration of this innumerable multitude of devas or gods who listened to the discourse, in the usual hyperbolic fashion of the later Buddhists, is given by Hardy in his Manual of Buddhism, p. 393. Here one of the devas who was present on that occasion relates his experiences, how, for the crowd, he found no room in the whole of Jambudvîpa (or the continent of India), how he was even crowded out of Ceylon, and how finally he was obliged to

18 The faulty form sahâdyâ is noticed in the Petersburg Dictionary, as a varia lectio of sahâya, see cols. 393 and 394. 19 Or bhagavato might be the genitive singular dependent on pratiśvâdini, “the re-birth of the Blessed-one.” But the other construction is the more probable one.

18 The only way to preserve the in would be to read sādā “he is praising,” which would be the participle present of sāvata. But not to lay stress on this being a somewhat unusual form, it would be necessary to admit that the mason made an error in engraving ut instead of no.

19 See Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism, p. 320. See also Childers’ Dictionary sub voce sahâya, where it is said that mahâsâmaya means the discourse preached to a great company.”
take his stand in the ocean, where, immersed up to his neck, he listened to Buddha, who was sitting far away in the Himálaya forest. It is this assembly of devas which is shown in the scene and referred to by the term maháśamayā (scd. sāhā), i.e., “the assembly of devas listening to Maháśamayā śāstra.” Arahatuṭṭa is evidently the name of one of the devas, or, as they are here called, devaputras, who was present in the company, and apparently overcome by the beauty of the discourse fell down at Buddha’s feet, and extolled his goodness in taking birth for the sake of saving all living beings. The same Deva is apparently again represented on the face of the Gateway Pillar found at Pataña (see Plate xx). He is the prominent figure at the top of the lower half of the pillar; and he is identified by the inscription, immediately behind him, Arahatuṭṭa devaputo. The scene is incomplete, but it would seem to represent the arrival of the devas at the Mahávana vihāra, for the purpose of hearing the Maháśamayā śāstra.

(24.) This is the other inscription on Plate xvi, middle. It is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 62. On p. 136 it is read Bhadantasa Aya Isipālitaśa Bhānakasa Navakamikasa dānam and translated: “Gift of the lay brother, the reverend isipālita of Bhānaka (Navakami) must be his title.” The reading is correct, though quite literally it should be—

Bhadantasa aya Isipālitaśa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānam,

which would be in full—Bhadantasa aya Isipālitaśa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānam; or in Sanskrit—Bhadantasa aya Isipālitaśa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānam; i.e., “the gift of the Reverend Lord Isipālita the Preacher (on being) newly appointed to his office.” General Cunningham translates “lay brother;” but that Isipālita was an ordained monk (or priest) is clear from his being a bhānaka, as well as from the two priestly epithets bhadanta and aya.18 Navakamika is not his title; for that is bhānaka, “preacher”; but it is a term which indicates that he had been recently appointed to his office of preacher; it literally means: “one who has a new work” (nava + karmā and suffix tā). The term is explained in Kachchhayana’s Grammar, VIII, 8 (Senart’s edition, p. 189), where it is said that the suffix tā is used to express appointment (vīyoga) to an office, and where navakamika19 is given as an example, “appointed to a new office.” Dānam, “gift,” of course refers, to the sculpture itself on which the inscription is engraved; and from the term navakamika it would seem that Isipālita gave the sculpture to the Śūpā as a sort of thank-offering on his being appointed to the honoured office of Preacher. It may be noticed that from this point of view the subject of the sculpture, as explained in No. 23, is a very suitable one for the occasion of its donation. It only remains to point out that the spelling of bhānakasa with the dental n, instead of the cerebral ñ, is another example of the lax use of these nasal consonants in the inscriptions of the Bharhatu Śūpā; one instance tāni (for tāni) has already been noticed in Part II, No. 9b.

(25.) Two inscriptions on the left side of the upper bas-relief of the West Gate Corner Pillar, on Plate xvi, bottom, are transcribed on Plate lv, Nos. 64 and 65,20 and referred to on pp. 109, 118, 119, 136, 137. They are read variously; the first Sudhamma Deva Sabhā Bhagavato Chuda-Maho on p. 109; Sudhamma Devasaḥdah Bhagavato Chudamahah on p. 119, and Sudhamma Devasaḥdah Bhagavato Chudamah on p. 136.21 The second, Vijayaṇa Pāsāde on p. 109, Vijayaṇa Prāsāda on p. 118, and Vijayaṇa Pāsāde on p. 137. But the correct readings are:

(a) Sudhamma devasaḥdah;

Bhagavato chudāmaḥ;

and the other—

(b) Vijayaṇa pāsāde;

and it may be observed that they are both engraved in their full spelling, which is rather unusual. In Sanskrit they would be—Sudhamma devasaḥdah; Bhagavatāḥ chudāmaḥ, and Vijayaṇaḥ prāsādaḥ; i.e., “the Sudhamma (or) assembly of the gods; the festival of the haddress of the Blessed-one,” and “the Vijayaṇa palace.” The first inscription consists of two

18 See Childers’ Dictionary, sub voc. devaputo, where it is said that “devaputo means simply a male deva.”

19 It is not quite clear which Pāli word “lay brother” is meant to represent; apparently aya. The derivation of bhānaka is uncertain; both bhānaka and bhādanta have been proposed; see Minaya, Grammaire Pāli, p. 61; and Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 32. [See Cuvle-Temple Inscript.

20 Plate lv has 64 twice, by a misprint.

21 See also Academy of the 1st May 1875, where Childers gives the reading: Sudhamma devasaḥdah.
reading is borne out by the scene represented on the stone. The word maho means "festival," and the scene evidently represents a festival held in honour of Buddha's head-dress; a "nâch," performed by Apsaras in the presence of the head-dress and witnessed by the assembled gods, being, as usual in native festivities, the principal item. It may be worth noting that the inscription has the form chûdô, instead of the usual Pâli form chûdâ. In the second inscription the second word is pûsâdo, not pûsâde; the latter would be the locativesingular, which would not agree with the nominative Vejaya. The mason was obliged to cram the two letters sâdo into the narrow space below the rest of the inscription; hence they are very small and badly executed. The right-hand stroke of the vowel o is turned upwards, instead of being, as usual, drawn horizontal.

Rhys Davids in his translation of the Jâtakas, vol. I, p. cliii, gives the correct reading pûsâdo. The scene is fully and correctly explained by General Cunningham on pp. 109, 136. The story of the assumption of Buddha's Head-dress into heaven is thus related in the Nidânakathâ or the Introduction to the Jâtaka-book. When the prince Siddhârtha left Kapilavastu in order to become a Buddha, he first came to the river Anomâ, after crossing which he dismissed his attendant Channa with his horse Kântâhaka. "Then he thought, 'These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is not right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off"

be a reliquary. Mr. Ferguson, while admitting it to be a relic, ventures on no further explanation. It seems to me that the object may be intended to represent Buddha's head-dress, as seen from above (not side-ways); and the scene seems to be a festival held in honour of it by the assembled deities; the nâch of the Apsaras being on the left. The object immediately below the tray can hardly be, as Mr. Ferguson thinks, a man's head (possibly of a murdered king), lying on the ground, severed from its body. This would be singularly incongruous under the circumstances. If Gen. Cunningham's sketch can be trusted, the head belongs to a living man, whose shoulders, supporting his head, can be distinctly seen. It is, in fact, the head of one of the spectators who, owing to his unfortunate position almost directly under the tray, is obliged to turn up his face in a most awkward way in order to see the reliquary. The drawing is ludicrously exact. The inscription over the sculpture which has puzzled both Gen. Cunningham and Mr. Ferguson, is simple enough. It is Prakrit kolla "of the makers and doners, but throws no light on the subject of the sculpture.

Rhys Davids sub voce maho, where other examples are also given.

On p. 196 Gen. Cunningham himself reads maho, though on the same page it is also read maho.

May not this be also the subject of the sculpture in the lowest compartment of one of the pillars of the Southern Gateway of the great Sanchi Stupa?

See Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, Plate xxv, fig. 1, and A. Cunningham's Istias Tapes, Plate xii. General Cunningham takes the object of adoration on the tray to

ساسک "festival," and the scene evidently represents a festival held in honour of Buddha's head-dress; a "nâch," performed by Apsaras in the presence of the head-dress and witnessed by the assembled gods, being, as usual in native festivities, the principal item. It may be worth noting that the inscription has the form chûdô, instead of the usual Pâli form chûdâ. In the second inscription the second word is pûsâdo, not pûsâde; the latter would be the locativesingular, which would not agree with the nominative Vejaya. The mason was obliged to cram the two letters sâdo into the narrow space below the rest of the inscription; hence they are very small and badly executed. The right-hand stroke of the vowel o is turned upwards, instead of being, as usual, drawn horizontal.

Rhys Davids in his translation of the Jâtakas, vol. I, p. cliii, gives the correct reading pûsâdo. The scene is fully and correctly explained by General Cunningham on pp. 109, 136. The story of the assumption of Buddha's Head-dress into heaven is thus related in the Nidânakathâ or the Introduction to the Jâtaka-book. When the prince Siddhârtha left Kapilavastu in order to become a Buddha, he first came to the river Anomâ, after crossing which he dismissed his attendant Channa with his horse Kântâhaka. "Then he thought, 'These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is not right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off"

be a reliquary. Mr. Ferguson, while admitting it to be a relic, ventures on no further explanation. It seems to me that the object may be intended to represent Buddha's head-dress, as seen from above (not side-ways); and the scene seems to be a festival held in honour of it by the assembled deities; the nâch of the Apsaras being on the left. The object immediately below the tray can hardly be, as Mr. Ferguson thinks, a man's head (possibly of a murdered king), lying on the ground, severed from its body. This would be singularly incongruous under the circumstances. If Gen. Cunningham's sketch can be trusted, the head belongs to a living man, whose shoulders, supporting his head, can be distinctly seen. It is, in fact, the head of one of the spectators who, owing to his unfortunate position almost directly under the tray, is obliged to turn up his face in a most awkward way in order to see the reliquary. The drawing is ludicrously exact. The inscription over the sculpture which has puzzled both Gen. Cunningham and Mr. Ferguson, is simple enough. It is Prakrit kolla "of the makers and doners, but throws no light on the subject of the sculpture.

Rhys Davids sub voce maho, where other examples are also given.

On p. 196 Gen. Cunningham himself reads maho, though on the same page it is also read maho.

May not this be also the subject of the sculpture in the lowest compartment of one of the pillars of the Southern Gateway of the great Sanchi Stupa? See Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, Plate xxv, fig. 1, and A. Cunningham's Istias Tapes, Plate xii. General Cunningham takes the object of adoration on the tray to
myself with my sword." Then taking his sword in his right hand and holding the plaited tresses (ch ślub), together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. The Bodhisat saying to himself, 'If I am to become a Buddha, let it stand in the air; if not, let it fall to the ground; threw the hair and diadem together, as he held them, towards the sky. The plaited hair and the jewelled turban went a league off and stopped in the air. The archangel Sakka (i.e., the Deva Indra) caught sight of it with his divine eye, and receiving it into a jewel-casket, a league high, he placed it in the Tāvatimśa (Trayastrimśat) heaven, in the Dāgāba (or shrine) of the Diadem. The sculpture represents the Devas holding a festival in honour of the head-dress in their palace, called "Vejayanta," i.e., "(palace) belonging to Vijayanta or the Victorious," which is an epithet of Indra. The story of how the palace came to be called by that name is thus related in the Kulāvīka Jātaka. Originally the Asuras dwelt in the heaven of the Devas; but the latter making them drunk ejected them. In consequence, a war arose between the two parties, in which the Asuras were at first successful, though finally Indra, the king of the Devas, by an act of pious self-denial succeeded in putting his enemies to flight. After his victory he "re-entered his heavenly city, and stood in the midst thereof, surrounded by hosts of angels from both the heavens. And at that moment the Palace of Glory (Vejayantapāddato) burst through the earth and rose up a thousand leagues in height. And it was because it rose at the end of this glorious victory that it received the name of the Palace of Glory."  

The next inscription, on the middle bas-relief of the Corner Pillar of the North Gate, on Plate xviii, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 75, and referred to on pp. 79-82 and 187. In the former place it is read Vitura Punakṣīya Jātakam, in the latter Vitura Punakṣīya Jātakam. The second is the more correct reading, but strictly it is Vītura Punakṣīya jātakam, or, in full, Vītura punakṣīya jātakam, or in Sanskrit Vītura prānapakṣīya jātakam, i.e., "the Vitura and Pūṇḍaka Birth." The inscription has been already correctly translated and interpreted by General Cunningham, who also gives a very full account of the Birth-story to which it refers on pp. 79-82. I may add that the story of Vitura is alluded to in the Introduction to the Jātaka book (p. 56 of Rhys Davids' translation): "In like manner there is no limit to the existences—as, for instance, in the times when he was the wise man Vidiśūra, etc." The various portions of the story are represented on the three sculptures on Plate xviii, and I agree with General Cunningham's identifications of the various scenes. Only it seems to me that in Scene A. 2 (in the lower part of the upper bas-relief) the figure standing behind the Demon Pūṇḍaka is, to judge from his dress, the Pandit Vitura. If this is correct, the scene represents the return of Pūṇḍaka to the Nāga king's court in company with Vitura, and is, in fact, the last in the order of the events of the story. But General Cunningham's interpretation agrees better with the order of the scenes in the sculpture. In that case, I suppose, the figure standing behind Pūṇḍaka must be taken to represent the Nāga princess for whose hand he is asking her father the Nāga king; but it does not look like the figure of a woman. In the uppermost line of the middle bas-relief, the two figures standing on the left-hand corner are, as Gen. Cunningham rightly says, Pūṇḍaka and Vitura, but it is the Pandit Vitura who is placed in front, and the figure behind, with the upraised hand, is Pūṇḍaka. This can be clearly seen from the difference of their dresses. The Pandit is always distinguished by a broad tight collar round his neck and a long necklace depending on his chest. On the other hand, the Demon has no collar, but instead of it he wears a square jewelled pad attached to the necklace on his chest. Just below, where the Demon is mounted on his horse and the Pandit hanging on to the tail, this distinction may be very clearly seen. As a sign of the minute accuracy of the drawing, it may be remarked, that when Vitura is shown head downwards, suspended by his feet, the long necklace is represented as having fallen back over the shoulder, as it would naturally do under the circumstances. In the inscription the Pandit is called Vītura. This is noteworthy. The

---

See Rhys Davids' translation, p. 86; also Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 165.
ordinary form in which the name occurs in Pali is Vidhura.\textsuperscript{26} But Vidhura is evidently a mere Pali modification of the Sanskrit Vīthura, just as Pali Madhura stands for Sanskrit Mathūra, "the town of Mathūra" (see Part I, No. 3);\textsuperscript{27} and Vithura is a different Pali modification of the same Sanskrit Vīthura. Both changes of th, into dh and into t, are of equally rare occurrence in Pali.\textsuperscript{28} In the form punakīya, there is again an example of the lax use of the nasal consonants, it ought to have been spelled punakīya (i.e., punakṣīya), with the cerebral g, see No. 24.

**FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.**

**COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. B. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S., &C.**

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 322.)

No. 12—Sānśī Charms.

The Sānśīs are one of the "Criminal Tribes" of the Panjab. They nominally profess Muhammadanism and are great charmers. As a matter of fact they have scarcely any religious beliefs beyond a profound faith in all surrounding superstitions, Hindu, Musalmān, or Sikh. Their main object of veneration is the great Panjāb saint Sakhī Sarwar Sultan. Very little appears to be known of them or to have been ascertained regarding their origin. They are inveterate thieves, especially of dogs, and are avoided by the other population. Mr. E. L. Brandreth, in the Settlement Report of the Firozpur District, 1854, says:—"The lowest castes are the Sānśīs, Bāwarīs and Chūrīs. The Sānśīs are a wandering tribe, and live in tents made of sirkā (a reed). They keep a number of cattle which they barter with the zamindārs: they are also great thieves. Their favourite food is a kind of lizard (sāndā), which they dig out of the ground; these lizards are only found in the uncultivated land; the waste lands of the Rohī (uplands—the above-flood-level parts of the district) are very plentiful in them, and in many parts of the country the ground is so full of holes out of which the lizards have been dug that it is almost impossible to ride across it." (Sec. 82.)

Mr. Brandreth adds in a footnote:—"The Jats also eat these sāndās, but purchase them from the Sānśīs and Bāwarīs, who are alone skilled to find them."

It is disappointing to find that the charms and songs here collected show no trace of specialities of language or superstitions. The language is the vulgar Panjābī of the district, and the religious references all strictly local. It is doubtful even whether the mantras themselves are peculiar to the Sānśīs, being probably common to all classes of Panjābīs. Charm No. 3 for scorpion-bite is most probably of Pūrbiā origin, as a Pūrbiā servant in the Firozpur Cantonment was heard to repeat something very like it on the occasion of his wife being stung by a scorpion. There are also linguistic indications in all the charms of a Hindī or Pūrbiā origin for them, and it is probable,—although the mantras may now circulate among the Sānśīs as bonâ fide tribal folklore,—that they have been learnt from Pūrbiā jogīs or faqīrs. In charm No. 4 the expression "Jo hamrī kār namāne,"—"who disregards our charmed-circle," is decidedly a Hindī, not a Panjābī expression, the word hamrī for hamārī, "our," being quite fatal to any Panjābī claim which might be set up for the mantra, although kār is not apparently a Hindī word.

The fact elicited from these mantras that the Sānśīs have no language of their own, properly so called, as popularly supposed, is firmly established by Dr. Leitner in his "Detailed Analysis of 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr's Dictionary of the terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjāb."\textsuperscript{1} Page 1, he says "that criminals often borrow words from other languages than their own, in order to conceal their object from an ordinary listener, has been proved by the thieves in England borrowing from the language of the Gypsies; but whilst the latter have a language of undoubted Hindu origin, the former have no language at all, properly so called. Precisely the same thing has happened in India, as will be shown further on." Then after

\textsuperscript{26} A various spelling is Vidhura, though less correct. Fausch's MSS. give both readings, see p. 46 of his edition of the Jāmaka; but the majority is for Vidhura.

\textsuperscript{27} Both Vidhura and Vithura mean nearly the same thing; both occur in Sanskrit, which may have taken over

\textsuperscript{28} Both changes of th, into dh and into t, are of equally rare occurrence in Pali.

\textsuperscript{1} In the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
showing how this has occurred in the so-called "Language" of the Sānisīs, he says in effect (p. xvii) that there is no real language of the Sānisīs, but that it is a mere mutation of ordinary Panjābī words for criminal or jocular purposes, having, however, slang applications of words and slang words in it.

(1.) **Charm for Snakebite.**

Jhāhō ṣap wādhē ṭā. Panjī form of the Hindi words Māntar ṭā ḍē ḍē. Jhāhō is the Hindi and Panjī form for the classical mantra, a charm, exorcism. Ṣap, Panjī form of the Hindi ṣap, a snake. All the North Indian modern words for snake, as ṣap, ṣāp, ṣēp, etc., spring from the Sansk., ṣāpa, through the Prāk. (and Pāli) form ṣāpa, from the old fundamental root ṣēp to creep.

Wādhē is the Panjī, representation exactly of the Hindi ṭā, though perhaps this itself is a Panjī pronunciation of ṭā, a bite, cut.

Gar vulgar for gūrd both in Hindi and Panjī. Gūrd is the Panjī pronunciation of the Hindi ṭā, a bite. Gūrd is one of the numerous (vulgar) pronunciations of ṭā, mad, deranged; the usual Panjī word is ṭā.

Charm for Snakebite.

A gūrdi dumb, a gūrdi mad, is still a gūrdi good and great.

Followers who leave gūrdi will lepers surety be.

Ṭuk snakes, Nathā snakes, Takhtu snakes.

Gūrdi, sung in every house,

Gūrd Mahān, comes, the people worship Gūrdi.

Jangal worship, golden candle, silver gourd;

Work charm! Act voice!

Gūrdi Saint, thy charm works; let it work!

And dissolve him in a mine of salt.

The idea of this charm is that the snakebite will be cured through the intervention of the Gūrd (sacred teacher) Gūrdi. Gūrdi is therefore first praised and finally invoked, and the charm is then requested to work and cure the patient. After the praise of Gūrdi the different sorts of poisonous snakes are invoked, as the charmer is uncertain which kind has bitten the sufferer, and hopes, by informing them all that he is about to invoke Gūrdi, that the particular snake who has offended will be induced to take his poison out of the patient.

Tuk—I have been unable to trace this word, unless it means "little." Bāskhi, Panjī, any venomous serpent. Bāskhi udag (= Vasuki) is Śesha both in Hindi and Panjī. Tuk, Nathā, Takhtu. We have here these three names connected with bāskhi or Nāgas. Nāga and Bāskhi were names of Nāgas, and may be the origin of these modern words—at least there appears to be no other derivation of them.

Gūrdi, Gō, Gōr or Gūrd Gūrdi—Information regarding this Saint is excessively conflicting and doubtful. According to accounts I have gathered he flourished any time between 1000 A.D. to 1600 A.D. It will be best perhaps to give the various accounts first, and then work out the deductions. Tod in his *Annals of Rajputana* (Madras ed. vol. II, p. 413) in relating the annals of Būndī says, "Gūrd, son of Vachā Rājā (Chauhān) held the Jangal Des or forest lands from the Satlaj to Hariāna, and had a capital Meherā (= Gūrd ḫā Muirī) on the Satlaj." He fell in its defence with 45 sons and 60 nephews on Sunday (Rabī‘ur) the ninth (naumī) of the month, which day is held sacred to the names of Gō through upon them all to leave him, and commences to invoke Gūrdi.

Mustard—lit. an assembly, the people. Sīvā worships; Hind. sēvā; Panjī sēvā; Sansk. sēvā, to follow, seek, worship.

Bukhār for buk, the jangal, forest. This word appears to be Panjūbi purely. It is connected with Sansk. bāk, anything which covers or surrounds—again Sansk. sthūkha is a forest, from sthūkha (root doubtful), a tree.

Pārbāt, Punjab—lit. a gourd used by fakirs as a drinking cup—Sansk. tumbā—a gourd, Lagenaria vulgaris. Hindi forms are tumā, tumbī, tumby, tumby. I have no explanation to offer for the expressions golden candle, &c.—they seem to be sheer nonsense.

Phūrā, Panjī, to act (a charm), jhāhā bukā phūrā hai—the charm acts well. Phūrā, Sansk. phūrā—to break forth, become evident—Hindī, phūrā, quickness.

Wāz for Persian wāz, voice.

Mahānt, Sansk. mahānta; mah, great, the head of a religious order. As Gūrdi was a Mahānt he would now be considered a Muhammadan Saint in the Panjūbi. Calling him Mahānt here however does not really indicate anything as to his religion, for in another mantra Hanumān is called pañchāmbar, and is invoked in connection with Allah and Muhammad.

Khdī, a ditch, moat, Panjī and Hindi; vich, Panjī. Prop. in Hindī bẖūk, Sansk. vīch to separate.

Also called Gūrdi Mōrī—it is 24 miles from Sirād.
out Râjputâna, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gogâ Deo-kâ Thal. His horse Javâdiâ became the favourite name for a Râjput war-horse. Oaths are sworn by the sidhi of Gogâ. The fight was against Mahmûd probably in his last expedition (a.d. 1024)." In a footnote on the same page he says, "Gogâ had no children, so his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (jade or jdo), one he gave his queen and one to his favourite mare who produced Javâdiâ (barley given)." This very natural account makes him a great Râjput hero, who stemmed the first Mahommedan invasions in the true Râjput manner. Subsequently he became deified or rather canonized, and legends were invented to account for this.

I will now give the Sîras account, as obtained for me by Mr. Kennedy, C.S., from Sirâ itself. Gogâ was the son of Jheswar and grandson of Umar, a chieftain of Bagar in the Bikaner State. His real name was Ugdî, and he was a Chauhân Râjput. He was born at Dadrâ in Bikaner, about 50 miles from Sirâ, and according to local ballads he flourished in Auranzeb's time, who is locally known as Naorang Shâh (a.d. 1658-1707). The story goes that his mother, Bachal, devoted herself 12 years to Gerakhmât (temp. circ. a.d. 1690) in the hope of getting a son, but unfortunately when the saint appeared to grant the request she was away, and her sister, Kuchal, who was much like Bachal, tricked the saint into giving her two boys. When the saint found out his mistake he presented Bachal with some gûgal (incense offered to Hindu gods) as a special mark of his favour, and gave her also a son, afterwards the famous Gogâ. She named the boy, Ugdî, but the name was changed to Gogâ (gûgal) in honour of the saint's present. Kuchal's twins on growing up demanded a share of Gogâ's inheritance, who refused it. They then went to the Emperor Auranzeb (Naorang Shâh), and exaggerating the value of the property induced him to send a force to oust Gogâ. The force was however defeated, and the brothers had to retreat to Bharâr in Bikaner, where they settled. After a while they raided Gogâ's cattle who were grazing in charge of a herdsman, Mohan, whose wife, finding out what had happened when she went to give her husband his dinner in the field, told the story to Gogâ's mother. She roused her son from his siesta and told him the story. Gogâ then went, and recovered his cattle after a bloody fight in which he himself killed Arjan with a lance and Sarjan with a sword. His own horse (? Javâdiâ) was cut in two, but he made it whole again by his miraculous powers. On his return home, very thirsty, his mother induced him to tell the story by withholding water from him, and when she heard that he had killed his brothers with his own hand, she cursed him, and bade him "See her face no more." Gogâ then went into the desert, and besought mother earth to receive him, but the earth refused as he was a Hindu. He thereupon repeated the Mahommedan creed (kalimâ), and immediately "sank into her womb." This place now called Guggâ Mori is 24 miles from Sirâ. Annual fairs are held here and at Dadrâ, his birthplace, on Bhâdon and wâsmi and wâsma (Ang.-Sept.), and are largely attended by pilgrims from the North-West Provinces and the Panjâb. A further tale about Gogâ current is—that he was faithful for 12 years to his wife after his death, and visited her every night, but one night his mother discovering this imprisoned him with want of filial affection, whereon he disappeared and was seen no more.

This legend appears to me to be pure fiction founded much on the lines of that first given, but there is an astounding difference in dates—Mahmûd of Ghazni lived a.d. 980-1030 circ. and Auranzeb a.d. 1658-1707.

The Ambôla account, pretty correctly recorded by Wynyard in his Settlement Report, 1859, paras. 113, 122, 131 and pp. 25-27, is substantially as follows. Gogâ Pîr was a Chauhân Râjput of Gur-dâ-Dêra in the Sirâ district and third son of Râjâ Gâga. Hindus and Musalmâns alike worship him on Bhâdon bâl naasmâ at his various shrines with flags, money and sweetmeats; his worshippers are however all of the lowest classes, sweepers, carriers, potters and so on. High poles with blue and white flags, peacock's feathers, etc. on them, are raised in his honour and carried about, and the objects of worshipping are—to avoid being killed by snakes, to procure male offspring, and fulfilment of certain wishes. The belief in his power over snakes is universal, and is alluded to in the mantra. The origin of the numerous shrines in his honour is said to arise in the gratitude of those whose desires he has accomplished. These are attended by Bhagais or priests, who are self-elected and confirmed in the priesthood at the Gur-dâ-Dêra shrine. Wynyard adds that Musalmâns say he was a follower of Rathan Hâji, who is not known to me, and whose name sounds mythical if not an impossible combination.

ship a novice is supposed to undergo before he can become a saint or jujj.

18 i.e. being a Hindu, he should have been burnt, not buried.

19 See above for note on this term of 12 years.
20 Gur-dâ-Dêra does not exist in fact; probably Guggâ Mori is meant, or perhaps Dadrâ.
From Wynyard's accounts of the Raipûr Râos of the Ambâla district (pp. 25-27, paras. 113 and 131) we get at a date for Guggâ. One Rânä Harâ, probably one of the Harâ Râjpût chiefs, conquered Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd district, and from him are descended the Raipûr Râjpûts, whose chief is still a man of standing. According to the Sambhal Bhâtâ, Râo Nath Singh, who died in 1584, was 26th from Harâ Râñ, which makes his time a.d. 1150 or thereabouts, and from other parts of Wynyard's accounts two other dates are possible for Harâ Râñ, viz. a.d. 1386 and a.d. 1400. Râñâ Gângâ, Guggâ's father, is made to predecease Râñâ Harâ, and so Guggâ's date is thus made to correspond somewhat to Tod's account.

The worship of Guggâ has penetrated into the Himâlayas, and in the Kângrâ district the lower classes, as elsewhere, make pilgrimages to his shrines. This jâtrâ or pilgrimage is performed in honour of some vow being fulfilled, but not otherwise. The successful suppliant collects as many people as he can afford, and takes them on a pilgrimage to some shrine of Guggâ, and there entertains them at his own cost. This custom is taken advantage of by the more frivolous of the women when tired of their home life. I give here a well-known catch sung in the Kângrâ district to illustrate this:—

Asnâ Guggâ dîyâ jâtrâ jo jânâ, sohniâ nah!
Asnâ Guggâ dîyâ jâtrâ jo jânâ, bo!
Bâjâ hich bâh kîrâ galâk, bo, je karniân,
Sârâ dakh chîte dâ milânâ, sohniân nî!
Asnâ Guggâ dîyâ jâtrâ jo jânâ, bo!

These lines I would translate metrically as follows to give the spirit of them:—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ!
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ!
Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation,
Let us soothe our hearts with a little conversation.
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Guggâ!

Fallon in his New Hind. Dict. art. อก” gives a proverb about Guggâ worth quoting here: Guggâ harâ ke Bhagûndâ? 'Is God or Guggâ greatest?' i. e. both must be worshipped.

Lastly the Frozpur legend of Guggâ and no doubt that referred to in this mantra is as follows. He was a Moslem faqir and a Chauhân Râjpût by birth. He was a follower of Gorakhnâth, from whom he learnt the art of charming snakes, and finally turned into a snake and disappeared into the earth. He is however said to have burnt so many families of snakes that the remainder have vowed to leave any place on mention of his name. In the Panjâb many of the Chauhân Râjpûts are low-caste Musalmans employed as fishermen, etc., who say they have no connection with the Râjpûts proper. This legend of Guggâ being called a Moslem faqir, but says nothing for their non-Râjpût origin, as the Panjâb Mûnâ, who are precisely similarly placed, say they have no connection with the Mûs of the Mûâmâ as a result of no doubt untrue.

I think there is little doubt that the true legend, or at any rate the most probable, is Tod's, and that we must place Guggâ about a.d. 1000. The others seem to me to be clear inventions, especially the one which makes him a follower of Gorakhnâth, who appears to have lived some 400 years after him. The portions of his modern cult, which make him a performer of vows and a giver of sons, are common to all saints, and the ones peculiar to him, viz., the power over snakes and his heroic acts, are directly traceable to his supposed following of Gorakhnâth and the legend of his defence of his country against Mahmûd. At one time I thought Guggâ must have been a Bhagat, but I do not now think this possible or likely, as there is no mention of him in the Adi Granth or in the Janam Sakhâ of the Sikhs or in the Bhâktamâl, and he was a Bhagat of any celebrity he could not have failed to find a place in one or other of these works.

Gorakhnâth, whom Guggâ is universally supposed to have followed, was one of the nine nathas or gurus of the Jogis and was a contemporary of Kabir, Nândâv, Dhanâ, Ravidâ, Pîpâ and other reformers of mediaeval India. Râkshand, whose disciples Kabir and the others are said to have been, flourished, we know, about 1400 a.d., and Kabir's date is well known, as he lived in the reign of Sikandar Shâh Lodî, 1483-1512. So that if Tod is right in placing Guggâ in Mahmûd's time, his being a follower of Gorakhnâth is a manifest impossibility. Why Gorakhnâth is so universally credited with power over snakes I do not know, as he seems to have been merely the Brahmâncal opponent of the free-thinking doctrines of Kabir and his sect. In the Janam Sakhâ or Life of Bâbû Nûnâk there is an account of a meeting between the Bâbû and Gorakhnâth, and Dr. Trump has remarked in a footnote (Adi Granth, p. xxxvi) that this was impossible as they were not contemporaries. This does not, however, seem to be correct, as Bâbû Nûnâk lived a.d. 1469-1538, (see Adi Granth, pp. xxvi, xiii, cxix, 3, 93, 127).

Kdr, Panj, a charmed circle. The kdr is a circle drawn round a person by way of protection. The term is employed frequently to invoke protection and is in everyday use, it constantly

XX: I cannot however trace this chief in Tod's Râjpût thân.

XX: Râjpût Court singers and repositories of the family history of Râjpût Chiefs.
occurs in charms and mantras. Guru Nanak39 tersd kdr or Bhâl Phêrê tersd kdr. — ‘Gaur Nanak protect you,’ or ‘Bhâl Phêrê protect you,’ are common Sikh exclamations on seeing one of those ‘devils’ or small sand-whirlwinds so common in Sindhi and the Panjâb. The exclamation is used much in the same way as a Roman Catholic peasant would cross himself or mutter a paternoster on seeing some repulsive sight, and corresponds to the Muhammadian iddah parhnâh (God forbid!). In these mantras, kdr occurs again in the same sense as here, and also obviously as the charmed circle, for in Mantra 4, we have Jo hamet kdr na madre galve vich kdr. "Who disregards our charmed circle let him dissolve in the circle." The idea is that no outsider can enter the kdr to injure the person round whom it is drawn. The word kdr is apparently purely Panjâbî, and I can find no trace of it in Hindi. There is also no mention of it in the Hindustani or Panjâbî dictionaries at my disposal. In Sansk., we have kār, root doubtful, a prison—the root kār means to surround, whence kadāka, a zone, Hindi kâr and kâr, ring, bracelet: so perhaps the word is of Prakrit origin. To illustrate kdr and the idea it conveys to the modern native, I may as well relate the following:—There was a wandering painter going about the streets of Firozpur with what he called “pictures illustrating Hindi classical subjects.” These were gaudily coloured in a style not fit to be seen in our nurseries in England and wholly devoid of perspective. They were painted on any paper the man could get—backs of accounts, &c. One was on an old Commissariat account during the Mutiny, and another on a native soldier’s kindred roll. However, they were readily bought by the lower classes of natives who took great interest in them, and understood them at once. One which I bought for half an anna (three farthings) represented the abduction of Sîtâ by Râvana, an episode in the Râmâyana. In the distance, i.e. at the top of the picture, are Râma and Lakshmana hunting a stag, who is characteristically jumping over the tops of the trees.

In the foreground is Râvana dressed up partly as a Sikh and partly as a Bâirâgî mendicant, enticing Sîtâ to come out of her house and across the kdr by asking her for alms. She is dressed as a Panjâbî woman, and is coming out of the house with a bowl of food. The kdr is represented by a strong red line round the house and Sîtâ. Its purport is unmistakable if one reads the account in the Râmâyana and compares it with the above description. The “learned” in Firezpûr among the Brahmins say that the kdr on that particular occasion was merely a line across the door, and that kdr represents the classical rekha, a line, but that is impossible, and its derivation must be looked for from kār, a prison.39

Elliott, History of India, vol. I, p. 88, quoting Al-Ibrâhîm, who wrote in Sicily at the Court of Roger II. (Elliott, p. 74) in the beginning of the 11th century, on the country of the Bahâr, makes a remark which evidently refers to the custom of the kdr. “The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side, hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice the following is related. When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground, and to make his debtor enter it which the latter never fails to do,39 and the debtor cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditor and obtaining remission of the debt.”

(2.) CHARM FOR TOOTHACHE.

Jhâra jhâr di pêr dê yâ Jhâra39 ghunânde39 dd.

Kâlâ kîrâ kajî39 batîs dant charâ,39
Barkat Shekh Faride kâlâ kîrâ vich mår.
Huddâ39 Pîr Ustâd dâ, ik, do, tîn, châr, panj, chhi, sat,
Foh39 “Foh! Foh!”

Sansk. and Pâl dîwana, das, dani whence also dânshra a large tooth, tuak. Prakrit dîvha, a tooth. j for d is not uncommon. Cf. Turcat for Dacaret = Dasaratha, the father of Râmachandra.

39 Ghunânde, ghunânde, ghunânde, ghunânde, Ghunânde, Panj. the tooth weevil—the weevil supposed to cause toothache. Ghun, Sansk. and Panj. ghsam, Hindi, a weevil, also the dust caused by a weevil in wood.

39 Kajî, lampblack applied to the eyes. Sansk. kajale, Panj. kajal, Hindi kajal, kajâr, kajâr.

39 Charâ, feeds on; char, to graze.

39 Huddâ, Panj. corruption of the Arabic o’da, a word in common use in India, commission, occupation, office, charge, here meaning similarly Panj. hud-dâd, Hindost. oshâd, officer.

Foh, foh, foh, represent three powerful puffs with the breath to drive out the weevil. This charm is repeated as often as necessary till the toothache disappears.
Charm for Toothache, or the Tooth-weevil.

Weevil, dark as lamp black, eating two and thirty teeth,

By the blessing of Shekh Farid, black weevil in the midst will die.

By the order of the Teacher Saint, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven,

Foh! Foh! Foh!

This mantra turns on the superstition that toothache is caused by a weevil which eats into decayed teeth and destroys them as a weevil will produce powder in wood. The blackness of decayed teeth is said to be caused by the black colour of this weevil. The object of this charm is to kill the weevil by invoking Shekh Farid.

Shekh Farid or Farid, Farid Shakar Ganj, Bacha Farid, Shekh Farid Ddin, was a celebrated saint of the Sufi or free-thinking sect of Muhammadans. He is well known in Central India, the Panjáb and elsewhere. He was a contemporary of Bábá Nának, the founder of the Sikh religion, and in the Panjáb is worshipped by all classes and creeds, Sikhs, Hindus, Musalmans and sweepers. He appears as a kind of deus ex machina in many folk-tales (vide Miss Stokes’s Indian Fairy Tales, pp. 95 and 271) and there is any quantity of stories about his miraculous powers. Faridkót, a small Independent State in the Panjáb, is named after him in consequence of the following legend. Some 300 years ago, at the building of the Fort of Faridkót, sufficient coins were not forthcoming, so forced labour was ordered. Bacha Farid was among those impressed, and was told off to carry a basket of wet mud to the top of the wall. As he went up the ladder the basket went up with him, suspended in air four feet above his head. The workmen took him to the Rája the reporting the miracle, and Farid was at once released. The Saint on leaving the Fort by the North Gate wiped his wet muddy hands against the trunk of a píla tree (ban, quercus aegina) which was standing there, and the marks are still to be seen. The tree has ever since been visited by devout Hindus and Musalmans, as it has the miraculous power of granting sons to expectant parents, and round it has been built a temple (mandir), resorted to on Thursdays by Muhammadans and Hindus alike.

Faridkót is the name for a preparation of sugar made in Farid’s honour, and set aside for him (Fallon, New Hind. Dict.). This custom has arisen from the supposed power of Shekh Farid to turn stone into sugar whence his title of Shákar Ganj or Ganj Shákar, “Treasury of Sugar.” Farid had, besides the power of granting sons above referred to, the power of giving a quick delivery to women in child-birth, from which arose another custom in the North-West Provinces of inscribing his name with a couplet on an earthen plate (chapni, dhakni, hapni, chapthi or chapni) and placing it on the woman’s head. The couplet or charm is as follows:

Likhkar chapni sir par dhari
Nikal pand ya nikal pand.

“The inscribed plate is placed upon her head, come fairy boy or fairy girl!” (Fallon, Art. Farid). There is a tomb to Shekh Farid at Pák Paštán in the Panjáb and I believe also one somewhere in Central India. The Tarikh Makbasa Panjáb, a local vernacular work in the form of a Gazetteer containing much curious information about the Panjáb, says, “about the commencement of the 6th century Hijar (cire. a.d. 1200) Shekh Farid Ddin Ganj Shákar Chistí went to Pák Paštán from Hánsí (in the Hisár district, Panjáb), and converted the people to Muhammadanism. The name of the place was then changed from Ajodhan to Pák Paštán (the Holy Bridge). The saint died and was buried there, and the place was freed from Government rent in consequence of the presence of this tomb.” And again, “every year five days after the Moharram there is a grand fair at Pák Paštán in the Saint’s honour, when the Heavenly Gate, which is one of the gates of the shrine, is opened,” the superstition being that whoever goes through this gate on this particular day will secure a place in heaven.

Mr. Tolbert (District of Ludhiana—J. A. S. B., 1869) gives the Ludhiana version of the above story, placing Shekh Farid in a.d. 1551, which is, I think, manifestly too early. His story is (p. 90) :—“About the year 1506 Sañvat, there was a Rája of Jaysalmír and Bhañná, named Dulchí Bám or Berá. His ancestor, Rája Mokal, had built a fort called after himself where Faridkót now is. Mokal’s servants inadvertently seized the famous saint Farid Ddin Shákar Ganj, whose shrine is still at Pák Paštán, and compelled him to labour. On discovering the saintly character and miraculous powers of his workman, Rája Mokal called the city by his name, Faridkót. Dulchí Bám had a son, Tulisdá, who came in the direction of the Panjáb to see Faridkót. At that time Sayyid Makhdúm Jaháníyán resided at Jaysalmír, and through his influence Tulisdá embraced Islam and assumed the name of Shékh Cháchá.” Though it is quite possible a Rájpút came to found the modern Faridkót in 1250 a.d. (Griffin, Rájas of the Panjáb, pp. 2-4), there was no

**For an account of the Faridkót State see Griffin’s Rájas of the Panjáb, pp. 546, 566.
Faridkoṭ properly to speak of till the 16th century (Griffin, pp. 456-8), and there is little doubt that Farīd should be placed with Bābā Nānak A.D. 1500, and if Sayyid Makhduṭ Jahāniyān is Makhduṭ Bahā’-dīa (or Bahā’-l-haq) of Mūltān, his date is the same.**

There is still a body of Ḍāqrās in the Panjāb called the Farīdis or Shekṭ Farīdis, who profess to be followers of this saint.

Farīd had a good deal to do with Bābā Nānak and the Āṭī Granth, and this fixes his date in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D. Dr. Trump (āṭī Granth, introd., p. cxix) enumerates him as one of the Bhagats, who had a finger in that very miscellaneous pie, though Bhagat is a curious title to give a Muhammadan Pār. The learned translator of the Granth, however, gives but little information regarding Farīd. In the Janam-sākhī or life of Bābā Nānak the great Gūḍā is said to have met Farīd in the country of Āśā, and pages of the book are taken up with their conversation and intercourse (see Trump, introd. Āṭī Granth, pp. xxii–xxiv). Where Āśā was is not now known: it probably means some district in the south of the Panjāb.

There are two short contributions of Farīd’s to the Granth given at pp. 669–70 of Dr. Trump’s translation, and one long one at pp. 685–694. They have no interest except from a linguistic point of view.

(3) Charm for Scorpion-Bite.

Jhārḍā bichhu de ḍāṅg** dā.  
Kālā bichhwā kankārwālā,  
Ḍanghū ṣāṭhā puṣchhōṣh** kālā!  
Sone ḍā garyū, ṛupē ḍā pārṇālā!*  
Chhir,∗∗ re bichhwē chhier ṣā yā Gorakhnāth dā sālā.

Charm for Scorpion-bite.

Black scorpion of the stones.  
Black-tailed and curved of sting!  
Golden pot, silver spout!  
Go, you scorpion, go! Gorakhnāth’s friend has come.

In this charm the scorpion is supposed to be frightened into taking away the pain of his sting by the invocation of Gorakhnāth’s friend, i.e. Guggā.

Gorakhnāth’s dā sālā is literally Gorakhnāth’s brother-in-law, i.e. Gorakhnāth’s friend, probably Guggā. The term sālā is used in two very widely differing senses—ordinarily it is a term of the strongest abuse as implying the dishonour of the sister of the person to whom it is applied, but it is also used to imply the protection of some great man, and is then a term of high compliment as here, but neglect him, he is the Tahālidār’s friend!” Dr. Fallon (New Hind. Dict.) quotes a proverb illustrating this use of sālā. Edwān kā sālā, the brother-in-law of the great Edvān,—said of one who tyrannizes under the protection of a powerful person.

Mr. S. R. Bunsah informs me that in Bombay the expression Edwān kā sālā, Edwān no sālā, and Edwān chā sālā (brother-in-law of the Queen) is often used vulgarly by the Muhammadans, Gujarātis, and Marāṭhī-speaking portions of the community respectively, for one who acts unjustly and arbitrarily, without listening to reason—indicating that he is either a nominee, a favourite or a protégé of the Queen, whose action or decision cannot be appealed against.

(4). Charm for Headache.

Jhārḍā sī ṣā ḍā.  
Rakh, rakh, Allah Muhammad dī rakh!  
Lohe dā kōṭ,∗∗∗ samundar dī khāī,  
Hanumān Paighambār tēri dohāī.

Sat Jinnā, Bāra Zāt,  
Hindgi, Musalmānī,  
Sunārī, Chammārī,  
Chūrī, Bāwarkānī,  
Mochan, Jūlāhān,  
Gaṅgābāī, Seṅsānī,  
Qalandarānī, Māchhiānī, hāzīr!  
Shāh Wall, hāzīr kar!  
Sawā sēr dā toshah agge,  
Sawā sēr dā toshah puchchhē.

The forms *duṅg* and *pučchhē* are here used rhythmically for *duṅg* and *pučchhē*.

** Gorēt dim. of garyū—Panj. and Hind. a waterpot. The garēt is a small ēḻā or brass pot for water, whence garōṭ, Panj. the person who accompanied the Sikhs to the chief’s house.

∗∗∗ Lohē dā kōṭ, etc., i.e. the protection of God and Muhammad is like a rampant of iron with a most as wide and deep as the ocean.

---

58 Mr. Behasak (Ind. Ant., vol. X, p. 156) says that in the Akbar Nāmā, vol. II, pp. 446 seq. Līthog. ed. printed by order of the Maharājā of Pattdāl at Lucknow, there is an account of Shehīd Farīd, but I have not been able to procure the book.

59 Duṅg also ḍāṅg, the sting or bite of a scorpion or serpent; Hind. ḍāṅg, Sansk. dāṅga, dāṅk.

60 Kaukas properly a peculiar formation of the Indian soil; here any stones or pebbles.

61 Puṭṭāḥ, Panj. subverted, curved, not straight (?) same as Hind. puṭṭāḥ and puṭṭāḥ, which Dr. Fallon says are the Sansk. parivartata, parivaśita, and whence are the Pali parivartata, parivatā and puṭṭāḥ and puṭṭāḥ may be modern contractions of similar Prak. forms.

62 Sansk. ṭāṭā, Hind. pučchhē, puchchhē, puchchhē, Panj. a tall. Sansk. puchchhē, Hind. pučchhē, puchchhē. The forms pučchhē, pučchhē, pučchhē are here used rhythmically for pučchhē and pučchhē.
Bānā Rānī tērī dohat,
Anārsingh Jodhā tērī kār.**
Bhāi Birsingh Jodhā tērī kār.
Jo hamr†† kār na māne galle vich kār !‡‡
Chal, re mantar! Phur wāz!§§ mantar tērī kār.

Charm for Headache.

The protection of God and Muhammad is round you!
A rampart of iron with moist like the ocean,
Hanumān, the Messenger, protects you.
Come you seven demons, come you women
of the twelve castes,
Be you Hindu, Musalman,
Goldsmit, Leather-worker,
Scavenger, Bāwāriā,
Cobbler, Weaver,
Gandhēlā, Sāhīnī,
Bearleader, Fishwife;
Shāh Wall make them come!
Two and a half pounds good food in front,
Two and a half pounds good food behind.
Bānā Queen protects you.
Anārsingh, the warrior, charms you,
Holy Birsingh, the warrior, charms you.
Who disobeys our charm, may he in the charm dissolve!

Work on, you charm! Act you voice! The charm charms you.

This is a characteristic mantra, and shows most of the peculiarities of the Sānāi superstitions. The invocations include all classes of saints and objects of worship, thus there are invoked Allah, Muhammad and the Jinns (Musalman); Hanumān, Bānā Rānī and Anārsingh for Narasimha (Hindu); Bhāi Birsingh (Sikh). The charm mainly turns on the superstition that headache is produced by the malignant action of a jinn or of a chajal, popularly the ghost of a woman who dies in childbed. The demon or ghost is first invoked and then propitiated by a small offering of food.

Rakh, Hindi and Panjābī, Panj. form also rakṛṭ, Sansk. rākṛṭ (cf. Hindi and Panj. rākh, a man sent to guard a field), in the Panjāb is a protecting amulet consisting of a paper encased in silver or copper, and attached to an armlet worn on the upper part of the right arm as a protection against evil. On the paper are usually quotations from the Kūrān or Hindu religious books, according to the faith of the wearer. Here the word means merely protection, like the Hind. rākhā, which is taken direct from the Sansk. rākṛṭ, protection. Mouier Williams (Sanck. Dict.) says of rākṛṭ that it is a piece of thread or silk bound round the wrist on particular occasions, especially on the full moon of Śrāvana, either as an amulet or preservative against misfortune, or as a symbol of mutual dependence, and as a mark of respect; among the Râjpūts it is sometimes sent by a lady of rank or family to a person of influence whose protection she is desirous of securing, and whom she thus adopts as it were as a male relation or brother. Fallon (New Hind. Dict.) says of it, “A red or yellow thread of silk or a tassel bracelet bound round the wrist of a brother, or sent him by his sister on the festival of Sa l o n o” or the full moon of Śwana, as an amulet or preservative against misfortune, or as a symbol of mutual dependence, or as a mark of respect.”

Tod was much taken with the Râjpūt custom of the râkh, and in his grandiloquent way he twice mentions it in the Annals of Mewâr; p. 263, (Madras ed.) of the Râjâsthân, he says: “the festival of the bracelet (râkh) is in spring, and whatever its origin, is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Râjâsthân. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Râjpūt dame bestows with the râkh the title of adopted brother: and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a ‘cavalieri servente,’ scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such a connexion, never endangered by close observation, and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the further recognition of being the Râkhând Bâh, the ‘bracelet-bound brother’ of a princess. The intrinsic value of such a pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems.

“The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the k-tooltip or corset of simple silk or satin or

‡‡ A vulgar Panjābī word for this amulet is tâsh (f), a corruption of the Arabic ṭūsh, an amulet, charm.

§§ Salono is the day of full moon in the month of Śwana (Panj. Śhâh), or our July–August.
gold brocade and pearls. In shape and application there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the kachchh, and the monarch of India (Humāyun) was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Bājasthān, on receiving the bracelet of the Princess Kārnāvati, which invested him with the title of her brother and uncle and protector of her infant Udaya Singh, that he pledged himself to her service even if the demand were the ‘Castle of Ranthambhor.’ Humāyun proved himself a true knight, and even abdicated his conquests in Bengal when called to redeem his pledge, and succour Chittūr and the widows and minor sons of Sīnghā Rājā. Humāyun had the highest proof of the worth of those courting his protection: he was with his father Bābār in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Bānī, his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Bābār’s own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Chittūr, took Mānda by assault, and as some revenge for her king’s aiding the king of Gujarāt he sent for the Rānā Bikramājit (Kārnāvati’s son) whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe,” all to redeem his rakhī! This was in the fifteenth century, and Tod writing in 1820 shows that the idea had lost nothing in strength three centuries later, for he adds in a footnote to the same page “many romantic tales are founded on the gift of the rakhī. I who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to affluence. The greatest reward I could, and the only one I would receive was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. I was the Rakhlīband, Bhātī, of, and received the bracelet from three queens of Udāypur, Bāndi and Kotā, besides Chānībāi, the maiden sister of the Rājā, as well as many ladies of the chieftains of rank with whom I interchanged letters. The sole articles of ‘barbaric pearl and gold’ which I conveyed from a country where I was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and I retain them with a sentiment the more powerful because I can no longer render them any service.” At p. 498, on the customs of Mewar, he is less grandiloquent and gives more information: “The festival of the rakhī, which is held on the last day of Sāwan, was instituted in honour of the good genius when Darvāsas, the sage, instructed Sanjō (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sāwan) to bind on rakhīs or bracelets as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wristbands. The ladies of Bājasthān either by their handmaids or the family priests send a bracelet as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgment of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity. Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return. This day is hailed by the Brāhmans as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make them a proper return.”

Hanumann paighambar. Paighambār for paigdmbar : Pers. a messenger, a prophet, from paigdām, paigdam and paigdām a message, mission. It is entirely a Muhammadan word, and is used with regard to Muhammad and I’s (Christ) especially. Its application here to the monkey god, Hanumann, may arise from the legend that he was the spy of Raṁa when the latter was seeking for Śī after her abduction by Raṅava, but it is much more likely that the ignorant bard merely intends it to be a sort of honorific title.

Dohā, an exclamation, pity! mercy! a cry of grief or pain. = (?) Sansk. dh + ā. Usually an exclamation by the weak against the strong as a sort of claim or demand for protection. Dohā māngā to ask protection. Here the word is used directly to mean protection. Angreś Bāhādur dā dohā—I claim the protection of the English! A common expression of natives in court—also when oppressed by the rich and powerful. Dohā also is used to express poetical justice, and the dohā of several persons is proverbial in Indian history,—of Akbar for instance. In the Panjāb the dohā of Mūrlāj, the powerful ruler of Mūlān in the earlier portion of this century, is celebrated and many stories regarding it are told. It is popularly said that no thief would plunder when Mūrlāj’s dohā was claimed, and regarding this the following story is commonly current in the Panjāb.

Mūrlāj’s Dohā.

A merchant once met a gang of robbers on the Mūlān road, who robbed him of everything he possessed. He called out “Mūrlāj dā dohā,” and they thereupon returned him everything, but conjured him not to tell Mūrlāj. The merchant, however, on his arrival in Mūlān, told Mūrlāj how he had been robbed, whereupon Mūrlāj made him point out the place where he had been robbed, and sent soldiers to catch the gang. The robbers
were duly caught and brought before Mūrāj, but defended themselves by asserting that they had observed his dohā, whereas, in not keeping the affair a secret, the merchant had not, and that in their opinion the merchant should be taught a lesson not to act in the same manner again. Mūrāj thereupon directed that the whole of the property returned to the merchant by the robbers, should be given back to them.

Mūrāj, like Akbar, is looked upon as a sort of peg on which to hang popular tales, and the following is another story of his dohā or sense of poetic justice, for the historical truth of which I will not vouch.

Mūrāj and his son.

Mūrāj had a beautiful garden, in which was some fruit which he kept for himself, and his gardener was directed not to give it to any one on pain of death. His favorite sōn, a boy, however took some of it despite the warning of Mūrāj di dohā from the gardener. When Mūrāj heard of this he had his son executed, in order to preserve the sacred character of his dohā.

The story has too much of the legend about it, and is too much like the old Roman legend of Brutus, to be easily swallowed.

Sit jinnāt. Jinnāt is the purely Arabic plural of jinn. This is an allusion to the seven kinds of jinnas. Bāra zād: women especially of the twelve castes mentioned in the text, become malignant ghosts or churēls from dying in bed if Hindus, in child-bed if Musalman. Headache being popularly supposed to be caused by Jinna or Churēls, all the different kinds are now invoked. Why twelve castes are fixed on is not clear. The Settlement Report in a somewhat incomplete list of local castes mentions 21 Hindu castes in the district of Firozpur, besides 32 “Muhammadan castes,” and the “castes” here mentioned include Musalman and Hindus.

Hindu, properly the Hindi language, is in the text used for Hindūt or Hindūt, a Hindu woman. This term and Musalmdn following will include most women in India. This list of castes however can hardly be taken to be anything more than purely imaginary, and of the list the Sunārs and Jullāhās are low-caste Hindus; Mochis and Machis are low Musalmans; Bawariās,

30 Jullā, a weaver. This is a trade rather than a caste; they are low-caste Hindus and Musalman.
31 Qalandars, worthless Musalman lajīrs who go about begging with monkeys and bears. They are very different from the world-forsaking Qalandars (calendars) of the books.
32 Chūrk and chūrkā, also bhang, Panj.; a sweeper,
33 Cānḍelas, and Sānts are Criminal Tribes; Qalandars are not very reputable Musalman religious mendicants; Chamārs are a peculiar caste or race considered lower than the orthodox low-caste Hindus (see Monier Williams’ Ind. Ant., vol. VIII, p. 290) and the Chūrkās are sweepers, outcasts, the lowest of the low. The Machis are low Musalman fishermen who will also turn their hand to most menial occupations as water-carriers (bhīchā), grain parcers (bhujād and bharbhānja), messengers at marriages and deaths (kākgi), huntmen (shikārī), &c. The Panjabi Mālās, i.e. boatmen, river-men, are divided into Machhis, who fish with nets, and Māns, who fish with hooks. The following is a list of those ordinarily considered low-caste Hindus or Sūdras in the Panjāb, many of the orthodox not including them among the Hindu people.
1. Sunār, goldsmith.
2. Chūrkā, (bhūg) washerman or dyer (also Musalman).
3. Takhān, carpenter (also Musalman).
4. Jullāhā, weaver (also Musalman).
5. Loḥār, blacksmith (also Musalman).
6. Darzi, tailor.
7. Nāl, barber; bādwar, a very common term, is a corruption of the Eng. barber. Cf. Khetar lohn the Cattle Lines. The corruption of bādwar into bādwar was perhaps facilitated by the Hind. word for hair being bāl.
8. Kālā, publican, seller of liquor (also Musalman).
Bawariā from bāwar, a net for catching birds and small game. The Bawariās appear to be a separate tribe; they are one of the Criminal Tribes of the Panjāb, and live principally by what they can catch in the jungals; they are inveterate thieves. They call themselves Hindus of Rājput origin, but this is doubtful, as they are popularly said to have a language of their own which other Panjābīs profess not to understand.32 Near cities they eke out a living in winter by the sale of firewood, some of them however are respectable enough, and own and cultivate land.

Mr. E. H. Brandreth, in the report above quoted, says (paras. 83 and 84):—“The Bawariās are nominal cultivators but professional burglars. They are the most skilful khojī or trackers in the district. The system of tracking is carried on with very scavenger: (honorifically Mehtar, i.e., lit. master). These are the lowest of the low and eat all kinds of animal food. Their saint is Guggā. Among the Sikhs they are known as Majbis or Mābis written in Persian (incorrectly) Mūhob; Mābi, Musalman shoemaker.
32 This however is very doubtful. Vide Dr. Leitner’s pamphlet before quoted.
great success in this district, and is the principal means by which crimes of all sorts are detected. The Báwarí are the most successful trackers, and every Báwari has more or less knowledge of the art, but it is also practised by other castes, and there are many Játs who are very good trackers. It appears to me a most wonderful art. In almost every village there are one or two persons who have studied it. When a theft takes place the sufferer immediately sends for a tracker with whom he makes an agreement to pay him one or two rupees, and take his chance of the property being recovered, or to pay him a larger sum in the event only of its being found. It is in the case of cattle thefts that the tracking system is most successful. I suppose about half the stolen cattle are recovered in this manner. It must not be supposed, however, that half the number of thieves are also apprehended, for the practice of the cattle stealer is this. He drives the stolen animal as far as he thinks it safe to do so, and then ties it up in some desert spot, and leaves it there. After a few hours he returns to the spot: within that period it is decided whether the track has been lost or not. If the trackers are successful they come to the spot where the animal has been left and carry it back with them, but give themselves no trouble about the thief: if unsuccessful, the thief returns and appropriates it. The best khojets however do not confine themselves to this species of tracking alone, they are able to recognise a man by his footprints. Where other people would study a person's face with the view of recognising him again, they study the print of his foot. I have met with some extraordinary instances of their knowledge in this respect. Only lately I committed a man to the sessions for the murder of a child for its ornaments who was detected solely by the impression of his feet being recognised. The headmen of the village went with the tracker to the spot where the murder had been committed. He followed the tracks of the murderer to some distance towards the village, and at last said: 'These are evidently the footprints of so and so,' naming one of the residents of the village. The headman immediately went to the home of the person indicated, and found the ornaments buried in the wall. The man confessed his guilt. In taking his evidence I asked the tracker how he was able to recognise the prisoner by his footprints; his reply was that 'it would have been very strange if he had not, when he saw them every day of his life.'

The skill of the trackers has in no way diminished since the above report was written, despite their ever-increasing enemy the metalled roads. Two Báwarí were detected in a theft lately in the Firozpur Cantonment by a Báwarí khojí, who knew their tracks apparently as a matter of course. In a recent case of horse-stealing the prisoner in his confession said he had been advised to tie up the horse in the jangal, and regretted he had not followed the advice.

Gándhélà, or Gándhi lá, a wretched low wandering tribe of the Panjab, usually described in the courts as "homeless sweepers." They are Musalmans of a very low order of intelligence, and in appearance more like beasts than men. They come principally from the Montgomery district, and are invertebrate thieves, especially of dogs, which they eat. They will also eat animals that have died a natural death, and putrid flesh.

Sháh Wálí is evidently some saint, and contraction for some other name.—Sháh and Wálí, both being titles assumed by Muhammadan saints and paqás. But which saint is meant the narrator could not say. However, as he was a native of Firozpur the chances are that the particular saint alluded to is Núr Sháh Wálí, a local saint of some celebrity whose tomb and shrine are in Firozpur city. The tomb is an object of weekly adoration on Thursdays by the neighbouring inhabitants, and there is a yearly fair in the saint's honour soon after the Moḥarram. The following characteristic story about Núr Sháh Wálí current in the Firozpur district and neighbourhood is worth recording as showing how living is the belief of the natives in saints and miracles, even in those which can but be referred a few years back.

Núr Sháh Wálí and Sir Henry Lawrence.

When Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence first came to Firozpur some 40 years ago the tomb of Núr Sháh Wálí was in a very dilapidated condition and the neighbouring houses bad and insanitary. Capt. Lawrence directed the whole of that portion of the city, including the tomb, to be levelled and cleared for new houses. The saint, however, appeared to Capt. Lawrence in the middle of the night, and tied him to his bed by strong cords, nor would he release him until he had promised to withdraw his order regarding the tomb. Next morning Capt. Lawrence went to the city, and ordered the Koṭwál to repair the tomb. Ever since then the English have been afraid to interfere with the tomb, though they have pulled down and cleared away all the houses in the neighbourhood.

The facts on which this is founded are, I believe, that Sir Henry Lawrence cleared away the houses in the neighbourhood of the tomb and had the tomb itself repaired and put in order as a sanitary
measure in consequence of the large quantities of people who frequented the place.

I may as well add another tale current in the Firozpur neighbourhood, and thence I believe throughout the Panjab, to illustrate the fact that legends of miracles are growing up around us every day in India.

A Story of Gāru Rāmsingh, the Kūkā.

About 1861 Rāmsingh was employed in Firozpur Arsenal as a foreman carpenter (bhārdī mister), and like all the other skilled workmen used to employ his Sunday holiday in working for the public. One Sunday he was employed as usual to put a roof on a poorman's house in Firozpur city. One of the beams proved a foot too short, and the owner begged Rāmsingh to remedy the defect without obliging him to buy a new beam, which was more than he could afford. Rāmsingh thereupon kept the beam up, and behold! by his miraculous power, he had lengthened it to the required length without adding to it—the beam had in fact grown a foot. Rāmsingh then gave up his trade and became a religious teacher, and founded the sect of the Kūkās, obtaining 500 followers that very day.

Hundreds of persons in Firozpur will attest the above tale, many being "eye-witnesses," and the house can be shown to the curious. The name, Kūkā, is said to mean "the Whisperer,"* from the whispering of the secrets of the religion into the ear. The Kūkās are a sect of Sikhs and are purists in religion, aiming at the destruction of saint worship and the power of the Brahmas; they inculcate a belief in one God, a strict adherence to truth and the Granth, etc. In 1872 they took to murdering the Musalman butchers, which emboldened them with the British Government, and Rāmsingh is now a political prisoner at Rangun. The Kūkās are not now so numerous as they were a few years ago, but are still numerous enough about Amritsar, Lādiāna, and elsewhere. In the Firozpur Cantonment the gateways put up to protect the Butchers’ Quarter during the Kūkā scare were only pulled down this year.

Rāmsingh was the son of Jassāsingh and came from Bhaini about 15 miles east of Lādiāna. He was born about 1815, and is a carpenter by trade. He served in the Sikh armies in 1844 and 1846, and about 1850 went to Bāwal Pindi, where he became the disciple of an Udāl faqr named Bālaksingh; in 1865 Rāmsingh began to proselytize, and in 1860 Bālaksingh died. About the same time, as the Firozpur story attests, Rāmsingh founded his sect and assumed the priesthood.

The point of this charm is that a seer and a quarter weight of sweetmeats is put down on the ground in two places, between which the persons invoked are supposed to have come in answer to the charm. They are then supposed to intercede the ghost or chorēl, causing the headache, to let the sufferer alone, and these lumps of food are ostensibly the offering to the intercessors (their tāshah or road expenses), but really constitute the fee of the charmer, who takes half or the whole of them as his perquisite. When he is satisfied with half only, the remainder is distributed to the lookers-on.

Bānsā Rāṇi, Queen of the Fairies, is worshipped in the Kangra district as a goddess. Is she meant for one of the Vana-devatas or Forest Gods, or perhaps the name stands for Vana Rāṇi, Queen of the Forest, Panj, and Hind, ban a forest, Sanskrit. Bānsā Rāṇi is worshipped at Kangra as the goddess inhabiting the Bambu jangal (bānī) between the villages of Chārī and Rehlu near Dharmshālā and about 12 miles from Kangra.

Anārsingh Jodh, a warrior, for Bahaddar, is evidently an honorific term only. Anārsingh, Nārsingh and Narsingh is for Naranśinha, the fourth aulāt of Vishnu, the man-lion.

Bhā Bīrsingh was a celebrated Sikh saint (see note on kār, 1st mantra). His tomb known as Bāhi Bīrsingh dī samadhī (Sansk. samadhi tomb) is at Mathūhānwālā, a village near the Nagar Bridge of Boats over the Satlaj (Gārā) about 12 miles to the north-east of Firozpur. The lands attached to it have been freehold since the days of Sardār Shāmsingh, son of Sardār Nihālsingh, of Atārī near Amritsar (c. 1810).

---

* Also "the Howlers," from the noisy ecstasies of these sectarians. Kāk means a cry in Hindi, and Panj. Shāstī dīr, lit. 1 sātīr = 2 lbs. 1 sātīr = 2 lbs. Tāshah, also tāshah, travelling expenses: here the money paid in charity, the allusion being to parok dā tāshah (lit. travelling expenses to the next world), good works, charity, almsgiving, thank-offerings of food, etc. This is a common notion in the Panjāb.

"Mit maṭte gā samāhā; hukum kāhā dā ṛāth bāhā. Matthe dīr, "Khrisṇaṅg chauṃgī tāṭhāh pār lāṅthāh. "The matter was considered together in council, and the way of the law explained.

"The counsel was given, charity is best to pass into the next world."—Songs of Sāktī Sarwar.
BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(Continued from p. 24.)

CRIERS.

It is difficult to draw the line between the vagrant and the petty hawker, as the pursuits of the habitual vagrant are of the most varied character. One day he is a beggar, another he is a crier. To deal comprehensively with all the deceptions and designs of these rascals, there is hardly any human suffering or passing calamity of any magnitude which they do not endeavour to turn to advantage.

LEECH SELLERS.

These are Mahârs, Mângs, or Musalmans. They hawk about the town or squat by the wayside. When on the move they cry aloud Lagâū jatu jokh, meaning 'Apply leeches.' When a person requires leeches he purchases them from the hawker at the rate of from two to three annas per dozen, and applies them either himself or with the aid of a servant or relative; meanwhile the hawker goes away for a time, or waits till the leeches have dropped off, and been returned to him; he then draws off the blood by pricking them with a needle, washes them, and replaces them in a piece of cloth containing wet earth. When this is done, he buries the blood in the ground, receives his payment, and departs. People of the higher castes, or in easy circumstances, do not use leeches that are hawked about by the street cries, but obtain them from a Muhammadan who keeps a shop on the Kâlkâdâvi road, and pay about an anna for each. This shop has been here for upwards of 50 years, but the business dates from the time of the present owner's great-grandfather—now 108 years ago. When a Hindu female requires leeches, a Muhammadan woman applies them, if she objects to a male doing so, for a Hindu has no objection to a Muhammadan touching him. The Muhammadan leech-seller follows the same course after they have been made over to him as his fellow professionals the Mahârs and Mângs, for no Hindu will allow his blood to be thrown to dogs or on the road.

LEMONADE AND SODA-WATER HAWKERS.

These are both Muhammadans and Marâthâ-Hindus. The time of hawking is from 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. The most favourable time for them is the hot season. They make from two to four annas per day as gain, and on this they maintain themselves. Carrying their baskets on their heads, they sell the contents of their bottles at half an anna each. Each Muhammadan hawker takes a tumbler in his basket. The Hindu hawker scarcely ever does so, since Hindus object to drinking from tumblers polluted by the touch of others. The hawker uncorks the bottle and hands it to his customer, who empties it without touching his lips with the bottle, for if it did so, the bottle would be polluted, and not fit for another Hindu to use.

COCONUT SELLERS.

These, male and female, are Marâthâs by caste, and start on their selling expedition early in the morning. Amongst them are Salsette and Bandora Christians, known as Gâondekars, or villagers. The Gâondekars come from Mâhim, and the Mâhim cocoanuts which they sell are considered superior to those brought from other places. The cocoanuts are fresh, and the rind is removed before they are hawked for sale in the baskets which the vendors carry on their heads. These baskets contain from 20 to 50 cocoanuts, and the price of each cocomut varies from 8 pies to one anna. The Gâondekar cries Zia ré Mâhim nårèl, 'Have Mahim cocoanuts.' The cry of the Hindu hawker is Ghyâ ré Närèl, or simply Närèl. When the vendor is called to a house, the purchaser selects the largest and best of the cocoanuts, then he shakes each close to his ear, in order to hear the sound of the water within, which is always distinctly audible when the cocoanut is good. If no noise is heard it is pronounced to be muka 'dumb,' and jad 'heavy,' is returned as unripe, or as not having attained the desired perfection. The selected cocoanuts having been paid for, and the basket put on his head, the hawker is off again with the usual cry for further sale. The Gâondekar's labour stops by 10 or 11 o'clock, as by that time she has disposed of all her goods.

The Marâthâs purchase cocoanuts from vakhârâs or stores in different parts of the market. The vakhârâs contain both Mâhim and Kâlikâti (Calicut) cocoanuts, but the Marâthâ
BOMBAH BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

February, 1882.]

Afternoons or evenings at the vakhars at which they haggle for the purchase of coconuts for next day's supply.

"The cultivation of the two principal products in the bhogat or garden land, viz. cocoanut and betelnut, is as follows:—After the nuts have become quite ripe, which is ascertained when they fall of themselves to the ground, they are buried about two feet in the soil, which is previously loosened and levelled, and after the plants are a year old they are transplanted, and buried about two feet deep. The soil is then enriched by mixing up with it salt and náglí (cynorhynchus corocanus). The chief thing afterwards is the watering, and great expense has to be gone to in making wells and watercourses, and wheels. After the 8th, 9th, or 10th year, the trees commence to bear, yielding twice a year, and sometimes thrice: 120 cocoanuts and 250 supáris is about the annual average produce of each tree.

A great many cocoanut trees are also tapped: the toddy is extracted by cutting off the tops of the young shoots when they are little more than two feet long, and tying them very tight at intervals of a few inches. The trees tapped, while the juice is extracted, yield no cocoanuts. The instrument for cutting the shoot is called áut. It is as sharp as a razor. The juice of the tree drops into an earthen vessel which hangs on the top of the shoot, and is emptied every morning and evening into a calabash, which the Bhandarí carries up the tree, hanging it behind him on a hook. A sér and a half is about the average daily quantity extracted from each tree. The tádi is mostly made into liquor; a little of it being sold in a raw state. Bhandarís are expert in climbing cocoanut trees. No string is used as is the custom in some parts of Bombay and the Northern Konkan, but they ascend by means of notches cut in the trunk of the tree about 2½ ft. apart. The calabash into which the tádi is emptied is hung on a hook which is tied to the waist."

BANGLE SELLERS.

These are Hindu coppersmiths by caste. They go about the town with a small-sized box tied up in a piece of cloth, and slung across the shoulders, containing glass bangles—both Chinese and country-made. Most of these men are in easy circumstances. They go about from
noon to 5 p.m., and cry out in a long smart voice Chíná bándí (China bangles). They buy their stock from a store. Some of these men own houses in Bombay or the Mufassal.

Bangles are of seventy-five kinds, and they vary in price from half an anna to nine rupees per dozen, according to the degree of estimation in which they are held. Their names are:—


The lowest class or Rāṣṭ bangles can be had at half an anna a dozen, and the highest, Bājavārgī, at nine rupees per dozen, and the other sorts at from eight to twelve annas. The bangles are put on the wrists of females by the hawkers, some of whom from long experience can manipulate the hand in a way that enables them to put on the smallest bangles that can possibly go over the hand. Women of course like the well-fitting bangles better than those which are larger and easily slipped on. It is understood that if a bangle breaks while the hawker is putting it on, the loss is his. After her wrists are encircled with them, the woman pays the value, bows to the hawker, and retires. It is the custom among the Hindu women after childbirth (when she is unclean for 40 days), to put on new bangles in place of the old ones. This they call Bālānt čhūď (confine-ment bangles). At such seasons a present called tālī is made to the hawker, consisting of from one to four sārs of rice, betelnut and leaves called viddā, a cocoanut, and from four annas to one rupee or upwards in money.

This of course more than covers the value of the bangles, for the better sort are not used on this occasion; when the bangles have been put on, and the present placed on a plate before the hawker for his acceptance, the woman as usual bows to the hawker with her hands joined, and draws away. But before withdrawing, she receives a benediction from his mouth, in these terms:—"May you remain a married woman for ever!" meaning thereby that she may die a married woman and even in a future birth may never become a widow. The hawker is looked upon by the woman almost in the light of a parent, inasmuch as he furnishes her with what is the badge of a married woman. No Hindu woman will ever say that she bought the bangles on her wrists, or that she paid for them, for who can fix the price of a married woman's bangles? In like manner if a Hindu female pleads on her husband's behalf, she will begin to make her Chūďān, that is, save her bangles. But however dear her bangles may be to her, and though considered meritorious to be worn by her sex, they are nevertheless broken on her very wrists, and cast away or carried along with the hair of her head, tied in her bodice when the remains of her husband are being removed from the house, and she becomes a widow! No one ever sees a Hindu married female with bare wrists so far as bangles are concerned. Should these by some accident be broken from either wrist she forthwith covers it, so that nobody may see her bare wrist or become aware of her misfortune, and she will not even taste water until she makes good her loss. The bangles put on the wrists at marriage are called Čhūďā.

Hawkers of Pistachios, Apricots, &c.
The hawkers of these are both Musalmans and Hindus (Banyans). They deal in Persian dried fruits. They cry: Badān, pīstī, akrud, &c. Some keep shops about Bhulēśwar, Mumbādevī, the Market, &c. They also sell mangos of superior sort when these are in season, English apples, &c. Among them is an old Mussalman, who, while hawking about, sings a song of his own composition and repeats each verse at short intervals. He deals mostly in pistachios dipped in salt, and parched. The song he sings is:

शार विनायक सुधारे,
मनजा फारिशा,
The Mahârs confine themselves to buying bottles only. They also pick up bottles thrown into gullies by respectable Hindus, who would not openly sell bottles the contents of which they had consumed in secrecy.

ICE HAWKERS.

The ice hawkers are Muhammadans, who go about from 12 to 2 p.m. and from 7 to 9 in the evening. They cry, "Vildét pâni, ice," "English water, ice." They retail ice from one pie upwards. Their business lasts all the year round, but falls off very much during the rains. They are generally poor and of the lower classes of the Muhammadans. They gain from two to four annas a day, and on this maintain themselves.

ICE CREAM HAWKERS.

These are chiefly Muhammadans, with a very few Marâtha-Hindús. The Muhammadan cries "Ice cream," and the Hindus "E-ice cream," putting emphasis on the word ice, and then "A Hindu ice cream," making it known thereby that he is selling for Hindus only. This hawker does not carry his box on his own head, but employs a Hindu coolie or porter for the purpose. His time of hawking is from 7 in the evening to 2 the next morning, and the hot season is the most favourable for him. He sells his cream at one and two annas a glass. Perhaps, on an average, he may make six or eight annas per night.

(To be continued.)

REMARKS ON THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—I have been much interested in the papers which Dr. Hoernle has lately contributed to the Indian Antiquary, and in none more than that which appears at pp. 324f. of vol. X; the subject being "Readings from the Arian Pâli."

In that paper the phrase yathâ ariyâyato—"putting up his staff"—occurs; and Dr. Hoernle in his text invites attention to this phrase.

I think I can throw some light upon it by translating a portion of the Vinâya Pitaka of the Mahàsañghika school of Buddhism, which relates to the erection of stupas, and providing the accessories thereof. The passage occurs in the 33rd Kiouen of the Mahàsañghika copy of the Vinâya, and the 15th page. The subject is "Laws respecting the erection of stupas." The passage runs thus:

"Buddha was travelling to and fro in the Kosâla country. At this time there was a Brahman ploughing his land; seeing the Lord of the world, he went in advance of him, and fixing his ox-goat staff in the ground, he fell down and paid him reverence.

The Lord having witnessed this, smiled gently, on which the Bhikshus asked Buddha the occasion of his smile; "Oh! that we might hear the reason of it," they said.

On this Buddha addressed the Bhikshus thus—"This Brahman indeed is now worshipping two Buddhas."

1 The gentle or subdued smile of Buddha is supposed to be predictive of some event; vide Romantic Legend, p. 12a.
The Bhikshus then asked Buddha who the two Buddhas were.

Buddha replied: "He worships me and underneath his staff is a Stūpa belonging to Kasyapa Buddha, which he also worships."

The Bhikshus answered: "Ah! that we might be allowed to see the Stūpa of Kasyapa."

Buddha rejoined: "Request this Brahman to give you a clod of the earth (where his staff is erected)."

They did so, and having received the clod, the Lord caused to appear from the earth a seven-jewelled Stūpa of Kasyapa, in height one yojana, and in breadth half a yojana.

The Brahman having seen this Stūpa, immediately spoke to Buddha thus: Lord! my family name is Kaśyapa, this then is my Stūpa (erected in honour) of Kasyapa.

Thus then the Lord in that place where the staff was put caused to be seen the dāgaba of Kasyapa.

The Bhikshus then asked—"Shall we accept this clod of earth (as a token of the Brahman's religious merit)?"

Buddha said—"Accept it!" and then he added this verse:

"A hundred thousand fold of gold
Given in charity
Is not equal to a clod of earth
Given reverently in honour of a Tower of Buddha."

Then the Buddha himself erected (or, himself caused to appear) a Stūpa of Kasyapa Buddha, its foundation four-square, surrounded by an ornamented railing, in the middle of it a four-cornered double-staged plinth, above which rose a lofty staff with a circular ball (or, with circled rings).

Then Buddha said: "Let all Stūpas be fashioned in this way. This is the model of the old Towers of the ancient Buddhists," &c.

Then the Bhikshus said: "And may we now pay reverence to this Stūpa?"

Buddha replied in the affirmative, and added this gāthā:

"Though men used a 100,000 gold pieces
In charitable gifts,
This would not equal the true heart
Reverencing a Tower of Buddha."

After this follows an account of the accessories of a Stūpa, niches, lakes, railings, &c.

It would seem then that fixing the staff would be synonymous with "cutting the first sod" for the erection of a Stūpa.

I add a translation from the Chinese author I-ting relating to Buddhist worship and other matters in India in the 7th century of our era: this may perhaps throw some light on archaeological discoveries now being brought to light:

"The land of China," he says, "from ancient times, according to traditional teaching, has only known the worship of Buddha by setting forth his names. But in the Western countries the Chaityas which stand by the roadside are reverenceed (chāityavāṇa). And every afternoon or evening the assembly coming from the gates (by the convent) three times circumambulate the Stūpas with incense and flowers; and then sitting down cross-legged, they caused some skilled brother to accompany himself with music as he sings with clear voice the praises of the Great Master; and for this purpose they have hymns consisting of ten or even twenty slokas. They then return to the temple, and having taken their seats in the usual place, they cause a preacher to mount the pulpit (lion-seat), and there to read through some short sermon (sūtra). The pulpit is not far from the chief Chaivira's seat, and is not so high or so large. In reading the sūtra (or whilst reading) they generally recite (sing) from the Sāṅgīta (or, threefold collection) (San-ke) which Āśvaghosha Ayusmat compiled, selecting ten slokas or so, and as they catch the meaning of what is read, they recite the hymn of praise to the three honoured names; (the preacher then) sets forth the place where the several passages occur in the true Sūtra spoken by Ananda. The hymn or psalm being ended, they then select ten other slokas to recite whilst they perform the usual votive procession (round the apei) [khrs.; kxy]. This is also composed in three parts or sections, and hence it is called San-ke. All this being ended, the congregation says "Suvasti!" (Be it even so) [ĀMEN]; this is a very favourite or choice exclamation of assent used during the recitation of the Scriptures. They also say "Vattthu," which is the same as "It is well" (saddhu). The preacher after this descends (from his pulpit). The president then first rises and bows to the lion throne (the pulpit), (in token of) the preparatory instruction (or the service) being finished, and afterwards he bows to the holy assembly, and then returns to his place. The second priest then

---

* This expression is afterwards explained to refer to the three sections or divisions of the compilation which Āśvaghosa made. It may have been in the form of a tripych.

* Probably the Sarṇaṇagāmanu, or "glorious hymn," as Buddhaghosha terms it, in honour of the Buddha, the Law, and the Church. Vide Childers, J. R. As. Soc., (N. S.) vol. IV, p. 325.

* So at least I understand the expression Po-te'ın.

* The Chinese expression khr.-kxy exactly corresponds to the Greek δψ or δψ θεων. The last portion of the Buddhist ritual in worship consists of a procession circuit round the spot where, in old times, the dāgaba or reli shrine stood, viz., in the chord of the apei. I am not suggesting that the word apei is derived from δψ, but simply pointing out the coincidence.
bows to the two places (viz., the pulpit and the assembly), and then salutes the president, and then resumes his seat. The third priest then does likewise, and so on to the end of the assembled priests. If the number of priests is very great, then three or five, as they think proper, rise at the same time and salute as before. This done, they depart.

"This is the rule of the priesthood throughout the holy land of the East from Tamralipi to Nalanda. In the latter monastery the number of priests and disciples is so great, amounting to about five thousand, that such an assembly in one place would be difficult. This great temple has eight halls, each able to hold about three hundred at a time; in these various congregations are assembled. The rules here are (in consequence of the numbers) somewhat different from other places. They select one singing-master (precen- tor), who, every evening towards sundown, goes through the various halls where the priests are assembled accompanied by a pure brother, a young man, acolyte), who precedes him, holding flowers and incense; and as they pass through the assem- blies the members of the congregation bow down, and at each bow with a loud voice they chant a hymn of three ślokas or five, with the sound of drums and music. At sundown, when all is just over, the precentor receives from the temple property a certain allowance as an offering (offertory), after which he again takes his place opposite an incense heap (a large censer), and singly recites with his heart (or heartily) a hymn of praise; and thus until nightfall, when the council have had three complete prostrations, the assembly is broken up. This is the traditional custom of worship in the West. The old and sick occupy small seats apart.

"There were some ancient practices not exactly the same as the present Indian customs; such, for instance, as the custom of chanting a hymn when at the time of worship the distinctive marks of Buddha were recited; this was a grand chant of ten or twenty ślokas; this was the rule. Again, the "Gāthas of the Tathāgatas" and others were originally intended to be laudatory hymns in praise of the virtues of Buddha, and were in long or short verses arranged harmoniously. And because the meaning of these verses was difficult to be got at, it became customary during the religious seasons, when the congregation was assembled in the evening, to call on some distinguished member to recite 150 to 400 stanzas in praise of Buddha (and explain them) with other hymnas."

A similar expression is used by Pō-hien (cap. 3). The Essenes also had pure brothers to wait on them.

Śūkṣkiṭa died 550 A. D. Julien's Mém. sur les Cont.

"There have been certain leading men of great talent who have contributed hymns of praise for use in the worship of Buddha—such as the venerable Mātrijāta, a man of great talent. Of him it is said that his birth was predicted by Buddha when a certain parrot saluted him as he passed through a grove. Having become a convert, he first composed 400 laudatory verses and afterwards 150, arranged according to the six paramitas, illustrating the most excellent qualities of the world-honoured Buddha.

"Other hymns were composed by the Bodhisatwa Asanga, others by Vasubandha. All who enter the ministry are supposed to learn these beforehand, whether they belong to the Great or Little Vehicle. There are also the hymns composed by Channa Bodhisatwa, by Sakyadēva of the Deer Park, and also by Nāgārjuna, who composed the work called Sukrīta. This he left to his old patron, the king of a great southern kingdom called Sadavaha.

"We cannot pass over the special notice of the Jātakamālā, which is also a book of this sort. If translated it would make about ten chapters in Chinese. The origin of the book was this: Śūkṣkiṭa's Rāja was extremely fond of literature, and on one occasion issued an order that all the chief men of the kingdom who loved poetry should assemble the next day morning at the palace, and each bring a verse on paper. In consequence five hundred assembled, and on their papers being opened the verses were put together, and this is the Jātakamālā. Of all books of poetry known in India, this is the most refined. The islands of the Southern Sea and the ten countries all use these verses, but in China they have not yet been translated.

"Again, the venerable Aśvaghosha composed a book of chants, and also the Ataśikāra Śāstra, and also the Life of Buddha in verse. The whole book if translated might be included in about ten volumes. It describes the life of Tathāgata from the period of his birth in the palace, to his death between the trees. This is used also throughout India and in the Southern Sea."

S. BEAL.

With reference to Dr. Hoernle's papers (vol. X, pp. 118f, 255f) the Rev. Mr. Beal remarks that if one "read carefully any of the many lives of Buddha he will see that "the two persons who stand by the side of the tree, and whom bad perspective has apparently placed in the air" (p. 256) are Dēvas worshipping the Tree, (or Buddha symbolized by the Tree) in common with the human
beings below. It seems to escape the memory of many persons that Buddha was the Saviour of gods as well as men. Then, they are not “eating the berries of the Tree,” but whistling with the thumb and first finger in harmony with the celestial choir. This whistling with the thumb and finger is repeatedly mentioned as a mode of praise in the Lives of Buddha (e.g. in the Romantic Legend).

‘Then when Dr. Hoernle speaks of the Dēvas scattering the berries of the tree from baskets, (p. 256, n. 3), he overlooks the constant assertion that Suddhavara and other Dēvas poured down sandal-wood dust and other perfumes on the seat where Buddha attained wisdom (Rom. Leg. pp. 67, 225, 227). The ornaments or ornamental marks on the thrones in all the plates of the Bharhat Śēha represent the flowers and perfumes rained down from heaven.

Then again (p. 258), he speaks of “two persons” knocking off berries with their scarves; but they are only waving them in the air, as we might wave our handkerchiefs in token of joy or triumph. In the Sutta Nipāta by Fauböll (Sacred Books, vol. X, p. 125, § 679, 680) is an expression which illustrates this waving of their garments by the Dēvas.

“I have no doubt too that the Erāpatto Nāgara plates (p. 258, No. 16) refer to the legend of Elāpatra and the two Nāgas, as I have given it in the Romantic Legend (p. 277), and it occurs in nearly the same form in the Vinaya-pitaka.’”

(From a private letter.)

**BOOK NOTICE.**


It has been known for several years past, that Rao Sahab V. N. Mandlik was engaged on a considerable work on Hindu Law. And as the result of his labours, we now have before us the Sanskrit text of the Mayūkha, and the Yājnavalkya Smṛiti, with English translations; an elaborate introduction on the sources of Hindu Law; and a series of Appendices discussing special topics with reference to the decisions of British tribunals.

Firstly, as to the text of the Mayūkha, an important consideration concerns the apparatus criticus by which it has been settled. There are certain deficiencies which strike one here, and which are to be regretted. It does not appear that any MS. from Nāgaik was consulted. Yet Nāgaik is, or at least was, one of our chief centres of learning in Western India. No MS. again appears to have been obtained from the Nāgpur district, which having been governed by a family of Marāthā Rājās, would probably have yielded some useful copies of the legal work of a Marāthā Brāhmaṇa. Lastly, no MS. from Gujarāt has been consulted; the one obtained having been discarded as incorrect. This, I think, was a very great mistake, having regard to the established doctrine of our courts, that the Mayūkha is of special authority in Gujarāt. And it was but lately that the practical importance of this was illustrated. In a case argued before a Full Bench of the High Court in 1879, a passage having been cited from the text of the Mayūkha as printed, but not then published, in the volume before us, Sir Michael Westropp inquired if there was any note in Mr. Mandlik’s edition upon the genuineness of that passage; and on its being stated that there was not, His Lordship pointed out, that Mr. Borrodaile had said that the passage was not to be found in the Gujarāt MSS. examined by him. (See Stokes, Hindu Law Books, p. 70.) It is manifest that, as Sir Michael Westropp said, a text constructed without reference to any Gujarāt MS. whatever cannot be satisfactory on such a point as this. It is unnecessary to say anything on the text of the Yājnavalkya Smṛiti, except to point out that only one MS. has been used in settling it, the other copies used being printed ones.

One very important part of this volume is the translation of the Mayūkha. The only translation available before the present one was Mr. Borrodaile’s; and I may add the Marāṭhī translation published in 1844 under the direction of the Government of Bombay. The latter, so far as I have examined it, is a good one, but being in Marāṭhī, is not readily available to all. Mr. Borrodaile’s translation was made almost in the infancy of European Sanskrit scholarship, by one who was not himself an advanced Sanskritist; and it was, therefore, full of obscurities, inaccuracies, and mistakes. The translation before us is much better than Mr. Borrodaile’s; but even this is far from being all that is to be desired, or that might have been expected. In the Introduction it is said: “I have tried to reproduce the original as nearly as possible.” But in the very first stanza the words—

“A small [treatise] laying down juridical rules”—

involve a very wide and a very unnecessary, departure from Nīlakanta’s text. “A little [treatise] on the determination of judicial proceedings” appears to me to be a much more literal, and at least equally intelligible, rendering. The particular inaccuracy here is doubtless a very small one. But I point to it, first, to show that the claim of the translator to have “reproduced the original as nearly as possible” cannot be admitted,
and secondly, to illustrate what I conceive to be the  

The book **ideal** of a translation. A translation  

This principle, which ought to be observed in all  

The original does not give this, which is a  

The translation gives three alternative  

The text gives only two. According  

"A judicial proceeding is an operation  

The original expression occurs in the text in both places.  

This variance in the translations is the more  

Siddhānta Kosānādā, vol. I, 253, in Tārānāthā's  

To proceed, however. two lines after these  

The latter part [of the definition] is "&c. What is the  

The words really refer to the latter part of the second definition,  

I apprehend, do not mean what the  

A brief  

English explanation of the terms, I may refer to  

I cannot dwell on other inaccuracies of this  

Here, too, the limits of this notice preclude the  

Pitāmāhāpādita in Yājñavalkya  

At p. 32 (see also p. 215) and "acquired by  

At p. 33 "if the mother  

At p. 51, "the definition and the defined" in 1. 4,  

And an object and its attribute" in 1. 39.  

In the same passage, "imply" in 1. 39 of p. 51, and "there arises  

At p. 33 l. 20, the words "in the second half of the text."  

Similarly in p. 34 l. 16 "it is better to conclude" is  

At p. 47 again, avapatiya (childless) is omitted, and "who has no other son"  

At p. 50, l. 20 edagd is not translated; in the next line kātkanāhit  

At p. 51, l. 26, api is omitted from the translation; and so is eva at p. 52, l. 1.  

These are instances of omissions in the translation. There are others of additions made by the
translator which are not shown as such. At p. 40, l. 3 "could not be recovered" is the translator's; the original is "had not been recovered." Again at p. 50, l. 16 "the done" is an addition; it is not in Manu, and seems to be inconsistent with Nilakantha's interpretation of Manu. The words "providing the boy be" are also an addition not marked as such. The whole text of Manu, in truth, is here translated with much looseness. At p. 59, l. 14 the words 'the two expressions' are interpolated by the translator, and not merely inaccurately but erroneously. There are no two 'expressions' to be considered here at all.

Another class of defects to be noted is the manner in which Nilakantha’s notes on texts cited by him are translated. For instance, at p. 51, l. 13 we read, "Now sūdriṣṭā means alike," &c. To one who reads the translation only without looking at the original, this must prove something of a cruz. And in this particular passage there is a very special difficulty. The passage, on which the remark quoted is made, is the passage from Manu at p. 50, which is at a considerable distance from this remark itself. And sūdriṣṭā, too, has there been already translated "of the same class," whereas we read here that it means "alike by family and qualities, not by class." Further remarks on this passage will be made in the sequel. Another instance of this kind of defect occurs on the same page. At l. 35 we read "sāvam [means] wealth." It is not, however, necessary to multiply these instances. They appear to be scattered over the whole book. The defect could have been easily avoided by saying, instead of the last sentence, for instance, "'the whole' [means the whole] wealth." And so in other cases.

We now come to a far more important class of defects, those, namely, where we find positive mistakes. At p. 34, l. 12f. we have Nilakantha’s opinion as to the effects of partition on ownership. The translation before us is liable to exception on more than one ground. The following I suggest as more close and more correct— "As to that, some (say) that the pre-existing ownership attaching to the aggregate wealth is extinguished, and a new one is created in one part of it. But as the supposition of the extinction of a pre-existing ownership and the creation of another, involves a breach of the law of parsimony, the correct (opinion) is, that ownership, which even at first is produced only as attaching to a portion (of the aggregate wealth), is by partition shown to attach to particular articles (out of the aggregate wealth)." In the translation in the volume before us, I think 'joint' is wrongly construed with 'ownership,' as samudita in the text goes with dṛṣṭya; and "particular ownership" is not a very lucid phrase, besides being not a close rendering of vilakṣikṣana svata, of which it seems to be intended as an equivalent. I say "seems," because at l. 16 the expression "particular ownership" recurs, but the text has not vilakṣikṣana svata there, but ekadaśa-ṣṭita, which does not occur in the previous clause. At p. 35, l. 23 et seq. the text is wrongly construed, and the translation is consequently erroneous, and in fact seems to make the text self-contradictory, which it by no means really is. According to our translator, the view of the Pārva Mīmāṃśa, as stated by Nilakantha, would be, that by the precept Viśuṣṭi sarva-svam dadāti, the gift of a son or a daughter in the viśuṣṭi sacrifice is laid down. But Nilakantha does not say so at all. He first says that ownership and its sources are to be learnt from popular usage, not the Śāstra. And he gives an illustration. The owner of a cow is the owner of the cow's young ones. This, he says, is learnt from popular usage, not from the Śāstra, which nowhere lays down that birth from one's cow is a source of ownership in the progeny. On this an objector says— "If so, a man will be the owner of the children born of his own wife." Nilakantha concedes this for the sake of argument, and says, "What then?" The objector replies— "If a man is the owner of his children, he must give them away when he makes a viśuṣṭi sacrifice. But the Pārva Mīmāṃśa has decided that "children must not be given away." The objector thus resorts to a redactio ad absurdum. Nilakantha meets him by saying that his reasoning is right except at its initial stage. He says, it does not follow, because the young of one's cow are one's property, that therefore the children of one's wife should be also one's property, and he assigns the reason that one's wife is not one's property as a cow is. This analysis will show that the representation of the doctrine of the Pārva Mīmāṃśa contained in the translation before us is wrong; in fact, it makes the Pārva Mīmāṃśa entirely set aside a distinct Vedic text, a bold proceeding which the text of the Mīmāṃśa shows it did not venture upon. The translation also, as we have said, makes the passage self-contradictory. For, according to it, the Pārva Mīmāṃśa says children are within the rule about the gift at the viśuṣṭi sacrifice. They can be so only by being regarded as a man's property. And thus, although the Mīmāṃśa might decide that they are not to be given, it would be conceding that they are property. Yet Nilakantha, who denies that they are property, is by the translator made to say, that there is no difference between his doctrine and that of the Mīmāṃśa.

I have dwelt at some length on this, because the mistake in construing made here is one which
recurs with some frequency in the translation, and because here it could not otherwise be made clear. Indeed, I am afraid, even a fuller discussion than this might be desirable. There are other instances of this sort. At p. 44, l. 16 the passage about the "two shares" is confused by a mistake in construing it. According to the translation, the words "this text relates to one having an only son" appear to be Nilakantha's; and the words "for in the Madhava Ratna, &c." appear to be added in support of the opinion expressed in the preceding clause. This is quite wrong, and the translation should run thus: — "[It is said] in the M. R. that this relates to an only son, on account of the text of Sankha and Likhita, 'If a man has one son (पुत्र) he may take two shares to himself.'" The translation, however, proceeds — "The word eka (one) is used to denote excellence," &c. Whose words are these? To what do they refer? The translator gives no information. The translation ought really after setting out the text of Sankha and Likhita to go on thus: — "[But] in the Pārśva-jīva [it is said] the word eka (one) means excellent — according to the text of Amara — eka [means] chief, others, and only. The ultimate meaning (of ekaputra) is one who has a meritorious son." The result is that Nilakantha has here, as elsewhere, only given the conflicting opinions of other writers. But the translation, so far making this clear, rather obscures it. At p. 48, l. 2 et seq., again, we have a faulty translation. But this is not so important as that at p. 47, l. 23, where it is not so wrong. The correct translation is: — "In the event of there being only debts, however, he (namely, the unseparated son) need not pay the debts at all, without taking a share from those previously separated." This is the opinion of the Māyāhaka and also good sense. Now contrast with this the rendering before us — "If there be only debts, the previously separated son is not at all bound to pay debts without receiving a share of the heritage." This is neither correct translation nor good sense. As, by the hypothesis, there are only debts, it is difficult to perceive of what "heritage" the separated son is to claim a share before paying them. At p. 50, l. 26 puruṣavātā is wrongly rendered by "affable visible interests." At p. 51, l. 13f, we have again a serious blunder. The correct translation is: — "[Now] Medhatithi [says], that alike [means alike] by family and qualities, not by caste, and that therefore Kauṭyayana and others also can become the adopted (sons) of the Rājagopāla and others. But Kumāra Bhaṭṭa [says] alike [means alike] by caste. And this is correct. Because Yājñavalkya, after premising all the twelve [classes of] sons [in the verses] "the legitimate son is one born of a lawfully-wedded wife," &c. concludes thus: — "This law is propounded by me with regard to sons of the same castes." If the reader will compare this rendering with that in the translation before us and both with the original, he will perceive how "possible" it was to "reproduce" that original much more nearly than the translator has done. In the latter portion he will note the omission of api which we have translated "all": he will note that "after enumerating . . . observers" does not correctly represent anything in the text, and on turning to Yājñavalkya II. 133 at p. 138 of the volume, he will find also that there is no "enumeration" there as distinct from the "observation": he will note, too, that the words "in this manner," after "enumerating," do not answer to anything in the text, and are inexplicable where they stand. In the former portion, the reader will perceive an error of translation which makes the Māyāhaka appear self-contradictory. There, according to the translation before us, Medhatithi is cited only for the proposition about a Kaḍyāya being adopted by a Brāhmaṇa, but the interpretation of Manu in the previous sentence is put as if it was Nilakantha's own, which it clearly is not. For in the very next line but one, Nilakantha quotes Kumāra Bhaṭṭa against Medhatithi, and agrees with and supports the former. Lower down, on the same page at l. 27, we have again an important mistake. I translate the text thus: — "This might be a prohibition to the giver alone, if it had the character of being a prohibition of the gift of an eldest [son]. But that [character] does not exist, as there is no proof [that it does exist], and as [the text] is only intended to declare the discharge of the [ancestral] debt by the mere declaration (contained) in the words 'becomes possessed of a son'—of the status of being possessed of a son." In the translation before us, the familiar expression saṁbhāvita is mistranslated — "for there is a want of affirmative [command]." How this meaning is evolved out of the expression referred to, I cannot imagine. Nor can I understand why an "affirmative command" is required to prescribe a "prohibition." The lines 30-32 are also exceedingly obscure, mainly because they do not "reproduce as nearly as possible" the text of Nilakantha, which is lucid enough.

I cannot now dwell on the mistake in the translation at p. 52, l. 7 of the sentence about the word dattārima (which is left uncompleted); nor can I stop to do more than inquire how the boy 'bearing the reflection of a son' can be, what it is said he should be, saṁe or equal; nor to show that at p. 57, l. 21, the rendering of सूक्ष्मसर्वस्त्र by "for evident worldly reasons" is at least inaccurate; nor yet to consider the important inaccuracies (amounting, in one instance, almost to a positive
error) in the passage immediately following, which are mainly due to unnecessary deviations from the text. The space at my disposal being limited, I will only add two or three more cases of important errors. The first is the sentence summing up the discussion in the passage last referred to. The translation runs as follows: “Therefore that permission of the husband indicated for a particular state (by Yājñavalkya) is laid down here [by Kātyāyana following Yājñavalkya], and is not a new rule laid down (without prior authority).” This is all wrong. The translation should run thus: “Therefore in whatever state the permission of the husband is already laid down, [for] that [state] only is [if] repeated here (i.e., in the text of Vasiṣṭha). Permission not already [prescribed] is not prescribed. Therefore the widow has a right (to adopt) even without the direction of the husband.” It is necessary to explain this passage, a translation alone can never suffice in such cases. Nilakantha is dealing here with the text of Vasiṣṭha, in which it is said, among other things, that a woman should not adopt without the husband’s permission. Upon that the question arises—is the necessity for this permission absolute? Nilakantha says—No; this is only a special case of the general rule, that a woman cannot perform any spiritual acts without the leave of some male relations. And as the general rule is that the husband superintends the wife’s proceedings during his lifetime, and other relations do so after his death, so the permission of the husband required is only for an adoption during his life-time—after his death his permission may be dispensed with. In the light of this explanation, let us now examine the translation before us. In the first place this passage is in the translation made to appear as a comment on Kātyāyana’s text. This is wrong. A bare outline of the argument shows this. After setting out Vasiṣṭha’s text, Nilakantha says the permission of the husband is only for a woman whose husband is alive, not for a widow. Therefore Yājñavalkya has laid down the doctrine of woman’s dependence on the husband only in a particular state of life, and on others in other cases, and Kātyāyana also mentions the permission of husband, father, &c., in particular states of life only. Therefore, &c., as above set out. I think this shows the correctness of my view. That view is also supported by the fact, that the sequel of the passage is again a commentary on another expression in the same passage from Vasiṣṭha, and by the further fact that Kātyāyana says nothing expressly about adoption, which is the subject of discussion throughout this section of the Mayākha, and in the particular passage before us. Again spāred is translated “new, without prior authority.” In the first place, this is not in accordance with the Mindmad acceptance of the word, which is plainly intended here by the contrast with anusvāda. Secondly, if the question of Kātyāyana’s rule being not “new” is material, is not the question of Yājñavalkya’s rule being such also material? And if it is, what answer is forthcoming of that question? The truth is, there is no question here of “novelty” or “authority” at all. The only question is, is the rule of Vasiṣṭha to be treated as a distinct rule by itself,—in which case the limitations laid down in it are those which must be followed,—or is it to be treated as a repetition, with respect to one particular subject, of a general rule laid down elsewhere—in which case the limitations laid down elsewhere will be imported into the rule? The latter is the correct view, according to Nilakantha.

We now come to another passage. At p. 61 l. 16 begins a discussion about the two classes of adoptions. This passage in the translation is quite confused, owing to the translator talking now of the phrase ‘simple adopted,’ now of the rite of simple adoption, and now of the ‘simple adopted’ son himself. That confusion has nothing answering to it in the text of the Madhayākha. I will not, however, go into details here, except to draw attention to the word ‘illegal’ in l. 33, which ought not to be used, the original being merely ‘prohibited.’ Take again the passage at p. 63, l. 37. A very important word is here omitted in the translation—namely caṇa. The sentence is so condensed that it is difficult to render it quite satisfactorily. I suggest the following rendering: “As to that, the power belongs to all who have more than one son, only as regards giving [one] not the eldest. And as regards acceptance [it belongs] to those whose sons are dead, or to whom no sons have been born.” Still another mistake occurs at p. 77, l. 24. Noting, en passant, that in the text of Brihaspati there cited, there should be the word ‘even’ before ‘if partition’ (line 23), I would draw attention to the remarks on that text which follow. Here again we have a mistake in construing the original of a similar nature to those already referred to. The translation should run as follows: . . . . . . “As for the text of Brihaspati . . . . [it is said] in the Sṛṣṭi Chandrika, that that refers to a wife having no daughter, but that one having a daughter obtains the moveable property also,—[while] Māthava [says], that it is intended as a prohibition of the sale, &c., of the moveable property without the consent of the heirs.” I need not say anything upon the rendering in this volume, except that the sentence “the prohibition of sale,” &c., at line 26ff., requires some explanation, according to the view of the translator.
I need not go into further details to support the assertion I have made, that this translation falls very far short indeed of just expectations. The defects I have shown, and they are only a few out of those I have observed, will, I think, bear out that assertion. They seem to fall into four classes. We have words inserted in the translation which are not in the original, and are not always necessary for understanding it, and which too are not always denoted as translator's additions. We have words in the original which are not represented at all in the translation. We have renderings which involve quite unnecessary deviations from the original. And lastly, we have renderings which are based on positive misconceptions of the text. Before closing this branch of the subject, I have only to add, that there are sundry passages where some note by the translator in explanation of the text was desirable. The passages at p. 73, l. 300f. or p. 74, l. 200f. may be referred to among other instances.

This examination of the translation of the Mayākha has occupied so much space already, that I am unwilling to embark here upon a similar examination of that of the Yajnavalkya Smrīti. And for more than one reason such an examination is not necessary. I will, therefore, proceed now to make a few remarks on what is the more original portion of the volume before us, namely, the Introduction and the Appendices. The former mostly deals with the sources of Hindu Law. Passing over minor matters, on which something might perhaps be fairly said by way of criticism of the author's positions, we come to the discussion of the Smrīti literature. In addition to a very considerable body of interesting and useful information, regarding this, we have an attempt made to fix the chronological positions of several of the principal Smrīti writers. As that attempt is based merely upon the quotations in each Smrīti, and as the critical accuracy of these Smrītis is not above suspicion, these chronological conclusions must necessarily be taken as provisional only. I do not, however, clearly understand what our author means by saying (p. xiv.) that the mention of ancient rishis or sages in the Rigveda as pathikritah (indicators of the right path) would be an argument in favour of the antiquity of Smrītis; because no works on Dharmastra are ascribed to rishis except Śāstras and Smrītis. If it is meant that the indication of the right path was given in Smrītis, the argument proves too much; for these Smrītis, if any such ever existed, must have been later than the Vedas. Besides being unlikely, this conclusion is inconsistent with the Sanskrit Preface (or Upodyghata), where the old orthodox view is expressed, that the authority of Smrīti texts results only from their being based on the Vedas. This brings us to the suggestion made in more than one place by our author, that the Smrītis record the customary law of the people (see pp. xxvi, xlii, lix). If this is so, it is difficult to understand in what sense the authority of the Smrītis rests on the Vedas. Again, in speaking of Yajnavalkya (p. xi), our author speaks of the penances prescribed by him as being "now merely nominal caricatures of an ideal society which probably had no existence at any period beyond the mind of the writer of that digest, but which is certainly entirely inapplicable to the Aryan society as it exists at the present day." This sentence is not particularly lucid or precise, but it seems to say that Yajnavalkya's rules were never the actual governing rules of any existing society. These passages taken together leave a very vague and unsatisfactory impression as to what is our author's precise view about the Smrītis. Two distinct lines of thought seem to be indicated which are not anywhere brought into harmony. In one place, it is suggested, "that each Smrīti refers to a separate Sākhā." This is not a very precise expression, but I understand it to mean that each Smrīti records the practices of one Sākhā or another. I do not know of any sufficient authority for this view; and the passage from the Nārāya Siadhu referred to as such appears to me rather to point the other way.

We next come to the Purāṇas. Our author's language here is rather misleading. For after enumerating the eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas he goes on to add that "the Purāṇas are distinctly alluded to in the Vedas." One not familiar with the facts on this point is likely to carry away from this sentence the impression, that the Purāṇas "alluded to in the Vedas" are the eighteen mentioned. But I cannot think that our author intended to convey so entirely erroneous an impression. At the same time I must point out, that the note on the passage above cited refers to and sets out the Bhadshya of Sāyana, which specifically mentions the Brāhma Purāṇa as one of those referred to. If our author really thinks that the Brāhma Purāṇa, &c., were those alluded in the passage cited by him, I think it desirable to point out, that in the comments on the passage from the Taftiṣṭyārāṇyangka also cited by him, Sāyana gives a different interpretation, and what is, perhaps, of more importance, that in the Brāhma Purāṇa mentioned in the same way as in the Taftiṣṭyā Brāhmaṇga, that is to say in company with the four Vedas and Itihāsas, Sankarashārya interprets the word to mean something very different from
the Brāhma and other Purāṇas. I do not wish to withdraw the dissent I have already expressed elsewhere from the late Prof. Wilson's views about the Purāṇas, especially having regard to what has been recently said by Dr. Bühler on that subject in his volume on the Āpastamba and Gāṇapāma Śāstras. But the view which is apparently suggested in the passage under discussion seems to me to run into the opposite extreme.

I cannot stop to discuss here some of the other interesting points touched on in the Introduction, such as the identification of the Āryas and their country; the relations between the Manusmṛiti (as we have it) and the Mahābhārata; the confusion about Janaka and Yājnavalkya. But I may express my regret, that our author has given no indication of the "very considerable bearing" of topics such as the Śāstras and the Vratas on "all questions of partition, succession, alienation, and contract." That those topics form part of the Hindu Dharmaśāstra is undoubted. And I do not deny that an appreciation of those topics may be of help in understanding the underlying principles of the Dāyabhāga section of the Dharm Śāstra.

But I still think that Rao Saheb Mandlik makes a larger claim on their behalf than is quite sustainable, and at all events that some indications should have been furnished by him of the grounds upon which he bases that claim.

The first two appendices are both the result of very considerable labour, and embody some very interesting information. The others deal more particularly with questions which interest the practical lawyer. It is unfortunate, that the Rao Saheb's views upon the important questions discussed should have been expressed too late for any practical effect on our Courts. The propositions on the law of adoption and marriage, and the Sāpinda relationship—so laboriously discussed in these Appendices, are now too well established to be upset. The last has been settled by a decision of the Privy Council; that about the adoption of an only son has been settled by a decision of a Full Bench of the High Court of Bombay; and the principle of decision regarding marriage customs has been laid down probably by too many judges of the High Court to be now upset by any Bench whatever. The points touching the Sāpinda relationship, and the adoption of an only son, are both difficult ones. I cannot say, however, that Mr. Mandlik's discussion of the grounds on which the positions he assails are based is satisfactory.

The appendix on customary law contains a very useful collection of facts touching marriage customs in various parts of India, which must be of interest from more than one point of view. On customary law I would remark, that custom is necessarily vague; and everybody who has any practical acquaintance with the trial of cases in our courts, in which questions of custom arise for decision, must be aware of the very great difficulty there is in getting any satisfactory information with regard to such questions from the witnesses called who generally take one side or the other in the struggle. There is no discrimination on the part of our courts to give effect to customs when proved, except, indeed, such customs as the courts seem to be immoral or contrary to the positive legislation binding upon them. The difficulty is in ascertaining what the customs really are.

A few months ago a case was tried in the High Court, in which one party alleged a custom of the Telangi Fulmali caste to the effect that the father of a minor might cancel his marriage during his minority without reference to the minor's wishes. The documents produced from the caste records gave no support to the allegation, showing it to be based on a confusion of two very distinct matters. And yet some respectable members of the caste came into court to support that allegation. The truth seemed to be, that the witnesses—one of those intelligent ones—could not appreciate distinctions, which, to others, were quite manifest. Our author says that in his opinion, "it is wrong to apply English rules of custom to the determination of our native usages." But he does not specify what English rules he objects to. Just before this he had said, "It will appear from this text that our indigenous law does not support the English law in respect to custom, that it must be of a certain kind before it can be upheld." I cannot make out whether 'certain' here means invariable, well-established. But if it does, the word nitya in the text cited (and of pandugraha and gula&c. at p. xlvi) seems to show that the Hindu rule and the English rule are not very different. If that is not the sense in which 'certain' is used here, it is unfortunate that the Rao Saheb has not made his meaning more specific and clear.

This notice has already extended to such limits, that I must forego the discussion of many other topics which are suggested in the volume before us. I can only say in conclusion that the volume is evidently the outcome of a great deal of labour; and embodies a great deal of very interesting and useful information, to which, I am afraid, the very imperfect Index at the end does but scant justice.

Kāśinātha Trimbak Telang.

is not that of defiance of opposition but direct specification. Cf. Udṛṣṭa Parvan, chap. xiv, st. 9, Commentary.
In these days, when so much attention is devoted to what is called folk-lore, no apology is necessary for an attempt to bring the writings of Tukáram under the fuller notice of the public. We heartily rejoice in every effort that is made to explore the ancient literature of India and so give a vivid presentation of a life which has, in a great degree, passed away; but it is at least of equal importance that we should understand the present and be able to enter with intelligent sympathy into the thoughts and feelings of the people among whom we live.

Tukáram has not unfrequently been styled "the national poet of the Maráthi people." The designation may be accepted, with the proviso that, in a country so full of castes and sects as India is, no writer can, in the full sense of the word, be denominated national. All that we can say is that, among the Maráthi people generally, no writer enjoys a popularity equal to that of Tukáram. His fame and influence are especially great among the middle and lower castes, which constitute the great mass of the population. The Brahmans, as a rule, were at first opposed to him; and it certainly ran counter to all their prepossessions and predilections that a man of the middle class—a Wáñi, or shopkeeper,—should become the chief religious teacher of Máchárashtra. Still, even among the Brahmans, his fame and authority are great and apparently not decreasing. The estimation in which he is generally held is strikingly stated in the following words—

Avaghá goda, avaghá goda,
Tuká mázhá pântsavá Veda—
All is sweet, all is sweet,
Tuká is my fifth Veda,

—language which boldly violates all Hindu orthodoxy by placing the people's poet on a level with the greatest Rishis of the ancient time.

Even among those who have received a good English education, and so been brought into pretty full contact with western thought, Tukáram is generally held in high esteem.

In the public worship of the Práthana Samaj, both of Bombay and Poona, the poems of Tukáram are freely used. They are indeed expurgated so far as to deprive them of idolatrous sentiments and mythological allusions; still, the verses are not materially altered. In the interesting work of Mr. Mahádeva Moreswar Kante, entitled Vicissitudes of Argyn Civilization in India, the following estimate of Tukáram's influence is given: "He preached with a power, an originality, and a devotion which soon organized an important sect, the beneficial influence of which is discoverable wherever the Maráthi language is spoken."

"When Tukáram protested against idolatry, the lower orders seceded from Brahanism." I shall have occasion by and by to state how far I can agree with this high opinion of the character and influence of the teaching of Tukáram; but that such should be the estimate formed by well-educated men is an important fact. On the whole, then, Tukáram, more than any other writer, is entitled to the proud appellation of "the national poet of the Maráthi people;" and his fame hardly seems to be fading away even when the "fiery light" of western civilization is made to beat upon it. Such a writer then deserves, and will repay, the best attention of those who seek to understand the religious thought and life of the Maráthi people.

Let me first state in two or three sentences what has been already done to bring the poet and his works to the notice of European scholars. As far back as 1849 I presented to the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society a somewhat lengthy account of the life of Tukáram, as given in the Bhakti Lilamrita of the Maráthi poet Mahipati. It will be found in the third volume of the Society's Journal. In 1867 Sir Alexander Grant gave a thoughtful paper in the Fortnightly Review, entitled "Tukáram: a Study of Hinduism." In 1869, under the patronage of the Bombay Government, there appeared an edition of the poems of Tukáram in two large volumes, with a "critical preface" in English, in which the chief events of his life were discussed with considerable fulness. Other editions of his poems have also been published.\(^1\) To the great majority, however, even of the members of the Asiatic Society, Tukáram is little more than a distinguished

\(^1\) Unhappily the readings considerably differ in different Mss. and printed editions.
name. Every one has heard of him; but only the small body of students of Marathi literature have any correct notion of his sentiments. For many reasons I shall be thankful if I can help in making his writings somewhat better known.

I have no intention, in this paper, of writing a dissertation on Tukaram. The time for doing so has not yet come. Instead of speaking about the poet, the chief need is—for the present, at all events—to get him to speak for himself. Our great effort must be to supply faithful renderings of his words—to present his ideas, as far as may be, in their true form and colour. I shall try to do this, after a few introductory remarks which seem desirable for the sake of those who are not familiar with our poet's writings.

The poems ascribed to Tukaram are generally very short; but they are also very voluminous—they are, at least, 5000 in number. From such a multitude I can only give selections—those verses which appear the most striking and characteristic receiving preference. Here an immense difficulty at once presents itself. To western minds, and I presume to all minds trained in western modes of thought, the beliefs of the Marathi poet appear to form no harmonious system; on the contrary, the ideas occurring in two consecutive poems sometimes seem irreconcilable with each other. Making all due allowance for what some metaphysicians call "antinomies" of thought and the possibility of two contradictory propositions uniting in a higher truth, it is impossible to call Tukaram a consistent writer.

Now, this want of harmony in the ideas of the poet may partly have arisen from the progress of his own mind from one belief to another. There may have been a development in his religious creed; and the changing phases of thought may have been faithfully reproduced in his writings. If so, it is exceedingly to be deplored that we are very seldom able to fix the dates of his poems. In a few instances references to his personal history may assist us; but in the vast majority of cases we have no clue to guide us. In consequence of this, the order in which the poems appear is entirely different in different MSS., as well as in the printed editions. If some competent scholar would take the trouble to bring order out of this confusion, and present the poems as far as possible in the chronological order of their composition, he would render a very important service to Marathi literature. Moreover, to trace the mental movements of a man like Tukaram would be profoundly interesting in a psychological point of view. But the task would be Herculean—perhaps impossible of accomplishment.

In the meantime, we need not be surprised if we see opposing schools of thought alike appealing to Tukaram as a supporter of their views. In the extract from Mr. M. M. Kunte, given above, it is boldly stated that Tukaram "protested against idolatry," and it is true that the adherents of the Prarthana Samaj find many passages in his writings which, with little or no change, they employ to express monotheistic sentiments; and yet, it is universally known that the worship of the god Vithoba of Pandharpur finds its strongest support in the impassioned abhangs of Tukaram.

These things being so, it is obviously no easy task to give in a brief space quotations which shall fairly represent the views of our poet. I have called him inconsistent; his ardent admirers may, probably, prefer to characterise him as many-sided; but in either case the difficulty remains the same.

A few of the selections now submitted have been rendered into verse, and this mainly to give some notion of Tukaram's favourite metres; which in some cases have been exactly reproduced, and in others almost exactly. But the tyranny of rhyme and measure does not allow of that accurate rendering of the sentiments which is desirable; and in most cases plain prose has been adopted. The prose translation has been made as literal as the idiom of the English language will allow; possibly it is sometimes too severely so—though never (let us hope) to the obscuring of the sense.

Tukaram lived in the days of the great Marathi chieftain Siwaji—in round numbers, two and a half centuries ago. Accordingly his language, although still quite intelligible to the Marathi people, has acquired a certain archaic tinge which lends it something of an additional charm. This characteristic I may have hardly succeeded in reproducing; but some attempt to do so may be traceable here and there in the following pages.
The reader may, perhaps, complain of a lack of arrangement in the abhangs here subjoined. I have already said that the same confusion appears in all existing copies of the poems, whether in print or manuscript; and as my object is to present the poems as we find them current among the people, I do not seem justified in giving an arbitrary classification that would necessarily leave on the mind a different impression from that produced by the study of the poems in their popular order, or rather disorder. But it may be of use to mention certain subjects to which Tukārām very frequently recurs. The great subjects of his thought are the following:

1. The glory of Viṭhobā, and other manifestations of Vishṇu.
2. Glory of Paṇḍharpur, and the river Bhīmā.
3. Importance of bhakti, or devotion.
4. Comparative uselessness of ceremonial observances.
5. Value of morality.
7. Glory of the saints.
8. Religious equality of all true bhaktas.
9. Injustice to Tukārām, however, we ought to add that there are in his writings occasional gleams of monotheistic thought, which are all the more remarkable because of their surroundings.

Perhaps I had better add that, although Tukārām is the most popular exponent, he is by no means the author, of Viṭhobā-worship. Tukārām is the disciple of Nāmādeva, who lived at Paṇḍharpur; and through the latter we reach Jīnādeva,* the learned expounder of the Bhagavad Gītā. He was also acquainted with the Bhagavata Purāṇa, as explained by Eknāṭh of Paithān, a writer of much authority. These were the chief sources of Tukārām’s ideas; although influences from northern teachers, especially Kābir, and apparently also from the Vaishṇavas of Bengal, contributed in part to the formation of his creed.

But of the history of the worship of Viṭhobā I may speak elsewhere. Meantime, the question before us is not—whence comes the creed? but,—what is it? Let Tukārām himself be its interpreter.

TRANSLATIONS OF SELECT ABHANGS OF TUKĀRĀM.

1
Jani Nārāyana ghoḍe antarāyaa—
If when God thou seekest, thou a hindrance fearest
In thy best and dearest,
Cast them from thee!
If to child or riches thy fond spirit clingeth,
Lo! to thee it bringeth
Only sorrow.
Pralhād even a father, Vibhishṇa a brother,
Bharat realm and mother
Disregarded.
Tukā says, One refuge, Hari’s feet, ne’er faileth;
Nothing else availeth,—
All but pains thee.*

2
Kā re nāthavī kṛṣṇādu devāī—
Why art thou forgetting God, the greatly gracious,
Who the world so spacious
Solo supporteth?
For the new-born nursing who the milk prepareth?
Mother, child—each shareth
His great mercy.
In the fierce hot season when the leaflet springeth,
Who the moisture bringeth
Which it drinketh?
Has not the Everlasting given thee still protection?
Keep in recollection
All His kindness!
World-sustainer call Him—of all good the giver—
Think, says Tukā, ever
Of Him only.

3
Bhāva gāvā gīta—
Sing the hymn with true devotion,
Cleansed from evil wish and notion;
God to find if thou desirest,
Small the labour thou requirest,—
Pride from out thy spirit chasing.

* This name is pronounced Dūyāndēv by the Marāṭhās.

* This metre is very frequent in Tukārām.
Humbly the saints' feet embracing,
Think not, hear not, in thy blindness,
All of malice or unkindness;
And, says Tukā, as thou'rt able,
Be thou good and charitable.*

Yet Merciful is thy name;
I am thy darling, let mercy come to thee;
For whom besides thee can I look?
My mother and father is Rukmādevi's lord—
This is the firm persuasion of my heart.
Says Tukā—Any matter of difficulty
I cast not on thee; only meet me, O Narāyaṇ!

Bā re Pāṇḍurangā kheṇā bheṣṭi dēa—
Alas! O Pāṇḍurang, when wilt thou meet me?
Full sorrowful have I become without thee.
Besides thee I can see no friend;
I feel I must embrace thy feet.
Let me twine* my body round thy feet—
When, O holder of the discus, wilt thou meet me?
Says Tukā—Fulfil my joy; quickly leap to me,
O Narāyaṇ!

Sarva nāśavata eka tuzavāna—
All is perishable save thyself alone;
Imperishable thou, and mighty;
Mighty, yet I do not cast a burden on thee;
Only, great is my wish to meet thee.
Of me the hapless fulfil the longing;
If thou callest thyself merciful.
If thou art ashamed of me, why didst thou bring me forth?
Who now will cherish me?
The child is waiting; the mother has hidden herself;
Is such a mother kind?
Says Tukā—Not so, O Narāyaṇ!
But make good thy spoken word.

Āvaḍīsē utar vādā pushpāṇjīt—
We shall offer the expression of desire as a handful of flowers,
We shall worship Dwārakā's wearer of the wildflower chaplet,
The god of gods, the prince of Yogis,
The life of the life of the universe;
Without him there goes not to us an hour;—
More and more let us feel thy love!
Give us thy love, thy worship, says Tukā,
Thou lord of Vaiñātha, O Narāyaṇ!

Udana dekhīle udāṇa aikīlī—
Much has been seen, much has been heard,
Much has been said, of the greatness of holy places;
But like to Paṇḍhari there is no holy place
Even were Vaikunth itself exhibited.
Such a Chandrabhâgâ—such a Bhimâ bank—
Such a god upon the brick—where is there?
Such slaves of Hari—such sweetness of love—
Such resounding of the name—where is there?
Says Tukâ—For us, unhappy ones,
Was Paṇḍhari created by the god.

13

Āpuliyā balē nāhī mē bolata—
Of his own providing nought the poet singeth;
God, the gracious, bringeth
Strains melodious.
When the sweet solankhî her clear note out-poureth,
He gives, as she soareth,
All the rapture.
I cahn offer nothing of my heart's own treasure;
All from His good pleasure
Flows the music.
Tukâ says, His marvels no one comprehendeth;
To the lame He lendeth
Feet to walk with.

14

Dharma raksháaya avatára ghest—
To preserve religion thou becomest incarnate;
Thine own worshippers thou dost preserve;
For Ambarshi thou didst endure several births;
Various wicked men hast thou destroyed;
Blessed ocean of grace will they call thee.
Thine own word do thou make good!
Tukâ says—The Purânas celebrate thee;
Thou art a cloud of mercy; an ocean of grace.

15

Tū maţhi mâuli mē tushā leâkârâ—
Thou art my mother, I am thy child;
Send me not from thee, O Viṭhâbât!*
Thou art my mother-cow, I am thy calf;
Keep not back the milk, O Viṭhâbât!
Thou art my mother-deer, I am thy fawn;
Cut not off my hope, O Viṭhâbât!
Thou art my mother-bird, I am thy chick;
Give me to eat, O Viṭhâbât!
As the glance of the tortoise falls on its young,
So show me kindness, O Viṭhâbât!
Says Tukâ—Quick, run swiftly to me,
I sink in deep waters; draw me forth!

16

Paksâpi prabhâte teârâyâd zâya—
As when the mother-bird at dawn goes to feed,
The brood remain fasting at home,
So longeth my heart for thee;
The whole night it thinketh of thy feet.
When the unweaned calf is bound, O god,
In his heart is the cry for his dam.
Says Tukâ—Thou art of near kin to me;
Quickly show kindness, O helper of the helpless!

17

Uñtas nîcha kâhī nepe Bhagavanta—
Of high and low Bhagavân nothing knows;
He stands (revealed) on beholding faith and devotion.
The son of a female slave, Vidur—he ate his grain;
In the Daitya's house he rescued Prahlâd;
For Sajân the butcher he set to selling flesh;
For Sâvatâ the gardener he set to weeding;
With Rohiûs he set to colouring leather;
At the loom of Kabir he wove scarfs;
For Narhari, the goldsmith, he set to knocking and blowing;
With Tsokhâ meîâ he bore off (dead) cattle;
With Nâmâ he dined—no narrowness in him;
The wall of Jûnî he made to move;
With Mirâbât he took the poison-cup;
For Dâmâjî he became a Patevâr (Mhâr);
On his body he bore a load of clay for Gorâ the potter;
The hundâ of Mehetâ he paid himself;
With Nâmâ's Jûnil he picked up cowdung;
In the house of Dhim Hari carried water;
For Paṇḍâlik still he stands upright;
Says Tukâ—His wondrous doings no one comprehends.

18

Toûndî bole Brahma jñâna—
Ah, he speaks the words of heaven
With a heart to murder given,—
Loudly praise to God he sings,
But his soul to lucres clings,
Tukâ says—A wrench so base—
Smite him, slap him on the face!

19

Kâya tushâ vetei maa bheût detâ—
What will it cost thee to meet me,
And to speak a word or two?

* The god is here addressed as a female.
Why art thou afraid? who wants to seize thee? 
To meet thee, this is my one desire.
What? would I steal thy form from thee?
And fearing this, dost thou lie hidden?
What should I do with thy Vaikuṇṭh?
Fear not; only meet me now.
Says Tukā—Not a thread of thine do I seek;
All my delight is in seeing thee.

20
Karévā uddyāra he tumhā uchita—
It is your duty to deliver;
I have performed my part.
I have uttered a cry, saying "Haste!"
Now let him to whom it belongs, take care!
Blame is to the deceiver, he must be thought a liar,—
Such is my full persuasion.
Says Tukā—My body, tongue, mind—
Have no other object of regard save thee.

21
Sodāmi kārttana na karī dānī kās—
I shall not leave off the kārttana* to do aught else;
I shall dance without shame in thy court.
Clapping my hands, I shall say, Vitthal!
So shall I destroy the delusion of existence.
Let the longing of my love be satisfied, O king of Paṇḍhari!
Suppliant for this am I at thy feet.
Says Tukā—Neglect me not,—
Lead me to thine own dwelling place!

22
Maṭhā tukhā devā āhe vaiburkāra—
Is there enmity, O god, between me and thee?
Thou overwhelmst me* with mountains of grief.
Violently hast thou bound me and given me into the hand of Death.
By this what has come into thine own hand?
Much hope had I entertained of thee;
Greatly, O lord of Ramā, hast thou exalted thyself!
By such exaltation, high will be thy name;
But yet I shall call thee god.
Says Tukā—Hear my piteous cry;
Or else, I shall give up my life.

23
Kopatā upāya karā bhetāvyā—
What means can I use to meet thee?

I think I shall burn this body.
Quitting my village, I will go to the desert,
To see the lord of Ruknādēvī.
Shall I use this means—to let my body wither?
I can bear it no longer, O Nārāyaṇ.
The few days of life are passing away—
When, therefore, O Hari, wilt thou meet me?
Says Tukā—Consider and say something—
O Viṣṇu, whatever is in thy mind.

24
Dhanya dhanya Paṇḍharparā—
Blessed, blessed Paṇḍhari;
Vitthal lo! and Rukmini!
Glide past the Chandrabhāgā;
Kāśi, Gayā, and Prayāga;* 10
And great Dwārakā—all are here—
With the Paṇḍavas' friend so dear;
And, says Tukā, here we see
Paṇḍalik, blest devotee.

25
Rāma nāmā viṇa tōnda—
He who says not Rām—the fool,
His mouth is just a tanner's pool.
He who is not Vitthal's slave
Wretch! he must two fathers have;
He who loves not Paṇḍurang
Scoundrel! is in caste a Māṅg;
Aye, says Tukā, on that day
Mhār and whose together lay.

26
Kanyā sāskṛtyā siṣya—
When the girl is going to the house of her father-in-law,
Turning she gazes back.
So is it with my soul;
When wilt thou meet me, O Keśava?
The doe has lost her fawn—
And she seeks it in every place.
The mother has lost her child—
Then back she looks, grieving, grieving.
Like a little fish drawn from the water,
Even so is Tukā agonized.

27
Nāma ghetā vād tātā—
If one walks repeating the Name,
There is a sacrifice at every step.
If one does his daily work, repeating the name—
He is (as if) continually wrapt in meditation.
If one eats, taking the name at each mouthful—

* Kārttana is celebration of a deity with musical instruments and songs.
* Literally—showest me.
Even when he has dined he has fasted.
Blessed, blessed is his body;
The maternal abode of holy place and rite.
Repeating the name let him enjoy or reject,
Blame soils him not;
He who continually sings the name of Râm
Tukā worshippeth his feet.

28
Nāma dhe Jayadhā
He with whom is the Name,
Kāśi is there wherever he dwells.
Such is the glory of the name—
Vālmik, Shankar, Umā knew it.
The boy Prahlād knew the name;
Knew it, the wicked Ajāmel;
Nārad also knew it;
The Name (gave) a changeless station to Dhruv;
The Name saved Ganiā;
It delivered the elephant Gajendra;
Hanumān knew the Name;
The great saints knew it;
Suk himself knew the Name;
Knew it king Parikshit;
Tukā, the shopkeeper, knows the Name,
And has hidden the world farewell.

29
Āmačā mirā Paṇḍhāri—
My heritage is Paṇḍhāri;
I dwell on Bhīmā-bank;
Rukmādevi is my mother;
Paṇḍurang is my father;
My brother is Paṇḍalik Muni;
The Chandra bhāgā is my sister;
A place has been given me at the feet—
Tukā is an old proprietor.

30
Bhāgyawanta mhapā tāyā—
Call them the fortunate
Who have gone suppliant to the king of
Paṇḍhāri.
They have been saved, and will be—this conviction
Is the stamp on him who invokes the Name.
This is the place of bhakti and mukti;
It is to simple believing men.
Hari is celebrated in the Purāṇas;
Tukā speaks the voice of the Veda.

31
Sarva dharmāte tākona—
Casting away all dharm,

Come wholly suppliant to me.
Is the desire of moksha to thee?
Then come suppliant to me.
Egoism is grievous sin,—
Know thou this assuredly:
Says Tukā—Through māya
Ha speaks this secret in the Gitā.

32
Abhaka Brāhmaṇa kāśi tyāsā toāda—
A Brahman without bhakti, black is his face;
What? did not a where bring him forth?
But a Vaiṣṇava Chāmbhār, pure is his mother,
Pure both his race and caste.
This is the decision made in the Purāṇas—
It is not only a statement of mine.
Says Tukā—Let his greatness go hang;
Let not my eye fall on such a wretch!

33
Zalo zalo te sakalo—
Hang all that kind of thing—
First-rate caste, first-rate family!
He whose speech is vile
His ear is but a rat's hole.
Abandoning Hari,
He foolishly fusses about many things.
Says Tukā—What multitudes
Have madly gone thus to ruin!

34
Para stī te āmha Bakmini samāna—
The wife of another man is with me equal to
Rukmiṇī;
I swear it by thee, O Paṇḍurang!
Mother, do not give me trouble,
We, slaves of Vaiṣṇav, are not of such a sort.
This fall of yours I cannot bear;
Do not speak such a wicked word.
Says Tukā—If you must have a husband,
Whatever you may be, are people few?

35
Aho sakalo tirthāhūni—
Oh, of all the holy places
Paṇḍhāri's lord is the crown jewel.
Blessed, blessed is Paṇḍhāri
The indestructible city of moksha;
Lo! the place of rest:
That is my lord of Paṇḍhāri.
Says Tukā—I tell it plainly—
Paṇḍhāri is a second Vaikuṇṭh.

11 Māya means either illusion or affection.
12 Viz., Kṛishṇa.
36

Hechi kari kāma—
Do this work,
O my soul, repeat the name of Rām.
Take, take, O my tongue.
The sweet name of Viśhobā.
Hear, O my ears,
The excellencies of my Viśhobā.
Take O my eyes, this happiness—
To behold the face of Viśhobā.
My soul, run thither—
Rest at the feet of Viśhobā.
Says Tukā—O my soul,
My soul, forsake not Keśāv.

37

Dīvālkhora Nārāyaṇa—
A very bankrupt is Nārāyaṇ,— He is in debt to multitudes; Rising in the morning, at the great door They cry—Give me, give me my own, O Hari. He, the while, remaining in the house, Draws the screen of māyā across. The bond is thy name; Thy feet are the pledge. Art thou not willing to give to any, And therefore keepest thou silence? Creditor is Tukā the shopkeeper; Debtor is Viśhāl the master.

38

Viśhaldasā nama ghyate—
Take the name of Viśhāl— Then thrust forward the foot. All auspicious times and omens Are in contemplating Viśhāl in the heart. This is the necessary conjunction; What gain is lacking then? Says Tukā—To the slave of Hari Propitious times occur perpetually.

39

Jaiṣe taise tair—
Even such as I am, Suppliant have I come to thee, O Hari. Now thou must not Falsify thine own pretensions. Pure my heart is not, Yet I call myself worshipper. Whoever asks about poor me, It is thy name that Tukā mentions.

40

Deva bhadraśa bhuketā— The god, hungering for faith, Became his servant's slave. Taking not a coverie of wages He washes the horses of Arjun. Having no love of sensuous things His delight was in Kubārā. Says Tukā—The supporter of the universe Became a milkman’s child.

41

Karitā devārchanā— When engaged in worshipping the gods If saints come to your house, Let the gods be set aside, And first the saints be served. (Like) the śālagrām, the image of Viṣṇu, Are the saints of whatever caste. Says Tukā—First of all Worship the circle of the Vaishnāvas.

42

Tusā pāratā samvār— Looking on thee My gaze does not return. My heart is at thy feet; It has embraced them, thou king of Paṇḍhārī! Separate from the stream is not The salt, which is mixed with the water. Yes, says Tukā, as an offering My life is laid beneath thy feet.

43

Aho dātā Nārāyaṇa— Yes! the giver is Nārāyaṇ; And he is himself the enjoyer. Now with my own tongue I say nothing, Henceforth we shall speak his words. Yes, says Tukā, even my dull Senses have become Govind.

44

Aśā jyāśa anubhave He whose experience is this That the universe is the true god, God is near to him: On looking, he appears in view. Lust, anger, are not in his heart; Equality with all beings is attained, Says Tukā—Duality, non-duality,— All such question is utterly gone.

* Or Viṣṇu's self.

* Or perhaps, like (king) Bāli.
45
Dhyānān dhyātā Paṇḍharināyā—
Meditating on the king of Paṇḍhara,
With the mind the body changes;
Then, what more need be said?
Mine, myself, have become Hari.
Mind and deity embrace;
One sees the whole universe as Hari’s form.
Says Tukā—What can I say?
At once Hari’s form overflows all.

46
Vishayātā sukha ethe viṣe goda—
Worldly joy here seemeth sweet;
Hereafter the pains of Yama are dreadful.
They strike, they cut, they horribly slash—
Those servants of Yama—for many years.
There is a tree with sword-like leaves; live coals of khair;
Flames of boiling oil come forth;
They are made to walk on burning floors;
They embrace fiery pillars with their arms.
Therefore, says Tukā, my heart is sorrowful;
Enough of coming and going and being born.

47
Tusa viva tulu bhara rītā phāva—
Without thee the least speck of space
Is not; so speaks the world.
Yogā, Munhā, Sādhus, saints, have said it.
Thou art in this—in every place.
With this belief have I come suppliant;
From old am I thy child.
Thou fillest unnumbered worlds and overflowest;
Yet nowhere hast thou become (visible) to me.
“Limit there is not to my form;
What meeting can I give my servant?”
Is it so thinking that thou comest not?
Tell me, O Rishikeśa, my father and mother!
Says Tukā—Run, my life is spent;
Show thine feet, O Nārāyaṇa!

48
Nirdyārāṃ tumhti karitā dasaṇa—
It is thou that punisheth the unkind,
Where then shall I take my complaint against thysel’f?
I intreat kindness; thine ear regards not;
Causelessly thou remainest silent.
Sorrowfully I gaze, clasping thy feet,
With a sad voice I make intreaty;

Says Tukā—Loose the knot in my mind;
What, O Vitthal, art thou waiting for?

49
Saṃsvātā daivata—
The god of all gods
Stands upright—all-perfect.
Snatch the delight, my friend;
With pure faith measure it out truly.
The delight has been snatched by many,
By Dhruv, Nārad, and other saints.
Tukā snatches the delight;
Pāṇḍurang has become his helper.

50
Māya bāpe keśē ḍas—
Father and mother hoped much from him,
But he became the slave of his wife.
He attends to the babble of women,
But answers not his own brother.
His wife gets a yellow silk garment,
His mother a ragged sōvalā.
Says Tukā—Such a fellow—
Deal him out blows with a shoe!

51
Lohārapāṇā dekā deva—
Place, O God, oh place me low!
Deals the rider blow on blow
To the lordly elephant,
While on sweetness feeds the ant.
See exposed to perils oft
Him who holds his head aloft.
Hear, says Tukā—This is all;
Be thou smallest of the small.

52
Saṅgūravāntamāṃ saṃpāṇḍaṇa soyā13—
Without the true Guru no good can be obtained;
Let the feet of him be held fast, first of all!
At once he makes you like unto himself;
Him there befauls to chance or change.
As no comparison can be made between iron and the paris,
So the glory of the True Guru is great exceedingly.
Says Tukā—How blind are these people!
They have forgotten the true God.

53
Antarī nirmāṇa vāc, tej rasiṣṭha—
He who is pure in heart, and gentle in speech—
Be there, or be there not, a garland round his neck;

---
13 This abhang is not found in some editions; but is generally ascribed to Tukā.
He who by self-experience has purified his ways—
Be there, or be there not, a jātaka on his head;
He who before another's wife is passionless—
Be there, or be there not, ashes on his body;
He who is blind to others' wealth, and deaf to censure on others—
Behold! that man, says Tukā, is a saint.

Andhalyāśi jana avaghechi andhala—
To the blind man every one is blind;
For to him their eyes are invisible.
To the sick man even sweetmeats are like poison;
For in his mouth there is no power to taste.

Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.

No. CXIX.

The present inscription, No. 19 of those noticed in Vol. X., p. 244, is edited from the original plates, which were found somewhere in the Karnul District and were forwarded to me by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about 7½ long, by 2½ broad at the ends and 2¾ broad in the middle. In fashioning the plates, the edges were made somewhat thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing on the surface of the plates; and both the plates and the inscription are excellently preserved. The ring, on which the plates were strung, had not been cut; it is about ¾ thick and 3½ in diameter. The seal on it is slightly oval, about 1¾ by 1½, and has, in relief, a countersunk surface, the usual Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right. The three plates weigh 47½ tolas, and the ring and seal 23 tolas, total weight, 70½ tolas. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are square and upright, and are of the usual Western Chalukya type of the period.

It is a Western Chalukya grant, and gives us a new name in that dynasty, in the person of Ádityavarmā, the son of Satyārāya I. or Pulikēśī II. He is probably the Ádityavarmā whom the later account, or rather tradition, of the Miraj plates makes the son of Naḍāmarī and the grandson of Pulikēśī II.

In the present grant, the genealogical portion commences with Pulikēśī I., to whom it wrongly allots the name of Satyārāya, which was properly possessed first by his grandson Pulikēśī II.; but, though this is a mistake, the present grant does not stand alone in allotting the name of Satyārāya to an ancestor of Pulikēśī II. The only other respect in which it differs from the usual style of the Western Chalukya grants is in the use of the word kuśalin in line 13. But on neither of these two grounds is there any reason for questioning the authenticity of the grant; it is undoubtedly genuine. It records an allotment at the villages of Munḍakallu and Palgire. Not knowing exactly where the grant was found, I do not know where to search the map for the modern identification of these villages. The grant was made at the time of the great festival of Pātāmāhī and Hiranya-garbha, on the day of the full-moon of the month Kārtika, in the first year of the reign of Ádityavarmā. Unfortunately the Śaka year is not recorded; nor does this inscription state whether Ádityavarmā was older or younger than his brothers Chandrāditya and Vikramāditya I. But, on paleographical grounds, and because the two grants of Vikramāditya I. from Karnal, Nos. 11 and 12 in Vol. X., p. 244, and also the Nerūr and Kōchē grants of Chandrāditya's wife, give some

* No. XXI., in Vol. VII., p. 183; and No. LIII., in Vol. VIII., p. 44.
indications of being amplified in their concluding portions from the draft of the present grant, I am inclined to consider that Āditya-varma was the eldest of the three brothers.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [ ][ ] Jayaty-āvishkṛitaṁ Vīṣṇu-vyārahaṁ kāhībhītāṁ āryavāṁ daksīṇ-āṁ neta-dāṁśhīt-āśra-vaṁ visrānta-

[2] bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [ ][ ] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstāyamāna-Mānava-sagotraṁvāṁ Hárita-pu-

[3] trāṇāṁ sapta-lākṣadārśhīs-sapta-māṁśabhir-ābhiraṁ bhuvardhitāmāṁ Kārttikeya-parīra-


[5] rāhalāveśhavan-ēkṣaṇa-ēkṣaṇa-vaśkrit-āśeśa-mahībhīrītām Chalakyāṁvāṁ kule kalaśikarī-

[6] śhūnā(śhūn)āṁ āvamādhī-śrībhītāsānāma-pavitrikṛita-ātṛasya Satyāśrī-śrī-

Śrīprīthivivallabha-

Second plate; first side.

[7] mahārājasya prapañtraḥ parākramāṁ-āśraṁ-āśra-Vanavāsy-ādi-paraṁśpatimāṇḍalapraṇ-

damarasakta-

[9] sakalātārāparīteśvaram Śrī-Harshavarmanāḥ paraśāy-śaladalīpaḥ paramāśvaram-

[10] abad-āśrīkṛitasya nāyā-vinayā-ādi-sāṁśaṁ/jāya-guṇa-śubhītyā-āśrāsya Sā-


[12] priya-tanayaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-parākrāṁ kṛṣṇaṁ-ākkāramāṁ-āśra-sakala-mahāmaṁ-śa-

[13] dhāmaṁ(śaṁ)

Second plate; second side.

[14] d-Ādityavarmā-śrīprīthivivallabha-mahārājāḥdhāraḥ-paramāśvaram kuśali


[16] putrāya Rēvaśārmaṇaṁ(rō) Agnisārmaṇaṁ cha pravardhamāna-vijaya-rāja-pan-

[17] thanā-sāmāsivāre Kārttikeya-paṇḍramāṇyām Pāitāmaḥ-Hiranyagarbhā-śrīmān-

[18] sāmayo Maṇḍakallu-grāmasya Palāge-grāmasya cha uḍhcha-manna-paṇṇasa-vṛttiḥ rāja-

Third plate.


[21] jair-ānyaiśch-āgāmi-śṛṇitahībhiḥ-śa svāṁ,svāṁ) datti-nirvīśeśaṁ paripālanīyam=

[22] anumāntavyaiṁ-cha [ ][ ]

[23] [Tad-aphurtaṁ] sa paścādhiḥ mahāpatrাণ(kai) sa[m]yzukto bhavati abhirakshitā
dhaṁ-saṁdri-


[25] Bahu-

[26] bhir-virasuḥ bhaktā rājābhīs-Sagā-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ]

tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [*]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu,—

which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The great-grandson of the favourite of the world, the great king, Śatyaśrī āgaṁ,

6 The 16 of the third syllable is a mistake for ṣ or ṣ. But the proper form, according to Prof. Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, and Max Müller’s Sanskrit Literature, p. 382, is Maudgaṁya, and I adopt that in my translation.

7 These words are supplied from one of the Karmi grants of Vīkramaditya I.

8 a. Paliṣā 1. b. see para. 3 of the introductory remarks.
whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; who are of the Mānava gōtra, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hāritī; who have been prosperous by seven mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nārāyaṇa:

(L. 7.)—The grandson of the favourite, the great king, Kārttivarman, the banner of whose pure name was established in Vanavasi and other territories of hostile kings that had been invaded by his prowess:

(L. 8.)—The dear son of the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Satyārāya, who was decorated with the title of 'Supreme Lord,' which he had acquired by defeating Śrī-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the north; and who was the asylum of the glory of the virtuous qualities of prudent behaviour, modesty, &c., and of universal sovereignty:

(L. 11.)—The glorious Ādityavarman, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, who possesses supreme sovereignty over the whole territory of the world which has been overrun by his own strength of arm and his prowess,—being in good health, thus issued his commands to all people:

(L. 14.)—"Be it known to you! In the first year of (Our) increasing and victorious reign, on the day of the full-moon of Kārttika, on the occasion of the great festival of Paitāmahi and Hiranyakagīraha, the allotment, (known as) the gleaning ....... 10 fifty, by the king's measure, of the village of Munḍakallu and of the village of Pāligre, has been given by Us, to Bēvasārmā, of the Maudgalya1 gōtra and the son of Pālīsārmā, and to Agniśarman.

(L. 18.)—"The gift has been made, with libations of water, in order that (Our) parents and Ourselves may acquire religious merit.

Therefore it is to be preserved and ascertained by future kings, whether those who belong to Our lineage or others, just as if it were a grant made by themselves. [The confessor of it.] becomes invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins; the preserver of it enjoys an equal reward of religious merit with the giver of it!

(L. 21.)—"And it has been said by the holy Vīśva, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it."

No. CXX.

There has come to notice quite recently the only inscription that is as yet known to be extant of the Early Chalukya king, Kārttivarman. It is on a stone-tablet in Survey No. 69 at the village of Ādur, about eight miles to the east of Hāngal in the Dhārward District. I edit it from an ink-impression of the original stone. The only sculpture at the top of the stone is a floral device, apparently half of a water-lily.

The stone contains altogether twenty lines of writing, covering a space of 3' 1" high by 2' 3½" broad, all in characters of the same early type and period. Lines 1 to 14 are a Sanskrit inscription which records the grant of a field for the dānasālā, or 'hall for the distribution of charity,' and the other purposes, of a Jindālaya or Jain temple which had been built by one of the Ģāmūṇḍas or village-headmen. Vaijayanātī or Banavasi seems to be mentioned in line 4; but lines 2 to 5 are so much damaged that whatever historical information they may have contained appears to be now hopelessly illegible. An examination of the original stone might render a letter clear here and there, but is not likely to result in any consecutive passage being deciphered.

Lines 15 to 20 are almost perfect, and contain an Old-Canarese inscription which records that, while Kārttivarman was reigning as supreme sovereign, and while a certain king Sīnda was governing at the city of Pāṇḍipura, Dēṇagāmūṇḍa and Eṭagāmūṇḍa and others, with the permission of king Mādhavatti, gave to the temple of Jinendira, for the purpose of providing the oblation, unbroken rice, perfumes, flowers, &c., eight

8 Pulikēla II.
9 The meaning of māną, l. 17, is not apparent.
10 See note 6 above.
**Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.**

Mattal of rice-land, by the royal measure, to the west of the village of Karmagalur.

This inscription is not dated. But the titles that are given in it to Krittivarman, and the style of the characters, leave no doubt whatever that the king Krittivarman spoken of is the Early Chalukya king Krittivarman I., whose reign, according to the inscription of his younger brother and successor Mangalika in the Vaishnava Cave No. III. at Baddami, terminated in Saka 489 (A.D. 567-9). And the existence of this inscription at Adur, in the ancient Kadamba territory, affords an interesting corroboration of the statement of the Aiho Meaguti inscription, that Krittivarman I. conquered the Kadambas.

Pandipura was the ancient name of Adur itself, the modern form being evidently arrived at by a contraction, combined with the usual substitution of h for p, and then the loss of the initial letter altogether. The name is preceded in this inscription, l. 16, by two doubtful syllables, which may have been an early prefix to the name; but it appears in Rashtrakuta inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. as simply Pandipura, and in later inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas and Kadambas as simply Pandiyur, without any prefix. Puralur, which is mentioned in both these inscriptions, is possibly the modern Harlapur, five miles to the north of Adur. I cannot at present identify Karmagalur.

**Transcription.**

**First Inscription.**

```
[1] Jayaty-sanadhā viśavām vīvīśvamānaṁ śūmānaṁ eva Śrī-
Vardhamāna-cēvā
[1] n(?)-ypa-duḥ-prabādhanaḥ [/**] Prabhāsa(?)-ti bhuvāṁ bhūyō
[1] pratāpa-kshata-... i... i... dāna
[1] ku(?)-ra(?)-tējasā Vaijayā
t-pāsabhrid-śīhamaṇaḥ chittaṁ vā mānasā satyaṁ i(?)-sthiti tam
[1] Tēn-ṣapā(?)
[1] pa[ścha-viṁ].
[1] śati-saṁkhyaṁ-nivarttana-krita-pramāṇaṁ kṣhötraṁ rājayāṁ mānēsa dattāṁ tv-śītam
[1] rākṣasaṁ [ ** [vi] ]
[1] śravya saṁkalitaṁ kṛitvā Uāchhūṇḍa-pradānākāṇaṁ anyair-apī cha rājanyai
[1] rākṣasyā jayaṁ sa... [**]
[1] Uktan eha [ **]
[1] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vaṣundharaṁ śaṣṭhitṁ
dānaṁ vā pālaṁnaṁ vēti dānaṁ ohrē[yǒ]-nu-.
[1] yadā bhūmis-[tasya ta-]
[1] sya tadā phalaṁ [ ** ] Āsā-Vinayanan-dīti Puralur-gan-gaṁiṁ Indrabhūtīr-iva dhārāt chat... [saṁ-
[1] šīṣyaḥ[ḥ] Prabhā
[1] Śīṣyaḥ[ḥ] Śīrśānāṁ-sāya Dharmagāmunḍa-putrajaḥ prātiśthipacḥ chhilaṁpataṁ
[1] sthāyaḥ[ḥ]-[a]-cha[nd]r[a-tāraṁaṁ] [ ** ]
```

---

15 The metre and the context together make certain the syllables that I supply here.
16 Rājaja, 'king's son,' is employed, instead of the usual word rājan, 'king,' to suit the metre.
17 The metre is faulty here.
18 This line must have been longer than any of the others by seven or eight letters.
Second inscription.

Svasti śrīmat-prathAMIthu(thi)vidvallabhā rajādhīrāja paramēsvara Kīrttivarmam-araśar prithu(thi) vir(Ajyaṃ-ge).

ye Sind-araśarasoga(fggā; fggama)gi(l)dihi). Pāṇḍipramān-āle paramēsvaram Madhavatiy-araśarase vījñāpanaṃ-ge.

ydu Dūragamumāruru Elagamumāruru Malleyaru Uñchharābhadi(vā) savaṃkaru ha.

karaṇa-sahitzadey huvir-akshata-gandha-pushpa-adigalige Karmagamulā paṣavaṇa ma e.

ya kejage eṣu maittā-gaḍle rājahamānuh Jīnendrabhavanakk-ittor-Idān-ār-ār-salippa-v[va].

rtē dharmam-ir-ār-iddā[n*] kidippore avartē pāpara[ū] [||*] Paralāra chediyada[10] bali Prabhāchandra-gurāvār paṣedā[r] [||*]

Translation.

First inscription.

(L. 1.)—Victorious in many ways is the Dēvedra śrī-Vardhamanā,20—who illuminates the whole world, as does the sun; and who destroys the pain of

Greatly illuminates the earth

destroyed by prowess

by the splendour

Vaijayant(?)

fearful is

Yama, the bearer of the noose

thoughts or tacit truth

(L. 5.)—By him, the illustrious one, when requested to augment (the endowments of) the dānaśīla &c. of the Jindalaya which

gānumda had caused to be built, there was given a field measuring twenty-five nivarana by the royal measure; (let there be)

protection (of it) from enemies! Having proclaimed (the grant), and having made those who are headed by Uñchhārīnanda the witnesses

(of it), it is to be preserved by other royal persons also!

(L. 9.)—And it has been said:—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! It is very easy to give one’s own property, but the preservation (of the gift) of another is troublesome; (if it is asked) whether giving or preserving (is the better),—preserving is more meritorious than giving! The earth has been

enjoyed by many kings, commencing with

Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it!

(L. 12.)—There was the chief of the sect of

the village of Paralāra, by name Vinayānanda, who, as if he were a very Indrabhūti, from his continuance in rectitude

of the assemblage of the sect. His pupil was the venerable preceptor Vāsudēva; and his disciple was Prabhā

This man’s disciple, named śrīpāla, the son’s son of Dharmagumda, set up this stone tablet; may it endure as long as the moon and stars may last!

Second inscription.

(L. 15.)—Hail! While king Kīrttivarman, the glorious favourite of the world, the supreme king of kings, the supreme lord, was ruling the world, and while king Sindā was governing (the city of) Pāṇḍipura;—

(L. 16.)—Having [preferred their request] to the supreme lord, king Madhavattī,—

Dūragamumāda and Elagamumāda and the Malleyas and the Uñchharābhāsavayeyas, together with, gave to the temple of Jīnendra, for the purpose of providing the oblation and unbroken rice and perfumes and flowers &c., eight maittā21 of rice,

by the royal measure, below the

... to the west of the village of Karmagālur.

This letter, de, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. There is a mark above the line to indicate the omission.

The last of the twenty-four Jains Tīrthakāras.

See para. 5 of the introductory remarks.

This, which occurs in other early inscriptions also, is evidently the original form of the matter of later inscriptions. By the details given in l. 47-50 of an inscription at Bālaṃbē (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 555), one mātrā was equivalent to one hundred kammas or kambas; but the value of a kamma has not been ascertained yet.
SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT KINGS.

No. II.

A COPPERPLATE GRANT OF KING BHIMADEVA II. DATED V. S. 1256.

EDITED BY H. H. DHRIVA, B.A., LL.B.

Through the kindness of the then surgeon at Pātañ, Dr. Balabhai M. Nānavatī, I obtained a loan of these plates, from which copies were printed for the photolithograph accompanying this. The plates were picked up from the old rubbish lying in the Pātañ Kachéri, but were in an excellent state of preservation.

Plate I.

[Text in Sanskrit]

Plate II.

[Text in Sanskrit]

---

**Note:**
- "Aneri" seems to be an old form of avarada, 'belonging to them,' — the change of the final a into e being for the sake of emphasis.
- **Bell.** Chādiya seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit chaitya. The Pāli corruption was chātiya.
The inscription is important; but a verbatim translation of it would be superfluous, since we are already familiarized with the copperplate grants of the Chaulukya kings, and especially of this their last, many of whose grants are brought to light and edited with the critical acumen of Dr. Bühler. I therefore give only a short abstract of the inscription:

Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) The Vaiśāvāli agrees with Dr. Bühler's No. 3 of the Anahilāvā Chaulukya Grants word for word; with the single exception that the phrase Prañāhāparādha in II. 8-9 stands before Umāpati-varālabah-prasāda here, which is after it in No. 3 of V. S. 1263. The quotations from Vyāsa too, at the end, are the same; but v. 3 of No. 3 is dropt here.

(b) King Bhīmacāvā II. at Anahilapākā addresses the officials and people of Daṇḍāhipākā on Tuesday the Amāśāya of Bhrārapada of Vīkrama-Saṅvat 1256 (a. d. 1200), and announces the following grant:

II. Grantee.—Āśāhara, son of the Jyotī Śrīdhal of the Rāyakavāla Brāhmaṇ caste.

III. Object.—Four ploughs of land in Kadāgrāma, on the eastern side, the side close to the village of the god Anālēvārdēvā of the village of Mahisāgā, and to the left of the road leading to Ulīgrāma (?)—having for its boundary: East—-the fields of Bārāda and Bala; South—the highway; West—the fields of Anālēvārdēvā; North—the skirts of the village Dōhalika near Gāṅgā Saka and Vānūya, &c.

IV. Officers—Writer, the Mahākākapatalika Kumyara, son of Vaijala. The Dūtaka is the Minister of Peace and War—Tākara Bhirāma.

The earliest inscription hitherto published of this king brings down his rule to V. S. 1263, and the latest settles the close of his reign in V. S. 1298. The present grant is then important as it enables us to extend back his reign to V. S. 1256 (a. d. 1200). I would place the commencement of the reign of king Bhāmacāvā II. nine years later than Dr. Bühler's date, i.e. in V. S. 1244; and bring down the reign of king Jayasīhādevā to V. S. 1209, leaving clear 35 years for the three reigns intervening. I would take the dates assigned by the Prabhāchāntārā or Vīchārāyata or other Jain chronicles, or Jain or Brāhmaṇ genealogical rolls, with suspicious reserve unless they be
corroborated by the contemporary evidence of grants and inscriptions. The date V. S. 1244 of king Bhimadēva follows naturally from that of the close of king Jayasiśinhadēva's reign.

The donor being of the Raikval Brāhmaṇ caste, is of moment to those interested in the history of the caste. Udichyas are traced down to the time of king Mūlarāja, and other Brāhmaṇas, besides the Mōdhas and Nāgaras, to ages subsequent to his. The important position occupied, as seen from many inscriptions, by the Mōdhas, at the court of Ajañilapura, is remarkable. The Mōdhas, I am told, are as old as the rise of the Gūrjara monarchy. It was they, and not the Jainas, that brought up Vanarāja, and that reared up his kingdom that had suffered a fall under his father at the hand of Bhūgaḍa, as their Dharmarāja would represent. The Nāgaras are, I believe, traced to the Valabhi period by Dr. Buhler.

Then, again, the inscription mentions among the kings of Gujārāt Vallabhādēva, whose name is in some cases omitted, and as to whose rule doubts are entertained.

The form pāvē (Pt. II. i. 25) may be the locative form pāvē, a mistake for pāvē (meaning "near" or "by the side") and probably not with the following term, one word as pāvē-uligrāma, as the name of a village. I do not find any trace of the places mentioned in the grant in question. My friend R. S. Hargōvindās reads Uligrāma, Puligrāma, and suggests Pālōdar as its Gūjārāti substitute—modern Piludārā.1 Mahiṣāna is probably Mahiṣāna of Sāl-Kanda, from which the Avaṭāraka or surname of some Vīsālanāgārā Nāgaras "Bheṣāi" is derived—its modern representative being the village Bheṣād. Or can it be Mehsāna—a railway station on the Western Rajputāna State line?

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.


(Continued from p. 43.)

No. 13.—Folk-Tale.1

The King with Seven Sons.2

Once on a time there lived a Rājā who had seven sons, and he determined within himself that he would marry his seven sons into the family of any king who had seven daughters.

Now there lived at the same time a king who had seven daughters, and he, too, determined to marry his seven daughters into the family of any king having seven sons.

Accordingly both kings started a party of Brāhmaṇs bearing betrothal presents3 in search of what was wanted. It so happened that the two parties met by chance on the banks of a running canal, and stopped there to bathe. They fell to talking to each other, and found out they were both bound on the same errand. They were delighted to find that God4 had caused such a meeting, as otherwise they might have had to go a long way without falling in with the object of their search, so without further ado, they exchanged the presents and went home to their respective masters, who were much pleased to learn that God had granted all their desire.5

The king with the seven sons fixed the marriage day,5 prepared the procession,6 and was about to start, when his youngest son said—"Oh king, if we all go, some enemy may come in our absence, and take away our country from us." The king answered, "We are obliged to go, but you can remain if you like." So the lad stayed. Now one day as he was going into the

2 I doubt if this tale is an accurate version of a folk-tale: it seems to be made up of several. It has no literary merit, having no cohesion. The incident of the wallet, stuff, etc., is common to many tales I have heard.—F. A. S.
3 Told by a Panjāb boy. Rājā-Sat Putrakshākā: such is the title of the tale as told; it has however no connection with the tale, which rather consists of the adventures of the seventh son. It was given in the purest Panjāb by a boy who could neither read nor write.—R. C. T.
4 Tāki, a present of rice, etc., taken by the purhākṣ 4.
5 The purhākṣ give the tāki to each other, not to the parents or family. Barbers are also employed for this purpose.—R. C. T.
6 Janj—see former tales.—R. C. T.
palace for his dinner, his aunt¹ said to him—
"You give yourself as many airs as if you were going to marry Princess Panjphullárán."

Whereupon he was vexed, and said, "I can't go now, but when the king returns I will certainly go and marry Princess Panjphullárán, and if I don't bring her, then I'll never see your face again."

As he was coming out again, an old woman stopped him, and said, "My son, hear my words, for I am in great distress, and you are a Prince,² and can help me." But he answered "My good woman, I can't stay, I have some very important business." Then said she, "You are in as great a hurry as if you were going to marry Princess Panjphullárán."

A little further on the road he saw four faqírs³ squabbling, and asked them the cause of their quarrel. They answered "Our guru is dead, and has left four things behind him: his wallet, his staff, his brass pot, and his sandals." The Prince said "Are these things so precious that you should fight over them?"

Then they answered, "Oh Prince, the value of these things is great. Listen: the first pocket of the wallet will make and produce anything the person who smells at it desires except that it cannot make a man; the second pocket can even make a man. The staff will bring a dead man back to life again. The brass pot, if properly cleaned and washed, will give the person who cleanses it the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food.⁴ And lastly, he who wears the sandals can go wherever he pleases."

Then the Prince thought and said "There are four of you, and four things: take one each and be satisfied." But they replied "We can't agree about it, for when one wants a thing all the others want it also;⁵ do you decide."

So the Prince shot four arrows into the air in four directions, saying "Whoever first finds the arrows shall have first choice."

Now, as soon as the four faqírs ran off to get the arrows, the Prince seized the wallet, the brass pot and the staff, and slipping on the sandals said, "Take me to the city of Princess Panjphullárán," and sure enough thither they took him without delay.

Beneath the palace of the Princess an old woman was lodging with her. Now one day when the old woman was away at work, the Prince felt hungry: so he bethought him of the brass-pot which he washed and cleaned. It immediately produced the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food. While he was eating the old woman returned; so he gave her some to eat likewise, and no sooner had she tasted it than she said "My son, live with me always."

So the Prince remained with her, and every day he made the brass pot produce the thirty-six kinds of sumptuous food.

At last one day he asked the old woman who it was that lived in the palace above: but she said, "My son, wait till this evening: I will tell you then." So when the night came he asked her again, saying, "Mother, whose light is burning in the palace above?" Then the old woman answered, "My child, it is the light⁶ of Princess Phûhlánâ's face." "What!" cried the Prince, "is she indeed like that?" Then he put on his sandals quickly, saying, "Carry me, sandals,°

---
¹ Bhanjâ, Panj., brother's wife (cf. bhanjâ for bhâjâ, Hindi) was the word used by the boy, but the brothers were not yet married. Some old woman of the family is evidently meant, and hence the translation "aunt."—R. C. T.
² Panjphûhlâna—Princess Five-flowers: the Princess who was so delicate that she only weighed five flowers; an acknowledged favourite of the Indian nursery. She appears as Panjphûhlâna and Phûhlânâ in Miss Storer's and Miss Stokes's tales.—R. C. T.
³ The word used here and hereafter in the tale for "Prince," is sajâ, the word of the poets; this gives one the impression of more than one tale being put under contribution to concoct this one.—R. C. T.
⁴ Sûkhâ, a Hindu ascetic; usually draped in saffron-coloured clothes; guru, a religious teacher; head of a religious sect.—R. C. T.
⁵ Jhâ, a bag made of patches and used by religious mendicants to receive scraps of food, etc. They are looked upon by the vulgar as unseemly articles, whence the proverb Faqir jhâ khel na khel, "the faqir's bag contains everything," i.e. he can work miracles.
⁶ Chhâtîj parkâr de bhojân, the 96 kinds of food: this is supposed to be the limit of all the different kinds of food a Hindu can eat. Parkâr for prakâr, Sanak, and modern Hind. and Panj, kind, sort, used usually in connection with bhojân, itself straight from Sanak; it is also the similar purâkâr in Sanskrit, form words prâkâr, several kinds. Nâmâ parkâr ke bhojân bandâ—prepare several kinds of food. Bhojân corresponds pretty much with our dish or course—same fojir ko chû khane khile—he fed the faqirs with four courses. With references to the chhâtîj bhojân there is a common proverb chhâtîj parkâr ke bhojân ma bhâtatar rogh fold hain, in the thirty-six dishes are seventy-two diseases.—R. C. T.
⁷ Lî, the second says "I want it;" the third says "I want it," and the fourth says, "I want it."—R. C. T.
⁸ Lî, Panj. a bright light; effulgence; light of a flame.
into Phûlûrânî's presence," and lo and behold! there he was. When the Princess saw him she first smiled and then wept: and when he asked her the cause, she said, "I smiled first at your beauty; and then I wept because when the gardener's wife comes to weigh me to-morrow I shall weigh more than five flowers, for this reason, that till to-day I have never seen a man, and now I have seen you. My father will kill you when he hears of it." But the Prince comforted her, saying "I can't be killed. I have only to put on my sandals, and they will take me away."

Sure enough, when the gardener's wife weighed the Princess next morning, she weighed a great deal more than five flowers; in fact she weighed down all the flowers in the garden. The gardener's wife was much surprised, but she said nothing that day. But the next morning all the flowers in the garden would not suffice to weigh down the Princess, so the third day the gardener's wife told to the king this extraordinary circumstance. The king was very angry, and ordered that a ditch full of indigo should be made round the Princess Phûlûrânî's bed. This was done, and as the Prince came every night to see the Princess he fell into the ditch, and his clothes were dyed blue. Then the Princess wept, saying "See! you are all blue. My father will find you out now and hang you in the morning." But the Prince comforted her, and leaving the palace he went to a washerman's house, gave him one hundred rupees, and said, "Wash these clothes at once."

Now there happened to be a marriage at the washerman's house, so instead of washing the clothes, he put them aside; and next day when the marriage procession was starting he remembered the Prince's grand clothes, and put them on his own son, so that he might look smart. Now as the procession went along the road, it was met by Princess Phûlûrânî's father; and no sooner did he see the youth dressed from head to foot in blue, than he said to his courtiers, "That must be the man who goes to the Princess." So they seized the washerman's son, and asked him whence he got his blue suit. He replied "It is not mine, but belongs to a king's son. Come with me, and I will show him to you."

So he took them to where the Prince lived, who was seized and taken before the king. He did not deny that he was the person who visited the Princess, but when the king asked him how he went, he answered "Up the stairs."

The king was very angry at this, imprisoned the guard for neglecting their duty, and ordered the Prince to be hanged.

The Prince begged to be allowed first to speak to his adopted mother, the old woman, and when his request was granted he took her aside, and said, "Mother, when I am dead, come in the night and carry off my body: then take my jogi's staff, and hit me with it three times, and I shall come to life again."

The old woman did as she was bid, and sure enough, the Prince came to life again. He then took his wallet, put on his sandals, and went to the Princess Phûlûrânî. Then he made her smell at the first pocket of the wallet, and lo! she turned into a monkey. The Prince then left the palace, and when next morning the gardener's wife came, she only found a monkey, which rushed at her, and tried to bite her.

Meanwhile the Prince took his brass pot, his staff and his wallet, and putting on his sandals went into the city, and cried out "Doctor! Doctor! If any man is changed into an animal I possess the power of giving him his proper shape once more!"

Then some soldiers who knew what had happened at the Palace took him to the king, who asked him "Is it true that you can transform a bewitched person into his own shape again? If some one were changed into a monkey, could you put him straight again?" The Prince answered "I could do it in six months, but no one must interrupt me." Then the king agreed, and ordered at the Prince's request that no one else should go into the palace for six months. Then the Prince went inside the palace and made the Princess smell the second pocket of the wallet. She instantaneously changed herself into a human being again. But the gardener's wife was not changed into a horse, for she was already hanged. And so the Princess lived happily ever after.

---

*Janj*, see above.—R. C. T.
*The expression used by the narrator was Main môh dham dô mā vâr tê gô lêh dêo, "Let me say one word to my adopted mother." "Maîn môh dham dô mā vâr tê gô lêh dêo," "Let me say a word to my adopted parents." (i.e. relatives) is the common request of condemned Panjâbi criminals at the present day, so the expression here is taken from incidents in every-day life. Dharam de vê pit is used by Christian converts towards their godfathers and godmothers.—R. C. T.
*Vaid! Hakim!* (common street-cry of wandering quacks). Vaid is of Sanskrit, origin and Hakim in Arabic. See former tales.—R. C. T.
mmediately became a woman again. There they remained happily together for six months, and when the time was up the Prince went out, and told the guard that the cure was complete. Then the king came with his ministers and courtiers, and all were delighted to see the Princess once again.

Then the king said to the Prince—“Ask for your reward, and you shall have it.” So the Princess said “Give me your daughter in marriage, for I also am a king’s son.”

To this the king agreed, and they were married at once. “Taking elephants, horses and an army with them the Prince and his bride returned to his father’s city, and the Prince said with great delight “After all I have married the Princess Panjphullārāṇi, and have brought her home.”

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

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

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 392.)

XIV.

The defeat of Tayang Khan of the Naimans, which we described in the previous paper, forms a notable epoch in the career of Chinghiz Khan. The Naimans, who were identical in race with, and were doubtless the ancestors of, the modern Kirghiz Kazaks, were probably the most powerful of all the nomadic races of Asia. Unlike the principalities of the Uighurs and the Kariaks, theirs seems to have been independent of the great empire of Kara Khitai, and they dominated over a wide region stretching from the lower Irtil to the Orkhon. As we have seen, it is probable that they were Buddhists in religion. This Buddhism they doubtless derived from the Uighurs, who were also responsible for their culture in some other respects. Thus we are told that when they defeated Tayang, the Mongols captured the princess Garbyesu, already mentioned, and also Ta-ta-tung-vo, an Uighur, by origin, who was a man of learning, and had been entrusted by Tayang with considerable authority and a golden seal of office. On his master’s defeat he hid this seal in his clothes, and attempted to escape, but was captured and brought before Chinghiz, who told him he had conquered the Naimans, and asked him what he was doing with the seal. He replied that he wished to guard to the death what had been entrusted to him, and wished also to find his old master, to return it to him. Chinghiz praised his fidelity, and demanded what the use of the seal was. He replied that when his master wished to raise money or provisions, or to give orders to one of his officers, he sealed the document with the seal to give it authority. Chinghiz thereupon took him into his service, and ordered him to use a seal in the same way. He also ordered him to teach the various princes the writing, language, and laws of the Uighurs. This very interesting notice, Remusat tells us, is contained in the 28th volume of the history of the Mongols by Chan-yuan-ping. (Remusat, Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, tome II, pp. 61-63.)

This work has been used by Mr. Douglas in his history of Chinghiz Khan, and he quotes it as the Yuan-shi-lui-pien, or the history of the Yuan dynasty classified and arranged by Shao Yuen-ping.¹ The notice of Ta-ta-tung-vo, doubtless from the same ultimate source, was also translated by Klaproth from the Chinese Mancha history of Chinghiz Khan.² It is also contained in De Mailla’s edition of the Kang-mu.³

The notice is singularly interesting as it fixes unmistakably the source whence the Mongols derived their culture. Klaproth and Remusat have put it beyond doubt that the Mongols until the reign of Khubilai Khan used no other alphabetic characters than the Uighur, which were themselves but the Syrian or Estranghelio letters introduced into the East by the Nestorians. Carpini, who went on a mission to Tartary in 1246, in speaking of the Uighurs whom he calls Huiurs, says the Mongols illorum litteras acciperunt, nam prinis scripturam aliquid non habebant num autem appellant tandem litteram Mongolorum.⁴ Rubraquis, who visited Mongolia in 1253, in speaking of the Uighurs

² Beleuchtung und Widerlegung der Forschungen, des
says: Illorum literas acceperunt Tartari et eodem modo ipsi legunt, et multiplicant liceas a sinistra in dexteram. again he says—inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum, et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum, et omnes ex Nepostini scient literas eorum.

Abulfaraj Bar Hebraeus tells us that the Mongols having neither letters nor literature, Chinghiz Khan ordered the Igar scribes to teach the Tartars their letters. They write therefore Mongol words in Igar characters as the Egyptians in Greek and the Persians in Arabic. Abdul Rizak, a Persian historian who died in 1432, says expressly, “The writing of the Moguls, which is the writing of the Uighurs,” while Arabshah in his History of Timur says the Jagaatais have another writing called Uighur which is known as the writing of the Uighurs etc.

In 1269 Khubilai Khakan issued a decree prescribing the use of the new Bashpa characters. In this he states as follows:—“At the time when our empire arose in the region of So we made use only of pieces of notched wood. Formerly it was not deemed necessary to have characters adapted to our language. We only used the Chinese characters called Kiao and the writing of the Wei-u (i.e. of the Uighurs), and it was by means of them that the language of our dynasty was written.”

In the official memoirs of She-tsou, i.e. of Khubilai in the annals of the Yuan dynasty, we read that in 1272 Ho-li-ho-sun presented a request to the emperor that the Chinese public functionaries and the officers in the Treasury should learn the Bashpa characters in place of those of Wei-u previously used.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Khubilai to supplant the Uighur characters by the Bashpa, they continued to be employed. In 1282 we are told that there appeared a Mongol-Uighur edition of the historical work called Tung-kien or Universal Mirror, by which Remusat reasonably understands a work written in Uighur characters. In 1284 a decree was issued forbidding the use of Uighur characters in official documents.

In 1298 the Academy of Han-lin demanded permission to translate and publish works in the language and characters of the Uighurs, and one of the ministers named Sa-li-man in reporting that the bureau of the official historians of the empire was engaged in preparing the authentic memoirs of the court of the great ancestor, demanded that the work should be translated into the Uighur language and character for the benefit of those who preferred to read it in that tongue, and this was carried out. Even after the accession of the Ming dynasty we find a member of the college of Han-lin named Ho-yuan-kiie commissioned to write a Chinese-Mongol dictionary, which was written in the characters of Kiao-chang, i.e. of the Uighurs. I ought to mention here again that the Yuen-chao-ji-shi, from which so much material has been drawn for these papers, was originally written in the Mongol language, but in Uighur letters. In speaking of two letters written by Mongol sovereigns of the Ilkhan dynasty in 1299 and 1305 respectively, and which are still preserved in the French archives, Remusat says: “Enfin il est certain que les copistes Mongols employés en Perse suivirent encore, a cette époque, l'alphabet Ouigoar dans toute sa simplicité; car on ne trouve dans les deux pièces aucune des lettres Mongoles inventées par les lamas, même de celles qui servent à rendre plus exactement les sons Tartares. On n'y voit que les quatorze lettres de l'écriture ouigoire rapportées par Arabshah, écriture dont elles offrent un exemple aussi précieux qu'authe- nique.” These notices will suffice to shew what is now universally accepted, that the Uighurs were the masters from whom the Mongols learnt their letters. A consequence of this was that the greater part of the secretaries, etc. in their service were of Uighur origin.

Uighur being at the time we are writing the only language of Central Asia which had a literature, and being consequently a lingua franca to the various nomadic races, it is not strange that Chinghiz Khan should have enjoined that, his sons and the other princes
should learn it. This was very influential in two ways. In the first place, it enabled the Mongol chiefs to communicate freely with the Turkish hordes which formed the greater part of their armies, and thus to create a certain solidarity between the Turks and the Mongol aristocracy which ruled them, and secondly, it greatly facilitated the introduction and spread of Buddhism, which was the religion of the Uighurs.

Let us now revert again to our story. The name of the eldest son of Tayang Khán is written Guchuluk in the Yuan-chão-pí-shí, Kasshuk Khán by Berezine, Gushegh Khán by Erdmann, and Guchul Khán by D’Ohsson. According to Rashidu’d-din, the name in Turkish means ‘powerful padishah.’ Schmidt apparently makes it Mongol, and says that it should be written Kíchúlik, meaning the ‘strong, the powerful.’

In the Yuan-chão-pí-shí we read that on his father’s defeat Guchuluk with some horsemen left the neighbourhood of the river Tamir and escaped to the Altai, where he was reduced to extremity. Rashidu’d-din makes him escape to his uncle Buyuruk Khán. In the Yuan-shí we are further told that he had a son named Chan-un who fled to the Khitai and died there, while his wife, of the tribe Kankali, with her son Chao-si, surrendered to Chinghiz Khan. The Yuan-chao-pí-shí tells us that at the same time, the tribes who had followed Chamukha, namely, the tribes Jadalan, Khatagin, etc., also submitted to him. The Yuan-shí tells us the tribes who thus surrendered were the Durban Tatars, the Khatagins and Saljuq. In this De Mailla and the Huang-yuan concern. Chinghiz Khan also summoned Gurbyesu, Tayang’s mother, to his presence, and said jeeringly to her, “You said that the Dada were a stinking race, why then do you come here?” He then ordered her to join his harem. Chinghiz Khan now determined to crush the Merkit, who had been in alliance with the Naimans in the recent battle. Accordingly in the autumn succeeding his struggle with Tayang, he marched against the Merkit chief, Tokhtu, and fought a battle with him in the district of Kharadalkhujaar, in which he defeated him and pursued him to Saaricerke, and conquered his people. Tokhtu with his sons Khuda and Chilaun and several followers escaped by flight. The Yuan-shí says he escaped to Tayang’s brother, who is there called Boro Khán. The Huang-yuan calls the place where this struggle with the Merkit took place Bulanu-ikhu near the sources of the Dere.

When Chinghiz attacked the Merkit we are told in the Yuan-chao-pí-shí that one of their chiefs named Dairusun, who belonged to the tribe Khasi, determined to present his daughter Khulan to him. As he was on this errand, he met a man of the race of Baarin, named Naya, who remarked how unsafe the roads were from the unsettled state of the country, and when he heard what Dairusun’s errand was, he asked to be allowed to accompany him and to join in presenting the maiden. They therefore lived together for three days, and then Khulan was duly presented to the Mongol chief. When Chinghiz learnt that she had lived with Naya for three days, he said angrily after strictly examining him, that he must be executed. He was accordingly put to the torture, but Khulan interceded for him, and said that he had volunteered his services when there was great danger on account of the unsettled state of the roads, and had for this reason alone offered her an asylum. As to her innocence he bade Chinghiz examine the proofs for himself: “Cori voluntate a parentibus nata epiderma tota conservata est; interroga potius epidermam,” as Palladius gives it. Khulan also appealed to his master. He protested how he deemed it to be his duty to find beautiful maidens and beautiful horses for him in foreign countries, and that if he had any ulterior thoughts beyond this, he hoped he should die. Chinghiz was pleased with the answer, and having satisfied himself that Khulan was in fact innocent, he released Naya, saying— “This is an irreproachable man; we may hereafter entrust him with important affairs.”

Apropos of this story Palladius tells us that one of the sayings attributed to Chinghiz Khán by historians is—“Everybody loves beauty and noble

34 i. e. the Khasi Khitai.
35 Yuan-chao-pí-shí, note 397.
36 D’Ohsson.
37 Id., p. 190.
38 Too-urshun, Tatar Ho-to-kia and Sa-likh-chao-sib—Douglas, p. 48; Hyacinthe, p. 34.
39 Yuan-chao-pí-shí, p. 166 and note 396.
40 Id., p. 166.
41 i. e. to Buiruk Khán.
42 Douglas, p. 48; Hyacinthe, p. 34.
horses, but as soon as the heart becomes tied to them, it is easy to destroy one's reputation and lose one's distinctions." He also tells us that Khulan became the Khansha or empress of the second Ordu. This narrative, like that of the war with the Naimans, seems derived from some popular saga, and we apparently have it in a much less sophisticated form in the pages of the *Altun Topchi* and of *Esanang Setzen*. In the *Huang-yuan* the people of Dairusun are called the Ukheus Merkit, and we are told that after his submission, Chinghiz distributed his people, who were weak, among the Mongols. Rashid-ud-din calls the tribe just mentioned the Uxus Merkit, and the place where they submitted he calls Tar or Bar. He says Chinghiz took Dairusun into his service, and having distributed his men in companies of 100 among his own uruksu appointed special commanders over them. They were a restless people, and presently they rebelled and plundered the baggage. The Mongols recovered it and besieged the Merkit again in the fort of Dayan, where the tribes of Mogudan, Totchi and Bogun and Merki were subdued, and Tokhtu fled to Bairuk Khan. Dairusun with his followers had retired to the river Selenga to the gorge of Khulan, where he planted a settlement, but Chinghiz sent Balo-khan Noyan and Jinbail, the brother of Chihang-badu with the right wing against them, and they were subdued. Rashid calls the place where the Merkit took refuge the fort of Ugalai Kurgan. The four tribes of the race were subdued. Dairusun with his people had shut himself up in the fort of Khuruk Kipchak, near the Selenga. Chinghiz sent Buraghi Noyan and Ushhinta, the brother Jilaukan, against them, and they were obliged to surrender also. Tokhtu fled once more to Bairuk Khan. In the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* this struggle is thus described. One half of the Merkit having rebelled, deserted and occupied the fort of Taikhal. Chinghiz sent Chinbo, i.e. the Jinbail abovenamed, the son of Sorkhanshiri, with the right wing in pursuit of them, while he himself marched against Tokhtu. This authority follows up the account just cited by that of the final campaign against Tokhtu in which he was killed, while the other authorities doubtless correctly date this event four years later. On the conquest of the Merkit above described, the wife of Khudo, son of Tokhtu, was given in marriage to Ogota (doubtless the son of Chinghiz of that name). There is a curious legend reported both in the *Altun Topchi* and by Esanang Setzen in regard to Khulan, Chinghiz's Merkit wife and his faithful follower whom they call Argassan, but who is clearly the same person as the Naya of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* already named. Both the authorities named are very confused in their chronology and otherwise; and this story is related of a campaign in Manchuria and Corea, and will more properly come in at a later stage.

The defeat of the Merkit was speedily followed by the end of Chamukha, Chinghiz Khan's domestic rival and deadly enemy. The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* tells us that having lost his people he remained with but five followers, with whom he formed a gang of robbers. Once they set out for the mountain Tun-Lu, by which the modern Tang-nu is doubtless meant, where they killed a large wild goat with twisted horns called Yuan-yen by the Chinese, and probably the Siberian antelope or Saiga. They roasted and ate it. During the meal Chamukha exclaimed, "Whose son is it who to-day kills a horned goat and eats it?" meaning to express his regret at his change of fortune. Thereupon his five companions carried him off to Chinghiz Khan. This kind of treachery, as we have seen, was much comtemplated in the Mongol steppes, and we are told that Chamukha sent his very successful foe the message, "Black jackdaws have succeeded in catching the drake. Slaves have dared to capture their master. Lord Anda, thou knowest thy duty." Chinghiz replied, "It is not possible we should spare those who have betrayed their master. Give them up with their children and grandchildren to death;" and he ordered them to be executed before Chamukha's eyes. He then sent a messenger to the latter, saying, "Once upon a time I treated thee as one of the shafts of a waggon, but thou didst desert me. Now thou..."
joinest thyself again to me. Be my comrade. We will remind each other of those things we have forgotten. When asleep we will awake each other. Although thou hast been going along by thyself thou hast ever been a harbinger of good news to me. When we were obliged to fight, it was pain to thee. When I fought with Wang Khan thou didst convey his hostile words to me, which was thy first service. When I fought with the Naimans thou didst inspire them with terror of me—that was thy second service.” On these words being repeated to Chamukha he said, “When we in early days became Anda, we ate the same food and told each other things not to be forgotten, but people made us quarrel, and we parted. Remembering my former promises I blush and dare not see my Anda. Thou wishest that I should again become thy comrade. I should not be so in reality, only in name. Thou hast collected the peoples about thee and strengthened thy throne. It is impossible for me to become thy comrade. If thou dost not kill me, I shall be to thee like a loose on thy collar or a thorn under thy coat. I shall make thee weary by day, and restless by night. Thy mother is wise, thou thyself are a hero, thy brothers have talents, thy comrades are illustrious nobles, but I from early childhood have lost my parents and have no brothers, my wife is a tiresome tattler, my comrades are false. This is why my Anda has overcome me. Now let me quietly die so that my Anda’s heart may be at rest; but let me be put to death without blood-shedding. Then after death to all eternity I will be the protector of thy successors.” Chinghiz in hearing these pathetic words said, “Although Chamukha Anda went his way alone, he never said anything which caused me ill. There is room for reform in him, but he does not wish to live. I have before this wished to kill him, but it has not come about. Besides, he is an illustrious man, and one cannot kill him without cause. Here however is a cause.” “Tell him,” he said to the messengers, “thou didst rise and fight against me at Bailuna in consequence of a quarrel between Sojidarmala and Taichara. Having driven me into the defile of Jeruné, thou didst frighten me there cruelly. Now that I wish to make thee my comrade, thou wilt not have it; although thy life is dear to me yet it cannot preserve it. Let it be as thou hast wished. Die without blood-shedding.” He accordingly ordered him to be put to death without bloodshed and had him buried with great honour.47

The end of Chamakha is not related in that portion of the Yuan-shi accessible to me, nor in the account translated by De Mailla, nor yet in the Yuan-shi-let-pon. Rashid does not mention it either in his narrative of the life of Chinghiz Khan, but he does report it in his special article on the Juriats or Qadjerats, where he tells us how, after the defeat of Tayang, he became a helpless fugitive, was captured by Ulagh Behadur, who handed him over with the few people who still remained with him to Chinghiz Khan. The latter made him over to his nephew, Ichidai, who dismembered him. When his approaching fate was mentioned to him, he said with the greatest coolness, “My god is also your god. I had thought, if he had shewn favour to me, to have hewn the body of Chinghiz limb from limb, but as he has willed it otherwise, it is fair that he should similarly treat me.” He sped the executioner’s task, and himself pointed out to him how to complete his work. Rashidu’l-din reports that his family and a portion of those who had surrendered him, were also put to death.48

This struggle with the Merkit was the last of any consequence which Chinghiz had to wage against his near neighbours and thenceforward his wars were against foreign enemies. It was his custom to revenge injuries liberally, and it would seem that he now determined to assail the empire of Tangut, which had offered asylum to his enemy Sankun, the son of Wang Khan, and which further seemed to be the best vantage whence to prosecute an attack upon China. This kingdom was called Si-ia or Si-hia, i.e. Western Sia or Hia by the Chinese. It was also known as Ho-si, i.e. west of the river, from its position west of the Yellow River. This latter name the Mongols corrupted into Kashi. Ogotai, the son of Chinghiz Khan, having had a son about the time of the campaign of his father, to which we shall presently refer, he was called Kashi, but on his dying young and in his father’s lifetime, the name of Kashi was abolished in

favour of that of Kuri-kh, and afterwards that of Tangut, i.e. the country of the Tang. It was probably so called from the nomadic race of Tang-hiang which then occupied it. The Tang-hiang were, according to Ma-tsan-lin, descended from the primitive inhabitants of China—namely, the San-Miao, and were driven by the Chinese proper into the borders of Tibet and Kokonor. Their chief Li-ki-tatien, who was ruler of Hia-chan, and a Chinese feudatory, took advantage of the weakness of the Chinese empire at the end of the 10th century, broke off his allegiance, and submitted to the Khitans, but in 1043 his grandson Chao-yuen-hao submitted to the Sung Emperor and was entitled by him king of Hia—a revival of an old Chinese dynastic name. When the Kin Tartars overran northern China, the ruler of Western Hia became their vassal, and when Chinghiz Khan proposed to attack it, its ruler was named Li-shun-youn. At first the kingdom was limited to the northern part of Shen-si, but its rulers conquered a large part of that province and the country round. In the beginning of the 12th century the Tangutans were in possession of Hia-chan, In-chan, Sui-chan, Yeon-chan, Taing-chan, Ling-chan, Yan-chan, Hui-chan, Shing-chan, Kan-chan, and Liang-chan, towns situated in the north of the modern provinces of Kansu and Shen-si and in the present camping ground of the Ordus. They had conquered Sha-chan, Kua-chan and Su-chan from the Uighurs, and were also possessed of the fortified posts of Heng, Teng We and Immig.

It was in the year of the ox, i.e. 1205, that Chinghiz first marched against the Tangut, where he captured the fortress of Lari. Lari, we are told in the vocabulary attached to the history of the four first Mongol Khans translated by Hyacinthe, meant, in the Tangut language, the holy mountain. Having captured this after an attack of some days, Chinghiz marched against a large town called Loso-khot in the Yuan-shi. Having captured and plundered this town and made an incursion into the country, the Mongols withdrew, driving a great multitude of camels before them and with a rich booty.

Some of the Chinese authorities tell us a quaint story about this campaign. They say that when Chinghiz was returning home he noticed a shepherd boy of the tribe Tang-hiang, whose name was Chakan (De Mailla gives it as Sahâ), who was looking after a flock of sheep. This boy had thrust a stick into the ground upon which he had placed his cap. Then, kneeling down, he struck the ground with his head, and rising, began to dance round the stick. Chinghiz Khan having summoned him, was charmed with his beauty and spirit, and asked him why he went through this performance before his stick? The boy replied: “When a man is alone, having only his cap for a companion, he ought to respect it; if two people are walking together the younger ought to pay respect to the elder. As I found myself alone, I addressed my respects to my cap, I heard that you were going to pass this way, and determined to practise the ceremonies proper to the occasion.” Chinghiz, having learnt that he was a son of the minister of the King of Hia, and that one of his father’s concubines treated him so ill that he preferred to tend sheep on the steppe rather than live at home, took him home, and gave him to his wife Buri. At first the change of life was not agreeable to him, and he wished to be back again with his sheep, and he would leave his tent and stretch himself on a mat with the sky for his covering. One night when he was thus sleeping, he was awaked by an owl hooting continually in his ear. He threw one of his shoes at the bird and killed it. When Chinghiz heard of this he said: “That bird was your good genius, and you did wrong to kill it.” He continued to prosper however. Chinghiz Khan gave him his wife from his own household, and, as we shall see, he became very useful to him. This campaign was a new departure in the career of Chinghiz. Hitherto he had had struggles with nomades only, but this was a campaign against a settled people, and involved engineering capacity as well as the ordinary qualifications of a leader of brave nomadic soldiers.

---

92 So called in the Yuan-shi. Hyacinthe reads it Lai-ri, and Douglas Lai-ri. De Mailla reads it Likili, the Huang-Yuan, Liguili, and Rashid-al-Ib-Iblik, Eknikii or Eknikii.
The town of Bêzwâda, situated on the river Krišnâ, about fifty miles from the sea, is now known chiefly as the scene of the triumph of modern engineering skill. Across the mighty river from the summit of one hill to the other stretches, not the toramâ of Hindu legend, but the double telegraph wire which connects Madras and Calcutta, and this is said to be the longest span of wire as yet erected in any country. Athwart the mighty river lies the massive ânikat or dam which diverts the fertilizing waters into an endless network of irrigation canals, and this dam does not curb a puny mill-race, but this noble river, which, when in flood, carries a volume of water past Bêzwâda in one hour, equal to that carried by the Clyde past Glasgow in a year. Notwithstanding these evidences of nineteenth century progress, the legend and the ballad are not yet extinct among the people.

Sultân Abdul Hassan Padishâh, the last of the Kutb Shâh dynasty, ascended the throne of Golconda in 1670. Liberal and tolerant in his ideas, he entrusted the administration of his dominions to two singularly able Brahmans, Akhana and Madana Pantulu, whose energy and ability kept the king free from foreign foe or domestic discord. These two ministers held their kacharsi at Bêzwâda and the spot where, at the foot of the present telegraph hill, food was issued every day to a crowd of applicants of all castes, is still fondly pointed out by the mendicant lavdator temporis acti. They were both fervent votaries of the goddess Kânikâ Dûrgâ, and the impetus then given to her cult still exists, for it is only four years ago that some merchants of Kânikâda erected a chattam (serai) for the accommodation of pilgrims to her shrine.

Such was the impression made on the populace by these two ministers that the legend still is current that from the caves on the telegraph hill at Bêzwâda runs a subterranean passage to Haidarâbâd, by which passage they could proceed to court, receive the king's instructions, and return in one day to Bêzwâda.

Madana Pantulu had a nephew, Gopanna, who was appointed Peshkâr of the Kammatel Taluk, which includes the village of Bhadrâchellam on the Godâvarî, one of the halting places of Râma, Sitâ and Lakshmana in their wanderings. The hut in which they lived there is still pointed out under the name of Parâ Sâlu. This Gopanna being an ardent votary of Râma, assumed the name of Râmâ, and set to work to improve the temple of Râma at Bhadrâchellam, using freely the public money that came into his hands. This expenditure passed unchecked for a series of years, until it amounted to some lacis of rupees, but a time of reckoning must come even for a Divân's nephew, and at last Râmâ found himself called to account and thrown into a dungeon. In this strait he poured forth his supplications to Râma, who took pity upon the hapless prisoner. The monarch lay wrapped in slumber in the palace at Haidarâbâd, when to him entered two soldiers bearing an immense weight of treasure. They poured the coins on the floor, and requested the astonished king to write out a release for the defalcations of Gopanna. Abdul Hassan, bewildered, turned to find writing materials, but the two peons had vanished. He thought it was a dream, but when day broke the money was there on the ground, and on being counted was the exact amount of the deficiency for which Gopanna was responsible. Then the king knew that it was Râma and Lakshmana who had brought the money, sent orders to release Râmâ, and allotted for the support of the temple at Bhadrâchellam the revenues of several villages which the temple holds to this day. This history is told in a printed book of ballads entitled Râmâ's Khaide (Imprisonment of Râmâ), which are sung by many devout Hindus with much feeling. Especially do they admire the pathos of the verses in which Râmâ bewails his wretched captivity.

In 1686 the Emperor Aurangzib, with most perfidious treachery, took Golconda, and extinguished the Kutb Shâh line. Madana Pantulu was slain, and the deposed king, Abdul Hassan, "bore his misfortunes with a dignity and resignation that has endeared his memory to his subjects and their descendants even to this day."
THE AMERICAN PUZZLE.

BY WM. GOonetilleke, HONORARY SECRETARY, KANDY ORIENTAL LIBRARY, CEYLON.

In vol. X. of the Indian Antiquary, page 89, Mr. George A. Grierson has shewn, by an extract from the Jyotisa-uttara, that the problem called the "American Puzzle," which he says, appeared some months ago in the Pioneer, in a letter headed "From All About," is by no means a modern one, dating, as it does, far back into the history of Indian astrology. The problem is to arrange the consecutive numbers from one to sixteen in four rows of four each forming a square, in such a way that the total of every line, and of every possible group of four and of the four corner numbers will amount to exactly 34. Mr. Grierson has also shewn, what perhaps was not known to the American problemists, that any even number may be made the total of these lines and groups, in which case, however, the numbers used for filling up the half of the square last filled up will differ. This even number cannot be less than 20 in any case, nor can it be less than 34 if the same number is not to appear more than once in the square. But it is not even numbers alone that can be obtained as totals. Figures can be arranged in the manner already described in such a way that every line and every group of four (except the group consisting of the fifth, sixth, ninth and tenth squares, and that consisting of the seventh, eighth, eleventh and twelfth squares) and the corner four will amount to any given odd number not less than 21, or not less than 37 if the same number is not to appear more than once in the square. Rules are given in the work called Kakshaputa or Skandhabakshaputa for obtaining both even and odd totals. These consist partly of mnemonic verses in which some of the letters represent figures. The following table shows the value of the letters in these verses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>ग</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ब</td>
<td>छ</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>म</td>
<td>र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट</td>
<td>ड</td>
<td>ण</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>ज</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>व</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>ब</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>द</td>
<td>प</td>
<td>ष</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>स</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is the consonants alone that represent the figures placed above them, the vowel श being retained for the sake of pronunciation. Zero is also represented by the initial vowels अि and भि. No values are attached to final or medial vowels, to the first members of vaisyogas (conjunct consonants), and to the anuvāra. Zero is never inserted when it stands alone, but a blank is left in its stead.

As Mr. Grierson has given rules for obtaining even totals, I shall only quote from the Kakshaputa the mnemonic line for obtaining both even and odd totals. It is as follows:

अक कलघ वछव भर नष्टनवन न 
कलघव वछव भर नष्टनवन न 

Omitting those letters in this line which have no value, viz., final and medial vowels, first members of conjunct consonants and anuvāra, we get the following 16 letters which exactly correspond to the 16 squares, and which are inserted in them in regular succession, taking care not to write zero but to leave a blank wherever it occurs:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
अ क ल ग ध ब छ व भ म र ट ड ण त थ ध न ज न ण व ल ब स च द प ष न ज

0 1 0 8 0 9 0 2 6 0 3 0 4 0 7 0

The figures below the letters denote their value and those above them the numbers of the squares.

By inserting in the squares the values of these letters as given above, blanks being left for 0, we get the following result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining eight squares may be filled up in such a way as to give even as well as odd totals. When the total is an even number, every line and every group of four forming a square and the corner four will amount to that number as will be seen from the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When, however, the total is odd, two of the groups, as already mentioned, will not amount to the given number, but the square will fulfill all the other prescribed conditions.

It is not necessary to give directions for filling up the remaining eight squares in the above arrangement when the total to be obtained is an even number, as those given by Mr. Grierson are equally applicable to it. But when the required total is an odd number, the directions given by Mr. Grierson do not apply, and the following instructions should be carefully followed. Calling this odd number \( a \), the remaining eight squares are filled up by writing the difference between \( \frac{a-1}{2} \) and the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up, if the latter number be one of the digits 1, 2, 3 and 4; but, if the latter be one of the digits 6, 7, 8 and 9, by writing the difference between \( \frac{a+1}{2} \) and the digit in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up. Thus, supposing the odd number to be 37, we should write under 2,

\[
\begin{align*}
37 - \frac{1}{2} & = 18 - 1 = 17; \\
37 - \frac{1}{2} & = 16; \\
\frac{37}{2} & = 15; \\
\frac{37}{2} & = 4 = 14.
\end{align*}
\]

But when we come to fill up the remaining four squares, our formula changes, and we should write between 1 and 8, \( \frac{37}{2} - 6 = 19 - 6 = 13; \) above 6,

\[
\begin{align*}
37 + \frac{1}{2} & = 12; \\
\frac{37}{2} & = 8; \\
\frac{37}{2} & = 9 = 10.
\end{align*}
\]

We thus finally get the following complete square:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total need not necessarily be 37. By altering the value of \( a \) to any odd number desired, exceeding 19, the total of every line and every group of four will always equal \( a \), with the exception already pointed out.

Although the number 100 may be obtained in the above square and in that given by Mr. Grierson, a distinct problem is proposed with regard to it, viz., to arrange figures so as to give this total without using the constant digits 1 to 9. The solution of this problem is given in the following stanza, in which the first portion up to, and including, तात्ता is mnemonic:

रीति चापि इत्यादि नरस्य सारीयं रामणि।

यूरी नारिन्यासं जय वालिन्यं तात्ता यतो भोजने॥

सूचाक्ष्यात्तदानार्सरयुञ्जन सर्वोत्तम विकल्पेऽस्य

तात्ता चापिन्यापनिधिः नागराजैः विनिधिः॥

From this we obtain the following figures:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this square, which is called Nāgārjuna, each line of four, horizontal, vertical and diagonal, and each group of four forming a square and the corner four make a total of 100, and the constant digits 1 to 9 (except 6) do not occur in it.

CORRESPONDENCE

AND MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE—THE STORY OF CHANDRAHASYA.

While reading an article entitled "A Folklore Parallel," published at page 190 of vol. X. of the Ind. Antiquary, I was put in mind of a story agreeing with that in the main, though differing in names and particulars, current in this presidency. The story runs as follows:

"A mighty king named Prasom-a reigned in Kerala. He was killed in battle fighting with his enemies. Hearing the news of his death his wife burnt themselves as Satte. He had a son named Chandrasaya two months old. After the death of his parents the child was brought up with care by the nurse, who, finding it unsafe to remain in his father's capital, took him to Kutthalapura. There she begged alms from door to door, and with what she got she managed to live happily. The boy had a handsome person. The towns-people were pleased with him, and gave him or his nurse money, food, and clothes. Once upon a time, as the boy was playing in the street, he found a Shaligrana or stone sacred to Vishnu. Taking a liking for the stone, he always carried it in his mouth, only taking it out to worship in the morning, and at dinner time to offer Nivedaya to it.

The king of Kutthalapura had a minister named Dushtabuddhi. This minister once brought together a number of Brâhmans for some ceremony calculated to give his son the sove-
regality of the kingdom of his lord and patron. As the Brāhmaṇas were being fed, he saw this boy in his premises, took him up in his arms, and brought him in to dinner. After dinner, at the time of distributing Pāṇampāri, the Brāhmaṇas, as is customary, took rice grains mixed with red powder (fakshata), repeated Vedic hymns, and threw the grains on the head of this boy, who was still sitting in the lap of the minister, taking him for the minister's son. The minister had a firm belief that the words of the Brāhmaṇas were sure of fulfilment, and seeing that the fakshata fell on the head of this beggar, he scolded the Brāhmaṇas and sent them away in anger. He then took care to call some Chāndaśālas, and ordered them to take the child into the forest a long way off from the town, and there despatch him. They took him accordingly to the forest, and when the young boy saw that his life was in danger, and that he was in a dense forest with none to rescue him, he took out the śiligrāma, and earnestly prayed to Narahari. The god appeared and routed the Chāndaśālas. One of them took care, however, to cut off the sixth toe of which the boy had to convince the minister of the truth of the statement which they were to make, that they had destroyed the child. The boy lay senseless and bleeding. The king of Kūlinḍa had gone to the same forest to hunt. The god Narahari assumed the form of a deer, and led the king to the place where the boy lay. When the king heard a boy crying, he went in the direction of the voice, and seeing a lovely boy, he wiped his eyes, took him up in his arms, and restored him to his senses. The king then heard an Akshā Vani (uneartly voice), saying to him, “Oh king, you are blessed with this boy, take him to your capital!” The king's wife Mōghāvatī sulked him.

His Upanayana and other ceremonies were performed as he grew up. He learnt the Vedas, the Dhasuveda, &c. &c. with the greatest ease, and in his sixteenth year conquered all the kings of the earth. He was then made a Yuvrajya by his adoptive father. He was then told to go to Kuntalapura to see the king, and to pay the amount of the annual tribute. The youth requested to be allowed to bring the king a prisoner, but the old king disdained him from such a course. Some servants were sent with the tribute. Duṣṭabhudhi, the minister of Kūlinḍa, hearing of the good name the young prince of Kūlinḍa had gained, wanted some pretext to go to Kūlinḍa to see who this prince was. He soon obtained one. The king told him to go and look for a husband for his daughter, who was of marriageable age. He came first to Kūlinḍa, where he saw the self-same boy adopted by the king. The wicked minister then said to the king "Send your son to the king of Kuntalā. I shall give him a note of introduction to my son." In the note he wrote to his son "Oh Madana, my behes at is you should give poison (vishe) to this young prince sent to you. Do not consult any one. Have no scruples about the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the day." So he sent him alone and unattended. Chandrāhasya bowed to his father, and went to Kuntalapura riding a noble horse. When he came near the town he rested in a garden outside. Into the same garden, when he was asleep, came the minister's daughter for amusement. While plucking flowers she saw the young man, and as he was beautiful her heart was captivated. On coming near she saw a letter in his head-dress, she took it, opened it, and read it. She thought within herself: As my father has sent this young man with a note to my brother, he surely means that I (for her name was Visimahayā) should be given to him and not (vishe) poison. My father must have made a mistake in orthography.' She therefore, by the help of anajana from her eyes, made the necessary alteration with her finger-nail, and went away. The young prince awoke and took the letter to the minister's son. On reading his father's letter, and not doubting that Vishayā was meant, he called the Brāhmaṇas and celebrated the marriage. The minister sacked the capital of Kūlinḍa and made the king a prisoner. While returning to his kingdom he met the Brāhmaṇas, who blessed him, praised the bounty of his son, and gave him a lengthy account of the wedding. He was very angry, but when he saw his own letter produced sanctioning the wedding, he was helpless. Then fearing that the king would be angry with him for getting his own daughter married, and leaving his own unmarried, he told his son to go and inform the king of the celebration of the marriage, to witness which he was not called, but of which he had heard from some of his servants, who praised the beauty and the qualities of the minister's son-in-law, and recommended him as a fit husband for his daughter Champanālāti. When his own son Madana was gone, the minister's imagination was not idle. He called a Chandāla and tried his best to make away with his son-in-law. He told the Chandāla to station himself unperceived at the threshold of Ambrīkā's temple and let his deadly weapon fall on the first person that came to worship the goddess, managing at the same time that his son-in-law should be that person. As the son-in-law was going towards the temple he met his brother-in-law, who told him that he was wanted by the king, and said he would go and worship the goddess for
him. The king gave his daughter in marriage to this prince. When the minister saw him coming to his house riding an elephant with the princess, he was distracted, and went to the temple in haste, where he saw his son cut to pieces. He then cut his own throat. The son-in-law Chandrāsya then went to the temple on hearing of this horrible catastrophe. He saw there both his father-in-law and brother-in-law lying dead. He there pleased the goddess, restored both of them to life, and lived in peace ever after."

N. B. GODABOL,  
Sanskrit Teacher, Elphinstone High School, Bombay.

AN ORIENTAL BESTIARY.  

In the Middle Ages we meet with curious moralisations on animals. The Eweer-book (a collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, edited by B. Thorpe, 1842) contains two specimens of an ancient Liber physicus, one on the panther, and the other on the whale (pp. 355-60).

Mr. Thomas Wright published a French translation, by Philippe de Thann, of the Latin Bestiary of Thelbaldus in Popular Treatises on Science (London, 1841); and the present writer, in an Old English Miscellany (Early-English Text Society), edited an Early English version (pp. 1-20), together with the Latin original by Thelbaldus (pp. 210-60).

In the introduction to Popular Treatises Mr. Wright called attention to the curious Oriental tales that often accompanied these "moralisations," but offered no opinion as to the probable or possible source of the stories. It is not at all improbable that the "moralisations," like the fable, may be traced back, through some source or other, to India. In the Milinda-panha—a work which the editor thinks was translated from Sanskrit—there is a curious series of similes, metaphors, and "moralisations" on animate and inanimate objects, not unlike those we find in our western Bestiaries. They are contained in the \textit{Lavatthasa-panha} section (pp. 363-419 of the Pāli text; pp. 536-624 of the Sīfaheese translation, ed. 1875), the \textit{mātika}, or index, to which contains many more subjects for moralisation than are noticed in the text. The Pāli collection, however, is much more extensive than our Western ones. The beginnings of some of the sentences in the Pāli remind us of similar ones in the Early English Bestiary. Thus, "the hert haveth kindes two" (I. 307), may be compared with "migassā tātī anigāni gahelabbāni," the term anigāni corresponding to the Old-English \textit{kinde} (or \textit{lage}), Latin \textit{natura}.

In the Latin, and other versions derived from it, the moralisations are applied to the Christian, but in the Pāli text to the Buddhist devotees (Yogī). We call a few examples from the Pāli version.

The ascetic, or meditative priest, is to observe and imitate the one special quality of the—

\textit{Asa} (ghorassā, an epithet for gudrakhā). This animal has not much of a bed, but sleeps on a dust-heap, at the meeting of four roads, at the entrance of a village, on a heap of chaff. So the ascetic is to be contented with scanty bedding—

with a strip of skin spread wherever he intends to sleep, whether it be on a layer of grass or leaves, or sticks, or on the ground.

The \textit{Squirrel} (p. 383) has one quality to be noted and imitated. When it is attacked by a foe it uses its tail as a cudgel, and with lusty blows puts the enemy to flight. So the Yogī, when he is attacked by his spiritual enemies (i.e., the evil passions), should put them to flight with the staff of "earnest meditation."

The \textit{White Ant} (p. 392) has one noteworthy quality. Out of a leaf it makes itself a covering to go all over it, wherein it envelops itself; and, thus sheltered, goes about seeking for food. Even so should the contemplative mendicant go on his begging rounds, with the restraint of moral conduct as a covering (sakāmāra-chhadanā), without fear, and unpolluted by the world.

The \textit{Scorpion} (p. 394) has one quality that should be imitated. It carries its weapon, or sting, in its tail, and goes about with tail uplifted. So the "religious" should possess the sword of knowledge, and in his life should prominently display it. Thus living, he is freed from all fear, and invincible—

\begin{quote}
\textit{Nastikagyām gahetveda viharante vipassako}
\textit{Parivudchauitā saddabbha, doppasaho cha so bhava iti.}
\end{quote}

The \textit{Hog} (p. 397) has two qualities to be noted. 

(1) In the hot and scorching time of summer he betakes himself to a pond. Just so should the Yogī, when his mind is scorched, inflamed, and troubled by the evil feelings of anger or hatred, have recourse to the cool, ambrosial, and pleasant exercise of universal kindliness (metabhāvand).

(2) The hog, having gone to a marsh or swamp, makes a trough in the earth by digging away with his snout, and lies therein. So the contemplative priest, burying his body in the trough of the mind, should be plunged in profound meditation (drummaṇantāre).

The \textit{Owl}'s (p. 403) two qualities are a pattern for the ascetic. (1) This creature is hostile to the

\begin{quote}
\textit{Corresponds to Sanskrit \textit{tīraṇāst}.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Milinda-panha, p. 365.}
\end{quote}
crows,* and at night-time repairs to their abode and kills numbers of them. So the "mendicant" is to show hostility to ignorance, and, sitting alone in solitude, he is to destroy and root it out (of his own mind). (2) The owl loves seclusion. Even so should the "religious" delight and rejoice in solitude (for the exercise of meditation).

The Lhecu's one noteworthy quality is as follows (p. 406).—Wherever the leeches stick, there it adheres firmly, and sucks blood. Just so should the devotee act; on whatever object (for meditation) his thought fastens itself, there he should firmly fix it, and from that meditation drink in the cloysless sweets of Nirodhaa (vimuttirasam ashecanam).

The Spider (p. 407) has one quality for imitation. It spreads its web and catches and eats every fly that gets entangled therein. Even so should the Yogis spread the net of "earnest meditation" before the six avenues (i.e., the six senses), and take and destroy every insect-like lust clinging thereto.

As an instance of moralisation on a animate object, I take that on the Pitcher (Kumhbo; p. 414). A full pitcher gives out no sound. Even so the devotee who has attained to perfection in learning in the scriptures, and in the "path," is not to exhibit arrogance or pride, but, suppressing these, he should, with well-directed mind, be neither garrulous nor boasting. The quotation from the Sutta-nipata that follows this comparison reminds us of our own proverbs, "Still waters run deep;" "the shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb."

"Sanandu ganti kusubhad
Tanhi yuti mahadadi.
Yad-anakata vai samati,
Yam parivar samet eva tani.
Rittamkumbhpadamo balo
Bhado dora va savitya ti."

"Loud the shallow brook doth bawl,
Silent flows the stream that's deep.
Noise an emptiness betrays,
Fullness gives no hollow sound.
Fools half-empty pitchers seem,
Wise men are the clear, full pools."

R. Morris.


NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. CROW LANGUAGE.—In my note upon the so-called "Crow Language" (vide Indica Antiquary, vol. X. p. 183, June, 1881), I ask—"Do any of the Indian peoples use 'secret' languages formed in this manner?" I have just found the following answer to my own question:

"The women (in Brunei, Borneo) delight in every practice that can deceive their lords, and they have invented a system of speaking to each other in what may be called an inverted language—in Malay 'Bhaga Balik.' It is spoken in different ways: ordinary words have their syllables transposed, or to each syllable another one is added. For 'maru,' to come, they say 'malah-nilah.' They are constantly varying it, and girls often invent a new system, only confined to their intimate acquaintances: if they suspect they are understood by others, they instantly change it."—(Life in the Forests of the Far East: by S. St. John, Vol. II. p. 265.)

To render the above system more clear I give the Malay sentence "Apal kata dina" (what did he say?) as it would appear with the interjected "luk—"Alah-palah kalah-talah dikhah-alah?"

3. CHATTY.—What is the real derivation of the common word chattiy? In Winslow's Tamil Dictionary, saddi is explained as 'a cooking-vessel or pan,' and this no doubt is connected with siddi 'a jar.' On turning up Childers' Pali Dictionary I find 'chatthi (f.), a chatthi or earthenware vessel, a jar, water pot. Comp. Tamil sirdi.' Now as 3 and 4, and d and r, are interchangeable, siddi and jar seem to be the same word, and our jar was probably taken by the Spaniards from the Arabs (Persian and Arabic, jarrah, a jar) vide Skeat's Etymology. Dicty. Here, however, another claimant steps in, for in 'A Sketch of the Kakhyan Language,' by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of Rangoon, in the July number of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (vol. XII. p. 401), occurs the following sentence:—"Compound Nouns. These are formed by uniting (a) two nouns, as—that, rice-pot." Which of these words means 'rice,' and which 'pot,' can only be guessed from the knowledge that in Burmese shan, and in several of the Nepalese dialects cha and ja, are the equivalents for rice, raw or boiled. As the chatto is pre-eminently the 'rice-pot' of Ceylon, the coincidence at all events (if nothing more) is worthy of note.

A. M. Ferguson, Jr.

Abbotsford Estate, Lintula, Ceylon.

4. HUNTER'S GAZETTEER.—Having seen it stated that a new edition of the above-named valuable work is in course of preparation, I take the liberty of sending you a few corrections on the article ALLAHABAD.

A translation of the Sutta-nipata (Sacred Books of the East, vol. x).
1. On p. 146, vol. I. we are told that the chief bathing day at the Mçgh-meld is the day of full moon; and on p. 151 this statement is repeated. The fact, however, is that though during the month of Mçgh there are several days of special bathing at the junction here, of which the day of full moon is one, the chief bathing-day is the day of the Amûdâya, the day which we English people call the day of the new moon. Dr. Hunter's statement is, in fact, incorrect by fifteen days. The error arose, perhaps, from the circumstance that the Hindus date the beginning of their month from the day of full moon.

2. On p. 151 the writer of the article says that the Mçgh-meld is held at the junction of the Ganges and the Jamnâ in December and January. The fact is, however, that the Mçlâ always begins in the latter month, and never in the former; and it extends into February.

3. On p. 146 we are told that the Mçgh-meld is held on the plain below the Fort, and on p. 151 'on the plain near the Fort.' As there happens to be a large plain near the Fort, on which no Mçlâ is ever held, it is only reasonable to suppose that the plain mentioned in each of these statements is one and the same. It is evident that the writer never visited the spot in the rainy months; had he done so he would have noticed that the plain he speaks of has disappeared. The spot has, indeed, something of the appearance of a plain in the dry months; but it is, in fact, not a plain at all; in the ordinary sense of the term, but the sand-bed (formed by the junction of the rivers) left high and dry when the rivers have receded into their narrow normal channels. If the writer had walked on the said 'plain,' he would have had good evidence that he was walking on very fine sand, on which the water rises to a height of twenty or thirty feet in the rains; 'sand-bed' should be substituted for 'plain.'

4. The writer of the article, speaking of the Hindâ Temple in the Fort, calls it 'the underground chambers.' There is, in fact, only one chamber. When the Fort was built the Temple was spared, probably on account of the revenue which Akbar's Government obtained from it; but the very considerable elevation of the Fort necessitated the building over of the Temple, so that the Temple which, in earlier times was above-ground, is now said to be 'under-ground.' This explanation is important, inasmuch as it removes the difficulty of accounting for the construction of a place of worship in a subterranean position.

5. In the said Temple is the famous Akshayâ, or sacred banian tree (lit. 'The un-decaying tree') celebrated in the Râmâyana and other popular books of the Hindus. The writer of the article in question is very far from orthodoxy, and must have been mowned over by many a learned Brâhma. He irreverently suggests that the tree is a sham, and that the priests are a set of wilful impostors. It is, says he, 'renewed secretly by the priests when it threatens to decay.' If a missionary had gone so far as to unveil the deception in these bald terms, it would have been considered 'bad form.' The wisdom of the maxim of the British Government as to leaving the people to the free enjoyment of their religious practices will hardly be doubted by any man of understanding, but when it thus comes to a case of obtaining money under false pretences, it clearly is the duty of the ruling Power to interpose with its function of protecting the people from the incapacity of men who utilize the immense leverage of an ecclesiastical position with the distinct design of practising fraud in order to transfer money from other people's pockets to their own. A man who is guilty of a wilful offence against the civil law ought not to be exempted from punishment on the plea that the offence was committed in the interests of religion. A Government which has a reputation to maintain can hardly lay claim to the character of equity if it suspends in the case of an offending priest a law which it relentlessly applies in the case of an ordinary shop-keeper. To interfere with the Hindus in their homage of the tree, is one thing—to interfere with the priests in regard to their practice of obtaining immense sums of money by fraud, is quite another. Let us hope that the learned Compiler of the Gazetteer will perceive the force of this in his present exalted position.

Allahabad, Jan. 27th.

J. D. Bate.

5. ON OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.—To my note to "Folklore in the Panjâb," No. 10, ante, vol. X. p. 331, I add the following names which have lately come to my notice in Kachâbrí:—

(1) Chhîttar, an old shoe (Panj.).
(2) Jhārî, a broom.
The name Mirchâ, pepper, has been noted in the same article (p. 332): there are two brothers, contractors, in Ambâla, called
(3) Mirchâ (Mall), peppercorn, (Hind. mirch, pepper); and
(4) Kirchi (Mall), atom (Hind. kirach, a grain, atom).

R. C. Temple.
COINS OF THE ARABS IN SIND.

BY ED. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDING MEM. DE L'INSTITUT
AND OF THE ACADÉMIE DE ST. PETERSBOURG.

THE subject of this paper,¹ though obscure and still in the infancy of its development, bids fair, under fostering hands, to aim at a youth and maturity which local antiquaries alone can ensure for it.

It is in this sense that I seek the assistance of all those who may chance to have opportunities of securing coins, authentic MSS., native home traditions, Arab tribal genealogies, or other waifs and stray contributions to the archaeology of the period: falling short of the grand test of further excavations in situ, in the Muslim capital of Mansūmah, or, for the higher purposes of early Indian history, in the sacred city of Brahmanābād.

The conquest of Sind by the Arabs, in a.h. 93 (A.D. 712), constitutes a marked epoch in the history of the land, and is associated with many instructive coincidences—in its inception, in the temporary domestication of the conquerors on an alien soil, and their gradual disappearance into obscurity.

The daring advance of Muhammad bin Kāsim was freely backed by the encouragement and support of the celebrated Hājjāj bin Yūsuf who so completely reversed the Khalīf 'Umar's favourite policy of non-extension of the Muslim boundaries to the eastward.

It is curious to note the case with which the conquerors settled themselves as residents, and the facile refuge this isolated corner of the Muhammadan world afforded to persecuted or heretical members of the new faith—while they retained among themselves, in their new home, so many of their ancient tribal divisions and jealousies; and it is instructive to follow the untold tale of ethnic subsidence and final absorption into the Indian native element, when the pure Arab blood came to be exhausted by successive local admixtures, as in other parallel cases wherever the standard of the Prophet carried with it the loose teachings of the race² beyond the nomadic tents of their primeval desert.

The sole possible preface to such obscure investigations as the present has to be gleaned from the casual contributions of Arabian writers to the annals of an outlying province, with which they were seldom brought into personal contact.

In framing the subjoined table of the Arab rulers of Sind, I have taken, as my leading authority, a writer who seems to have had extensive and exceptional knowledge of his subject. This list was originally compiled from M. Renan¹'s text and translation of Bālikāzārī, the author in question—for my edition of Princep's Essays, it has been further collated with Sir H. M. Elliot's independent work on the Arabs in Sīnd, which has ultimately been incorporated in his great work on The Historians of India.³

A.D.

711–712

93

1. Muhammad bin Kāsim (under the Khalīf Walīd).

2. Yazīd bin Abū Kabshah al-Sākhsālī, (under Khalīf Sulaimān).

714–715

96

3. Hālib bin Muhallāb (under Khalīf Sulaimān).

4. 'Amrū bin Muslim Al-Bahālf, (under the Khalīf 'Umar).

5. Judālīn bin 'Abd al rahān Al-Marī (under the Khalīf Hisām).

725–726

107

6. Tamīl bin Zaid Al-'Utbi.

7. 'Alī šākim bin 'Awkānah Al-Kalībī ('Amrū bin Muhammad).

(Sulaimān bin Hisām—Abū Al-Khābbāb) under the 'Abbasid Khalīfs.

8. 'Abd al rahān bin Muslim 'Al-'Abdī, defeated by the local Governor of the previous Ummah Khalīfs.

¹ This paper was originally prepared for the second volume of the Archæological Reports of the Survey of W. India, and is now revised by the author.

² The position of women amongst them (the Arabs) was not a very elevated one, and though there are instances on record of heroines and poetesses who exalted or celebrated the honour of their clan, they were for the most part looked on with contempt. The marriage knot was tied in the simplest fashion and united as easily, divorce depending only on the option and caprice of the husband." Prof. Palmer, Introduction to the Koran, p. 21. London: 1890.

A.D. 943. was Mu'in bin Ahmad. But in all these cases, as indeed at Manṣūrābād and Multān themselves, the Khutbah, or public prayers, were conscientiously read in the name of the Kalif of Bāghdād.

I have one preliminary remark to make with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of the numismatic remains discovered by Mr. Bellasis in A.D. 1856, near the old site of Brahmānadvē and the identification of the Muslim town of Manṣūrah, as tested by the produce of the inhumed habitations hitherto excavated, in the fact of the very limited number of purely Hindī coins found among the multitudinous of mediaeval Muhammadan pieces, and that the former, as a rule, seem to have been mere casual contributions from other provinces, of no individual uniformity or appearance of age such as should connect them directly with the ancient Hindī capital of that name.

The first coin admitted into the following list is not supposed to belong directly to the province of Sind. It has been inserted in this place with a view to trace the apparent prototype, upon which the arrangement of the central reverse devices of the local coinage was based.

A bā Mūsā i m, 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Musulīm, was virtually, within human limits, the king-maker of the line of the Abbasīde Kalifs. His dominant position as representative of the family of the Prophet, and effective master of Kho-

In addition to the circumscribed kingdoms of Manṣūrah and Multān, there were other quasi-independent Muslim governments at Bāniā, where 'Umar, the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī bārī, seems to have held sway, and at Kāsdrār, where the governor, in Ibn Haukal's time (A.D. 943), was Mu'in bin Ahmad. But in all these cases, as indeed at Manṣūrābād and Multān themselves, the Khutbah, or public prayers, were conscientiously read in the name of the Kalif of Bāghdād.

I have one preliminary remark to make with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of the numismatic remains discovered by Mr. Bellasis in A.D. 1856, near the old site of Brahmānadvē and the identification of the Muslim town of Manṣūrah, as tested by the produce of the inhumed habitations hitherto excavated, in the fact of the very limited number of purely Hindī coins found among the multitudinous of mediaeval Muhammadan pieces, and that the former, as a rule, seem to have been mere casual contributions from other provinces, of no individual uniformity or appearance of age such as should connect them directly with the ancient Hindī capital of that name.

The first coin admitted into the following list is not supposed to belong directly to the province of Sind. It has been inserted in this place with a view to trace the apparent prototype, upon which the arrangement of the central reverse devices of the local coinage was based.

A bā Mūsā i m, 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Musulīm, was virtually, within human limits, the king-maker of the line of the Abbasīde Kalifs. His dominant position as representative of the family of the Prophet, and effective master of Kho-
rāsūl and its dependencies, enabled him to dictate to the Western Muhammadan sections of the joint creed, a change in the succession of their viceroyalty upon earth. As Supreme governor of the eastern provinces, he necessarily nominated his own Lieutenants in Seisṭān, and hence we see the anomaly, in these coins, of the introduction of pictorial devices in the body of the ordinarily exclusive Kufic legends.

'ＡＢＤ ＡＬ ＲＡＨＭＡＮ ＢＩＮ ＭＵＳＬＩＭ.

No. 1. Copper. A.H. 133.4, 5, 6. (A.D. 750-753, 4.)

Obverse.

لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

وَحْدَةَ

Margin

"In the name of God. This (piece) is one of the number the Amīr, Abd al Rahman bin Muslim, caused to be struck in A.H. 133."

Reverse.


Obverse.

Area:

لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

وَحْدَةَ

Margin—Illegible.

Reverse.

Area:

رسول اللَّه

Margin: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّمَا يَأْتِي عَلَيْكَ الْعَذَابُ مِنِّي

"In the name of God, this copper coin was struck, at Manṣūrāb, under the orders of Manṣūr (r).

No. 3. Copper. Size 4. Mr. Bellasis.

Obverse.

Device: Altogether effaced and obliterated.

Reverse.

No. 4. Copper. Size 5. Weight 44 grains.

Obverse.—Central device, a quatrefoil, or star, reduced to four points, on the sides of which are disposed, in the form of a square, the words: مَسِيرُ الرَّسُولِ بِسِيْرِ اللَّهِ وَبِجَاحِهِ. The outer margin of the piece is ornamented with a line of dots enclosed within two linear circles, with four small dotted semicircles to fill in the space left vacant by the square central legend.

Reverse.—A scalloped square, surrounded by dots, within which, arranged in three lines, are the words, بِنَاحِيَةٍ مَعْرُوفٍ لِسُلْطَانِ; the concluding word I am unable to decipher, even from the best specimens at present available—it is possibly and probably the name of 'Abdūrāḥman's Arab tribe.

When the English Government originated the decoration of "a Star of India," they were perhaps not aware that Sind had already a competitive star of its own; a very special and discriminative symbol, which attained such permanent recognition in and around the province itself, that the device here discovered on 'Abdūrāḥman's coins continued to constitute, in a slightly modified form, the typical emblem of the state, down to the time of Tāj-u-d-dīn I l d u x, the trusted lieutenant of Muḥammad bin Sām, eventually independent Sūltān of Sind, and likewise that of his opponent and successor Kubāch, another general of the Ghorī conquerors and the greatest of the Khilafī Orientals (St. Petersburg, 1873), pp. 65, 66.


* Franch's Reiseans (1886, p. 18) Stikol (Jena collection 1846, p. 40); Tornberg Symbols ad Rom numismam, Mūhammedanorum (Upanias, 1856), p. 8; Tiesenhausen Mōmātās des Khalifī Orientās (St. Petersburg, 1873), pp. 65, 66.
of India, who established himself in Sind about 600 A.H. (1203-4 A.D.) to fall at last before the troops of the chivalric Jalâl-ud-din Khârîzmî, who, in his turn, had to swim the Indus for his life, before the horde of Chingis Khân. Ídûz's distinctive symbol was a six-pointed "star" beneath the conventional outline figure of the Rajpût horseman, (Prinsep's Essays, Plato xxvi. 45).10 Kubchah follows in the occasional use of the star (No. 87, p. 101), and Sultan Alattâmî's coinage, continues to recognize the local device in the six-rayed star which occupies the centre of the obverse device (lb. Pl. xxvi. 45). The coins of Uzbek Pâl, the Indian general of Jalâl-ud-din, struck at Multân, reproduce the identical cluster of the seven stars of the Sâh Kings, and the Gupatas11 which discriminating mark survived, till very lately, on the native currencies of Údîpûr and Ujjain.12

MUHAMMAD.

No. 5. Copper. Size 3.

A unique coin of apparently similar type, (though the obverse is, in this case, absolutely blank), replaces the name of 'Abd-ul-rahîm on the reverse by that of Muhammad. The concluding tribal term seems to be identical with the designation embodied in the Kufsic scroll at the foot of the reverse of No. 4.

'ABBâDULLAH.

No. 6. Copper.

Obverse.—Device as in No. 4 ('Abd-ul-rahîm).

Legend: محمد رسول الله [Muhammad the Prophet].
Reverse.—Blank.

No. 7. Copper. Size 3½. Weight 18 grains.

Obverse.—Central device the conventional four-pointed star, as in No. 4, around which, in a circular scroll, may be partially read the formula لام لملا هملا لله إشريکفقله.

Reverse.—Central device composed of the name of Abd-âl-rahîl; the two portions مودد and هملا being crossed at right angles, so as to form a tughra or monogrammatic imitation of the outline of the star with four points of the obverse device.

No. 8. Silver. Size 2. Weight 3½ grains.13

In this example palm-branches, roses, stars, and all other mundane devices are rejected and replaced by simple Kufsie legends of sacred import—so insisted upon by the more rigorous Muhammadans—to the following effect:

Obverse.— محمد رسول الله عليه السلام عبد امر.

Reverse.— محمد رسول الله عليه السلام عبد امر.

No. 9. Copper. Bearing similar legends. Other specimens vary in the division of the words, and omit the title of Al-Amîr.

BANU-DADUD. (Dâd-patras's ?)14

No. 10. Silver. Weight, 3 grains. My cabinet.

The archaic form of Kufsie stamped on these coins would under ordinary circumstances have placed them in a far earlier position, in point of time, than their apparent associates in size and style, whose almost identical legends are couched in less monumental letters; but I prefer to attribute any divergence in this respect to local rather than epochal influences, regarding which we have had so many instructive lessons in the parallel home alphabets of India.15

BANU-'UMAR.


Obverse.—Legends arranged in five lines.

Marginal lines, plain or dotted, complete the piece.

Reverse.—Kufsie legends in three lines.

I am inclined to identify this ruler with the 'Abd Ma'âz bin 'Umar bin 'Adl, who appears in the general note p. 90, as the reigning sovereign of Manşûrah, in A.H. 300- , at the period of the geographer Mâʻâlî's visit to the valley of the Indus, and of whom he speaks

10 No. 24, ibid. xxvi. 47 and p. 51 of my Pathan Boys of Delhi.
12 Pathan Boys of Delhi, No. 55, p. 99; Prinsep's Essays, Useful Tables, No. 14, p. 67.
13 Among the silver coins exhumed from the so-called Brumaskâd, some are so minute as to weigh only 1½ gr.
15 The patronymic, in its local application, may have been derived from the Dâd bin 'Ali bin 'Abbâs, No. 10 in the above list, p. 59—the adversary of Mansîr—who was so prominently associated with the overthrow of the 'Umayr Khaûfite. Tabari, vol. iv, pp. 268, 326, 342, &c.
Further in the following terms:—"There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Mansûrah and the family of esh-Shawârib, the Kadi, for the kings of el-Mansûrah are of the family of Habîb ben el-Aswad, and have the name of Beni 'Amr, and 'Abd el-Aziz el-Karashi, who is to be distinguished from 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Aziz ben Merwân, the Omaiyide (Khalif)."


Common.

Legends—as in the silver coins, with the exception that the جل is placed, for economy of space, in the opening between the two J's of جل. The die execution of these pieces is generally very degraded.


Unique. Mr. Bellasis. Mansûrah, a.h. 4. Obverse.—Blank.

Reverse—

Centre:—حمراء مشرقة
Margin: ... س الدخان مرزبة

Banû 'Umar.


Unique. Sir Bartle Frere.

Obverse.—Central device, four lines crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a species of star of eight points; four of these are, however, rounded off by dots.

Legend, arranged as a square:

Muhammad Rasûl Allah

with single dots at the corner angles, and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside of each word.

Margin.—Two plain circular lines, with an outer circle of dots.

Reverse.—Central legends in three lines within a triple circle composed of dots, circles, and an inner plain line. I transcribe the legend, with due reservation, as:

بلا لله بالله رحمك عتق

In terminating this brief notice of the Muhammadan coins of Sind I wish to advert, momentarily, to the information obtained from the early Arabian travellers in India, respecting the mixed currencies of Sind and the adjoining provinces.

The merchant Sulaimân, a.h. 237 (A.D. 851), is the first who affords us any insight into the condition of the circulating media of the land; he tells us that, among other pieces used in commerce in the dominions of the Balharâd, Tâtariya dirhams took a prominent place, and that these were reckoned in value as equal to 1½ of the ordinary coins of the King.17

The identification of this term Tâtariya has formed the subject of much vague speculation; M. Reinaud's latest conjecture pointed at a derivation from the Greek οραὶ, Stater.18


17 "La monnaie qui circule dans ses États consiste en pièces d'argent, qu'on nomme thathery, et d'or, qu'on nomme dinsar. Chacune de ces pièces équivaut à un dirhem et demi monnaie du souverain." Relation des Voyages, Paris, 1846, tome i. p. 33; Reinaud, L'Inde, 1839, p. 235; Gildemeister, de Rebus Indiciis, Bonn, 1833, p. 106; Tod's Râjâstâhân, quoted in Prinsep's Essay, vol. i. p. 86. Dr. Spranger, in his edition of Mas'ûdi, proposes the interpretation of Tâtariya.
I myself have, for long past, persistently held that the true term was to be found in Taḥḥaraya, the name of a dynasty dominant above all others in Eastern Asia at the period of the merchant's visit to India.20

This conclusion has gradually been strengthened by the discovery of the exact generic word in the unique Oxford MS. text of Ibn Khurad-dah,21 and in the more critical version of Mas'udi,22 lately published in Paris.

To these evidences I am now able to add the definite legend of a coin of Taḥḥah bin Taḥir, struck at Bust, on the Helmund, in a.h. 209 (A.D. 824).

Taḥḥah bin Taḥir, a.h. 209.

No. 17. Copper; size, 57; weights, 30, 31, and 22-5 grains. Bust. a.h. 209 (A.D. 824). Two specimens, Cunningham collection, British Museum. A third coin, recently acquired, by the B. M., contributes the legible name of the Mint.22

Obverse.—

Centre: لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin: أسعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

Rev. Central device, a reduced Sasanian head, to the right, with the usual flowing back-hair, and traces of the conventional wings above the cap; the border of the robe is bossed or beaded.

In front of the profile the name of Al Taḥḥah is inserted.

Margin: محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

This coin has further claims upon our attention in its testimony to the survival of old types and the continuity of the recognition of Sasanian devices in Seistan, extending, in its local influences, even to the confessed followers of Islam, up to so late a period as 209 years after the Hijrah of Muhammad.

Considered under this aspect of fixity of national designs, it may instruct us in the classification of some of the parallel devices previously noticed,23 about which our knowledge is at present indeterminate in the extreme. We know from the later developments of the Indo-Muslim coinages issued by the immediate successors of Mahommed,24 that the Eastern Turk-i Muslims were less strict in their denunciations of emblems and figures, than their presumably more orthodox co-religionists of the West, and that in these cases the Northern invaders of India freely accepted the national types of the conquered kingdoms, which in this sense may furnish data for tracing back and discriminating the earlier examples of parallel assimilations.

To return to the material estimates of the Sindi currencies, we are in a position to cite the consecutive testimony of Ishtakhi and Ibn Haukal, whose verbatim texts in their latest exhaustive form are reproduced in the foot-note.25 These restored versions authorize us to infer that there were, among other impinging or still extant national methods of weighing and estimating metallic values inter se, certain market rates, or prices current, for international exchanges, which were quoted in fractions at that time, as our half-crowns still count, in defiance of decimals, in the London stock lists.

From these returns we gather that there were coins termed "Victorious" equivalent to five ordinary dirhams in the local exchange,

* * *

20 The Arabic text of Yāḥyā, edited by Journoll (Lond. Bat. 1561), gives the dates of this family as follows—

Taḥḥah bin Al Husain a.h. 205 A.D. 820-1
Taḥḥah bin Taḥir a.h. 207 A.D. 822-3
Abū Dāwūd bin Taḥir a.h. 215 A.D. 830
Taḥḥah bin Abū Dāwūd a.h. 239 A.D. 854-5
Muḥammad bin Taḥir a.h. 248 A.D. 862-3
Yāḥyā bin Laa a.h. 250 A.D. 862-3
Yāḥyā bin Laa a.h. 250 A.D. 862-3


21 Mr. S. J. Poole discovered the correct reading of this mint from a later coin of Laa bin Abī, a.h. 258, Num. Chron. vol. XI. p. 108. See also the autotype facsimile of this class of coin in the British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins, vol. II. Plate iv. p. 72, and Prisse's Essays, vol. II. p. 118.


23 Mr. S. J. Poole discovered the correct reading of this mint from a later coin of Laa bin Abī, a.h. 258, Num. Chron. vol. XI. p. 108. See also the autotype facsimile of this class of coin in the British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins, vol. II. Plate iv. p. 72, and Prisse's Essays, vol. II. p. 118.


The conversion of the Iṣṭakhri into Konradhārya seems to have been a purely arbitrary correction, and not justified by the tenor of the associate text. Kandahār is not mentioned elsewhere in Ibn Haukal's geographical lists. The town at the period does not appear to have attained any degree of importance. See Goeje's text, p. 297. The name, however, occurs in Ibn Khordadbeh, IV. p. 273.
and that, concurrently the Bazaar or open market recognized a totally different scale, based upon a coinage only plus ⅓th or ⅔rd beyond the home issues.

With the very imperfect numismatic materials extant, it would be presumptuous to pretend to fix, even approximately, the coin weights and measures obtaining in such a vague international crossway as Manaurah; but I could quote within narrow geographical or epochal limits, such extreme variations of weights of dinars, dirhams and copper coins at discretion, that, if I wished it, I might prove almost any given sum to momentary demonstration, an exercise which, as a collector of positive facts, I specially desire to avoid.

IS BEZAWAḍA ON THE SITE OF DHANAKAṬAKA?

BY THE EDITOR.

In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1880 by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., the author argues that the town of Bejawada must certainly have been the capital of the kingdom of Dhanakachaka (Dhanakaṭaka) mentioned by Hiwen Thang in the seventh century; and he supports his theory by statements to which his residence on the spot naturally gave considerable weight, and which might be regarded as final by any one unacquainted with the evidence he alludes to.

The modern town of Bezawada lies on the north bank of the River Kṛishṇā, and abuts on the west side on a steep hill—the Kanaka Durga Konda or Indraśādi Konda; on the north and north-east are two isolated hills, and at a short distance to the east is another. The western hill comes down pretty close to the river, but is being quarried away on its southern end, along which the road passes to the west. Nearly right opposite to it, on the south side of the river, is a similar hill,—Śikṣānaga Konda—and tradition says these hills were once joined, but, by some interference of the gods, a way was made between them for the passage of the river, which had previously flowed some miles to the northwards. Across the river here is now made the great Kṛishṇā dīnakaṭ, or dam forming the head of the canal system of the province. Lastly, a mile or so further up, on the south side, is the Undavalli hill, in which are some caves to which allusion will be made presently.

Hiwen Thang's account of the capital of the kingdom in his time, at first sight certainly, quite answers to these surroundings of Bejawada. He speaks of a Saṅghārāma or Buddhist monas-

2 Boll's version. Of the last portion, however, he suggests an alternative rendering, viz. "At the back of the mountain he constructed a cavern in connection with these chambers."
the structural buildings there were even religious edifices, or that there were any sculptures upon them.

Some stress is laid on a black stone image, somewhat defaced, now at the library. Those acquainted with the forms of the images of both sects and of those of Mahāyāna or Dharmaśā in the Śaiva caves of the Dumar Lēna at Elūra and at Elephants, will acknowledge how easily an abraded figure of one sect may be mistaken for that of another. I have no reason, however, to doubt that the image in question is Jaina, of about the 12th or 13th century, similar to some I dug up at Elūra a few years ago.

The caves in the west hill are more numerous and are in sufficient preservation to shew that they also were all Brāhmaṇical, and may belong to about the seventh or eighth century or later. Yet here Mr. Sewell asserts, the Aparaśīlā monastery stood, and "its remains are still to be seen." I examined the hill side with some care, but neither among the caves nor in the structural remains on the ridge of the hill, did I find a fragment of any kind that could be mistaken for Buddhist work. The scarp and platforms, to which he points as the sites of splendid structural monastic buildings, are in every way so like old quarries that they are not at all likely to be taken for anything else. These scarp are very perpendicular and lofty, and have rude images of Hamnūn, &c. carved at various heights on them,—in some cases so high as to suggest that they were made by the quarrymen while the excavation was going on at about the level at which these figures are; and if this conjecture is correct, it would indicate that these works are of no great age. Then we have no other similar examples of hewing out platforms for merely structural buildings; and even these are far too limited to afford space for buildings of any great extent or magnificence. There is, moreover, nothing to show why such spots should have been selected to hew out platforms, rather than any other more commanding position where the labour would not have been so great; nor is there a fragment of carved stone on them indicative of Buddhism. As to the large cave at Undavalli,* which is more to the west than "south" of Bejawāḍha, Mr. Sewell argued that it might have been primarily Baudhā and afterwards converted into a Vaishṇava temple. But there is not the slightest evidence of this; and the "curious crack in the rock at the back of the third storey,"—"which might have given rise to the legend" of Bhājavivēka, "the celebrated master of the Śāstras,"—is only an ordinary flaw.

Either then the two hills to the west and north-east of Bejawāḍha were not the sites of the Aparaśīlā and Pārvaśīlā Saṅghārāmas described by Hiwen Thsang, or he must have exaggerated the magnificence of the buildings in an unusual way, while every vestige of them must have been utterly destroyed soon after his time to make way for Brāhmaṇical and plain brick and stone buildings; and as these monasteries belonged to the Mahāyāna school, they must have contained numerous images, of which surely some indications would have been left. Hiwen Thsang would surely not have omitted to say so if they were only made of wood and tinsel; and as, according to his statement, they had been disused long before his time, it is not likely that buildings of any such perishable materials would have lasted for a century afterwards. Nor in such a case would he have compared their magnificence to "the palaces of Baktiā". One is almost forced to think he referred to the great stūpa at Amarāvati, or some such similar work. And there were others, for at Jaggayayepe, about 30 miles N. W. from Amarāvati, was another fine stūpa, perhaps constructed very soon after Aśoka's time, and perhaps restored during the reign of Purushadatta Mādhārīputra.

It is still possible, however, that the Capital was at Bejawāḍha, but that, owing to some omission or confusion in the text of Hiwen Thsang, we do not read his account aight: for there is no evidence that two great Baudhā monasteries were there.

Of the caves both in the hills round Bejawāḍha itself and at Undavalli, it may be mentioned that the majority, if not all of them, are Vaishṇava works, of very poor execution, in a

---

* The fragments of two Baudhā images found by Mr. Sewell on the other side of the hill could hardly have come from the east side of it.

* For an account of the large cave at Undavalli see Cave Temples, pp. 971.

---

* Unless perhaps engineers among the old Hindus were as utilitarian as the European who only a few years since used the marble slabs of the Bhāštigṛha stūpa to build the Vellāṭūr sluice.
rock so veined and friable as to be but ill-adapted for the excavation of rock temples; and all of them appear to be of as late a date as, or even later than, the caves at Mahâvalipuram, say of from the 7th to the 9th century. There is none of the display of wealth in their extent and decoration that we find in the Brâhmanical caves of Ellora, Elephanta, Bâdami, &c.—nothing, in fact, to indicate that they were executed at the expense of powerful princes reigning in the city beside which they are.

Mr. Sewell cavils at General Cunningham's assumption that the name of the capital spoken of by Hiwen Thsang was Dhamakâtaka, but an inscription at Nâike and two others from Amarâvatî speak of Dhanakâtâ or Dhamâkâtaka as the name of a city, the Sanskrit equivalent of Dhamayatakâ—'the abode of the wealthy.' It was undoubtedly a different place from the Dhamakâkâta mentioned so frequently in the inscriptions of the western caves, and which must have been somewhere on or near the west coast. But that Dhanakakâta was at Amarâvatî itself or at Dharanîkôta, I am not quite prepared to say. Hiwen Thsang would surely have mentioned the Krishnâ river by name, if it had been on its banks: he is in the habit of noting such natural features.

But in the gôparaum of the present temple of Amarâsvara at Amarâvatî is an inscription of which Mr. Fleet has favoured me with the following outline:—It is of the time of king Annâvaṭa, the son of Vêma, who is said to be of the lineage of Prâlâ, and whose kingdom was included between the rivers Brahmakûndi and Krishnâvêni and Gautami or Godâvâri. Annâvaṭa's Mantri or Sûddhpati was Vêma or Mâllâyavêma, (called Pallavaâditya—the sun of the Pallava's—in the Telugu version) the son of the hereditary Mantri Kōta or Kâtyâmalla; he acquired the title of Jâgañobhagânda (sole hero in the world) by defeating the Yavanas (Musalmans), who came to attack his sovereign; and he set up the god Amarâsvara at the city of Śrî-Dhamâvâtîpura on Vâchaspatîvâra, the day of the hooded snake


* Childers gives dhâmâ as the Pâli both of dhâma 'opulent,' &c. and dhâma, 'grain'; if therefore we take the Pâli 'Dhammakâta' as equivalent to the Sanskrit 'Dhamayatakâ,' we have the exact correlative of (Guruva, the 5th in the month Śrâvaṇa of Śaka 1283 (1361 A.D.) the Plava Sâkhavatsara.) Mr. Sewell himself has referred to this inscription, which shows that the name of Amârâvatî was changed in or since the 14th century, and that its previous name Dhamayatakâ bore a resemblance both in form and sense to Dhamâkâtaka,—in fact may be taken as its exact equivalent.

But Amârâvatî, if we except the Dipâli inne Šûpa, has but little evidence of being a place of much antiquity. The temple in its present form and extent is probably not much over a hundred years old; owing however to the obstructiveness of the Brâhmanas access is denied to its interior. It contains a number of inscriptions, mostly in Telugu, of which I have secured copies in facsimile, and when they are fully analysed we may learn more of its history: indeed one inscription on the wall south of the east entrance to the shrine, dated Ś. 1548, records the erection of a temple to Śiva at Dharanîkôta. The gôparaum is confessedly the work of the Zaminâr of the place, towards the end of last century. Possibly the lowest portion of it may be the remains of a much older work; and in it are three pillars bearing inscriptions, one of which has been quoted above. But these pillars may well have been brought from some other temple, at Dharanîkôta, and built in here; we know that the builder was in the habit of pulling down temples for materials with which to build others.

Dharanîkôta, on the other hand, is evidently a very ancient place, surrounded originally by great artificial ramparts, the height of the remains of which, especially on the west side, testifying to the prodigious labour that must have been expended on them and to the consequent importance of the place. To the north-west has been a great artificial lake, and one can scarcely doubt that in days when the rampart and lake were entire, Amarâvatî was but one of its suburbs. To the east, and between this old city and the foot of the neighbouring hills, where so many dolmens or rude-stone burying places are still
to be seen, stood the great Mahâchaitya; and to the west, at about the same distance, a quarter of a mile south of the rock bearing an inscription of Vishnuvardhana, stood another Chaitya of considerable size, of which every vestige, except a few scattered bricks of large size, have long since been carried off. This is the Kârchi-tippa. Thus Dharañikota had its own Western and Eastern Chaityas at least, though they were not on hills.

Let us now look at the testimony of the marbles:—In the British Museum is a slab from a richly carved frieze at Amarâvatî, bearing part of an inscription in one line only, the beginning of which is lost. What is left, after an enumeration of 'daughters, granddaughters, &c., reads—

degadhañama kâranti thâna mahâmadhyamahâchetiyapataye
2 pâtaka 3 nuñine puskagatiyam
pattasamahara cha mahâchetiyo chaitho bhâgo
Râjagriyamâna uttarama pudâhitam savadânâma cha hitasughatâma ti

— which Dr. Bühler renders:— (These persons) made this meritorious gift at Dhanakata, at the great Chaitya (vis.)—two, 2, chaityapatas, 3 pâtaka, an uttama, a puskagatiya, and a pattasamastaro, and (further) at the great Chaitya the fourth part of the northern gate—of the Râjâgiriya—has been erected, for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. Thus!"

Again at the Stûpa, I found on a slab an inscription of which the greater part is legible, and which begins thus:

Siûhâm || Namo Bhagapato Logaticêsa" Dhanañikotâdhûnâm upasakasa
Godiputasa Budharañkhaḷita āharâniya(µ) cha padumâyâ pusachâhâgaḥ Budhî, &c.

These two are the only inscriptions on which I have found the name of a place, and they seem to point to Dhanakata as being the city beside the Chaitya, i.e. where the modern decayed village of Dharañikota now is.

SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT KINGS.

NOS. III. AND IV.

PRAŚASTIS OF NÂNÂKA, A COURT POET OF KING VISALADEVA OF GUJARAT.

BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

I am indebted to my friend Śāstrī Vrajilāl Kālidās for a loan of his copy of the Praśastis of Nânâka here published. The copy was made for him by R. S. Hargovindâs Dwârkadâs, Educational Inspector, Baroda State, from a stone tablet at Koṭînâra (Koticârapura of the Jaina chroniclers), in Kâthiâwâd.

In this case I have not the benefit of a faithful impression, but fortunately the tablet seems to have suffered little from time, and is easily read. The Praśastis are metrically correct throughout, but at I, v. 14 there is a miselocation by the copyist in the name of the Nâgara lady Sûhâvâ, wife of Govinda.

The mistakes in Pr. I, v. 27 and v. 32 and II, vv. 5, 7, 8 are clerical blunders. The v. 29 of Pr. II errs as v. 14 of the other does, in the quainly spelt proper names. The language of the note at the foot of II is as irregular as are many others of its kind.

---* See Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, plate lxxxii., fig. 1.
** Probably nuñine stands here for uñin, which I would render "copingstone," and puskagatiya—"a flower-case slab"—one of the most common patterns of large flat slabs found at Amarâvatî. Mr. Fleet suggests that nuñine puskagatiya means "twenty-nine puskagatïda."
verse addressed to the loving pair and their son. No. II again represents Nānakā as fairly settled in high life, reaching it by his ability and acquirements. King Visaladeva has stationed him at Sōnānētha Patamā with a grant commissioning him to perform Sṛddhāha for him. To him Sānta-raśi or quietism is now the most acceptable state. His time is devoted to ablutions and sacred or charitable duties.

The second inscription bears the date V. Sāk. 1328, ten years subsequent to the date assigned to the death of King Visaladeva.

From the two Prasātā we gather a fair biography of the poet. The Vāghelā dynasty of Dhavallakā (Dholka), founded by Dhaivala, a son of Kumārapāla's mother's sister, and father and grandfather of Arjorāja and Lavaṇaprasāda respectively, was distinguished for its patronage of literature and poetry. At the court of Viradhavala and Lavaṇaprasāda, or rather that of their ministers Vastupāla and Tejāpāla, there was ever a constellation of poets of all castes and creeds.

Among them was Rāja Purohitā Śomēvara, the author of the Kirtti-Kāṃsūlī. The Jaina ministers themselves too, as the chroniclers and this their protégé would represent, were poets. Viradhavala dies; the violent Vīrama is artfully removed by the minister; Visaladeva succeeds his father at Dholka according to Rājaśekhara in V. S. 1298. The revolution is effected almost calmly. But an insignificant party-fray rained the minister, and led to his fall. The Nāgara Mantri Nāgadeva or Nāgadeva succeeds him. Harsha Gaṇa, the author of Vastupāla Charita, describes it bitterly in the following terms:

Translation.

"The extent of the Śāṃrājya kingdom of him (i.e. Visaladeva) was (made) by degrees as great as that of Śrī-Viradhavala, through the power of the minister (v. 75). Alas! He (the king) merely saw or considered even Vastupāla as insignificant or of no moment, after the king had (firmly) established himself in the land (v. 76). Again, there was a maternal uncle of the king by name Śiṅha in office. At his instance the king was able to take the lead (v. 77). That slandering wretch moved the king, who taking the signet ring from the lotus-like hand of Tejāpāla, (v. 78) placed it, conferring a high favour, in the hand of Nāgada Mantri, the Nāgara, (who was) like poison, the destroyer of the people (v. 79). The ring shone in his hand like Kālavalli, (the desire-fulfilling heavenly creeper,) growing at the feet of Vachhāla; it shone on his hand with its hair all on end on account of the growing up and budding forth of Sattva or Power (v. 80)."

Rājaśekhara, another, more temperate, and an earlier Jaina writer, in his Chhatuvarśiṇātī, tells us that the maternal uncle, reviled as above by Harsha Gaṇa, passed with his retinue under the balcony of a Jaina Apārāya or monastery, on his way to the court, when, perhaps unconsciously, a Jaina inmate of the monastery—a monk threw down the sweepings on the road which fell upon the Rajput chief and soiled his robe. Whereupon the chief was greatly incensed and uttered some angry words, at which a follower of his went to the monastery, and punished the offender who flew to Vastupāla. The minister in a fit of passion ordered one of his men to cut off the hand of Śiṅha's man with which he beat his priest. The whole clan of the Jethūs came down upon him. The minister too made all preparations to withstand the attack, bent upon the destruction of such a minister. Śomēvara stands as a mediator and Vastupāla is allowed with his brother honourably to retire and he resigns his office which Mantri Nāgada is invested with.

An anonymous work, discovered by Prof. A. V. Kāthvate of the Gujarāt College, describes Lavaṇaprasāda as the minister of Bhimadeva II. and Viradhavala as his Tuvarāja; and this fact, I believe, is borne out by the published grants of the king, endowing the religious institutions founded by Anā-n, Solankī Rāṇā.
Loqapasa-u and his son Virama. Bhimadeva dies. Viradhavala is, as we have mentioned, dead already and is succeeded by his son Visala at Dholka. Lavnaprashada is far advanced in years, and hesitates to turn upon himself the burden of State. He has a partiality for his son Visala. The royal tents are pitched on the banks of the Sahasralinga Sarovara. He summons Visala to his presence to crown him. But on coming in, the hot-headed prince insults his aged father, who thereupon changes his resolve. Naga is on the occasion at Patan. And he is despatched to bring Prince Visaladeva from Dholka. The Prince and the Minister, says the chronicler, pledge their faith to one another. Prince Visala is crowned king of Gujarat as succeeding Bhimadeva II, and Naga is his Premier in his new government.

The seat of government is transferred from Dholka to Patan. Lavnaprashada, from fear lest his love for Virama might return, and he might again change his mind, the chronicler tells us, is removed. Visala is bribed with Visalaramgama and other places, and he too subsequently brings about his own ruin by his petulance and improvidence. With the rise of Naga or Naga-deva, the Naga community is in the ascendant. With the Poet Somavara as Pratishita, now advanced in years, poetry finds a welcome home at the court of king Visaladeva. The king performs a Yajna at the place of his birth Darbhavat (Dabhoi), then forming the branches of the Nagaras, Visalanagar, Shatpadra (or Sakhoda), Krishnapura (or Krishhora), Chitrapurais (or Chitrojas), and Praunikas (or Prasnoras); Brahmapuris1 are constructed for their use. The communities too are distinguished for their literary acquaintance. Raja Sekhara in his Prabandha Chaturvinsati (written in V.S. 1405) informs us that the Mahanagariya Nanka,2 the Krishnapurigaya Kamalakitya and the Visalanagariya Nanka,3 the hero of our Prasasti, all resided at the court of Visaladeva, where there were also Harihara—a descendant of Sri Harsha, the author of the Naishadhyasa,—of Bonares, Arasimha, the author of Sukrita-Sakirtana, and his fellow-student Amarchandra,4 the author of Bala-bhadra and other works, and Vamanasthalya Somakitya. We need not be surprised then at the high encomium on the Naga community by the author of Prasasti I, (v.7 and 32), and upon Nanka (I, vv. 21: 23-4: 30-32, as well as II, vv. 2-3: 10-12: 14-5.)

Prasasti II represents Nanka as visiting the court of Visaladeva, and there undergoing an examination in the Vedic and other Vedas (v. 5), and Gaaptipati Vyasas is borne out by Kavi Raja Sekhara. My MS. of his Chaturvinsati bears date V.S. 1411, six years after its composition, and within three generations of the Poet and the Prince, which gives the following interesting note:

अधिवसनकृतिविषय नानाकेन समस्त विश्राणिः ||
गीतन न गायिति तरी युक्तिमिश्रितः ||
श्रुताहनेन्तुरुद्धरति तत्ततावृतः ||
भृस्मू नूरेण विगतलोच्यं एव चाहतः ||

The Indian Antiquary is a highly respected journal that has been publishing works on Indian history, art, and archaeology since its inception in 1835. The table of contents and brief summaries of the articles provide a glimpse into the rich cultural heritage of India, spanning various periods and regions. The journal not only serves as a platform for scholarly research but also acts as a repository of historical knowledge, making it a valuable resource for students, researchers, and enthusiasts alike.
Here a word or two by the way may be said about the founder of the family, who seems to be a character of some historical importance, figuring as he is in the Jaino-Brahmanic religious conflict in the time of king Kumārapāla. He is Upādhyāya Sōmēśvara of the Kāpśīhāla Gotra. He is styled in Pr. II. Dharmaśāstra-dharmaratana, a yoke-bearer in the revival of the (orthodox) faith (v. 1)—perhaps from his taking part in the religious movement headed by king Jayāśīhāda's friend and poet Śripūla and his son Siddhaṇāla,30 and the Dwārakā Śākharācharya Dēvāvodehi Sarasvati, author of the drama Kumārārakita, in opposition to Hemaśandra and his Jainas in the reign of Kumārapāla. This Śripūla is the same as the author of the Vaḍānagara Prāsasti, dated V. S. 1208.

The inscriptions are further deserving of note from the authors of them. The first, i.e. Krishna, speaks of himself as a son of Ratna, author of the Kuravāvatācharita. He has also won the name of Bāla Sarasvatī11 from the people, well pleased with his Ashāvadhāna power (v. 39), and he is far superior to his brother-poet and successor Gaṇapati Vyāsa, who seems to be a little conceited. The Vyāsa lets us know that he has written a poem by name “Dhārakaśaśa” or “the Destruction of Dhāra” descriptive of the war of Visalādeva with Mālava. The discovery of the Kirtti Kāmnudī and Saṅkṛita-Saṅkṛityā by Dr. Bühler, and of the nameless new chronicle followed here, and the Kumārapalācharita, mentioned in my No. I, afford us considerable light on the period intervening between the close of the reign of Jayāśīhāda and the rise of Visalādeva. So also do the Vastupālocharita, Dharmaśāstra and its Pariśīhā, Prabandha Chaturvīśa, Bhojaprabandhakāra, and other rare works.

In conclusion, I must add that Visalādeva is also named Viśvala “Protector of the Universe” (Pr. I. v. 27). The king is said to be equal to Siddharāja (Pr. II. v. 4). He is also called Chakravarttī (Pr. II. v. 6). He has successfully carried on a war against the king of Mālava, and laid it waste with fire, and made the king of the country pay tribute to him (Pr. I. v. 6; II. v. 4). He has laid the foundation of many Brahmapuris, of which that where Nānaka is settled, is at Prabhāsa, near the confluence of the Sarasvatī with the sea.

11 Cf. Purusha-Sarasvatī, the title awarded to Sōmēśvara, the Purohit of king Visalādeva; see Bījakāhāra’s Prabandha Chaturvīśa; Vastupālo-prabandha.
Victorious is the god with the face of an elephant (Gaṇeśa)! Adoration to all the divinities presiding over the junction of the Sarasvati with the ocean!

1. We praise that indescribable light, wholly consisting of intelligence that manifests itself in the liṅga of Śomēśa, which the
lights of the eyes cannot perceive, about which all speech ceases—thinking of which the mind becomes bewildered, and which does not fall within the range of thought, (but) which is easily obtained by unfeigned devotion (and) Yogā.¹

2. May that incomparable god, who has the shape of a man and of an elephant, who is the pleasure mountain of Siddhi (success), who is beautiful through his creeper-like proboscis that sprouts as it were out of the rays of his tusks, who is pleasant to the sight on account of vermillion, who sheds copious ichor (i.e. mada) confer blessings upon you!

3. May the waters of the junction of the Sarasvati with the ocean—delightful to the birds, on the banks of which saints who are the abode of great patience, ever tell the sacred mantras on their rosaries,—destroy your sins.

4. May that Sarasvati grant you all prosperity, who, pleased with Śiva’s, Viṣṇu’s, and Brahmā’s prayers, made (the volcanic) Auṛva (fire), the (collective) energy, as it were of all rivers a captive, trembling in word-fetters in (the middle of) the ocean.

5. We seek shelter of him whose form is worthy of worship on account of its lustre, that is dark like a cloud, who bears in his lap the goddess Lakṣmi that shines with a golden light and (hence) resembles a flash of lightning,—for the removal of the three torrents.

6. May the form of king Viśalā long be an ornament to this land sacred to Sarasvati, [of Viśalā] who is the sole home of policy and valour,—who adorned the land his beloved with his glory, as with strings of pearls, abandoned by, and gained in battle from, the king of Mālava.²

7. There is an imperishable place, engaging (the mind of the people) because it is a Tirtha, called Nāgarā, resonant with the voices of men reciting the Vēdas, under a sky sanctified with the smoke of the three sacrificial fires, which clearly proclaims itself as the abode of the god,—who has for his ornaments the lords of serpents (Śiva),—by the adoration (upāstana) of Āryā (Ambikā) as well as by the assembling of Arya’s (worthy people),—by the love for Viṣṇa, (the bull Nāndī) as well as by the love for Viṣṇu (Dharma), (and) by the beauty of Dvijendrā (i.e. the moon that Śiva bears on his forehead), as well as by the prosperity of the best of Dvijas (i.e. the Nāgarā Brāhmaṇa’s, its inhabitants).

8. Near it is a village by name Gūṇā, belonging to men of the Vaiṣṇavā’s family given (to them), by the Chaulukṣya king, pleased with their work as Prime Ministers.

9. In that place Somāvara, the crest jewel of the twice-born, was born, a descendant of the glorious Kāpiṣṭhā family.—How many fortunate (people) have not attained here proficency in Vedic lore by worshipping his feet (studying under him)?

10. He had for his wife Śīla, who was free from tāmas (ignorance or darkness) and tāpa (anger or heat), and hence resembled both Prabhā (the ignorance) of the lord of light and Jyotirā (the wife) of the Nectar Ray (the Moon).

11. From her was a son by name Āmatā, well versed in the science of sacrifices, resembling Viśvakarmā (Viṣṇu) (and) not affected even by strong Kāli.

12. Sajjāni, embellished with many gem-like good qualities, who ever saw her face (reflected) in the mirror of the footnails of her lord, was the wife of that ocean of virtues.

13. A son by name Gōvinda, with actions white and pure like the Moon, resembling Brahmā (and) exhibiting his omniscience occasioned by his proficiency in all arts, was born of her, alighting as it were on the lotus-like, divine triad (?).

14. He had a wife, the ornament of his house, the spotless Suḥaṇā(?).

15. How can a blockhead eulogize Suhaṇā with his single tongue, when even the koti, (i.e. ten millions or the tip) of the tongue of the author of this Prakṣasti is dumb?

16. To him who fulfilled his sacred duties with her in company—to him who was happy being freed from the threefold debt, who had bathed in the water of the Rēva (the Neruladda), for the purification (śuddhi) of his person, thus was rendered (to him) tautological the six-yearly vow.

17. He, the first leader of those that possess control of their passions, entered the fourth order, travelling the difficult path towards

² Cf. गल्वारी. गल्वारीमेतियम् ली । 4 pl. i, Grant No. 11, Ind. Ant. vol VI, p. 210.
salvation, leaning upon a stick (the sacred Dānḍa of a Saṅyāsī).

18. Victorious be his three sons, who possess the splendour of the three sacred fires, who possess a greatness of Śiva, Vīṣṇu, and Brahmā, who are as holy as the flowing stream of the river of the gods (the Gāṇḍā).

19. His eldest son Bhagavān and Purusottama were equal to each other, in name, in the possession of Śrī (wealth or the goddess Lakṣmī), and by the fame of dvijapati. The only difference was that with the first (i.e., the eldest son of Gīvinda) the habitation of the daughter of Brahmā (Brāhmaṇī) was in the lotus of his face, while with the other (i.e., Vīṣṇu) the habitation of Brahmā (Brāhmaṇī) was on the lotus of his navel.

20. The youngest after him was Mahāṇa, the pleasure-ground of the populace of good intellects—who has his sins destroyed by bathing in the Ganges—who had the whole of the Rig-Veda, with its many Aṅgas (or subordinate sciences) by heart, who ascending as he was the balcony of Mahima or Greatness, with the scaling-ladder of Fortune attained to fame in the assembly of the king through his knowledge of Yāga Philosophy,—and who practised the sixfold Nāyaṣa.

21. The younger son was by name Nānakabhiṣṭi, of splendid qualities, the first among the learned. The goddess of Speech resorts to his moon-like face in order to calm the (feverish) heat caused by the waste of the ancient good poets.

22. His wife was Lakṣmī, his second self, his life-breath moving out of his body, an ornament of the two unblemished families (her father’s and her husband’s), possessing a face as sweet as the (opening) morning lotus.

23. Whose friend is not that Nānakā the ornament of the Nāgara ( caste), master of good manners, of remarkable virtues, of well-restrained organs, and of bright behaviour?

24. Who will not extol him, who is the gem-like ornament of the assembly of those versed in the Shruti and Smrti, who has bathed his intellect in the Ocean of the Kātantra Grammar, who is unique in (the knowledge of) metrics, who knows the quintessence of the alankara-śāstra (rhetoric), who has reached the (other) shore of the Ocean of the Nectar of the

Narrations of the celebrated Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata,—him, who delights or revels in the pleasures of poetry, the leader of (all) the (three) castes?

25. To him who was well pleased, king Viśvala, who had an insight in his unblemished virtues, gave a palace in the Brahmāpurī (the street of the Brahmans) his own creation, where the mansions shine out with their great bulk, in this city of the lord (Śiva) the destroyer of the demon Pura (Tripura).

26. (Him) who, always propitiating the lord of the crescent moon (Sūnā) with offerings of rice, renders fruitful or meritorious the village Bagasārī given him by king Viśvala.

27. He, the crest of the Śrāvīyas, now satisfies, on every new-moon day, the manes of king Viśvala, who (while alive) was wholly in his power or enslaved as it were by his sweet recitations of the Purāṇas, that he relished so well as the best preparations of ambrosia, (but) who now dwells with the gods!

28. He, Nānakā, who every day propitiates the wielder (Śiva) of the bow Pīnaka, by offerings of sacred waters, garlands of lotus flowers, and rice preparations, and by salutations.

29. Satisfied with his great devotion, the lord Śrīkara, causing his own power to enter in the body of Gaṇḍa-Srī-Virabhadrā made him a sharer of the best seventh part of the village named Maṅgala.

30. May that Nānakā live long in delight, with his increasing fame unfolding itself to the very (verge of the) heavens,—who is of a mind attentive to the (worship of the) feet of Śemēśvara,—Nānakā, who performs daily ablutions in the Sarasvatī with great respectful regard,—he who is purified by the (performance of the) great sacrifices, and who always entertains guests.

31. May, through the good actions (performed by one), Nānakā, who is the chief of the learned, whom they call “Sīnaless,” who has won fame, to whom king Viśvala gave a palace, and in whom there is not even a trace of a fault, he, in whose rise there is great (or general) liking (?) and in whom all virtues

---

3 i.e. of Bhagvān’s being a lord of Drijas, and Vishnu’s possessing Garuda, the lord of birds.
converge, may the good Nāṇāka be his friend!

32. With man, Brāhmaṇhood is very difficult to attain, and in that this celebrated Nāgara caste, and there a thorough knowledge of the Vēdas, (and also) riches obtained by good acts (and then) obtaining by good luck all this—youth, wealth, jewelry, &c. and mistresses, and knowing that the mind is sickle, (only) Nāṇāka gains true merit.

33. The poet Nāṇāka erected here this Śārasvatī pleasure-house on the banks of the sea that has been embraced by the high Tīrtha (sacred banks) of the Śārasvatī, Nāṇāka, the sun to the lotus-bed of the Nāgaras, both whose feet are worshipped by the celebrated lord of Visāla.

34. May this Śārasvatī palace last imperishable as long as there is the great sanctity of Śīvāntā in the (three) worlds, and as long as that lord Śiva destroys the evils of the good, (and) as long as the ocean roars!

35. May this Nāṇāka be victorious, and may his wife Lakṣmī reach old age, ever bearing the red coloured garment (a mark of matronhood). And may their son, Gaṅghādhara, the companion of goodness, sanctify the family with his good deeds!

36. Kṛiṣṇa, son of Ratna, the author of the Kūvalāyāvācharita,—Kṛiṣṇa, who is famed in the world, and (is known) by the people, pleased with his powers of listening to (and grasping) eight things at once, as Bāla Śārasvatī, Kṛiṣṇa wrote this eulogy. That (Prāṣṭā) has been written down and engraved by Pāḥlāna.

Prāṣṭā II.

|| ऋ नन्या गण्याये ||
अस्यानुवर्ते गारीयति कुले कापिशालं निमर्तं
ध्येयादिर्निंद्रयोरसदृशयाः सोमवंचः।
संशयताष्टैत अभादः मुक्षमः मुक्षे पवित्रविशिष्ठो
गौतिन्द्रस्य च नदन्तं सहाययोगिन्मनन्दनः।

प्राप्योष्णोद्विमायं विद्धृः
प्रम: त्रिप: बादलयास सुपुरुषः
नानाविन्यामानविन्यसः
नानाकनामा सुकृतेऽधामः।

3
Om! Salutation to Gānapati!

1. There is in great Anandapura (Nagar or Vadhag) the unblemished Kapishṭhala family: in it was born the Upādhyāya Sūmēśvara, who bore the burden of the revival of the Brahmanical faith: from him sprung a son Āmatha-Dikṣita, of holy lustre, a receptacle of the sacred writings; and his son was Gōvinda, the delighter of the minds of good people.

2. The exertions of Śrī to settle the mutual dispute with Sāradā were crowned with success by (the birth of) his son Nānāka, the boundary mark of the learned of various sorts, the home of good acts or good works.

3. (Nānāka) who knew the whole of the Rigveda (by heart), who was highly proficient in grammar, who had learnt rhetoric, who was skilled in the sacred sciences, and who had crossed over the (ocean of the) Smrīti and the Purāṇas.

4. Best in the family of Dhaivala, was born of Viradhavala, at this time the lord Visala, comparable to the glorious Siddhāraja, and the light of all lights, the heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Malāva, set ablazing at the time of his attack.

5. Liberal Nānāka, the chief of all chiefs, went up to the councillors of this king obtainable through one's good deeds (and) passed an examination, the hope of the learned, in the Vedic and other sciences.

6. Now once the sovereign of the world king Visala, who resides in the hearts of the range of (his) warriors, and who is of pure or spotless race, performed a pilgrimage to Sūmēśvara, with various (religious) observances.

7. He, having bathed near the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea, and worshipped Sūmēśvara,—He, putting on the sacred garments, the knower of the proper difference (between the good and others), having inquired after a Brāhmaṇam, remarkable for learning.

8. (He) in the sacred Prabhāsa, the habitation of good actions, gave to Nānāka, the Poet and Paṇḍit, having washed his feet, a palace among the mansions of the Brāhmaṇapuri founded by himself.

---

* Here compare the title अभिप्राच्छादित/प्राच्छादित assumed by the king himself in his copperplate grant published by Dr. Bühler, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, pp. 210 et seq.
9. Visala's Brahmapurī shines out in this city like a beautiful garland, through that leader of the twice-born, who has received polish with the touchstone of the Vēdas and the Purāṇas.

10. That Brāhmaṇ of the race of Bhṛgū, (Parāśurāma) who reached the ocean, and placed his foot on the head of Sarasvati, to be worshipped by the whole world, became (after all) selfish; but on the other hand, (in a secondary sense polite, gentlemanly or prudent) this Nānāka, the Nāgarā, saluting that goddess with his head bowing down, dwelling on the (very) shores of the sea, became the feeder of hundreds of Brāhmaṇa.

11. What wonder is there that this son of Gōvinda was (like) Pradyumna? But strange it was that he liked best the sentiment of Quietism (Śānta-Rasa).

12. That highly fortunate Nānāka ought always to be respected by all good people; because he bathes in the sacred waters of the Sarasvatī, because he worships Sāmeśvara, because from his house, a treasure-house of wealth and virtue, guests do not return empty-handed, and because his riches are common (to him and) to his friends and relations and all good people.

13. Seeing an incomparable śṛddhā performed for himself on the bank of the Sarasvatī, at every conjunction of the full moon and the new moon, by that (Nānāka) in the company of Brāhmaṇa, who are store-houses (warehouses) of religious merit and well skilled in the recitation of the Vēdas and Purāṇas with balls of rice, with devotion, King Visala rejoices in heaven.

14. (By him) who has faultless poetry in his mouth, philosophy in his head, truth at heart, who has hands ever offering gifts or dāna, and feet that mark the boundaries of the Tirtha of learning.

15. Who listens to the new poems, whose ornament ever consists of gold, and whose face is never averted when the desired comes up to him (seeking assistance).

16. The heap of rice, duly made with high religious fervour for the purpose of worshipping Śiva, that outshines the strings of moon-lotuses, eclipses as it were completely the light of the lunar crescent on the head of the resplendent lord of Śrī-Sūmanāṭha.

17. That Nānāka residing in the second mansion in the Brahmapurī of glorious Visala, caused this Sarasvata lake to be constructed.

18. Gaṇapati-Vyāsa composed this new eulogy, the canvas as it were of faultless and admirable poetic composition without any effort,—(Gaṇapati-Vyāsa), the greatness of whose fame expands beautifully with the great work describing the destruction of (the city of) Dhārā by Śrī-Visala, (who is) the home of splendour like that of the sun.

19. Kalāda, an of Prahāda-Gōvinda, wrote out this eulogy and engraved it,—he who has taken refuge with the foot-lotus of Kēdāra with the bees (dēi-rēpha) sporting over his head (placed on it).

20. There wakes that some indescribable greatness of the lord of Sāvitrī .... of the son of Pātha, of him whose younger brother by name Pālana performed the pūjā of Kēdāra with gold (?).

In the year of Y. S. 1328, this Prasātī was engraved in the presence of (or with the sanction of) Śrī Abhayasimha by Śrī Bhāva Lādtā, (? the great man, (? of the Yajurveda, of Vartiṣṭha (Vadanga).
GENEALOGY OF THE RÁSHTRAKÚTA DYNASTY.

Dántivarman I.
   └── Indra I.
       └── Góvinda I.
           └── Kárka I., or Kákka I.
               └── Indra II.
               └── Kríshna I.
                   └── Dántidurga, or Dántivarman II. (Sáka 675.)
                       └── Góvinda II. Dhruva.
                           └── Góvinda III., Prabhútavarsha I.,
                               Jagattuṅga I., Jagadudrá I.,
                               or Vallabhanaréndra I. (Sáka 725 and 729.)
                                   └── Amóghavarsha I. (Sáka 773 and 793.)
                                       └── Kríshna II., or Akálavarsha I. (Sáka 797 and 830.)
                                           └── Jagattuṅga II., or Jagadudrá II.

By his wife Lákshmi.

Indra IV., or Nityavarsha.
   (Not named.) Góvinda V., Suvarṇavarsha II., or Vallabhanaréndra II. (Sáka 855.)

By his wife Góniḍāmba.

Kríshna III.
   └── Amóghavarsha II.
       └── Khoṭṭiga.
           └── Kríshna IV., Nirupama II., or Akálavarsha II. (Sáka 867 and 878.)
               └── Kákka III., (Kárka III.), Kákka, Kárka, Amóghavarsha III., or Vallabhanaréndra III. (Sáka 893.)
                               └── Jákabbe, or Jákaladévi, (married to the Western Cháluṣyaka king Tálla II.)
Three inscriptions of this dynasty have been edited in this Journal:—1, in Vol. VI, p. 59, by Dr. Bühler, the Rādhanpur copper-plate grant of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 730 for 729 (A. D. 807-9), the Sarvajit saṇṇātāra, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Śrāvaṇa;—2, in Vol. V, p. 144, by Dr. Bühler, the Kāvi copper-plate grant of Gōvinda IV, dated Śaka 749 (A. D. 827-8), on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha;—and 3, in Vol. I, p. 205, by Mr. Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṅga Pāṇḍit, the Sāhāga stone-tablet of Kṛishṇa IV, dated Śaka 867 for 869 (A. D. 947-8), the Plavaṅga saṇṇātāra, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on Tuesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhadrapada. And, in addition to the Būrā inscription mentioned above, six other inscriptions have been edited elsewhere. The published versions of these last six inscriptions, however, are not critical, and are inaccurate in many essential points. I shall, therefore, now re-edit them, with facsimiles prepared for this purpose under my own superintendence; and I shall give, at the same time, several other inscriptions of this dynasty that I have obtained in the Canarese country.

The first of these inscriptions is the Sāman-gaḍ copper-plate grant of Dantuḍra or Dantuḍra II, also called Khaḍgāvāḷika, or ‘he whose glances were as (bright as the polished blade of) a sword.’ This grant was originally published by Bāḷ Gānḍāda Ṣiṣṭr, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. II, p. 371. I re-edit it now from the original plates, which are in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. They were found at Sāmangāḍ, a hill-fort in the Kōḷhāpur territory, about twenty-four miles to the N. by W. from Belgaum. The plates are three in number, each about 9½ long by 5½ broad; the edges of them were raised into rims to protect the writing, and, though the surfaces are corroded here and there by rust, the inscription is legible throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, had not been cut when the grant came into my hands; it is about 3⅛ thick and 3½ in diameter. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2½ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of the god Śiva, sitting with his knees bent so that the soles of his feet touch each other, and holding a serpent in each hand, with the coils of one of them wrapped round his body; over his left shoulder is the sun, and probably there was a moon, now worn away and indistinguishable, over his right shoulder; and beside his left knee there is a svastika. The language is Sānśkrit throughout.

The grant is dated in Śaka 675 (A. D. 753-4), in both words and figures; and it is the earliest known inscription in which the date is expressed by figures arranged according to the decimal system of notation. The object of it is to record the grant of a village in the bhukti or district called the Koppara Five-hundred. I cannot find this name, or the names of any of the other villages mentioned, anywhere in the neighbourhood of Sāmangāḍ; and this part of the grant is open to the suspicion of having been tampered with, as the latter part of the name of the village granted, and the names of certainly three out of the four villages specified as constituting the boundaries of it, are engraved over passages that were cancelled by heating the plates and burning in the letters originally engraved. This may have been necessitated by mistakes on the part of the engraver; but it is more likely to have been done with the object of falsifying the grant and making it applicable to another village than that which was really bestowed by it. The grant was made to a Brāhmaṇ, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, an inhabitant of Karāṭaka; this place must be the modern Karāḍ or Karhiḍ, the ‘Kurra’ of the maps, in the Sattārā District, about forty miles to the north of Kōḷhāpur.

This inscription gives us no historical information regarding Gōvinda I. and Karka I. In respect of Indra II, all that it records is that his wife, whose name is not given, was of Chalu-kya descent on her father’s side, and of Sāmavāma’s descent on her mother’s side; from this, we are probably justified in inferring that, in the time of Indra II., the Rāshtrakūṭas had not yet come into any hostile contact with the Western Chalu-kyas or made any attempt to dispossess them. Of Dantuḍra, we are told that he acquired supreme dominion by easily conquering Vālībha, and that he

1 Compare raṇḍesaṭika, in No. XCVI, i. 2; Vol. X, p. 104.
2 The Ṣiṣṭr’s paper is accompanied by a hand-copy of the original; but it is by no means a facsimile, and it represents the original very imperfectly.
3 Lat. 16° 11' N., Long. 74° 29' E.
4 Lat. 17° 15' N., Long. 74° 15' E.
defeated the army of the Kārṇātaka. These two statements refer to one and the same thing,—the conquest of the Western Chalukya king Kṛttivarmā II., who commenced to reign in Śaka 669 (A.D. 747-8), and who was the last of his family to exercise dominion in the northern part of the Kārṇātaka, until the Western Chalukyas were restored by Tāllia II. a little more than two centuries later. That it was in the time of Kṛttivarmā II. that the Western Chalukyas were expelled by the Rāṣṭrakūta, is shown by the facts that there are inscriptions of his father, Vikramāditya II., at Paṭṭadakal and Aihole in the Kalkāri District,—whereas the only known grant of Kṛttivarmā II. comes from Māsūr and refers to a village in the neighbourhood of Hāṇgal, in the south-west of the Dārarā District,—a part of the country which does not appear to have fallen into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūta till the time of Gōvindarāja III. or of Amāghavarṣa I. This conquest of Vallabha by Dantidurga is recorded also in the Elūrā inscription, which further states that he subjugated the kings of Sandhuhāma or Sandhukūpa, Kāḷchī, Kaliṅga, Kūsala, the Śṛiśaila country, Mālava, Lāṭa, and Tāṅka; and these statements, coupled with the absence of any details concerning his predecessors, suggest the inference that Dantidurga, not merely extended the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty, but was the first to establish the power of the branch of it to which he belonged. The name of Dantivarmā II., as a second name of Dantidurga, occurs only in the concluding verse of the present inscription; but the Dantivarmā mentioned there, “attended by a crowd of kings,” cannot well have been any one but Dantidurga himself.

Transcription.

First plate.

[5] yēna rāṇēhu nityām | dasht-āḍhāṇaḥ dadrāḥ bhurkuṭiṁ lalāte khadgau-\n kulaṁ cha hṛidayaḥ cha
[6] nījaṁ cha satvām | Khadgaṁ kar-āgrā[n] mukhataṁ cha sōkhiṁ māṇaṃ manastat(a) | samam-ēva yasya | ma-

* Vol. VIII, p. 23.
* I. e. the Karnul country; see p. 11, above.
* Several of the verses of this inscription are repeated, with slight verbal differences. In the Kāvī grant of Gōvinda III. published by Dr. Bühler in Vol. V., p. 144. In the present passage, he there reads dhwastāthayaṁ, "annihilating," or "dispelling." The reading of the present plates seems the better of the two; dhwastim is a mistake for dhvastim, i.e. dhvastim, the final m of which may become either anuṣṭana or a before the m of nayam. The upper m is imperfect here, as it is also in mahān, nāraṇapā, 1, 10, and in ṭaṅgantā, 1, 10.
* In the Kāvī grant Dr. Bühler reads there bhūpāsa-triśivaṭhapa-niyāṇuṣṭā, 'a king, who resembled(linda) the king of heaven.'—As regards the present plates, the first syllable is certainly trī, but I think the fact that the Viśarga of bhūpan before it is not changed into s shows that this trī is a mistake for kṛtī, not for trī.—The second syllable is certainly trī, not n.-The third syllable may be read śūna, on the analogy of the śūna of drīśvāt, I, 4, the śūra of Rāṣṭrākūta, I, 14, and the śūra of vṛṣenahṣāpya, I, 2; but it might also be read śūra on the analogy of the khā of sābhāyiv, I, 9, and the letter may be read śūna as an imperfect śūna, and I read it so.—The fourth and fifth syllables, where in Dr. Bühler's grant the reading is niyāṇa, are here clearly kṛtī.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [APRIL, 1882.


Second plate; first side.

[14] sapīthaḥ kṣamā-paṇi kṣhitau kṣapita-satāraḥ bhūt-tanūjāḥ sad-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kanakādīrītīva Eṇḍrārajaḥ ||

[14] Pūrit-asā śuchir-dvāṛā ṣaṁ硖̄ṭhītrīṇa jyotṣnā vā matṛītaḥ | rājīl śāmāvayī
tasya pitṛja(ḥ)ē ca ṣa-(cha)lukyāyā ||

[14] Śrīmad-yaśodānaṃ sādhvānām āpa nā(ṣa) padaṃ | rakṣāṇād-bharaṇāl [14]* jīva[ḥ]* pāḥ(ṣa)riṣhāra-nirāpadana ||

[14] Sanayaṃ tanayaṃ tasyāḥ[ḥ]* sa lēbhē bhūbhṛd-uttamaḥ | nīlavaḍhē(?thē)-
mīv[10]āśēha-jagataḥ pālit-ayati[ḥ]*[ ][ ]

[14] Dhvastā-tējasī dhām-ō(ḥ)gh-āpāksaḥ (kṣā)līta-digantār | Śrī-Dantidurgājāyasya-
(rāj-ākhyayā) sva-kul-ānībāja-bhāskaramū ||

[14] Yasya-ājō(ḥ)ajā-siḥhasaḥ vītastā vairī-vaṇān[ḥ]* | salajjā[ḥ]* stambhām
unmulyā jāyantē kviṇā ṅō

[16] gatāḥ || Sāṭālakāni āryagāpīḥ hṛdayaṅgi saha vidvijāhī | patanti yat-pratāp-ōgra-kōp-āṁ

[16] kura-samudagakālī | Mahāloka-nādī-Rāvī-ṛādhō-bhūtī-vidvāraṃ | lōkā vilōkaya-

[16] ty(ny)-učchhaṅā kṛitāṁ yaj-yāya-kuṇjaryā | Mātri-bhakti[ḥ]* prati-grāmamī
grāma-lakṣha-ṣaṭhastheyā || dadātyā

[16] bhū-Pradānīni yasya matrā prakāśītā || Sabhūrāvinhāgam-āgriḥitavidhantaśastram-ājñātā

[16] m-a-prapihitānāhram-apētayanatā(ḥ)am | yō Vallabhām sapadi daṇḍa-lakṣha jītvā
rājādhīrā (?thē)

[16] ja-paramesvārataṁ-upāti || Kūṁcītha-Kāraṇalarūḍhīpa-Chōla-Pāṃdya-Śrī-Hareha-

Vajrā-va.||

[16] bhṛd-vidhāna-dakshayā | Karṛpāṇaṃ va(ḥ)am-anantam-ajāya-ratuy(ḥ)ayaḥ=r
bhṛtyaiḥ kiyadbhīri-apī yaḥ

Second plate; second side.

[17] sahasā jīgāya l(ḥ) Sa cha prthivivalabha-mahārājādhirājya-paramēsvara-parama-

[17] bhaṭṭāraka-Khaḍgāvāla-kāŚrī-Dantidurgājādēvaḥ sarvān-āva rāṣṭrapati-visih-


[17] paṃcā-saṭpātya-adbhika-Śaṅkṣikā-saṅvatsara-śata-ṣaṭkō ṣātyīṭe saṅvata(ḥ) 675

pat[ḥ] pō, pa[n].ha-


[17] tmanās-ṛa puṣṣya-yaśō-ḥivvirddhayē Koppara-13 paṅchāśata-bhukty-antargata-

Karaṅī||


Bhṛvyica-sa.

* The Śaṅkra read dhvastāvitrī, and translated "removing the gloom (of poverty)." The letters read as I give them; but I do not see what they are mistakes for.

* The Śaṅkra read svatātāmśivā but did not translate these words. Here, again, the fourth syllable is either dhū or thē; but I do not see what these syllables are mistakes for.

* The Śaṅkra read svatam silānti, and translated "corresponding to Saṅvata 811."—From pō, pō, or pa[n], to the sa vā raaḥa, inclusive, the present text has been engraved over a passage that was then cancelled and then concealed by heating the plates and beating in the letters. As regards the first syllable, pō was certainly first engraved, and seems to have then been altered to pā or pa[n]. As regards the third syllable, it stands it is certainly cchṛh; but it seems to have been ri originally.—As I have pointed out in Vol. VIII, p. 151, the word saṁnatā(ḥ) does not here denote the so-called Viṅgrama-Saṅvata, which was not in use in this part of the country, but is simply an abbre-

viation of saṁvatsarādēm, 'of years'; and the numerals following it are not sil, but 675.—What the word following the numerals means, I cannot say; unless it is some dh Prēkrit form from the same root as the Mārājih verb phānśchādēm, 'to arrive,' and is used in place of the 'varṭamān,' 'being current,' of other inscriptions.

* The Śaṅkra also read Koppāra; and this is probably correct. But the second syllable may be an imperfect pō.

* The so towards the margin of the plate is only a repetition by mistake of the preceding syllable. In the original, it is partially cancelled, by heating the plate and beating it in; but, as is usually the case, it appears clear, and almost as if uncanceled, in the lithograph.

* The Śaṅkra read Karāṇalāḍhīpapīṭhaṭhālāḷaṅīya, but in his translation gave only "the village of Deivatūm." From jo to ṣā, inclusive, the present passage is engraved over canceled letters. The jo used here is of a different and more modern type than that used throughout the rest of the inscription.
May he, the waterlily in whose navel is made a habitation by Vēdhas, protect you; and Hara, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

There was a pure king, by name Govindaśraya, a very lion of a king among kings, whose fame reached to the ends of the regions, and who, uplifting his scimitar and looking straight before him, brought his enemies to destruction in battle; just as the clear moon, whose radiance reaches to the ends of the regions, raising the tip of its orb (above the horizon) and shining straight forward, destroys at night the darkness. When he saw the army (of his enemies) confronting him, straightway he always, biting his lower lip and frowning, with the loud laughter of a brave warrior lifted up his sword in war, and (elevated) his family, and (raised) his own heart and courage. When his enemies heard his name (uttered) in the great battle, straight

Translation. Here, again, the first three syllables, and also some of the preceding, have been engraved over cancelled letters.

This letter was at first omitted and then inserted in rather a cramped position.

This letter was at first omitted, and is inserted in miniature on the upper line of the writing.

This form is not justified by Monier Williams and Westergaard. The correct form is karṣapātāḥ, and the mistake is to be attributed to the use of bhūṣapāyaṭaḥ, which is a correct optional form, just before.

Śiva.
(L. 13.)—His son was Īndra rāja, the protector of the earth,—whose shoulders were scratched by the blows of the taskser of elephants and shone with the juice of rât that flowed from their split open temples; who destroyed his enemies on the earth; and who was, as it were, the golden mountain of the excellent Râshtrakûtas. His queen,—who satisfied all desires, and was pure, and destroyed

............ just as the moonlight fills the regions, and is clear, and destroys

............ was by her mother’s side of the Sûma lineage, and by her father’s side of the Chalukya birth. She attained the position of honourable young women who are faithful wives; and, through (her) protecting and nourishing (them), (the whole of) mankind acquired the same freedom from misfortune as (her own personal) attendants. From her, he, the best of kings, who protected the expanse of the whole world, obtained a virtuous son.

(L. 18.)—When (by the death of Indra) the space between the regions, purified no longer by the mass of his glory, lost its lustre,—then he, who was named Śrî-Dântidurgarâja, (became) the sun of the waterlily that was his family. In the battles of him, a very lion of a king, the terrified and ashamed elephants of his enemies, rooting up the posts (to which they are bound), go away so that they are not known of anywhere. Through the shooting up of the young sprouts of his prowess and his fierce anger, the turreted fortresses of his enemies fall down, together with their hearts. Mankind gaze intently upon the tearing open and rending asunder of the high banks of the great river Mâhâ and of the Râvâ, accomplished by his victorious elephants. His affection for his mother was demonstrated by the fact of his mother making grants of land in each village in four hundred thousand villages.66 Without taking up his polished weapon; unawares; without any inward concentration of his thoughts (?); and without any effort,—by simply knitting his brows, he straightway conquered Vâllabha77 with a spike of wild rice that

served him as a mace, and acquired the condition of being the supreme king of kings and the supreme lord. Even with but a few dependents, possessed of chariots and horses which were not to be conquered, he quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karâja,55 which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kânchi and the king of Kârala and the Chûlas and the Pándyas and Śrî-Harsha and Vajraya.

(L. 27.)—And he, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, Khâdgarâja, Śrî-Dântidurgarâja, with a proper appreciation of their merits thus issues his commands to all the râshtrakûtas and vishayapatis and grânâkûtas:

(L. 28.)—“Be it known to you that,—six hundred and seventy-five years of the Saka-kâla having elapsed, (or in figures) 675 years,

............, on the day called Ratha-saptami of the month Mâgha, under the sign of the holder of the scales,50—in order to increase the religious merit and fame of (Our) parents and of Ourself, the village named Karandivaçe-jipli-adâsûlavaçâ (?), included in the Koppaœa. Five-hundred bhûkti, has been given by us, with libations of water, and according to the rule of bhumichhâdram, for the purpose of continuing the agnihotra and the bali and the charu, to Nârâyapahâta, an inhabitant of Karâha taka, who is well versed in the Vedas and Vedâygas, a student of the Brahmins (śââla), and belonging to the Vasishta gôtra, the son’s son of Bhâta-Trivikrama, and the son of Krishnapahâta. And that (village) is not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; and the established customs of it are withheld from (injury by) the enterprise of wicked men; and it is to be continued, free of all molestation, by (future) kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And it is the village which is thus defined as to its four boundaries; on the E. is the village of Uvâyalâvaçâ (?); on the S. is the Brâhma’s village of Pâraâvaçâ; on the W. is the village of Vîlavâçâ (?); and on the N. is the village of Aitavaçâ. It is given with all the rows and

all the region of the north,” by Pulikell II. in the seventh century A. D.

55 This expression may be taken as indicating that Dantidurga’s kingdom was a lâdhâ-chautshaya or Four-lac country.

66 i. e. the Western Chalukya king, Kirtitivarmâ II.

67 i. e. the army of Kirtitivarmâ II.

77 This refers to the conquest of Śrî-Harsha or Śrî-Harshavarmanha of Kasyakubja, “the warlike lord of
groups of trees,—together with the siddhi, &c., and (buried) gold, up to the ends of its boundaries,—together with fines and faults and (the proceeds of punishments inflicted for) the ten (classes of) offences, and together with all the proceeds of the proper shares and enjoyments and taxes, &c. No obstruction should be caused to him who enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed, or cultivates it or causes it to be cultivated."

(L. 44.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyasa,—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!

(L. 45.)—At the command of Srí Dānti-varmā, who is attended by a crowd of kings, this charter, which illuminates his noble fame, has been written by that Indra, who is not puffed up by prosperity,—who, applying himself to the welfare of others, is possessed of intellect,—and who, (saying to himself) "What confidence is there in the wealth of the great?" is desirous of conferring a favour upon even them.

A NOTE ON THE KNIGHT'S TOUR OR THE KNIGHT'S TRICK AT CHESS.

This problem, as some of the readers of this journal may know, is such that it has been deemed not unworthy of solution by some of the greatest European mathematicians Ozanam, De Moivre and Euler, who have given us more or less intricate methods by which the Knight (the Horse as he is called by the Hindus) can traverse all the squares without returning to any that he has previously occupied. Of all the methods the writer of this note believes there is perhaps none so ingenious as the one given in Indian Reminiscences, a posthumous work printed in London in 1837, containing some racy articles written mostly by a Madras Civilian, G. A. Anderson. But even that method is intricate and difficult to remember, taxing not a little of one's patience and attention.

There are two ways of solving this puzzle. In the one given below in mnemonics, the first square and the sixty-fourth square are not exactly a Knight's move distant from each other. In the other and more perfect, the two squares are distant by just one move.

How far the Hindus to whom the world owes the invention of chess have succeeded in studying this problem, the writer has no means of ascertaining. But he is in possession of a mnemonical Anuahthubh ślokā given him by an old Brahman some years ago, and gives it here.

The ślokā implies the division of the board into two halves of thirty-two squares each; when one half of the board is completely traversed by the Knight the other is to be begun in the same manner.

The ślokā runs as under and has no real meaning; the order of the moves strictly follows the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, the vowel-signs being added for the metre and for variety to aid the memory:

केशाकामनहाव तप्यास्वरापे
पाण्डयापरमेण नाधास्यांश्रकः

It is to be remarked that in the ślokā the letter ह is omitted, the letter र is therefore the thirty-second, and the other half of the board can be traversed in the same manner, ह and the next ॥ being exactly one move distant. The diagram annexed sufficiently explains itself. It will be seen at a glance that the first line may run along the bottom upwards or along the top downwards, either from the left or the right, horizontally or vertically producing in all eight modifications of the same solution.

Bhaunagar, 16th June 1881. J. N. U.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

3. CHATTY.—At page 87 ante Mr. Ferguson asks the derivation of chatty.

This may help. In Northern India chāttā is used frequently for the large earthen vessel into which the juice of the sugarcane is received as it runs from the mill. Chāttā is a small chātt. For a complete account of the method of making sugar in Northern India, together with the names of all the instruments used, see Carnegie's Kachahri Technicalities, Allahabad Mission Press, 1877, article न्दा. Dr. Fallon connects chāttā with chātt, taste, relish, and with chāttānd tolick, lick up—New Hindustani Dictionary: but I do not know his authority or reasons. In Panjābi chāttā is a large earthen vessel and chāttānd an earthen churn. As regards the use of the word Java, where he was Assistant Secretary to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Governor at that time.
chattā or châtī I quote the following from a folk-song I have from the Kāṅrā Hills. A young girl describes how she was left in charge of the house and proceeded at once to mischief. She searched for the flour, the ghī, and the sugar (gur), which was stored away in order to make sweet cakes for herself. She says:

Tējā hath pêyā chātī guīre dā, bhainōn!

Thirdly, my hand found the pot of gur, O sister! Here châtī is clearly the earthen pot in which the sugar was stored in the family store-room.

Mr. Childers's reference of the Pāli châtī to the Tamil adhi is remarkable. I know of no Sanskrit derivation for châtī, but I would point out that the fact of châtī in Pāli and chātī in Hindi and Panjābī, both meaning "earthen pot," points at any rate to a Prākrit origin for the word.

R. C. Temple.

6. ABDUL RAHIM M. SAMIRI.—Can you or any of your readers verify the following facts which I have on the authority of an Arab living on the outskirts of Zafhār on the Arabian Coast?

At Zafhār lies buried one Abdul Rahim M. Samiri, a king of Malabar. The inscription on his tombstone says he arrived at that place A. H. 212, and died there A. H. 216. The tomb is regarded with much veneration as that of a Hindu (Samiri—Samaratām—worshipper of the calf—Karōn, S. 20) king of Malabar, who became a convert to Islam.

If the dates are correct, then—

(a) This is almost certainly the tomb of the Kōdangalūr (Cranganore) king mentioned in the Tahafat-ul-Mujhidin, the author of which placed that king's conversion about A. H. 200.

(b) The origin of the Kollam era of the Malabar Coast is accounted for in the most natural way if it dated from the traditional Čerumān Pernaī's setting out for Arabia. The interval between A. D. 824 and his arrival at Zafhār (A. D. 827) is probably accounted for in the Tahafat-ul-Mujhidin, which says he remained a considerable time at Shahir where he first of all landed.

It seems the Mukri of the mosque adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some fifteen years ago soliciting subscriptions for repairing the tomb and mosque.

W. L.

Calicut, 6th March 1882.

BOOK NOTICE.


We are glad to see Major Jacob's book. Of the six orthodox philosophical systems, that of the Vedānta is by far the most widely prevalent; in fact, in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt hardly any other system is known. That wonderful book the Bhagavat Gītā, which, though to some extent eclectic, is yet pre-eminently Vedantist in its theoclogy, is, in Western India at least, by far the most popular of Sanskrit works; and its doctrines, though the medium of vernacular poetry, have been largely diffused among the people. The Vedānta Sūtra is by no means so much studied as the Gītā. Still it is a clear and valuable summary of Vedāntism in its modern form; and when a learned Brahman is asked to formulate his theory of being, he will most naturally do so in language drawn from the Gītā, the writings of Śāṅkarā, or the Vedānta Sūtra.

Major Jacob has done his work with care and praiseworthy assiduity. He has availed himself of the writings of Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Ballantyne, Fitzedward Hall, K. M. Banerjea and others. To his translation of the original text he has appended a very large body of notes. He has drawn from valuable authorities; and students will find many of his quotations very useful.

Occasionally Major Jacob expresses a decided opinion on points which are still, we apprehend, sub judice. Thus he speaks of "the attempt to suppress Buddhism by fire and sword." There may have been—there probably were—sporadic efforts to crush Buddhism by force; but the existence of any widespread active persecution has not been proved. Moreover, Buddhism itself was actively militant against Hinduism—even Asoka had recourse to coercion—and it was but natural that men like Kumāra and Śāṅkara should retaliate. Buddhism died, we apprehend, of sheer exhaustion; and its extinction forms a most interesting subject of inquiry. Why could it not live on?

Major Jacob clearly sees, and honestly expresses, his sense of the moral deficiencies of the Vedānta philosophy. He writes thus: "Some of the Upānishads, the chief sources of the Vedānta doctrine, do, without any qualification, declare that sin and virtue are alike to one who knows Brahma; and the system is therefore rightly charged with immorality. But, independently of such teaching as this, what moral results could possibly be expected from a system so devoid of motives for a life of true purity? The Supreme Being, Brahma, is a cold impersonality, out of relation with the world, unconscious of its own existence and of ours, and devoid of all attributes and qualities. There is no God, apart from ourselves,—no Creator, no Holy Being, no Father, no Judge—no one, in a word, to adore, to love, or to fear. And as for ourselves—we are only unreal actors on the semblance of a stage!"

While dwelling thus strongly on the moral defects of the Vedānta, Major Jacob does not enter at much length on the metaphysical objections that lie against the entire system. He shows, however, that the Vedānta Sūtra describes Īśvar as both personal and impersonal; and he points out, with perfect correctness, the inconsistency of the doctrines propounded by the most celebrated defender of the system—Śāṅkarāchārya.

J. M. M.
HONORIFIC CLASS NAMES IN THE PANJĀB.


IT is, I believe, a custom more or less prevalent throughout India to call persons of lowly position and circumstances by high-sounding titles and names. The same influence is at work here that makes the petty officials about our Indian courts or offices "dp" each other. These titles have, I believe, never been enquired into, though they are generally known to us, and that is the reason for recording some of them here. The commonest instances of them are "mohtar" (lord, ruler) for "scavenger," "sweeper," and "bahishti" (heavenly, from bahisht, heaven), for "water-carrier." Each name will, however, be examined in its place.

From a collection of such names made in the Panjāb it is found that they are of various kinds. Some are historical, some religious, some allusions to office or capacity; some merely nicknames.

Historical Names.

(1.) Rādās or Rāvdās for Chammār, dealer and worker in leather, a very low caste in the N.W.P. and Panjāb. This name is an allusion to Ravidās or Ra'idās, (Trumpp, Ādī Granth, p. 150, note 3), the Bhagat who flourished circ. 1480-1530 a.d., and who was a Chammār by caste. There is a corruption, Rāmdās of this name, whence the better known Rāmdāśi, which purports to mean descendant or follower of the fourth Sikh Gurū, Rām Dās, and is a title assumed by Chammārs about Ambālā. (2.) Raghubāsi for Chammār. The word means the race of Raghū or of the Solar Race, but the claims of this class to that very high dignity is merely honorary, as it takes its rise from the fact of Raghbir the Bhagat having been a Chammār by caste.

(3.) Āhlūwāli for Kalāl, low caste publican, dealer in spirituous liquors, Ābārī contractor or distiller. This name is based on a story which is probably a legend only and not historical. Āhlūwāli is the surname of the Kapūrthālī Rājās, and the name is thus accounted for. Sadāo Singh, the founder of the family, and of the village of Ahlū (whence the name Aḥlūwālī), near Lāhor, had a younger brother named Sadāwa, who became so ill for love of a Kalāl girl, that he was allowed to marry her, the Kalāls stipulating that the bridegroom's family should all be called Kalāls and marry only into Kalāl families. Hence all Aḥlūwālīs were called Kalāls and vice versa. The chances are that the Kapūrthālī Rājās were always really Jāt Kalāls by caste.

(4.) Rāmgāhā for Tārkān, carpenter. The Rāmgāhās are a great Sikh family, of whom Sirdīr Jassā Singh Rāmgāhī (ob. 1783) was the most famous. One of Ranjit Singh's wives came from the Rāmgāhās, and as might be assumed from the title being given to the Tārkāns, a carpenter is said to have founded the fort of Rāmgāh. Carmichael Smyth, Reigning Family of Lahore (1847), App. ii., says—"All Ramghurria Singhs (Sikhs) are carpenters by caste, so that now the word Ramghurria Singh signifies a Singh (Sikh) carpenter."

(5.) Bāwā, father, reverend, for Lakrīfarosh, timber-merchant (not for Tāwlālī, firewood seller). This term arises from the Bāwās, descendants of the second Sikh Gurū Angād, having fallen into evil ways and taken to selling timber as a means of livelihood. One Bāwā that I know is now a publican (kālīd).

Religious Names.

(6.) Pārjāpat, creator, lord of the created, for Kūmhār, potter. This name is Hindi and Panjābī. Prājāpati is one of the titles of Brahmā, the creator, and is also used of the Rishis. It is said to be applied to the Kūmhārs because they "create" their vessels out of mud.

(7.) Bhagat, saint, for Saiś (popularly sahī, syce, groom. Many of the lower castes, sweepers, tailors, bhūstis, etc., still seem to have a religion apart from the orthodox Hindus, and do not put their faith in the Vedas, etc. Among the syces are many free-thinking saints or Bhagats, which has perhaps given rise to this curious appellation of the whole caste. A true Bhagat syce is carried to the funeral pyre with songs from the Rāmāyana and with no signs of sorrow, as after death, being holy, he is considered to have passed to a better state of

---

1 I have my doubts as to this being the real derivation of this word, but it is the one commonly accepted, and in practice the same is honorific. There is a Sansk. root, स्खति, to sprinkle, pour out, but I am not prepared to say that it has anything to do with the modern word bhūstī. "bahiṣṭī" does not mean water-carrier in Persian.


3 Griffin, pp. 467-474.
existence. Sāhe is itself an honorific appellation. See below, No. 21.

(8.) Bahāistī and a corruption Bhiṣṭ, heavenly (from Pers. bahāist, heaven). Vulgo, bhāistī or bhāist, for Māškī or Māhū (from Pers. māshkī, leather water-bag), a water-carrier, bheestie. The popular tradition is that "bheesties" are so called because it is a "heavenly" deed to give water to one's fellowman. The word is universal.

(9.) Shēk, a venerable person, for Bharāū, a bard or singer in honour of the Saint Sakhi Sarwar Sūltān; also used towards all converts to Muhammadanism.

(10.) Bhāī, friend, a term applied to all Sikh saints and holy men: also to the Granths or readers of the Adī Granth, who visit the villages. Bhāī and Bāhū are also applied to Pūrbās or North-West Provinces men in the Panjāb.

(11.) Thākur, applied to any Brāhmaṇ, means lord, master, and is properly an idol or god. It is also often applied to the attendants at temples and on idols or gods. Thākur is also used to barbers. See below No. 15.

(12.) Rīkhi (Rekhī) is applied to any Brāhmaṇ, and has reference to the seven great inspired saints.

(13.) Lalbēgī for Mehtar, sweeper. It signifies follower of Lāl Beg, the great priest of the sweeper caste.

**Honourific Names.**

(14.) Rājā, king, for Nāī, barber. This name is also used in derision. This is from a Panjābī song about Dhānī the Bhagat—

Dhānī kahānī, "Suno, Nārāyan,
"Prabal terī māyā,
"Jīhān nān tu āp waḏārīo
"Kon bullō rāyā?"

Dhānī said, "Listen, Nārāyan,
("Sā great is thy fascination,
That him, whom thou thyself exalt,
Who will laugh at!" (Lit. call a king.)

However rāyā could also mean "an atom, a mustard seed." Vide Fallon, New Hind. Dict., art. rāyā: also the Ludhiana Panjābī Dīct.

(15.) Thākur, lord, ruler for Nāī, barber, in North-West Provinces. Fallon (art. Jīr) says there is a proverb—

Nāī ki bārdī men sabhī thākur, "at a barber's wedding every one is a lord."

1 Dooly or dhooley is a corruption of the diminutive form dōlī, a small palaquin; dolī is the large palaquin used

(16.) Chaudhūrī, caste or trade headman, a headman, for Mālī, gardener; Kahār, carrier; and Kambō, low Hindu Jāt cultivator.

(17.) Jamādār, a chief or leader of a band or party, a lieutenant, valgo jamādār and jemādār for Bhiṣṭ, water-carrier (q. v.), and Mehtar, sweeper (q. v.). It is the proper title also of the head of menial Government establishments, as Jemādār of poons, māls, sweepers, dābārī, bhiṣṭis, etc.

(18.) Mehtar, Pers., a headman, chief, for Churhā, sweeper, scavenger, and for Chammār, leather-worker. Fallon says it is used for sweepers, innkeepers, shoemakers, etc., meaning, I fancy, the great Chammār caste. This word is universal.

(19.) Khālīfa, successor of Muhammad, a caliph, for Darzi, tailor. Fallon remarks—"In India the term is applied to a Muhammadan tailor, barber, and sometimes to a cook, and also to a monitor in a school or the teacher's son." The word is universal.

(20.) Sārār, headman, chief, nobleman, usually for the Bearer (corrupted into bahārī) or head household servant of the English: and also for the Churhā or sweeper.

(21.) Sāīs or popularly Sahās, Arabic, a nobleman, for a groom, syce, horsekeeper.

(22.) Māhir and Māhrā, a headman, for Kānji or Kānji, green-grocer, and for Rālī or Arālī, market-gardener: also for Gujjar, milkman. Mahīr = Mahī, a chief, village headman, which, as Mahī, is used in the Panjāb Himīlayas as a respectful appellation to a Brāhmaṇ.

(23.) Mehīr, effeminate, for Kahār, palanquin or dhooley-bearer,* carrier. Fallon New Hind. Dict., art. Jīr, says the Kahār is called Mehīr or "one who lives among women," because he has access to the women's apartments.

(24.) Rāi and Rāo, royal, ruler, is a title among Pīpūts for Bhattī, bard, singer.

(25.) Shāh, king, for Khattāī, merchant, shopkeeper, banker. This has probably arisen from the confusion of sahī, Hindu, a banker, (whence the well-known word Sāhūkār, valgo, sower) with Shāh, Pers., a king. The difference between the words is well illustrated in the invocation used when yoking the plough in the morning, and which is quoted by Fallon, at weddings to carry the bride, whence the idiom Jōlī dead, to give in marriage.
art. 20. — Rām shāh sāh sukẖā rahe. — ' Rām preserve kings and bankers.' Shāh is also a title assumed by Faqirs, and is applied commonly to saints and poets, e. g. Nūr Shāh Wall, the Firoz-pur saint; Wāris Shāh and Hāshim Shāh, the well-known Panjābī poets.

(26.) Señh, rich banker, millionaire, is applied to Bikaner and Rājpūtānā merchants: also to any rich man and to all Parsis.

(27.) Dādā, grand-father, also elder brother, for Dūm or Dūm, musician; also singer or teacher and companion of dancing girls (mīrdsīt, q. v.); also family priest. Dādā is also used to and by Faqirs and Brāhmaṇs.

(28.) Mīrāsī (Arabic, inherited), hereditary, for Dūm or Dūm and Kanjār, singer and companion of dancing girls. In India it signifies that the man is what he is, by descent. The word is a wholesale importation from Arabic, where Mīrāsī is applied to the singers who carry on the profession, generation by generation, and Mīrāsan to dancing girls who practise only before women. Kanjār, prostitute's companion, is of course too plain a word to be used to the man himself, and will usually give offence. Mīrāsī softens down the ugliness of the occupation a little, but Dūm, the caste name, is what they prefer.

(29.) Mīr and Mīrījī, nobleman, chief, used to Mīrāsī, said to be a corruption from the syllable mīrāsīt.

(30.) Missar (Fallon has it mishar), a respectable person, a scholar (Sansk. mīśra), is used towards Brāhmaṇs.

(31.) Lālā, cherished, used towards Khat-trī merchants and Banjars. Other forms of this word are Lālā Bhaī and Lālā Jī (whence the well-known Oriental Lallga, which occurs in English romances and poems). Lālā (Arab. ruby), as munshīs love to write it, is incorrect.

(32.) Mīrī, foreman, a corruption of the English word master or master, for any skilled workman or petty employer of labour; especially for Tarkhān, carpenter, Lohār, smith, and Rāj, mason.

(33.) Būrīhā and Būqīhā, an old man, elder, for Mehtar, sweeper.

(34.) Mīān and Mīānji, master, prince, for Mudarris, schoolmaster, pedagogue: also for Mīrāsan, arising probably out of their title mīr, as mīān is a corruption of the plu. mīrān of mīr.

Under this heading may also be added the following common titles of respect: they are-

worth recording as explanatory of the change of meaning the words are now undergoing:

(35.) Pānchī, learned man, to any literate or influential Brāhmaṇ.

(36.) Māuḇī, doctor, learned, to any literate or influential Musalmaṇ.

(37.) Mūnəsī, (Arab. 'the increased,' but in common parlance a writer), a writer, tutor, teacher of languages, author, to any Persian scholar.

(38.) Bābu, properly a Bengālī gentleman, but in the Panjāb originally a Bengālī writer or clerk, now any clerk or English scholar, whatever his creed or nationality.

Characteristic Names.

(39.) Pānchī, Panjābī form of panch, which stands for Sarpach, a village headman or chief of the panchāyat or village assembly. This title is given to the Kāhār (or hīvar) carrier caste, from their habit of settling their internal disputes by caste panchāyat. It is also given to the Jaiswārā caste of the North-West Provinces, who are syces, grass-cutters, &c., and who have a similar habit.

(40.) Rāṭh, cruel, fearless, barbarous, is applied to Jattas, Dogars and Gujjars from their supposed characteristics.

(41.) Thekādār, contractor, for Rāj, mason and for Bharāsī (or Tarkhan) carpenter. As most carpentry and building work is done on contract (thekā, piecework), so any petty mason or carpenter, who does petty repairs for Rs. 10 or so by the piece, calls himself Thekādār, contractor.

Nicknames.

(42.) Mangalmukhi or Mangāl mukhi, merry-faced, for Kanjī, dancing girl: it is also applied to the Kanjār, her attendant.

(43.) Bāre mīān, great gentleman, head of house, used towards old men of respectability, whatever their rank.

It will be as well to summarise the various appellations: some castes have as a guide to further investigations, and it will be observed that the more unsavoury and also the more honourable an occupation is, the greater is the number of honorific names attached to it.

Thus:

(1.) Sweepers, scavengers; mehtar, lord; jama'dār, chief; sarādār, chief; lāṭēbāṭī, followers of Lāl Bég; būrīhā, elder.

(2.) Singers with dancing girls: mīrāsī, inherited; mīr and mīrījī, chief; mīān and
(29.) Tradesmen: bhā, friend; lālā, cherished.
(30.) Pedagogues, schoolmasters: khaliṣ, ruler; midā, chief.
(31.) Merchants: shāh, king; sēth, millionaire; lālā, cherished.
(32.) Clerks: pandit, learned; maulā, doctor; muniṣi, teacher; bānu, gentleman.
(33.) Brāhmaṇs: thākūr, lord; vkāl, saint; maḥīṭ, headman; dādā, elder; missar, respectable; pandit, learned.

There is another custom to be mentioned in this connection which I believe is current all over India. If any member of a family particularly distinguishes himself either by office or in any other way, he frequently bequeaths the title he has gained for himself to all his descendants, even if these come afterwards to be of humble station. Carmichael Smyth (Reigning Family of Lahore, Append. ii) says: "In mentioning a Sing (Sikh) it is the usual custom to add or mention likewise the name of his village, district, occupation, or family, by which he may be distinguished from any other of the same name, thus Fatty Sing Allowallia, (Fattu Singh Ahllawallia) &c."

Instances of such honorific family distinctions about Firozpur are Prī, given to a Pathān family of Kāsūr, once celebrated for its sanctity; Rāt to another in remembrance of this title being conferred for one life only by the British Government in honour of a large inn or Sarāī built by the head of it in the last generation. Divān because one of the family is now a Diwan of a native State. Waisī is in remembrance of the former grandeur of an old Musalmān family.

The Hākin family are so called because of a famous "doctor" of the last generation. Faqīr is the sobriquet, title or surname of a well-known and influential Lahūr family of name during the time of the Mahārājā Ranjit Singh.*

Sometimes this goes further and whole communities are called after some real or supposed common ancestor, as the Pirādās of Sādhurā in the Ambala District, the descendants of the saint Shāh Kumā."
HONORIFIC CLASS NAMES IN THE PANJĀB.

The above may be called Territorial Names, but there exists also, I have no doubt, a regular class of geographical caste names which would be well worth enquiring into. M. Barth, Religions of India, (Trübner's ed.) pp. xvii. says: “A man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu: he who is not is not a Hindu,” and I think most students of modern Indian religions will agree with him. Caste names will therefore be derived from many sources:—they will be historical, local, mythical, territorial, geographical and what not, and an enquiry into their etymology would doubtless be a valuable contribution to the ethnology of the Hindus. For instance, a man in court gave me as his “caste” Chandleri, Chandari or Chandel. On further enquiry it turned out he was a Kāhār by caste, and that the tribal name he gave had reference to the real or supposed migration of his caste from Chandleri—now a decayed town or fort in Sindhia's territory, but once a place of great importance. It might also have happened that his caste migrated from the Chandani District near Banāras. Now, on turning to Carney's Kachhri Technicalities, article “Chandeli,” I find that “chandeli is a very fine cotton fabric, so costly as to be used only in native courts. It is made exclusively of Amroli cotton, and every care is taken in its manipulation. The weavers work in a dark subterranean room, of which the walls are kept damp to prevent dust from flying about. The chief care is bestowed in the preparation of the thread, which when of very fine quality sells for its weight in silver. It is strange that women are allowed to take part in any of the processes. Chandells derive their name from Chandeli on the left bank of the Betwa in Sindhia's Territory.” This account makes the caste Julahās rather than Kāhārs and the tribal name purely geographical. An examination of Sherring's long lists of Brahmān and Rajput Tribes in vol. III pp. xix—lxviii of his Hindu Tribes and Castes shows undoubtedly that many of the tribal names are geographical. I know from my own

1 The Bāls of Kaithal have played a prominent part in Sikh history. See Griffin, Punjab.

2 All these surnames as it were precede the individual distinguishing names—Christian names as we call them, but it should be remembered that Hungarian surnames do the same, thus Dzsak Ferenc, not Ferenc Dzsak as we should write it, was the name of the celebrated patriot.

3 As the name signifies, this is the younger branch of the Pūlkhīā family, whence the Čústi, Dżilpur, Rámpur and Kol Dúna Śikhs, who though not territorially great or independent are noble and marry into the royal families of Patiāl, Jhūnd and Nābhā. Griffin, p. 379.

4 This final ý, properly ől, is, the natives say, a corruption of the vocative case (?). It is used in many parts of the Panjāk for any dweller in another part, thus Fosurvād kol ől, Go to the Fosurpurō, would be used in Ambālā. It is not confined to Sikhs, as there is a well-known " caste" of Sayyidā in the Ambālā district called Siālā or Siānā.
researches that the Khapari Brahimans of Kāshmir and the Panjab Himālayas derive names from certain modern superstitious customs, and so do the Musalman Hijras of the Panjab and North West Provinces. I feel sure that a detailed examination of the origin of caste and tribal names would prove a mine of valuable information as to the customs and habits of the natives.

To return to the family distinguishing names. The peculiar cognomens of the three Dakhani dynasties are well known. Every ruler of each race used the same name, thus, 'Ādil Shāh of Bājāpūr, Katb Shāh of Golkonda, and Nizām Shāh of Ḍāmānagar. Also the reigning Rājās of the Panjabī Hill State of Mandi are called Sen, as Hari Sen, Balbīr Sen, and so on, whereas the other members of the family are called Singh, as Bhop Singh, Kapūr Singh, etc. (Griffin, p. 573).

Again, among Afghān rulers it was apparently the custom to name the various sons of each mother by names running in the same way, thus 12 of the 18 sons of Paind Khān, founder of the Bārkāzai royal family of Kābul by three mothers, were named in groups thus, (I) Pūrand Khān, Sherdil Khān, Kohbardil Khān, Rabandil Khān, Mihardil Khān; (II) Sūltān Muhammad Khān, Yār Muhammad Khān, Pir Muhammad Khān, Šayad Muhammad Khān; (III) Nawāb Åsad Khān, Nawāb Sāma't Khān, Nawāb Jabar Khān (J. A. S. Bengal., Vol. XLIX. 1880, Pt. I. p. 97). Something of the same kind occurs among the greater Muhammadan families, thus Ḍāmān Khān is the distinguishing appellation of the Lohāru family of the Panjab (Mughals). And I know of one Muhammadan family in the Firozpūr neighbourhood—not great but respectable—whose names all turn on the word Ḥaqq, as Ahsānu-’l-ḥaqq, Surāju-’l-haqq, and so on.

All these may be the beginnings of a system of surnames on the European model. I do not say they are, but would remark that it will become more and more necessary, as the horizon of Indian life widens with increased communications, to distinguish men and families.

THE RITES OF RENUKĀ AMMA AT CHANDRAGUTTI.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR.

Replying to Major E. W. West’s query at page 245 vol. X (September 1881) of the Antiquary, I describe below a similar religious observance obtaining in Maisūr at the present day.

In the half māndāt or hilly Taluk of Sūrab is the small village of Chandragutti, nesting at the foot of a lofty hill of the same name, situated in the extreme north-west corner of the province of Maisūr; latitude 14° 27' N. and longitude 75° E.

There is a temple in it, dedicated to Rēnu-kā Amma, the murdered mother of Pārāśurāma, the sixth avatar of Viṣṇu. The shrine is in the enjoyment of considerable nāms, both in land and cash, and is the object of periodical pilgrimages from the neighbouring populations.

The most remarkable fairs or pariṣs are held—

(1). On the full moon day of Chaitra the 1st month of the Hindu lunar year.

(2). On the full moon day of Jyēṣṭha, the 3rd month. This full-moon is locally known as Agē Haṃgumī or full-moon of paddy nurseries.

(3). Navarātrī or the Dasārā.

The devotees who visit the shrine on the first occasion generally do not come for the third fair, and vice versa. It is the belief that such an act would provoke the goddess to do harm to the transgressors. Besides the offerings (ṣēd) usually made at the fairs held at Hindu temples elsewhere, the following special services in fulfilment of previously registered vows are performed on the special anniversaries by people (1) desirous of having issue, and (2) suffering from chronic and troublesome diseases. The time for the performance of the vows is generally between 5 and 9 A.M.

(i) Tālt ḍhāra or balancing service.
(ii) Gandhada uḍiṭe or sandal dress.
(iii) Bēva uḍiṭe or Nim dress.

(i) For the Tālt ḍhāra, the devotee weighs himself or herself against cash, or fruit, utensils, or grain, and the latter is presented to the temple, besides a fee of 8 annas per head. Individuals of all ages and sexes make this offering.

(ii) The Gandhada uḍiṭe service is performed by persons of both sexes. The individual making the vow is required to proceed from his home to the temple, in a state of nudity, with the body thickly smeared with sandal paste, on the pariṣs day. He does not touch food or drink from the time he starts from home till, in the midst of the crowd, he arrives.
at the gate or mahaadvara of the temple, and on entering it, he prostrates himself near the Dvajastambha or the monolithic flagstaff, when the pujari or attendant of the goddess gives him the sacred water, and parash called tirtha and bhogdara, immediately after which his clothes are given to him by his attendant relatives or friends. A fee or kâniak of one anna is paid per head for this vow.

(iii) Persons of both sexes observe the vow of Bêvana udige. Bêva or Nîm is a tree which does not grow in the locality, and therefore the pilgrims have recourse to the lakli shrub, with the leaves of which they dress themselves from the neck to the knees, having previously stripped themselves. Some of them also lock up their mouths with a wire lock (bhâji bhû), and observe strict silence during the rite. Others, more enthusiastic, wrap their fingers with rags, and carry a light fed on ghee in the palm of their hands called "Kai drâti." This rite brings in a revenue of four annas per head to the temple.

These gatherings, though held under the cloak of religion, give scope, as may be naturally expected, to much immorality. There is a tradition that, till within few years ago, barren women used to vow on the occasion of these fairs at Chandragupti to have illegal intercourse in one night with more than one stranger in order that the goddess might bless them with children. Happily this detestable practice is a thing of the past.

Togarsi in the neighbouring Taluk of Shikâripur is also the scene of an annual melâ or paridâ, at which somewhat similar observances take place. Immoral and vicious exhibitions at religious gatherings however are fast dying out, and are certainly very much discouraged now-a-days by the more intelligent classes.

ON THE ABSENCE OF THE GUÑA CHANGE OF BHÚ IN THE PRETERIT.

BY WM. GOONETILLEKE, HON. SECRETARY, ORIENTAL LIBRARY, KANDY, CEYLON.

The sûtra Pâñini VII. 3, 84, interpreted and explained by Pâñini I. 1, 3, requires the substitution of guña for the final "k" of a base when a sûradhâtu, or an árdhadhâtu, affix follows. When, therefore, the substitutes of "ki," which are árdhadhâtu affixes (III. 4, 115), follow the root bhû, the vowel "i" should be changed to "o," unless some other rule of Pâñini prevents the operation of VII. 3, 84, or some valid reasons exist why the change should not take place. The rule I. 2, 6, इस्बहवतिः पूर्व, in which the words विद्युत्क and विद्युत् are valid from the immediately preceding sûtra, would prohibit the operation of VII. 3, 84, but Kâtyâyana interposes a varâtilka questioning the necessity for this sûtra and treating it as superfluous. If, then, this rule is struck off from Pâñini's work as being unnecessary or superfluous, the question arises, what is there to prevent the operation of VII. 3, 84 in the case mentioned?

Before entering upon this inquiry, it is necessary to ascertain what the sûtra I. 2, 6 really means. Dr. Goldstücker, one of the ablest of orientalists, has translated it, or rather a portion of it, somewhat incorrectly in his great work entitled Pâñini—his place in Sanskrit Literature—although he seems to have thoroughly understood both its meaning and its applica-

tion. His translation is as follows:—"The radical indh is kit in lit" (page 123). The sûtra mentions two radicals, indh and bhû, and the translation of the entire sûtra would, according to him, be,—"The radicals indh and bhû are kit in lit." This rendering is faulty in more than one respect. In the first place it is not the radicals that are kit, but it is lit that is so. Kit is a bahuvrhi compound meaning, having k as an it or indicative letter. Goldstücker was perhaps led to believe hastily and without close examination that it was an epithet of indhihavatibhyam, but this cannot be, as this term is in the ablative case, and kit is in the nominative. Apart from this, we nowhere find k in Pâñini's system as an it of a root, although we find it so in Vêpadêva's system, where the k shews that a root to which it is attached is in the tenth conjugation. In the second place the rendering "in lit" appears to me to be incorrect and devoid of any meaning. It is difficult to see what meaning is conveyed by the sentence "indh is kit in lit." By the words "in lit" Goldstücker might have intended the meaning "in the preterit," but it must be remembered that lit is the name given to the terminations of the preterit—not to the tense itself.
The correct rendering of the śūtra would, I think, be—"Lit in kīt after the radicals inākh and bhāk," or in other words—"The terminations called lit are as if they have an indicatory k when they follow the radicals inākh and bhāk." It is the terminations—not the radicals—that are made to have the it k. The office of k in the case of the root bhāk (for we are not now concerned with inākh) is to prevent the guṇa change of the final u by i, 1, 5. The rule I, 2, 6, although it speaks of all the terminations called lit, was really needed for nāl and thāl, as by the preceding śūtra, I, 2, 5, the other terminations, atus, us, &c., would have an indicatory k when following such a root as bhāk.

The vārttika of Kātyāyana to this śūtra is इत्येकत्सर्वपीयसन्धियो दृवियो नियतवाच्याः किं नियत्वाच्याः किं इत्यसर्वपीयसन्धियाः || Patanjali explains this vārttika as regards bhāk is to say that it cannot be added to bhāk as well as to bho. But if the former has first taken effect and bhāk has been obtained, the latter would cease to be applicable. For as paribhāshā XI teaches that an augment is part of that to which it is added, the whole form bhāk would be a base, and its vowel u cannot be changed to o by VII, 3, 84, as it is not final, nor by VII, 3, 86, as it is not short. The rule, VI, 4, 88, is therefore nītya, and VII, 3, 84 anītya. The former should therefore apply, and not the latter, and hence the guṇa change does not take place and we get the correct words bhāk and bhākī. The expression to examine the

paribhāshās 38 and 42 in Nāgaseśa's Paribhāshādhīkāra. If there are two rules, a and b, which are applicable simultaneously, and which are such that a would apply, whether b has taken effect or not, but, on the other hand, b would apply only if a has not taken effect; then a would be called nītya and b anītya. Of the two such rules the nītya has greater force than the anītya, even if the latter be para. Now, the two rules, VI, 4, 88, which teaches the augment vuk, and VII, 3, 84, which teaches the substitution of guṇa, are two such rules. The former would apply, whether the latter has taken effect or not, for u may be added to bhāk as well as to bho. But if the former has first taken effect and bhāk has been obtained, the latter would cease to be applicable. For as paribhāshā XI teaches that an augment is part of that to which it is added, the whole form bhāk would be a base, and its vowel u cannot be changed to o by VII, 3, 84, as it is not final, nor by VII, 3, 86, as it is not short. The rule, VI, 4, 88, is therefore nītya, and VII, 3, 84 anītya. The former should therefore apply, and not the latter, and hence the guṇa change does not take place and we get the correct words bhāk and bhākī. The expression to examine the

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, O. C. S., M. R. A. S.

(Continued from p. 115.)

No. CXXII.

After Dantidurga, the succession went to his paternal uncle, Kṛiṣṇa I, also called Vallabha I. There are two explanations given of this. The Baroda plates state that Kṛiṣṇa I ousted his "relative," i.e., Dantidurga, who had fallen into evil ways, and appropriated the sovereignty for the good of his race. While the Kardé plates, of considerably later date, state that Dantidurga died childless. Kṛiṣṇa I continued the conquests of Dantidurga, and is described as dispersing the darkness which was the race of the Chalukyas, and as depriving them of the goddess of sovereignty. An allusion to the same

fact is also made in the statement that he changed into a deer, i.e., put to flight, the Mahāvērdha, or 'the great boar,' the family-emblem of the Chalukyas and Chalukyas. It is also said that he established himself at the hill or hill-fort of Īlāpura, where there was a famous temple of the god Śvayambhū-Siva. This place has not been identified, I believe; but it seems to me not unlikely that it is the modern Yellāpur, in the North Canara District, in the Western Ghauts.

Kṛiṣṇa I. left two sons. Of the elder, Gōvaṇa II., also called Vallabha II., we have no historical details, except that he did
succeed to the sovereignty but was dethroned by his younger brother.

This younger brother was Dhruva, or Dhóra, also called Nirupama I, Dháravarsha, Kalivalabha, and Iddhatējas; and he is the next, after Dantidurga, of whose reign any epigraphical remains are as yet known to be extant. We have only one inscription of his time; I publish it herewith from the original stone, with a facsimile.

It is on the front pillar in the west half of the north porch of the temple of the god Virūpāksha, originally Lōkēśvara, at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi District. The writing covers a space of about 1' 10" high by 2' 1" broad. The language is Old-Canarese; and it records some grants made by one of the harlots of the temple. The inscription is not dated; but the date of it will be about Saka 760 (A.D. 778-9). Dhruva is mentioned in this inscription under the names of Dhárávarsha and Kaliballaha,—the latter being the Prākrit correlative of the Sanskrit Kalivalabha, just as Dhóra is of Dhruya.

The present inscription shows that by Dhruva's time the Râshtrakûta power was fully established in at least the north and northeastern parts of the Western Chālukya dominions. And, in respect of his relations with the other kings of the south, the Wañ-Dinjōri and Râdhapur plates record that he conquered and imprisoned the Gâga king; and the Râdhapur plates state also that he caused the Palla king to bow down before him. And Mr. Rice states that his name of Nirupama occurs in a mutilated Palla inscription on the temple of Râmalingēśvara at 'Avani', in which the Pallava king's name is Nalambâdhirâja; the same name, Nalamba, occurring also, he states, in a fragmentary Pallava inscription of Saka 690 at 'Gûlgânpode' in Mâisur.*

Transcription.

[†] Svasti Dhárávarsha[†]sa śrî(śat)̄-prithu(thi)̄-vivallabha mahârâjâdhirâja
[†] parameśvara bhāttâra Śrî-Kaliballahan prî(śat)̄-vivallabhadēgu-
[†] rîjya[m*]-geye Lô(śat)̄-mahâ-kâlivalabhâja
[†] lâda sâle Gôyinda-pôthīya magâlû Bâdi(śat)̄-vâpo
tuttama-gôsâsam-idol-to
[†] poḍjy-embo [†] śvarathâ[m*]-gottol-hastiratnam-idol-to
[†] bhûmi-dânamûm unbhayamukhiyam-kotâl

Translation.

Hail! While Dhárávarsha, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the worshipful one, (also named) Śrî-Kaliballaha, was ruling the world:—

(L. 3.)—Bâdipoddî, the daughter of Gôyinda-poddî, a harlot of the temple of (the queen) Lôkâmâhâdevî,—who had (previously) given an excellent —— who had given a horse-chariot; and who had given an elephant-chariot,—gave a grant of land and an unbhayamukti.*

No. CXXIII.

Dhruva was succeeded by his eldest son, Gôyinda III. or Prabhûtavarshâl,

* Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions, No. 69.
* Myore Inscriptions, p. 1. See also Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 36.
† This is the earliest instance that I have met with of the word bhaṭṭa being spelt with a double f—bhaṭṭa.
* Poḍî, bojjha, a harlot.
† The queen of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya II. She had this temple built in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kâśchî, or the Pallava king whose capital was Kâśchî; see Vol. X., p. 165.
* The meaning of gôsâsam is not apparent.
* A cow, or the image of a cow, in the act of bringing forth a calf, when there are apparently two mouths or faces to only one body.
* Dr. Burnell calls it a Chêra grant. But this is a mistake.

also called Jagattaṅga I., Jagadrudra I., Valabhanârâdhrâ I., Śrâvântâla, and Prithivîvallabha. We have three entire inscriptions of his time. The earliest of them is the accompanying one, of which an imperfect lithograph, evidently from inferior ink-impressions, has been published by Dr. Burnell in his South-Indian Palaeography, Plate XXVI. I edit it from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot. No information is forthcoming as to where they were found; but it must have been somewhere in the Canarese country.

The plates are three in number, each about 5½" long by 2½" broad; they are smooth and flat, the edges of them not having been made with raised or thickened rims. The surfaces
of the plates are a good deal corroded here and there; but for the most part the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The ring on which the plates are strung is about ½ thic: and 2½ in diameter; it had been cut before the plates came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about 1½ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a much worn representation of the god Śiva, sitting with his knees bent so that the soles of his feet touch each other, and facing to the full front, and holding a serpent in each hand, with apparently their hoods expanded above his shoulders. The image, in fact, is very similar to that on the seal of the grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarman II., No. CXXI. at p. 108 above. The language of the present inscription is Old-Canarese.

It is an inscription of Gōvinda III., or Gōyinda, as the name is here corruptly written; and it is dated Śaka 726 for 725 (A.D. 808-9), the Subhānu samvatāra. It gives us the name of Gāmunābbbe as the wife of Gōvinda III. And the object of it is to record that,—having conquered Dantiga, the king of Kačchh, or Kāčh, who must therefore have been of the Pallava dynasty,—Gōvinda III., on his way to levy tribute, came to a tirtha or sacred place called Rāmēsvara, on the bank of the Tūṅgabhadra, and there, having had some sport with wild boars, and being consequently pleased with the place, conferred upon a Gorura or priest of the Kuruba caste, named Śivadhāri, a grant which had been previously given to the god Paramēsvara or Śiva by a certain king Kṛttivarma.

The Kṛttivarma who is mentioned in this inscription is evidently either the Western Chalukya king Kṛttivarma II., for whom we have the dates of Śaka 669 and 677, or his cousin Kṛttivarma III. Mr. Rice, who has published a transcription and partial translation of this grant in his Mysore Inscriptions, p. lvii, note 4, states that Rāmēsvaratirtha is an island in the Tūṅgabhadra, in a bend of the river a few miles to the north of, i.e. below, the junction of the Tūṅg and the Bhadrā; in his map of ancient Maisūr, he places it where the modern maps place 'Anavaree,' in Lat. 14° 4' N., Long. 75° 49' E. He further gives the purport of the inscription as being that Gōvinda III. was "receiving from (?) Vattiga, then ruler of Kāčchh, certain tribute collected for him by the Chalukya king, Kṛttivarma III., who, as I gather, may have married the Raṭṭa king's daughter, 11 and to whom this tribute had been assigned, perhaps as her dowry, with authority to her husband to collect it." This, however, is hardly in accordance with the text.

The present expedition of Gōvinda III. to the Tūṅgabhadra, which resulted in his conquest for the second time of the Pallava, who had already been subjugated once by his father Dhrūva, is recorded also in his two subsequent inscriptions,—the Waḍi-Dhundri plates, dated Śaka 730 for 728, the Vyaya samvatāra, the next that I shall edit; and the Rāḍhanpur plates, dated Śaka 730 for 729, the Sarvajit samvatāra, already edited by Dr. Bühler. In respect of his relations with the kings of the south, the same two inscriptions also tell us that he released from captivity the Gāṅga king, who had been imprisoned by his father, but shortly had to again reduce him to subjection and imprison him. And the second of them speaks of the lord of Veṅgi, i.e. his contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya family, 12 in such a way as to show that he must have been a feudatory of Gōvinda III.; it states that, at the command of Gōvinda, the lord of Veṅgi came and worked for him like a servant, and built for him the high walls of a town or fortress.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti

Śaka-nṛpa-kālā-vaita-sañvatsaraṁga[-4]īḷ[i]-rppatt-ārane

[2] yā Subhānu embhā(ṃbā) varshadā Vaisā(ś)kha-māsa-krishpa-

[3] ksha-paṃchamē(mī)-Bṛihaspati(tī) vaṟan-āgi(gi) Svasti(sti) Prabhū-

[4] tavarsa-śrīprithu(thi)vivallabha-mahārājaḍhī(dhi)rāja-pa[ra]*]mā

11 Mr. Rice translates the inscription so as to make Gāmunābbbe the daughter of Gōvinda III. But she was his wife.

12 This must apparently be Vijayaṅdītya, also called Nārīṇdra-ṛigāraṇa, whose reign was from about Śaka 710 to about Śaka 720.
ON A PILLAR IN THE NORTH PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF

VIRATAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL.

IN A CELT NEAR THE TEMPLE OF GALGANATHA, AT AHOLE.

OVER THE DOOR TO THE SHRINE OF MUKADVI, AT MANDWADICE.
May, 1882. ] Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions. 127

Second plate; first side.

[1*] svara-Göyindara bhatārā Mahanūdabhega[13] mahādē-
[2*] viy(a)ya=si*gil(gi) rājya(ya)-pra[va]-rddhamāna-kāloj

Second plate; second side.

[11] kañchihyan=ājya Dantigane geldu kapp[n]-goja-
[12] li=bhandali Tuṅgabhadravā emba tṛththādā
[13] i=līdu Rāmēśvara modalol=mepp-i- 
[14] kki porada pandigaalan=i=iyal=bandall[i] tṛththām=olpa-
[15] n=kapā Sivadhāri emba goravargge
[16] manunta Kṛthi(rṭi) vammō(rma)a) rāja-Paramēsvaradattamān=vittā[1*] [1*] I-

Third plate.

[1] [1] iśdaṁ keṣa[dintar=]a(a)=apppōj int-app-āt [1*]
[1*] Sva-dattā[1*] para-dattā(titā)m[1*]=bā(ya) ṣā
dharān(m) shashthi(shti)-varṣa-sahasrāṇi[1*] viṣhīhā-
[1*] [1*] yān jāyatē krimi[h*] viṣhīhā

Translation.

Hail! On Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaśākha of the year called Subhānu, which was the seven hundred and twenty-sixth10 of the years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king:

(L. 3.)—Hail! While Gāmūndabhe was the queen of Prabhūta varsha, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Gōyinda, the worshipful one:—

(L. 6.)—When (the king), in the increasing time of his reign, having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kañchhi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrē, and when, having at (his) first (visit) approved of the Śrītha called Rāmēśvara, he came (there again)

These two letters, gal, were at first omitted, and then inserted below the following letter ma.

This letter, na, was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line and between the ya and gi.

This letter, i, is repeated unnecessarily.

This is the earliest genuine instance that I know of, of the use of this second form of the letter ma.

This letter, ha, was at first omitted, and then inserted below the following letter dh.

This letter, apa, is quite without meaning, unless it is intended for the Sanskrit evān.

According to the Tables in Brown's Carnatic Chronology, however, Śaka 728 was the Tārana samvatīra, and the Subhānu or Suvabhūnu samvatīra was Śaka 725.

The meaning of mu[ṇ(yuši)]du(ā)mbeyama[manna], I. 11-12, is not apparent. If we take the words to be mūnd-umbeya-manna, the meaning may possibly be "saying that it was to be his future substinance." Or, if we read du instead of du, and take the mark over the du to be a flaw in the copper and not an Amara, the meaning may then be connected with mūndya, 'an offering to an idol.'—I do not think the word sameti the large black carpenter-bee, can be brought into the sentence, as Mr. Rice brings it, though of course it would become duḥkṣa in composition.

† i. e. "the great officer who presides over the control of peace and war."
A BAKTRO-PÁLÍ INSCRIPTION OF SUBHÁHÁRA.\footnote{This paper reached us after Dr. Hoernle's paper on the same subject (vol. X. p. 324.), but before it was printed. We have omitted the author's account of previous translations, and his copy.—Ed. J. A.}

BY PANDIT BHAGVÁNLÁL INDRAJI.

The inscription, a transcript and translation of which I give herewith, was discovered in the year 1869 by Rev. G. Yates from a tope standing on a site called Suibáhára, situated about 2 miles off the road from Bhávalpara to Añmadapura, and about 16 miles distant from the village of Bhávalpara in Sindh.

I had an opportunity of visiting Calcutta in the year 1874, when I took copies of several inscriptions in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the late Dr. Bhaun Daji. Along with the others I took a tracing of the inscription in question also. It is engraved round the rim of a square copper plate, three sides of which have a whole line each, while the fourth side is only partially engraved. The letters are distinct and clear; the following is a transcript:—

\textit{Transcript.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{1}
  \footnote{\textsuperscript{2} Vide Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXIX, p. 65.}]
    \textbf{महाराज्यस राजा विलासन देवपुर्वक कान-}\n    \textbf{स संसे एका वा सं २१ दससिकः}\n    \textbf{मासो मासिक विर अन्यते दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{2}]
    \textbf{य दिनसे भिक्षु नागदस का नामेलिस्त्रा!}\n    \textbf{आचार्य दामन दिनस आचार्य कनिक-}\n    \textbf{शास्त्रादिपया यह दिनसे दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{3}]
    \textbf{महाराज्यस राजा विलासन देवपुर्वक कान-}\n    \textbf{स संसे एका वा सं २१ दससिकः}\n    \textbf{मासो मासिक विर अन्यते दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{4}]
    \textbf{विस्ताराच्या उपासिकाय आचार्य भारि}\n    \textbf{शास्त्रादी प्रात्यो कानिकशास्त्र आ}-\n    \textbf{छह दिनसे दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{5}]
    \textbf{विस्ताराच्या उपासिकाय आनंद:- स्वात-}\n    \textbf{ष्या लुमाया मा००४ रिदन राथ आचार्य}\n    \textbf{नाम गृहिणों दिनसे दि २८}
\end{itemize}

In the Kapurdigadi Baktro-páli inscription of Aśoka, the distinction between \textit{a} and \textit{ā} is clearly marked. There the letter \textit{a} is written thus \textit{ṭ} while in writing \textit{ā}, the lower stroke is not made curved upwards as in \textit{a}, but it is left straight thus \textit{ṭ}. The same rule is applied in joining these two vowels to other consonants which have their final strokes pointing downwards, as for instance in \textit{ka} and \textit{kā}, but in the case of compounding these vowels with consonants such as \textit{ma}, \textit{nc}, which have no stroke pointing downwards, the distinction is shown by putting a dot below the latter to denote short \textit{ma}, and nothing to make \textit{mā}. They are written respectively thus \textit{ṭ (०)} and \textit{ṭ (०)}.

This system, however, does not seem to have been continued in later times as consonants with the vowels \textit{a} and \textit{ā} are written alike. For this reason I have taken the liberty of reading long or short letters wherever I thought it necessary to do so.

For \textit{रजाधिनार} is written \textit{रजाधिनार} : this form of the title is common in ancient Nágarí inscriptions of the time of Huvishka and also in the Baktro-páli legends of the Greek coins.

At the beginning of the second line, a letter occurs, which looks like \textit{u}, and the word might be read \textit{utra}, but in this place it would have no meaning, and without being able to give a reason for omitting the lower portion of the letter, I read \textit{utra divase}, which is equal to the Sanskrit \textit{asmin die}, 'on this day': this reading appears probable. But if for \textit{utra} we read \textit{uta}, it may be taken to be a corruption of \textit{ukta}, i. e. aforesaid.

\textit{वासंसित्व} is a Prákrit form of the Sanskrit \textit{वासंसित्व} which means a resident of Taxila.

The name of the teacher (\textit{achārya}) which I have read as \textit{nāma} may also be read as \textit{yāma}, owing to the uncertainty regarding the long and short vowels already mentioned.

The name \textit{Kari} may also be read \textit{Bhari}.


dhā I think stands for the Prákrit \textit{āhi} and Sanskrit \textit{अथ}—\textit{a bone}.

\textit{Sanskrit version.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{1}]
    \textbf{महाराज्यस राजा विलासन देवपुर्वक कान-}\n    \textbf{स संसे एका वा सं २१ दससिकः}\n    \textbf{मासो मासिक विर अन्यते दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{2}]
    \textbf{अय दिनसे भिक्षु नागदस का नामेलिस्त्रा!}\n    \textbf{आचार्य दामन दिनस आचार्य कनिक-}\n    \textbf{शास्त्रादिपया यह दिनसे दि २८}
  
  \item[\textsuperscript{3}]
    \textbf{विस्ताराच्या उपासिकाय आनंद:- स्वात-}\n    \textbf{ष्या लुमाया मा००४ रिदन राथ आचार्य}\n    \textbf{नाम गृहिणों दिनसे दि २८}
\end{itemize}

\textit{Translation.}

On the 28th (twenty-eighth) day of the month of Daisika (Daisias) in the eleventh year S. 11 of Kanishka, the great king, great king of kings, the Dēvaputra. On this day, the relics
of the mendicant Nāgadata (San. Nāgadatta), a resident of Taxila, (?) disciple of Āchārya Dāmatrāta and grand disciple of Āchārya Kavi, are deposited. This repository of relics here in Damana (is that) of the worshipper Ānandī—the mistress of the Viḥāra, a Kshatri woman and mother of Lujā. She together with her family presented it; may this be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Remarks.

This inscription records the date on which the relics of a mendicant called Nāgadata, who was a resident of Taxila and disciple of the Āchārya Dāmatrāta, and grand disciple of Āchārya Kavi, were deposited. The chamber in which the relics were placed was caused to be constructed and given in charity by a Kshatri lady Ānandī, who, it is said, did so for promoting the benefit and happiness of all living creatures. The date was in the 11th year of the great king Kanishka, which probably was that of his reign. It was usual to date from the day of the installation of the king after whom such eras were called; and from the smallness of the numeral of this date the probability seems to be that it is the date of this king's reign. General Cunningham's fourth inscription of Mathura, however, raises a doubt regarding this inference. In it, we read कृत्तिकाय राज्यं संवत्सरं नवम, i.e. in the year ninth is the reign of Kanishka, which might not be one of his reigns, but of some era which was being continued in his reign. But as General Cunningham explains from the Mathura inscriptions that Huvishka and Vāsudeva were his successors, it seems likely that they continued to observe the same era in their reigns.

The Mathura inscriptions furnish dates in Huvishka's reign as under:

- No. IX. .................. year 39
- An inscription found by me... 44
- No. XV. .................. 48

These dates are called वासुदेव संवत्सरण or 'in the year of Huvishka.'

In like manner, the inscriptions of Vāsudeva furnish us the dates in his reign as under:

- Inscription No. 18.............. year 30
- No. 16........................ 33
- No. 20........................ 98

In these inscriptions this date is also called वासुदेव संवत्सरण or 'in the year of Vāsudeva.'

The largeness of the numbers in these shows evidently that they cannot possibly be regnal years; they must be the years of the era continued from the reign of Kanishka. For this reason, instead of the literal translation of the phrases हुविष्कर्ष, वासुदेवस्य, it might be preferable to translate them as in such and such year in the reign of these kings. This mode of writing dates was not uncommon at this period. In the Gīrāra Kshatrapa inscription we have रुद्रकृत्यो विद्याहितम्, i.e. 'in the seventy-second year of Rudradāman,' so also in an inscription from Gandra in Kāthiāvād, we read रुद्रकृत्यो वर्षम् नवतर्षम्, i.e. 'in the one hundred and second year of Rudrasinha.' From these it is evident that the above cannot by any means be regnal years but years of some unknown era current in their reigns. It is therefore very probable that the cases of Huvishka and Vāsudeva's years are similar. From these dates we may also infer that Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva reigned one after the other. But we meet with a difficulty as to this inference by the inscription No. 8 in which it is clearly written रूढ़िश्वर्यम् नवतर्षम् and in another inscription found by me at Mathura, there is a date in the 44th year of Huvishka. Also in General Cunningham's inscription No. XV the date in the reign of the last mentioned king is clearly the 45th year. This leads us to ask whether Huvishka and Vāsudeva ruled simultaneously, but if so, the reign of Vāsudeva becomes of unusual length, indeed quite beyond the limits of possibility. Under these circumstances there are doubts leaving room for further investigation. The discovery of more inscriptions will perhaps clear up this obscurity.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHOR.

BY E. REHATSEK.

Before giving the texts and my translations of the inscriptions—very beautifully photographed by Mr. F. B. Hanna and sent to me by Dr. Burgess—it will be proper to state that Raichor is an old fort in the Nizam's territory forming the southern point of a nearly equilateral triangle of which Sholapur is at the western and Haiderābād at the eastern

No. I.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نزور من الله ونعم
 قريب و نور الدنيا في عين اللطيف الأعظم
 ملك الله في الإرغان أبواءاظر علي عادافشة
 ناري حاذاه شلوك وسلطانا به اندرة طاهر خان
 في سنة اعد سبوع وشمية 988

Translation.

In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement! Aid from Allah and a speedy victory and bear good tidings unto the faithful. In the reign of the most high Sulhân, shadow of Allah in the two countries, Abu Al-Muzaffar A’lli A’làil-shâh the hero,—may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power,—the bastion was built by Tâher Khân, in the year nine hundred seventy-one, 978.

No. II.

نبات برج كنت تزولون خدا
 باعمدي شهلا ما حمن
 دمدي إبراهيم عادارتو مضم.
 كمن اذهب اين برج كنت بأپا حكم
 زعبي مين ركابان صاحب
 نانا كردون ناجي ظل بالعبر ناب
 منزل براتابي اين سعابت
 كروتودأي الفرة مبجوت
 يرافع بكذاز و فجرت هجرت
 ربيه برج جوزا باجوع عت

Translation.

The tower was completed by the grace of God With the help of our intercessor Muhammad, In the reign of his Majesty Ibrahîm A’dâil-shâh. For, the foundation of this tower was laid firmly, With the aid of the Grantor of the realm; Rayhân Saheb They built the crown of the realm [i.e. tower] with the authority of the Nâyib. Upon the crown this felicity alighted That it always faces the Kiblah [towards Mecca.]

At its date A. H. 1018. The sign Gemini reached the scene of honour.

No. III.

ابدا برج ثادور درنها راب عمار شهير جامدا أتر
 ختم الله عزوج في عصر هبور [sic] لا الإعلم
 خاقان الأطم من لمل اللطيف ابراهيم
 عادارتو نبي الله ... وجلد مثوبات

1 Began 24th October 1557.
2 Began 17th February 1560.
3 We think it is a great mistake, except in cases of necessity, to remove inscriptions like this from their original positions.—Ed. F. A.
4 Kurûn, S. lxi. 13.
5 Kurûn, S. ii. 223.
6 The year given in words began 21st August 1563, and that in figures 5th June 1570.
7 Began 6th April 1662.
A BRAHUI SONG.

CONTRIBUTED BY THE REV. G. SHIRT, M.R.A.S.

In my visit to Quetta at the close of last year I made a not very successful attempt to get hold of some Brahui songs. The fact is, that those Brahuis, who sing, generally prefer foreign compositions to anything in their own language—something on the same principle, I imagine, as some English singers affect only to know Italian songs. Be the cause whatever it may be, the fact is, I could only get one song at for civilized ears in the Brahui language from a people native of the Mastung Valley, while I could get but few from the same source in Pushtu, Biluchi, or Parsee.

So little is known of the Brahui language by antiquarians and philologists that the following song with a translation may not be out of place in the Indian Antiquary:

**SONG.**

1. Kháñk nà larzxír lackás qarzír
2. Dandánk sadán nà buḍí lawángná
3. Kháñká káñaná tambú nañáná
4. Gúdí gidán nà pullús uráná
5. Purka kláwáhí dír ná dawá hí
6. Gúdí shákar khór nátte buḍí tór
7. Tútáná tárí púskáná yári
8. Shámañ sháñuñán jwáníñ jánúñán
9. Múllánábá bánghi Soužúñ sáñg
10. ’Atars’ atras káñum ná chutrus
11. Jamdán jánjítá zálfák rañjítá
12. Dáñge arángé sangí barámi
13. Gúdí pullá khór bálá dí shar tór
14. Khwájá gúdí ko khyámná tó máñ ko
15. Bárágí burbo kársárí sañíñú
16. Süñúh burbo ‘ishqátá básúñí
17. Dostus dostus kání házár dostus
18. Dostí tahpák níñ ai bé bámnú
19. N’alát ki manú hand’ ná be báktí

**Translation.**

1. The blinding of thy eyes gives a lakh of rupees.
2. Thy pearly teeth are tall like a cinna-
mon tree.
3. Thy eyes are like a ram’s and pleasant
as a tent.
4. Thou art mistress of the camp and the
flower of the house.
5. Fill up the water bag; thy water is
medicine.
6. Beloved! thou art an eater of sugar; lift
up thy feet on high.
7. Of a mulberry tree thou art a branch, but
art friends with a new (lover).
8. In the evening thou art resplendent; but
in youth thou art a widow.
9. The cry of the Mullah is: “It is Souzú’s
betrothal.”
10. Thou art perfume, thou art perfume; thy
head is an umbrella.
11. Thy ornaments and long hair are the
ringlets of a low-famed woman.
12. On this side and on that side she is
betrothed and married.
13. The beloved one eats spiced food: go up
well on high.
14. The master and mistress are present; and
Hindus are in attendance.
15. See! Bárágí is standing on the read.
16. See! Souzú is dried up with love.
17. Thou art a friend; thou art a friend to me;
thou art a thousand times a friend.
18. O noseless one! it does not become me to
be thy friend.
19. The reproach that comes in this way to
an unfortunate one (is)
20. She is false to me, true to another!

*1 It seems to be the work of women to fetch water. Once I saw a great number of them filling their water
bags at a small stream; but there was no man present.*
CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.
BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.
(Continued from p. 81.)

XV.

We shewed in the previous paper of this series that the Mongols derived their early alphabet and literary culture from the Uighurs. To the same source they doubtless owed their famous chronological system, which it will not be unprofitable to describe here. The system of chronology used by the Mongols is founded on a double cycle. One of these consists of 12 years, to each of which is attached the name of an animal in the following order:

1. Khulughana, the mouse;
2. Uker, the ox;
3. Bars, the tiger or panther;
4. Taolai, the hare;
5. Lu, the dragon;
6. Moghali, the serpent;
7. Morin, the horse;
8. Khonin, the sheep;
9. Bechin or Mechin, the monkey;
10. Takia, the hen;
11. Nokhai, the dog; and
12. Gaklian, the pig.

These names are applied to the years in succession in a recurring cycle of 12 years, but as this is too short for practical chronology, it has been combined with a second cycle of 10. This second cycle of ten is constituted in two different ways. In one of them the cycle is named after the five elements: Modun, wood; Ghal, fire; Shirai, earth; Temur, iron; and Ussun, water; which, by attaching the masculine and feminine particle ere and eme to each respectively, makes the full cycle of 10. This is the method usually employed. The second system is similarly named after the five colours: Koke, blue; Ulaghan, red; Shirai, yellow; Tsaghan, white; and Khara, black; which in the feminine are respectively Kokekchin, Ulaghakchin, Shirakchin, Tsaglakhchin, and Kharakchin.

This system is mainly used for the calendar. A third system has adopted the Chinese names Kia, Y, Ping, Tang, Wu, Ki, Keng, Sin, Shin, Kuei; or as the names occur in their Mongol transcription, Ga, Yi, Bing, Ting, U, Ki, King, Sin, Shim, and Kui. This third mode Schmidt says he had only found used in the case of Ssanang Setzen. Schmidt has compared the three systems in a useful table as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ssanang Setzen</th>
<th>Schmidt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ere Modun</td>
<td>Koke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eme Modun</td>
<td>Kokekchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ere Ghal</td>
<td>Ulaghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eme Ghal</td>
<td>Ulaghakchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ere Shiroi</td>
<td>Shirai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eme Shiroi</td>
<td>Shirakchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ere Temur</td>
<td>Tsaghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eme Temur</td>
<td>Tsaglakhchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ere Ussun</td>
<td>Khara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eme Ussun</td>
<td>Kharakchin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By a combination of the 12 animals' names and these 10 names, which always follow one another in the same order, we get a cycle of 60 years: each 60 years beginning with the same name. Schmidt has arranged the years of this century from 1804 to 1863 according to the Mongol system. It will suffice here to give a few as a sample of the rest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ga, mouse year</th>
<th>1804</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yi, ox</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bing, panther</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting, hare</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U, dragon</td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki, serpent</td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, horse</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that every 12 years each animal is found linked with a companion from which it was two places distant at the earlier occurrence; and it is this, of course, which constitutes it a cycle of 60 years. If the names are followed out it will be seen that in 1864 we again get to a year which has to be named Ga, mouse year.

Having explained the system, we will now say a few words about its origin, and we may take it that the third method abovenamed, in which Chinese words are used, is a comparatively modern innovation due to Chinese influences. The real systems found in the older Mongol literature are the two earlier ones.

Ulugh Beg, the famous prince astronomer, has recorded for us the names used by the Uighurs in their 12 years cycle, and they are as follows:—The mouse keshu, the ox uth, the tiger bars, the hare thavshkh'an, the dragon lui, the serpent yilan, the horse yunad, the sheep ko'i,
the monkey *pickin*, the hen *dak'uk*, the dog *it*,
the pig *thoughus*; all these names as Klaproth
states are Turkish, except the 2nd, 5th, 7th, and
9th. Of the 2nd and 7th he gives no explanation;
the 5th is from the Chinese *ling*, while
the 9th is derived from the Persian *pusineh*.

It will be seen that the animals forming the
twelve year Uighur cycle are precisely the
same as those used by the Mongols, while it is
most clear that the ape or monkey which could
not be known to either Turks or Mongols as
anything but a foreign animal must have come
to the Mongols from Persia by the intervention
of some Turkish tribe like the Uighurs,
while the names in the Mongol cycle for
panther and hen, *bars* and *takia*, seem almost
certainly to be taken from the Turkish.

There is every probability, therefore, that the
Mongols derived their method of chronological
computation, as they did their letters, from the
Uighurs.

It was probably no invention of the latter,
for we find it in use among the Kirghises during
the domination of the Tang dynasty in China.
Thus we read in the *Tang shi*, in the article on
the Kirghises,—"They call the beginning of the
year *Meu-sze-ghai*, and three *ghais* make a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Rat</th>
<th>shu</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>p'dji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>nieu</td>
<td>ushi</td>
<td>klang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>tora</td>
<td>stak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hare</td>
<td>thu</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>yoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>lung</td>
<td>tats</td>
<td>bruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Serpent</td>
<td>shi</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td><em>sbrul</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>rda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>yang</td>
<td>fitsuji</td>
<td>luk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>heoa</td>
<td>sara</td>
<td>spre-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>tori</td>
<td>tsu lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>keoa</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>hai</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>p'bak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us now revert to our more immediate
subject. We have carried down our narrative
to the year of the tiger 1206. That year was
a memorable one in the life of Chinghiz Khan.
He had some time previously been elected
the chief of his own special people, but
now he was master of a much more extensive
dominion and of tribes not subject to his fore-

season with them. They name the year after
12 beasts and they call the year *In* (i. e. the year
called *In* in the Chinese duodenal cycle)
the year of the tiger. Schott, Remusat
and others have argued in consequence of this
notice that the Kirghises were the real original-
tors of the animal names used in this cycle.

The latter urges that the cycle itself was bor-
rrowed from the very ancient duodenal cycle
of the Chinese. After arguing that the use of the
twelve animals' names cannot be traced else-
where than to the Turkish races of Central Asia,
he says the Mongols, Tibetans, Japanese, Persians,
and Manchus have translated it into their own
languages, preserving strictly the same order of
the names. The cycle is exceedingly useful in
checking other systems of chronology. Remusat
has pointed out that Petis de la Croix in syn-
chronizing its dates with those of the Christian
era is always one year behind. During the reign
of Chinghiz Khan the year of the mouch corre-
ponds to the years 1156, 1168, 1130, 1192, 1204,
and 1216, and not to 1155, 1167, 1179, 1191, 1203,
and 1215, as de la Croix makes it.

The following table, which I take from
Klaproth, gives the cycle in the languages of the
several races who use it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kesku</td>
<td>khlugana</td>
<td>kuluguna</td>
<td>singgeri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uth</td>
<td>uker</td>
<td>uker</td>
<td>ikhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars</td>
<td>bars</td>
<td>bars</td>
<td>taskha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawshkan</td>
<td>toolai</td>
<td>toolai</td>
<td>galmakhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lui</td>
<td>loo</td>
<td>lui</td>
<td>muduri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilan</td>
<td>mokhio</td>
<td>mogo</td>
<td>meikhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunad</td>
<td>morin</td>
<td>morin</td>
<td>morin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'oi</td>
<td>khoi</td>
<td>khoi</td>
<td>? khoin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pichia</td>
<td>mechin</td>
<td>mechin</td>
<td>boniu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'uk</td>
<td>takiya</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>choko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>nokhai</td>
<td>nokoi</td>
<td>indakhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonguz</td>
<td>khakai</td>
<td>gakhai</td>
<td>ulghiyan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fathers; and we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*
that he accordingly held an assembly at the
sources of the Onon where the standard with
nine white yak tails was raised aloft and he
proclaimed himself Khakan, i.e. supreme chief.
In regard to this standard of nine tails Pallas-
dius tells us that it is the equivalent of the so-
called "ya," which used to stand in the camps

---

of the Khâns of the Khiung nu and the Thukiu.  

Its nine pennons remind us that the number nine was especially favoured among the Turks and Mongols. When presents were made nine articles of each kind, or nine times nine, were generally given, and it recurs frequently as a number of high dignity. Marco Polo says—"And you must know 'tis the custom in offering presents to the great Khân (at least when the province making the present is able to do so) to present nine times nine articles. For instance, if a province sends horses it sends nine times nine, or 81 horses; of gold, nine times nine pieces of gold; and so with stubs, or whatever else the present may consist of." In the Jihân kushai we are told that on Mangu's accession each of the princes presented him with nine sets of nine objects. Ahmed the Jelair's envoy went to Timur with nine times nine objects, while the Prince of Shirwan presented the same conqueror with 9 swords, 9 bows, 9 arrows, 9 tents, 9 state umbrellas, 9 bowls, 9 pieces of rich stuff, 9 slave girls, and 9 slaves, besides himself, who counted as the 9th. In doing homage the custom was to make nine prostrations while the head was made to touch the ground nine times. The bowl was presented nine times, as Horace tells us was the case among the Romans: —"Tribus aut novem miscenatur cynthis." At festivals it was the fashion to change the costume 9 times. In the feasts said to have been given by the great Turkish Chief, Oguz Khân, the number 9 recurs. Thus we are told 900 horses and 2,000 sheep were killed, while 99 bowls were filled with drink, 9 with spirits, and 19 with kumiz. In honour of this number 9 we find Abûnghazi dividing his work into 9 sections. The pedigree of Chinghiz Khân was carried up to his 9th ancestor. The Mongol chiefs still take "the whole nine" as their tribute to China, while Wamberly says of the Uzbegs, when bargaining for a wife, "The question is always how many times nine sheep, cows, camels, or horses, or how many times nine ducats (as is the custom in a town) the father is to receive for giving up his daughter."

Turning from the number 9 to the colour of the pennons on the great standard.

White was an especially sacred and honoured colour among the Mongols and other northern races. A white horse was offered in sacrifice. The members of the Imperial Family were alone allowed to drink of the milk of white mares, of which a special herd was kept by the Uirats for the purpose. The court sorcerers, when going through their incantations, wore white clothes, as did the same class among the Khitans; and it would appear that the parade or holiday dress of the Mongol, which was presented by their Khans, and was called by the Chinese Tai-suun, were white. Sometimes they were made of ermine.  

Marco Polo tells us how it was the custom at the New Year's Feast for the Kaan and all his people to be dressed in white. And this was done, he says, "in order that they may thrive all the year, for they deem that white clothing is lucky and the people also make presents to each other of white things, and wish each other happiness and good luck for the coming year. On that day I can assure you among the customary presents there shall be offered to the Kaan from various quarters more than 100,000 white horses, beautiful animals, and richly caparisoned." Colonel Yule adds that the first month of the year is still called by the Mongols Chaghân or Chaghân Sara, i.e. "the white" or "the white month." Let us now revert to the proclamation of Chinghiz.

Ssanang Setzen tells us that it was accompanied by the planting of the white standard having nine feet and the black one having four feet; and he declares once more that it was on this occasion that Chinghiz Khân gave his people the name of Kôke Mongols or Blue Mongols. The last statement is an absurdity. Schmidt says the standard with four feet was the Khakan's special standard, and was called Sultan. It was hung with four black horse tails. The Yuan-shi, in mentioning this proclamation in 1206, tells us it was then our hero took the name of Chinghiz Khân. These annals date the beginning of his reign from this event.

---

8 Yuan-châo-pî-shi, note 431.
10 Yenhammer's Golden Horde, pp. 268, 299.
11 Sketches of Central Asia, p. 163.
12 Yen, colour, simple, and without ornament.
13 Yuan-châo-pî-shi, notes 436 and 7.
In the Yuan-shi-lei-pen we are told that it was after the army had been divided into nine bodies that each of them unfurled a white banner and proclaimed Chinghiz as Khan. 18

The author of the Huang-yuan and Rashidu’ddin also assign 1206 as the year when Chinghiz was so named and not the earlier date. We reported the story of the origin of the name Chinghiz as told by the Persian writers in an earlier paper. I ought to add here that Rashidu’ddin in describing Gakju 17 tells us that he afterward became very tiresome, and used to come into the Imperial Ordu and make boastful and noisy harangues. Chinghiz, therefore, ordered his brother Juchi Khasar to kill him. He therefore gave him several kicks and put him to death. His father Menglik, who had married Chinghiz Khan’s mother, picked up his son’s cap, thinking it was a joke, and when he knew what was meant, he remained silent, and continued to be devoted to Chinghiz Khan. Three others of his sons were appointed commanders of Hazaraks. 14 They were called Tulin Jerbi, Sughtu Jerbi, and Sutun. In regard to the nine white banners Schmidt suggests that they represent the nine örloks or boon companions of Chinghiz, each of whom was set over a division of his troops. He tells us that in a Kalmuk manuscript which he possessed describing a feast or drinking party in which Chinghiz and his nine örloks took part, and which is otherwise of no historical value, the names of these nine örloks are thus given:—

Go Mukhuni of the Jelair tribe, Bordgul Noyan of the Ughishin, Shili Khutak the Tartar, Jeimi or Selmi the Uriangkhin, Jibe or Sebe the Bessed (really Yissud or Jissud), Torgthon Shara the Sulduz, Tso Mergen the Jurjida, Khara Kiragho the Utrad, and Giangdang Chingsang Taishi whose tribe is not recorded. The head of all was Küllük Bohrji, (Boghorji) son of Nagho Bayan, of the tribe Arulad. 19

The Altan Topchi and Ssanang Setzen report a Saga in which the nine örloks were prominent actors, and which I have not found elsewhere. Once upon a time we read Bükca Chilger 20 of the Taijut tribe treacherously dug a hole in his tent, and having covered it with felt, he then made a feast and sent an invitation to Chinghiz Khan in these words:—“When thou wert young we did not recognise thy worth and lived at strife with thee. Now we know that thou art not false, and that thou art a Bogda of the race of the Gods. Our old hatred is stifled and dead. Condescend to enter our small house.” Chinghiz accepted the invitation, but before going he was warned by his mother, who warned him not to rate the crafty foe too lightly, and that a venomous serpent was not the less to be dreaded although it was fragile and weak in body, and she bade him be cautious. He told her she was right, and bade his brother Khasar have his bow ready, Belgutei to keep his eye on the drink, Khajjikin was to see to the horses, Ochigni or Utsüken was to keep close to his side, the nine örloks were to enter the yurt with him, while his 300 lifeguards were to surround it. When these arrangements had been made Chinghiz set out, and presently reached his destination. He entered the yurt, and would have sat down on the piece of felt covering the pitfall, but Ochigni pulled him aside, and seated him on the edge of the felt. Meanwhile an old woman came up and cut off the left stirrup, which hung from his saddle, and, according to the Altan Topchi, wounded him in the shoulder. A struggle ensued, Khasar counted his arrows, i.e., says Palladius, his arrows did not miss their mark, while Belgutei hit about him with a basin to hold airak (i.e., sour milk). Ssanang Setzen says he hit the old wife on the legs, and drove her out, whereupon Bükca Bükce struck his horse with his sword. The Taijuts now gathered round when the nine örloks drew close to their master, and helped him to mount the white mare of Toktangha Taishi of the Khorchin (called Tokhtoghakha the Chorchin in the Altan Topchi). The struggle ended in the defeat and submission of the enemy. Toktangha was afterwards rewarded with the title of Terkhan. He was the ancestor of the clan Darkhat. 21

Müller in his history of Siberia reports another legend in which the nine örloks occur, and which he says was told him by a Mongol priest, who got it from Mongol and Tangutan (i.e. Tibetan)
books. According to this legend there lived in early days a Khan who was called Galdan Dager Khagan by the Tangutans and Badar-king Zagan Tyngyri by the Mongols. Once when he was ill, and prayed Sakyamuni to go to his aid, the latter appeared to him in the person of a distinguished Lama, who told him his illness arose from the fact that he did not know God, that he did not accept his laws, nor reverence the priesthood but despised their teaching. If he would reverse all this, would pray to God, follow his laws, hold the priesthood in honour, and would devote his son and nine of his chief supporters to a religious life, he should be restored to health. He thereupon ordered his son and nine of his chief people to adopt the religious life. This order was very distasteful to them, and they fled to an inaccessible place where he could not hear of them. There they joined themselves to the people of the country, and needing a chief to lead them in their various struggles, they elected the son of their late Khan, and it was thought that as they had a new Khan he should have a new name. At this time a small bird flew by, and alighted near their place of assembly, and cried out with a clear voice Chingiz, Chingiz. Thereupon they gave him the name Chingiz, his previous name as given him by his father was Sotubogo. The names of his nine chief supporters were—1, Sulisdun-togun-shara; 2, Daallirte-Kua-Mokhobi; 3, Zua Mirgan; 4, Kulu Borji; 5, Urian-dsalma; 6, Bosogon-dsap; 7, Karal-kirgo; 8, Borogol; 9, Shingun Ku-tukhtu. This curious legend is a good type of the distorted history which passes muster among the Lamas, and in which their faith is dragged in on all possible occasions in spite of anachronisms.

We may here devote a few words to the titles Khakan and Khan.

As Quatremère says, we meet in the historians of the Mongols with the two titles of Khan and Kaan or Khakan. The former is common to the Turks and Mongols, and is doubtless connected with the Chinese Han. Kaan and Khakan are the same word. Remusat says that in Mongol the k in the middle of a word is often changed into a simple aspiration, or is dropped altogether with the vowel supporting it; thus kobakan a son is pronounced hebeun; sibbak a bird, sibun; naku bair, mukulan a mountain, aula. He adds further that originally Khakan was the same as Khan and Kaan, although the two latter titles had afterwards acquired a special meaning.

Quatremère shows from the use of the word Khkan or Khagan by Ssanang Setzen and from the letters of Arghun and Ulyquat that Kaan is in effect a mere form of Khakan.

The term Khan having been employed by the Turks to designate any sovereign prince, it was necessary, when the hierarchy of chiefs was created by the Mongols with a supreme chief governing several minor Khans, to distinguish him, and he therefore was styled Khakan or Kaan. Thus in the Qashgii vocabulary sent home by Amyot, Khakan is explained by the Chinese term wang-tì, i.e. supreme emperor. In the letters of the Ilkhan above cited the supreme Khan is referred to as the Khakan. The Arab author of the Mesalek alabser similarly distinguishes the supreme Khan as the Great Khan. Marco Polo always applies the name Kaan to the supreme Khan. We have therefore limited the name Khakan in these papers to the supreme Mongol Chief, making it equivalent to Khan of Khans, and applied that of Khan indiscriminately to any ruling sovereign. It is curious to trace the degredation of this latter title. Generally among the early Mongols and Turks it was strictly limited to the reigning sovereign, just as our word king is. But the descendants of Timur finding the title too simple, like the Byzantine emperors in the days of their decay, took other titles to themselves and passed that of Khan on to their subordinates. Thus we read in the Akbar Nameh that Sultan Ali, having received the title of Khan from Humayun, Sikander was given the same title. The later emperors of Hindustan still further degraded it by adding adjectives to increase its force. Thus we read in the same work that Khoja Abdul-Mujid received the title of Asaf Khan. Hosain Kuli-Beg received the style of Khân-i Zeman; Iskendar Khan that of Khan-i Alam. In the history of Shah Abbas mention is made of a Khan-i Alam.

91 i.e. Tibetans.
93 Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, p. 133.
94 Id., p. 168 note.
sent as an envoy to Persia by Selim, emperor of Hindustan. Mir Munshi bore the style of Ashraf Khan; Biram Khan that of Khan-i-Khanan, and Quatremerre adds that during the domination of the Mongols in India we have the following list of titles in which Khan is used:—Leeshkar Khan, Munzaffar Khan, Yazir Khan, Mirza Khan, Nejabat Khan, Azem Khan, Ghauret Khan, Dianet Khan, Asid Khan, Kizelbashi Khan, Bibedel Khan, Khan-i Devran, Akideon Khan, etc. etc. At the Persian court a governor of a province was called Khan, and eventually the title there and in Afghanistan became so degraded that it is now merely equivalent to noble, while as Colonel Yule says it is used in India now among Musalmans as a common affix to names. This humbler use of the title is of old date however in some places. Thus Juveni in reporting the doings of the Khuarezm Shish Jelalu'd-din Mankberin tells us that being irritated against the greater number of his principal dependents, he assembled the Khans and generals who were devoted to him. Presently he selected a certain number of amirs and gave some of them the title of Khan and others that of Malik. While according to the Mesalek Alabaar the titles of Khan and Malik were used by the great officers of the court of Delhi in the time of the pre-Mongol sovereigns.

From the word Khan the Turks formed that of Khanum, which has passed into the language of Persia, and which is used indiscriminately with bogum and khatun to distinguish the sovereign's wife. In the Turkish edition of Abulghazi the title Khanum is always so used. Baber also uses it; so does the Armenian historian of Timur's expedition, who calls the wife of the sovereign of Samarkand the Khanum. Clavigo tells us Cano meant the great empress, while the second wife was styled Quinchcano, (i.e. Kichik Khanum, the little lady, la señora pequeña). In the Zaurnamesh mention is made of Seraimulk Khanum, while Chardin says Khanum means the king's mistress.

Another title in use among the Mongols to which a few words should be devoted is that of Beki. Upon this title Palladius has a valuable note. He tells us that it was in use among the Kin Tartars, and reports how an ancestor of Aguta, (the famous founder of the real importance of that race,) who was called Suiko, having become a great reformer among his people, was thence styled Beki. He says that with the Kin Tartars the title meant honourable, noble. Beki was no doubt the equivalent of the Mongol Beke. Both words, as Palladius suggests, and in my view the Turkish Beke also are doubtless derived from the Chinese bo or bi, one of the hereditary honorary titles. Another derivation was apparently the title bē-gi-liē or beli meaning great, honourable, also used by the Kin Tartars. The title bi or bo was formerly more important than now, and meant the eldest or the first person in a society. Thus the head of a family, when China was divided into appanages, was styled bo or bi. The meaning of eldest in a tribe only remained attached to the derivatives Beke and Beki, and thence the use of the term Bek olū.

Let us now turn again to Chinghiz Khan. After his own elevation to the throne of Tartary he proceeded to reward and promote the various companions to whom he owed his position. He told Shigi Khutuktu to summon Boorchu, Mukhali and the rest. Shigi Khutuktu thereupon reminded him how great his own services had been, that he had been with him from childhood till he was grown up, and asked what his reward was to be. 'You have become my sixth brother,' he replied, 'and have a right to possessions equal to those of my own brothers. I absolve you from punishment till you have committed nine crimes;' be you my eyes and my ears.' Let no one disobey your commands. I give you authority to try and to punish robbers and cheating and to punish those with death who deserve it; to settle the division of land among the people and to note down decrees on the black tablets, so that they may not be changed.' Shigi Khutuktu replied, 'I am the youngest of the brothers. How shall I dare to claim equal possessions with them. If you will extend a favour to me, give me a people living inside an earthen rampart.' Chinghiz

28 Quatremerre, Histoire des Mongols, pp. 16-12, 84-88.
29 Palladius, op. cit., notes 464 and 465.
29 i.e. granted him the privileges of a terkhan.
said: "Let it be according to your choice." Chinghiz then said to Munik, "You have been my comrade from my childhood until now, and many times have you shielded and helped me, particularly when Wang Khan and his son enticed me to go to them, and I was on the way thither. If you had not stopped me then, I should have got into deep water and into a big fire. Remembering this service, I will not allow my descendants even to forget it. From this time forward you shall sit at the corner, and I will reward you and your descendants monthly and yearly."

He then addressed Boorchu. "During my childhood," he said, "robbers stole eight grey horses. I chased them for three days and until I met you. You then became my companion, rode with me for three days, and helped me to recover the horses. Why did your father Nakhuboyan, a wealthy man with but one son, namely yourself, decide on giving you to me as a comrade, but because the spirit of fidelity was to be traced in you. Afterwards when I summoned you to be my companion, you did not refuse. When the three Merkit tribes drove me to the mountain Burkhan, you did not desert me, but shared my poverty with me. When I was resting in the district of Talannemurgesi, near the Tartar country, you spread out your felt cloak, stood over me, and did not let the rain fall on me. Thus you stood until dawn, only once changing from one foot to the other. This is an example of your heroic courage. Other instances are too numerous to relate. Besides this, you and Mukhali have made me do that which is right, and have censured me and prevented me doing that which is wrong. Whence I have reached this high position. Now when seated with others your seat shall be above every one. I absolve you from punishment till you have committed nine crimes. Be a temnik and rule over the Western country as far as the Golden Mountains." To Mukhali he said. When we were in the district of Khorkhanajubur under a thick-leaved tree some words of prophecy were said by your father Guunkhu. I now for the same make you a prince. Sit above the rest. Be the temnik of the left hand, and rule the country to the East to the mountains Kharanan. Your descendants shall inherit this dignity." The title Chinghiz Khan gave Mukhali was that of Govang, given as Guwang or Kiwang by Rashidu'd-din.

He then turned to Khorchi. "In my youth you spoke prophetic words to me, shared my troubles and were my companion. At that time you said if my prophetic speeches are fulfilled, give me 30 wives. They are now fulfilled. I give you permission to choose 30 beautiful maidens among the conquered people. Moreover, having brought together 3,000 of the tribe Baali, the tribes Adarki and others ruled by Tagai and Ashikh, and thus made up 10,000 men. I make you their temnik. Choose your residence according to your pleasure among the forest people along the river Erdish and guard that frontier. Let all the people there be under your control and punish all those who resist." To Jurchidai, Chinghiz said, "The greatest service you did me was during the battle with Wang Khan in the district of Khalakhaljelet, although, at the moment when we hesitated Khuldor was the first to say that he wished to fight, yet the success of the affair belongs to you. You broke and repulsed the strongest of the enemy's divisions, the Jirginis and others, penetrated to the Khan's very tent, and wounded Sankun in the cheek with your arrow. If you had not thus wounded Sankun it is impossible to say what would have happened. Again, as we came down the river Khalkha I trusted in you as I would in the shelter of a high mountain. When we arrived at lake Baljuna you were among the first. We conquered the important empire of the Kerait and the tribes Naiman and

32 Palladius says in a note that it is unknown who the people here referred to was. All Chinghiz Khan's brothers received portions in the east of Mongolia. Shish Khutkua's lands perhaps lay near Nerchinsk, where such ramparts still abound, or in the Merkit country, in regard to the settlement of which, he says, there is mention in other legions.—Op. cit., note 442.
33 i. e. at the beginning of a row of seats, doubtless meaning a post of honour.
34 In the Yuan-shi this incident is attributed to Boorchu and Mukhali. Yuan-chao-pi-shi, note 446.
35 i. e. the Alsai.
36 i. e. doubtless a prophecy of Chinghiz Khan's success.
37 Yuan-chao-pi-shi, pp. 115-117.
38 Palladius says this means a ruling prince in Chinese, and was given to him by anticipation. Mukhali was afterwards, as we shall see, appointed Chinghiz Khan's viceroy in China. Rashid says the title means Great Khan. Yuan-chao-pi-shi, note 453; Erdmann, p. 179.
39 i. e. Barin?
40 i. e. a tuman.
41 i. e. the Uriangkai.
42 i. e. the Irtish.
43 Yuan-chao-pi-shi, 117.
Merkit could no longer resist, and dispersed. The Naimans and Merkit having again revolted, you subdued them. After their dispersal, Jakhagande brought two of his daughters to me, and thus saved his own people from destruction. Having nevertheless afterwards revolted you devised a plan by which he and his people were subdued.¹⁴³

Chinghiz thereupon divorced his wife Ibatku, the daughter of Jakhagande, and made her over to Jurchidai. It is not, he said, from any ill-feeling nor that you lack beauty that I no longer love you; nor did I ever say your body was unclean when I placed you among my wives. I give you to Jurchidai because he has done me brilliant services, has risked his life in battles, and has collected the tribes for me. I enjoin my descendants that they must not insult the family of Ibatku.⁴⁴

Chinghiz then said to Ibatku, "Your father Jakhagande gave me with you the cook Alish-mur together with 200 men. On leaving me, leave him also with 100 men as a souvenir." He then turned to Jurchidai, and said, "I also commit to you 4,000 men of the tribe Uruut." He then addressed Khubilai,⁴⁵ and said, "You have subdued the savage and unruly, you and Jelmi, Jebe, and Subiata are to me like four fierce hounds. No matter whether I have sent you, you have broken the stones in pieces, have thrown down rocks, have stopped the deep water. Therefore it is that I ordered that your post should be in the front of the battle, that of Boorchu, Mukhali, Borouli, and Chilaun behind me, and that of Jurchidai and Khudar before me, so that my heart may be at peace. You Khubilai in all military arrangements and affairs shall have the lead." He then added, "Speak to Boodun about his unruliness, do not want to make him an independent commander, and thought it better to bind him to you. Act according to your mutual decision."⁴⁶

To Boorchu, Mukhali and others Chinghiz said, "Khunnan (who is here meant) is to me in the night like a fierce wolf, in the daytime like a black raven. He has clung to me and has not followed bad people. In all things consult Khunnan and Kokosoi. Jochi is my eldest son. Let Khunnan govern the Genigesis and be attached to Jochi's household." He said further, "Khunnan, Kokosoi Diegai and Usunubun have never deceived me but have told me what they have heard and seen."⁴⁷

To Jelmi, Chinghiz said, "When I was born at Deliumbolda, near the Onon, your father the old man Jarchiudai came from the mountain Burkhan with a smith's bellows behind his back, and gave me a sable wrapper; at that time Jelmi was still in swaddling clothes. He gave him to me, and he has been a faithful slave. He has grown up with me and has been my companion and has performed many services for me. I absolve him from punishment till he has committed nine offences."⁴⁸

To Talun he said, "Why have you and your father been entrusted with the government of thousands? Because you helped him to bring together much people. I gave you the title of Cherbi. Be ruler over the thousands whom you have brought together, and always consult Talukhân."⁴⁹

To Vangur, son of Mungetukyan, he said, "Formerly you together with the three Torkhaut clans, the five Tarkhut peoples and the two tribes Chansshkit and Bayan, formed one camp with me. You did not stay out in the dark and fog, nor did you part from me during disorders and ill-fortune. You have borne the cold and wet with me. What reward do you wish for?" Vangur said, "If in your kindness you bid me choose I should like to assemble the tribe Bayut, who are scattered over several settlements." Chinghiz consented and said, "Having collected them be a leader of thousands and govern them." He said further, "Vangur and Borouli, from this time in large assemblies in the open field, do you distribute the food and drink on horseback, while in-doors stand right and left near the wine cellar,²¹ and take charge of it with Tolun and others. With your faces turned towards the north do you superintend the eating and drinking."
To Boroul he said, “My mother adopted you with Shigikhutukhu, Gucha, and Kokochu as her children, when you had been found in deserted camps. She fed and petted you and prepared you to be companions of men and to be companions for us her children. You have already not a little repaid my mother’s good nature. Boroul having become my companion in the most dangerous battles, in the most difficult times, you never allowed me to want food or drink, nor to pass my nights in hunger. When we destroyed the Tartars, one of them named Khargilshila escaped by flight, and having no food came to my mother’s house and asked for food and clothing. Upon which she bade him seat himself, and he sat down by the door to the west of it. At that moment my five-year old child Tului entered the tent and went out again. As he came out Khargil seized him under the arms, and went out and drew his knife. At that time Altan, Boroul’s wife, who was sitting on the eastern side of the tent, ran out and seized Khargil by the hair and pulled down the hand which held the knife. Jedaï and Jelmi claimed to have done the greater service in the affair. ‘If we had not arrived,’ they said, ‘you a woman all alone could not have overcome him and he would have killed Tului.’ Altan replied that, if she had not called them they would not have come, and if she had not seized him by the hair and wrenched the knife from him, Tului would have been dead before they arrived. ‘In this dispute Altan, Boroul’s wife, had the best of it,’ says our sententious authority. Again, during the fight with Wang Khän in the district of Khalkhaljit, Ogedai was wounded in the mouth by an arrow. Boroul sucked the coagulated blood from the wound, and saved his life. Thus in return for the kindness of my mother he has saved the lives of two of my sons. In the most difficult circumstances he has never been idle. I absolve him from punishment; till he has committed nine offences.” Chinghiz also said he would reward women.

To the old man Usun he said, “Usun, Khunan, Kokososi and Diegai never deceived me, and always told me what was passing in their hearts.”

By the recent regulations, i.e. probably by the Yasa or code of laws recently promulgated the title Beki has become one of great honour. “Usun, you are the senior descendant of Baarim,” you ought to be Beki. When you become a Beki, ride on a white horse, clothe yourself in white clothes, and in the assemblies take the highest place. Choose a propitious month and year. May you be honoured and respected.”

Chinghiz then went on to say, “Khulidar was the first to volunteer to fight. For this valour may his descendants share in the alms given to widows and orphans.”

To Nalintaolin, son of Chakhankhoa, he said, “Your father served me faithfully and perished at the battle of Talanbaljut through Jamukha. Receive therefore the alms due to orphans.”

Taolin replied, “My people the Negus are scattered in many camps. I should like to collect them together.” He told him he might do so, and appointed that he and his heirs should rule over them in succession. To Skohanshira he said, “In my childhood when Tarchutai Kiriltuk with the people Taijut took me prisoner you and your son concealed me in your house, ordered your daughter Khaada to wait upon me and let me depart. This service of yours I remembered day and night, but it is only lately you have joined me. And I have not been able to reward you until now. What would you like to have?” He and his son replied, “We should like to be allowed to pitch our tents according to our pleasure in the Merkit country of Selinda. As to the rest, decide yourself how to reward us.” Chinghiz replied “Be it as you wish. Pitch your tents where you will in that country. In addition let your descendants carry bows and arrows and have each a separate cup, and let them be forgiven until they have committed nine offences.” To the children of Chilann and Chinbo he said, “How shall I forget the words you once spoke to me? Whenever you lack anything which your souls cannot obtain, come to me yourselves and ask me.”

---

12 i.e. his son Ogotui.
13 Id., p. 122.
14 Palladius (note 462) suggests that in the tonic text of the Yuan-chao-pi-shih these rewards were enumerated, but they are not mentioned in the text he translated.
15 i.e. of Baarim.
56 The title Beki was given to the leader or senior of a tribe.
57 Id., pp. 122, 133.
58 i.e. probably in the royal feasts.
further:—"Sorkhanshira, Badai and Kishlek, be free. The booty you obtain and the beasts you capture in predatory raids, keep for yourselves alone.""

To Naia he said, "When you and your father took Tarkhtuai Kiriltuk, you said, How shall we, treacherous to our own master, seize him? You immediately gave him his liberty and became my subjects. For this act I then said I would sometime reward you. Boorchu is made temnik of the right hand, Mukhal temnik of the left, you be temnik of the centre.""

To Jebe and Subedai he said, "Rule the people collected by you as commanders of thousands." He also ordered Dirgal to collect the homeless and to become their commander. When the various appointments had been made, it was found that Guchugur had very few people under him. Chinghiz ordered each of the chiefs to give up a few of his men and then appointed him and Mukhallakhu commanders.""

This long story from the Yuan-chao-pi-shi can only be supplemented in a slight degree from other sources. Douglas has translated a passage in his life of Chinghiz Khán which is probably derived from the She-wei, in which he tells us that Muhule and Purshu were created princes of the right hand and left by Chinghiz, who said to them, "It is to you that I owe my empire. You are and have been to me as the shafts of a carriage or the arms to a man's body. I pray that you may never falter in your attachment to me.""

In the Yuan-shi-pei-shi we also read that after Chinghiz had proclaimed himself emperor he declared Muholi and Porchun his two principal generals and first ministers.""

SUGAR-CANE HAWKERS.
These are Muhammandans and Maratha or Hindús; their time of hawking is at night, from 7 p. m. to 12 or 2 in the morning. They cry "Ganderi, gulub gandheri," sugar cane, sweet as roses;" these they sell by weight at one anna a seer. They buy the bundles of sugar-cane from vakhsas. During the day they scrape the canes with large knives, and cut them into pieces, about an inch long, with scissors made for the purpose. From each cane they make about twenty pieces. The knots and ends, called gathi, are sold to cattle-keepers. The pieces are then soaked in water to make them appear fresh and weigh heavier. They are then placed in a wooden tray, on which a plaited leaf is spread, and are covered with a thick cloth soaked in water, to keep them in good condition. To the tray is attached a small earthen lamp, to afford light. These people sell from 10 to 15 seers a night, and are much patronized by the lower orders of people. The business is carried on all the year round, but during the rains the demand is not great, as then the streets are deserted. In the warm months they have a good business, because people who stay out late are tempted to buy it to refresh themselves.

VEGETABLE HAWKERS.
These are chiefly Hindús, and their cry is "Ghe, mirchida, kotimbri, bhadj," meaning chillies, coriander, shrub, and vegetables of sorts. They go about the town from early morning till 11 a. m., and again from 4 to 5 p. m. After this, if any vegetables are left which are not likely to remain fresh till next morning, they squat by the wayside or on a veranda near a bazaar, and do their best to dispose of them, and then return home. These people leave their houses as early as 4 a. m., and go to Bhalkal where people from the carts and from Mahim, Warli, Vandré, and the country, bring vegetables of all sorts for sale. From them the petty hawker purchase their stock, bargaining so as to allow of some gain. This bazaar, which is now held near the Victoria Gardens, was formerly held near the Bhalkal Bridge; it is over by 6 a. m.

2 i. e. Mukhal.
3 Douglas, pp. 55 and 56.
4 i. e. Boorchu.
5 i. e. Boorchu.
After the hawker has done his morning work he returns home, and after his meal he goes to sleep. What is left he takes out again in the evening. Such hawkers make a daily profit of 6 to 8 annas or more, and their business lasts all the year round.

**Mālīs or Flower Sellers.**

Flower-selling is invariably followed by men (Hindūs only). In a small light basket they put wreaths or garlands of Mogri, Champeli, Jai, Jui, Ghapa, Gulchhodi, Roses, and other flowers, but the greatest demand is for the first two. The basket, tied with strings and hung from the hand, rests on the waist. Their business commences in the afternoon from 3 p.m., and lasts till 9 or 10 p.m., during which time they go about from house to house crying out in a sharp tone the names of the flowers they carry. Hindū women are fond of decorating the top-knot, shendā, with garlands of either of these flowers, and this practice is common both with respectable women and prostitutes; the doors of the latter are open to the flowersellers till a late hour, and it is an indispensable portion of their toilet; for, however poor they may be and unable to find jewels wherewith to decorate their persons and show themselves to advantage, the wreath must be got and put on every evening. These flower-sellers follow no other profession. They buy their flowers from gardens on an annual payment, for they do not sell all year round. As flowers are in great demand with the Hindū women, these Mālīs manage to make a comfortable livelihood. If they do not find customers they go to some of the numerous Hindū temples, and present them to the gods. Well-to-do Hindū females buy flowers daily, in which case they pay a Mālī from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 a month, and the Mālī is required to give them the best flowers made into wreaths.

Besides these there are other classes of nominal Mālīs employed in gentlemen’s gardens to water trees, who make away with the inferior kinds of flowers such as Jāswant, Kangher, &c., from the gardens, and sell them to the Mālīs at from one anna to eight, according to the quality and nature of the flowers. These inferior flowers are not purchased by Hindū females but are used for the worship of the gods. The Mālīs tie a small bunch of flowers in a leaf, not forgetting to add a few leaves of Tulsi or sweet Basil and a leaf or so of Bel, and sell them at the rate of a pie for each bundle, or on a monthly payment of from two to four annas.

Poor people who need flowers for their household gods are supplied every morning by a few Banyās living on the Bholeśwar road. But should it not be convenient for a Hindū to go that distance, he will, before the break of day, go to some garden near his house, and steal the flowers for his gods.

**Ground-nut Hawkers.**

These are both Mārwādis and Marāthā Hindūs. They carry a basket on their head, and cry out “Jethi bhunjeli singa, garam garam,” meaning ‘ground nuts parched in sand, hot, hot.’ They hawk about the town from 12 to 5 p.m. They purchase these nuts from godowns, and parch them either at their own houses or get them parched at kilns in the town. Hindū women and children are very fond of the nuts, and both males and females eat them, especially on Ekādāshi (11th) and other fast days. They would not buy them from Muhammadan hawkers, and hence there are no hawkers of this article belonging to that sect.

**Pāpaḍ-Hawkers.**

The hawkers of pāpaḍ, or very thin cakes, are both Banyās and Musalmans, male and female. Hindūs, Musalmans, Pārsis and others are very fond of these. The cakes are very thin, and made from the flour of Udit or mash (phasōlus max), highly seasoned with asafoetida and salt, called pāpaḍ khār. These ingredients are all kneaded with the Udit flour and plantain or other water into a tenacious paste to form the pāpaḍ, which is rolled into cakes as thin as wafers. These are dried in the sun and kept in quantities, and then baked at the fire until crisp, or boiled in sweet oil, and eaten with great relish.

There is another kind of these wafer biscuits called in Marāthī Kalkhanda. These are made in the same way as the pāpaḍ, but highly seasoned with the hottest chilly pepper.

**Kuṅku Hawkers.**

The hawker of Kuṅku is generally an old woman, by caste a Hindū. She does not cry out as she goes along, but goes from house to house asking if the inmates are in want of the stuff. The Kuṅku “is a reddish-coloured powder, prepared by steeping the roots of turmeric for three days in water and for three days in lime-juice. The roots are then cut up into small
pieces, and kept for a day in a solution of sal ammoniac, alum, and limejuice, and when dried, ground in a hand mill," and the powder mixed with cocoanut oil. When ready for use it is applied to the forehead by married and unmarried women and girls. Widows are forbidden the use of it.

The lot of the Hindú widow is hard indeed. She is not only prevented from applying kušku to her forehead, but forbidden to see her own face in a looking-glass. At the time of the removal of the remains of her deceased husband, the kušku is rubbed off her forehead, and she herself consigned to a dark room, where nobody can see her; her very children are kept away, and nobody, not even her grown-up married daughters or her mother, will see her face. Only widows like herself can have access to her. Dinner is served her by a widow, but in case there should be no widow to do this a male cook leaves the plate in the room at some distance from her. If the unfortunate widow, who has been punished (as it is held) by the Almighty for sins done in a past life, is poor and cannot afford to employ a cook, then a daughter, if she has one, will do this service; but before approaching her, she will inform her mother that she is coming; whereupon the latter covers herself from head to foot and crouches in a dark corner. The food is then placed at some distance in the dark room, where she is kept from the time of her husband’s death. “Young and old, beautiful and ugly, are alike amenable to the hateful rite. The cruel treatment of widows has long excited the compassion of Europeans, who would not be backward to do anything for the Hindú widow, but are powerless in the matter. A girl of 3, 5, or 7 is betrothed or married to a person of 30, 50, or 70.” She does not know what marriage means, has perhaps never seen her lord’s face or only by a shy glance, bashfully taken at him, and the person called her husband dies hundreds of miles off. The poor little thing is his widow; she cannot apply the red stuff to her forehead; she must not chew betel nut and leaves or attend dinner parties; she must not attend the marriage or thread ceremony; she is forbidden to join processions; her lot is cast in the dark recesses of a single room,—for was she not the cause of her husband’s death? The younger she is, the greater the sinner she must have been to be overtaken so soon by the calamity of her husband’s death, “and her accusations are proportionately malignant. Her presence is a curse that must never blight social festivity, nor sacred ritual, the house is cursed for her sake, no accident or misfortune occurs but it is her fault; she is the drudge, the butt, the sorrow, the reproach of her family.” For three days a Hindú widow is not allowed to step into a new house, but three days after the housewarming is over, she may enter it. The writer of this knows of a case where a girl-widow often asked her mother, when seeing her comb her hair and apply kušku, why her (the girl’s) hair was not combed nor kušku applied to her forehead, when the mother would cry bitterly, and clasping the young widow tenderly to her heart would say, “Child, it is my fate, would to God I had not been born to see you so.”

The British Government has passed a law permitting Hindú widows to re-marry, and giving them the same rights as those enjoyed by women whose husbands are still living. But a Hindú married woman will not appear before any person without kušku on. There are some women who keep a small looking-glass, and a karandi (wooden box) containing kušku under their pillows, and apply the latter with the help of the former early in the morning before leaving their beds. Fashionable women do not apply more kušku than would adhere to a needle point between their eyebrows, but the majority make a mark of the size of a small pea, and others of low caste and some Brāhmans make the mark of the size of a shilling or a florin.

Small-way Vendors.

The hawkers of thread and needles, &c., are Bohorā-Muhammadans. They carry a small square wooden box on the head containing small looking-glasses with tin frames, thread, needles, pins, glass-beads called pōt, wool, match-boxes, soap, buttons, studs, sleevelinks, lead and slate pencils, slates, corkscrews, knives and forks, spoons, scissors, knives, note paper, envelopes, &c., and cry Saya dhāgā, ñgini.
The articles they vend are bought from wholesale dealers. It is women generally who buy from these hawkers.

**Tāki, Tāki.**

This is a profession followed both by Marāṭhās (Hindūs) and Musalmans from the Dakhan, men and women. The morning and noon is the time they go about. Tākī means 'incision,' either on the hand-mill or a slab. They operate on curry stones and handmills. The latter, if small, is called in Marāṭhi jādē, and if large, gharat,—indispensable articles in every Hindū dwelling. The curry stone is a slab 18 inches by 6 or 8, and about three inches in thickness.

The constituents of good curry stuff are a couple of chillis and a piece of cocoanut, both either dry or fresh, some fresh coriander, and saffron. These are put together and ground upon the stone, called in Marāṭhi pāṭā (slab). The grinding on the pāṭā is done by means of a stone roller about 2½ inches in diameter and 18 inches long, called varonta. In addition to curry stuff the well-to-do Hindūs daily grind cocoanut scrapings, which is thus made to yield a juice called either shirī or dudh—in colour like milk, and this juice they use in their kādī (curry). Now the slab and mill require at intervals a Tākivālī, who goes about with a curved iron instrument pointed at one end with a small handle made of wood fixed to it. When he is called in, the pāṭā or the mill, as the case may be, is laid before him, and after fixing the price, he proceeds to hammer away to make it rough, as necessary for the proper grinding. From a half to one anna for a pāṭā, and from 1 to 1½ annas for a jātē, and from 2 to 2½ as for a gharat satisfies him for his labour. The muller is not operated upon, but in some cases among Portuguese it also is dressed. A few superstitious Hindus of high caste will not allow a Muselman to operate upon their pāṭā, though they will not hesitate to buy a new one from a Muselman stone mason. Among the lower castes, after the re-dressing of the hand mill, a handful or two of rice is ground by the owner in the mill, and from 5 to 7 circles drawn with the flour on the middle of the public road to ensure that the work is good and may last for a long time. When the hawkers goes out in pursuit of his calling, he carries his instrument on his shoulder.

**Sweetmeat Sellers.**

These men tastefully arrange their various kinds of sweetmeats, to attract people to their shops. Some of their articles are exceedingly sweet, and others indigestible, but the Hindūs and other natives indulge freely in them, and often to injurious excess. Among them the shop of Amichand, with no pretensions whatever to show, is considered the best, as the articles sold are reputed to be always made with clarified butter, ghi, of a superior sort, and sold at fixed prices. His kale, a kind of nutritious sweetmeat, is of the very best kind, and no high-caste Hindū, excepting a Brāhmaṇ, will buy this sweetmeat at any but Amichand's shop. He sells his kale at three annas per seer.

**Shoe-makers.**

The mochi makes singularly formed pointed and square-toed shoes, also slippers, and it is a peculiarity that he generally works with his head uncovered.

**Hawkers of Rags.**

These men are either Musalmans or Hindūs. They go about the town from 11 or 12 till 5 p. m., calling out "Chindi, chhīdī," or "pāṭelī, tutelī chhīdī," 'rags, bits of rags.' The Muselman, when he is called, inspects the rags one by one, and then looking at the seller declares them not good or fit for his purpose, wishing thereby to lower their value. He then offers a trifling sum for them, and goes away a short distance, then returns offering better terms, say at the rate of six annas per mān, and completes the sale by paying the money. The Mahār hawker will not pollute the rags by his touch, but have a look at them from a distance. In addition, the Mahār picks up rags from lanes, gutters, &c. The wives and daughters of these men follow the same occupation, and even visit dust-bins, where they pick up cocoanut shells, pieces of wood, &c.

**Onions, Garlic and Potatoes.**

The hawkers of these are Musalmans, Bānyās and Marāṭhās. The Bānyās mostly hawk onions and garlic only. They cry out "Krāndi, laun, batādū," 'onions, garlic, and potatoes.' Some, when hawking garlic, only call out "Lau, Ghoghāri laun," 'garlic from Ghogha.' They purchase these articles from godowns in the markets, and retail them by weight. Their time for hawking is from 7 to 12 a.m. and again...
from 3 to 5 P.M. The rest of their time they spend in their houses making preparations for the next day’s sale, or in purchasing new stock from vakhres.

**Pulse Hawkers.**

The hawkers of pulses are either Khārvīs or Marāthis, Hindus by caste. Early every morning they go about the town with baskets full of pulses, calling "Wāl, wātānā, chānē," "dolichos, peas, and gram." These are put in water a night previous to soften them and the next day they are fit for eating, for generally no pulse is cooked without first soaking it in water. The hawker buys these articles in quantities, according to the requirements of his customers, and keeps the stock ready for sale. His busy hours are from 6 to 9 A.M. During the rest of the day some sell parched pulse calling "Chane, kurmāri," "gram and parched rice." Besides gram and rice, they sell almost all pulses, including ground seed, and beaten rice called in Marāthi pohe. At night or late in the evening they hawk about gandheri, or sugarcane cut into small pieces.

**Butter-men.**

The hawkers of butter are generally of the carpenter or Gavli caste, Hindus with a few Musalmans. The hawker of the carpenter caste starts early in the morning from Warli, Māhīm, &c., and hawks about the European localities with a fresh supply of butter in a small wooden tray, and calls out, "Lonī," "butter." They sell butter by a measure called ṣāp, from the English word "cup." Each cup costs one anna. Hindus seldom purchase butter from them. Butter is made at outstations, and imported in large quantities, which the well-to-do Hindus purchase and boil into ghi. The hawkers of the carpenter caste, who deal among Europeans, &c., make about fifteen or twenty rupees a month; the others not so much.

**The Cotton Cleaners.**

The Pīnjārī or cotton cleaner in Bombay is always a Musalman. He beats the cotton against a tightened leather cord, till it becomes loose, and then fills pillow-cases and mattresses with it. He charges three pice for cleaning and filling one and a half to two seers of cotton.

**Calico-printers.**

These people display much skill in printing from wooden blocks, which they hold in their hands, but their work is not much in demand, since the handsomer and less expensive English prints have come into fashion.

**The Carpenter.**

The Sūtār goes about the streets inquiring if his services are required. He employs few tools, and in a sitting position not only makes neat furniture, but boxes of sandalwood inlaid with metal and ivory, in the most delicate and elegant patterns.

**Paper-kite Makers.**

As soon as the dry season sets in and the winds prevail, the trade of the pataṅguvālā commences, for old and young of all castes delight in flying the pataṅg, and while the Musalmans select those which are adorned with the crescent, the Hindūs choose those which are ornamented with stars and painted in gay colours. The price of these kites varies from one pice to twelve annas. The smaller kites are called Vādli and the larger Pataṅg. The paper-kite makers are generally Musalmans.

**Lock and Key Hawkers.**

The hawkers of locks and keys are Bohorās only, Musalmans by caste. They go about the town and fort crying out "Tālā, chāwī," "locks and keys," or "alēyā chāwī," "keys." They carry with them some scores of keys of different sizes on a large iron ring, and a small wooden box rolled in thick coarse cloth, containing implements necessary for repairing locks, and fitting new keys, a few broken screws and nails of sizes. The busy time for these men is from 10 or 12 o'clock to 4 P.M. There are very few of these hawkers, and they do not make more than two to three annas a day.

**Shikalgohars—Knife-grinders.**

These are Musalmans by caste, they cry out, "Morli suri lā ḍhar láddyachi," asking whether any one wants his vegetable, or other knife, sharpened. The whet-stones are turned with a strap round the axle, and pulled to and fro by the alternate motion of the arms. They charge from one to two pice for sharpening a vegetable knife, and one pice or so for a pen-knife or other small instrument.

**Copper and Brass Pot Hawkers.**

The hawkers of such articles are Hindūs, Musalmans, Banyas, Mārvādis, Marāthis, and others. They hawk about the town the whole day, and sell by weight. The Kānsārs manufacture the pots at their own houses or workshops. Few purchase them from whole-
CORRESPONDENCE

ELAPATRA NAGA, &c.

With reference to the Rev. Mr. Beal’s letter ante, p. 50, he writes to say that “the account of Elapatra Naga visiting Buddha is found in the Vinaya Pitaka of the Mahisasaka school (Chinese version, K. xvi. p. 18). The account agrees entirely with the sculpture.

“Allow me also to suggest,” he continues, “that the phrase vijita vidyadharah (Ind. Ant. vol. XI. p. 27) does not refer to a king of the Vidyadharas undoing his hair, but to Sumedha untwisting his hair to let Dipankara pass over, as in the legend. Sumedha is called frequently possessor of magical power (vidhi). In a note (p. 17) of my translation of the Legend of Dipankara Buddha, I referred the peculiar flower (called by Fahian ‘a five-stalked flower’) in plate L. of Ferguson’s Tree and Serpent Worship, to the girl who became Sumedha’s wife. The sculpture at Bharhut evidently refers to this.”

AND MISCELLANEA.

STORY OF VARARUCHI.

SIR.—Referring to Mr. Grierson’s interesting paper on Maithila folklore in vol. X. p. 366ff., I beg to state that the story of Vararuchi is told also in the Sivadhânasadesatriśáka, see my paper on this work in vol. XV. of the Indische Studien, pp. 249, 301-309. The names differ; the king’s name is Nanda, his son is called Vijayapala, and the minister Vahušrata, the place of Vararuchi is filled by Śāradananda, but the queen’s name is the same, Bhānumati. The four syllables sa se mi rd, and the verses belonging to them are identical, with some variations. The greater number of the versions used by me read however ei se mi rd,

MOLASSES.

The hawkers of molasses are by caste either Banyas or Mārwādis. They go about with a wooden or metal tray on their heads, full of molasses, and a scale and weights. They call “god lē pātī god” or “god sākaryā god,” meaning “take, if liquid pātī, and if like sugar, sākaryā molasses.” They hawk this article the whole of the day, especially a few days before a Hindu holiday. They do not confine themselves to the selling of molasses only, for they also sell clarified butter, sugar, oil, &c.

(To be continued.)

WEHBER.

THE SO-CALLED HENOTheISM OF THE VEDA.

We have long been accustomed to class religions as monotheistic and polytheistic, according as they recognize the existence of one personal God or of a plurality of such, and to call pantheistic a faith which, rejecting the personality of a Creator accepts the creation itself as divine, or holds everything to be God. The last of these is the one least definite in character, and confessedly latest in the order of development; nor has it any popular or ethnic value; it is essentially a philosophic creed, and limited to the class of philosophers. The other two, monotheism and polytheism, divide between them the whole great mass of the world’s religions. As to which of the two is the earlier, and foundation of the other, opinions are, and will doubtless long or always remain, divided, in accordance with the views taken respecting the origin and first history of the human race. But it does not appear doubtful that they will settle down into two forms: either man and his first conditions of life are a miraculous creation, and monotheism a miraculous communication to him, a revelation; or, if he is a product of secondary causes, of development, and had to acquire his knowledge of the divine

1 Preserved in the sixth verse भागुपतिनित्य समा.
and his relations to it in the same way with the rest of his knowledge, namely by observation and reflection, then polytheism is necessarily antecedent to monotheism; it is simply inconceivable that the case should be otherwise—nor can we avoid allowing everywhere a yet earlier stage which does not even deserve the name of religion, which is only superstition.

Nearly all the religions of men are polytheistic; monotheisms are the rare exception; namely—1. The Hebrew monotheism, with its continuators, a, Christianity, and b, Mohammedanism; and 2, the Persian monotheism, or Zoroastrianism (so far as this does not deserve rather to be called dualism); the former apparently has behind it a general Semitic polytheism; the latter certainly grows out of the Aryan or Indo-Iranian belief in many gods. That they should be isolated products of the natural development of human insight is entirely in harmony with other parts of human history; thus, for example, all races have devised instruments, but few have reduced the metals to service, and the subjugation of steam is unique; all races have acquired language, but few have invented writing; indeed, all the highest elements of civilization arise at single points, and are passed from one community to another.

A single author, of much influence—namely, M. Müller—has recently endeavoured to introduce a new member, with a new name into this classification: he calls it *heathenism* or *kathenethes*, ‘the worship of one god at a time,’ as we may render it. The germ of his doctrine is to be found in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*; where, after speaking of the various gods of the Veda, he says (p. 539, 1st ed., 1839): ‘When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicant as good as all [i.e. as any of?] the gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity—as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfill their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers.’ And later (p. 526), after quotation of specimen: ‘When Agni, the lord of the fire, is addressed by the poet, he is spoken of as the first god, not inferior even to Indra. While Agni is invoked, Indra is forgotten; there is no competition between the two, nor any rivalry between them or other gods. This is a most important feature in the religion of the Veda, and has never been taken into consideration by those who have written on the history of ancient polytheism.’ In his later works, where he first introduces and reiterates and urges the special name *heathenism*, Müller’s doctrine assumes this form: (Lect. on Sc. of Rel., p. 141) that a *heathenistic religion* ‘represents each deity as independent of all the rest, as the only deity present in the mind of the worshipper at the time of his worship and prayer,’ this character being ‘very prominent in the religion of the Vedic poets,’ and finally (Or. and Growth of Rel., lect. vi.), that heathenism is ‘a worship of single gods,’ and that polytheism is ‘a worship of many deities which together form one divine polity, under the control of one supreme god.’

As regards the fundamental facts of Vedic worship, Müller’s statements so exaggerate their peculiarity as to convey, it is believed, a wholly wrong impression. It is very far from being true in any general way that the worship of one Vedic god excludes the rest from the worshipper’s sight; on the contrary, no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination. The different offices and spheres of each are in constant contemplation. They are addressed in pairs: Indra-Agni, Indra-Varuna, Mitra-Varuna, Heaven and Earth, Dawn and Night, and a great many more. They are grouped in sets: the Adityas, the Maruts, Indra and the Maruts, and so on. They are divided into gods of the heaven, of the atmosphere, of the earth. And they are summed up as “all the gods” (*vasesa deva*), and worshipped as a body. Only, in the case of one or two gods often, and of a few others occasionally (and of many others not at all), the worshipper ascribes to the object of his worship attributes which might seem to belong to a sole god: never, indeed, calling him sole god, but extolling him as chief and mightiest of the gods, maker of heaven and earth, father of gods and men, and so on. This fact has been often enough noticed before Müller, but no one had any difficulty in explaining it as a natural exaggeration, committed in the fervour of devotion. And it is in fact nothing else. This is evidenced by its purely occasional or even sporadic character, and by its distribution to its various objects. The office of Agni, as the fire, the god on earth, mediator and bearer of the sacrifice to the other gods, is as distinct as anything in Vedic religion, and the mass of his innumerous hymns are full of it; but he, in a few rare cases, is exalted by the ascription of more general and unlimited attributes. The exaggerations of the worship of Soma are unsurpassed and a whole Book (the ninth) of the *Rig-Veda* is permeated with them; yet it is never forgotten that after all, *soma* is only a drink, being purified for Indra and Indra’s worshippers. The same
exaltation forms a larger element in the worship of Indra, as, in fact, Indra comes nearest to the character of chief god, and in the later development of the religion actually attains in a certain subordinate way that character; but still, only as primus inter pares. These are typical cases. There is never a denial, never even an ignoring, of other and many other gods, but only a lifting up of the one actually in hand. And a plenty of evidence beside to the same effect is to be found. Such sparing of all limits in exalting the subject of glorification; such neglect of proportion and consistency, is throughout characteristic of the Hindu mind. The Atharva-Veda praises (x. 6) even the sāchchhikātta 'the remnant of the offering,' in a manner to make it almost supreme divinity: all sacrifices are in and through it, all gods and demi-gods are born of it, and so on; and its extollation of kāla, 'time' (xix. 53, 54), is hardly finer. And later, in epic story, every hero is smothered in laudatory epithets and ascriptions of attributes, till all individuality is lost; every king is master of the earth; every sage does penance by thousands of years, acquires unlimited power, makes the gods tremble, and threatens the equilibriums of the universe.

But this is exceptional only in its degree. No polytheist anywhere ever made an exact distribution of his worship to all the divinities acknowledged by him. Circumstances of every kind give his devotion special direction: as locality, occupation, family tradition, chance, preference. Conspicuous among "henotheists" is that assembly which "with one voice about the space of two hours cried out 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!'"—all other gods "disappeared for a moment from its vision." The devout Catholic, even, to no small extent, has his patron saint, his image or apparition of the Virgin, as recipient of his principal homage. If thus neither monotheism nor a monocratically ordered polytheism can repress this tendency, what exaggeration of it are we not justified in expecting where such restraints are wanting? And most of all, among a people so little submissive to checks upon a soaring imagination as the Indians?

The exaggeration of the Vedic poets never tends to the denial of multiple divinity, to the distinct enthronement of one god above the rest, or to a division of the people into Indra-worshippers and Agni-worshippers and Varuna-worshippers, and so on. The Vedic cultus includes and acknowledges all the gods together. Its spirit is absolutely that of the verse, curiously quoted by Müller among his proof-texts of henotheism: "Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young; you all are great indeed." That is to say there are an indefinite number of individual (Müller prefers to call them "single") gods, independent, equal in godhood; and hence, each in turn capable of being exalted without stint. No one of them even arrives at supremacy in the later development of Indian religion; for that the name Vishnu is Vedic appears to be a circumstance of no moment. But, also according to the general tendencies of developing polytheism, there come to be supreme gods in the more modern period: Vishnu, to a part of the nation; Śiva, to another part; Brahman, to the eclectics and harmonizers. The whole people is divided into sects, each setting at the head of the universe and specially worshipping one of these, or even one of their minor forms, as Krishna, Jagannatha, Durgā, Rāma.

Now it is to these later forms of Hindu religion, and to their correspondents elsewhere, that Müller would fain restrict the name of polytheism. To believe in many gods and in no one as of essentially superior rank to the rest is, according to him, to be a henotheist; to believe in one supreme god, with many others that are more or less clearly his underlings and ministers, is to be a polytheist! It seems sufficiently evident that, if the division and nomenclature were to be retained at all, the names would have to be exchanged. A pure and normal polytheism is that which is presented to us in the Veda; it is the primitive condition of polytheism, as yet comparatively undisturbed by theosophic reflection; when the necessity of order and graduation and a central governing authority makes itself felt, there has been taken a step in the direction of monotheism; a step that must be taken before monotheism is possible, although it may, and generally does, fail to lead to such a result.

It may be claimed, then, that henotheism, as defined and named by its inventor, is a blunder, being founded on an erroneous apprehension of facts, and really implying the reverse of what it is used to designate. To say of the Vedic religion that it is not polytheistic but henotheistic, is to mislead the unlearned public with a juggle of words. The name and the idea cannot be too rigorously excluded from all discussions of the history of religions. It is believed that they are in fact ignored by the best authorities.1

W. D. WHITNEY.

1 From a paper read before the American Oriental Society, at New Haven, Oct. 29th, 1881.
THE following notes on Panḍharpūr are intended as a kind of supplement to the paper on Tukārām in the Antiquary, supra, pp. 57-66. Our readers will remember that Panḍharpūr was to Tukārām a kind of heaven on earth; equal to all other holy places put together. To bathe in the waters of the Bhūmā, to dance on its sands, and to gaze on the image of Viṭhobā,—this was, to the Marāṭhā poet, the consummation of blessedness. His ardent utterances powerfully sway, up to this hour, the mind of Māhārāṣṭrā; and the number of the pilgrims who visit Panḍharpūr is not, as yet, perceptibly falling off.

My object in this paper is to give an account of what I saw at Panḍharpūr, and to do so in the simplest language possible. My purpose is not to moralize, but to describe.

I have not been able to visit Panḍharpūr recently. I had planned to do so from Poona during last rains; but on inquiry I found that the Government bungalow was full of officials, who required all the available room; and I could not trust to finding a suitable corner in the town at a time when it was full to overflowing of pilgrims. I shall state towards the end of my paper in what respects Panḍharpūr has changed since I knew it. The worship, at all events, has not changed; and it is of the worship almost exclusively that I mean to speak.

My friend H. and I reached Panḍharpūr, at night, on the 16th December. The town is about 112 miles S. E. of Poona. We were easily led to the place by the rockets that were ascending in great numbers—partly, I suppose, to guide the pilgrims who had begun to pour in. On entering the town we could find no one who could or would tell us where to put up. Every one seemed a stranger to the place. We rode along, on our tired ponies, over paved and slippery streets, catching from a lofty bank a glimpse of the Bhūmā glittering in the moonlight. We found our way to the public chavāḍī, where we were advised to put up in a mathā on the opposite bank of the river, the Government bungalow not being yet furnished. Happily we had a small tent with us, which we pitched close to the mathā under a clump of trees, so as to secure some measure of privacy. We could not have desired a more pleasant position. We were separated from the town by the Bhūmā, which, however, was easily fordable on pony-back. I gazed with no small interest on a stream so celebrated in Mārāṭhī poetry. It seemed about three feet deep, and perhaps some thirty broad; winding with a clear, swift, whispering current, to mingle its classic waters with those of the distant Krishnā.

We were tired by a series of long marches; for there was no railway in those days, and we had started from Bombay almost too late to witness the beginning of the yādā. Next morning we did little more than see visitors, who had already discovered the presence of European strangers.

In the afternoon towards evening, however, we crossed the river, and walked along its ample sands. Everywhere the scene was most striking. The temperature was perfect; the golden lustre of the setting sun filled the whole valley, save where it was slightly dimmed by the smoke of the pilgrims' fires; the moon, nearly full, was shining, half way up the sky, with a silvery light ever brightening as the golden hue receded; the Bhūmā glittered and hastened on its way. The pilgrims seemed for a time subdued almost into silence by the exquisite calm of the sunset. Then as the evening advanced, and we threaded our way amidst a multitude of tents, great and small, extending along the sands for a mile at least, we came to one company after another engaged in religious recitation.

Here is a gathering of at least two hundred people, men and women, seated in a circle on the ground with no studied separation of the sexes; and beyond the sitters are many standing. The principal actors form a kind of inner semicircle; they are about twenty in number; each is provided with a tāl; several have chipalya and cymbals; there is also a small drum; many have garlands round their necks. Within this semicircle stands the chief performer, with a vīdūḍ in his hand; he seems about forty-five years old, rough, and almost ragged, not high-caste in appearance, yet said to be a Brahman. He and his twenty companions stand on a carpet, which extends
far enough to allow a good many of the hearers to share it. We go nearly into the front ranks, anxious to see and hear all; there is no sign of opposition or dislike; the chief performer looks at us, but does not pause in his address. Several point to the front as our proper place; but we wave a polite declination. We listen. The leader speaks a few sentences in Mārāṭh; then gives a poetical quotation, which is instantly caught up by the twenty, who repeat it over and over again, with a great clashing of the tāls. The first of these quotations is—

Nāh sukha koṇā dīya sansārī—

(Happiness falls not to any who comes into the world); and the address is simply a discourse on that text; treating of the shortness of life and the vanity of all earthly joys. Man's life, said the speaker, is not one hundred years; even if it were, nearly one half goes to sleep. Then diseases come; you are laid aside; perhaps you die young. So the strain ran on; it seemed quite in the spirit of the lines—

Tukā said, One refuge—Hari's feet—ne'er faileth;
Nothing else availeth;

All but pains thee.

"All earthly things are vanity; therefore draw thy heart away from them, and devote thyself to the worship of Viṣṇu." Such was the exhortation—a strange mixture of truth and error. We longed to tell of a better refuge than Viṣṇu; but the recitation was far from finished, and we had to depart before we could say anything.

The preacher introduced illustrations pretty frequently from Hindu mythology. The names of the god and his wife Rākhmāt were often mentioned; and when this was done the multitude broke out in a loud and long-continued shout. The feeling was very infectious; old men and even little children clapped their hands, and shouted, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, jaya, jaya, Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, victory, victory to Viṣṇu). Almost equally frequent is the shout of Jānadev Tukārōm—the combined names of the two chief Mārāṭh poets, who have been exalted to the rank, at least, of demi-gods. The twenty men moved in a kind of dance. There was nothing of what could be called solemnity. The reciter sometimes stopped and told people where to sit. He once attempted a Sanskrit quotation, but broke down in the middle;—a Brahman helped him out with it; "thank you," said he, and proceeded with his address. Generally, at the end of the recitations the dancing became very animated. It was not dancing, however, so much as jumping. The leader jumped; all his assistants jumped; many of the audience jumped. Some, with heads bent down, were running wildly round. Shouting; jumping; clashing of cymbals; clouds of sand; will the people go mad? No; in the height of the tempest of emotion a loud call is heard; and instantly all is over, and the assembly breaks up. So this was what Tukā meant when he said—

Saints are there, a noble band,
Dancing joyful on the sand!

We moved on and found some twenty assemblies at short distances from each other, all similarly employed. This sort of thing continued for hours. My friend went out again, towards midnight, to see how matters were going on, and found the reciters in many cases making desperate efforts to keep their audiences awake. One man, a Mālī (gardener) by caste, had his whole congregation sound asleep. My friend began to expostulate with him on his lost labour. "Do not, my good sir, take all this trouble; see, you are speaking to deaf men." "Do you think," said the preacher indignantly, "that I do this for men? I am doing it for God."

All through the night there had been borne across the river to our resting place the mingled noise of the clashing cymbals and "the sounding of the name," i.e. the loud shouting of the name of one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu—especially Viṣṇu. During the day, even at a considerable distance, we heard a continuous murmur which we named "the roar of the yāṭrā."

On going out early next morning we found the recitations still barely concluded. A cheerless night many of the poor pilgrims must have spent, whether they walked or slept. The breeze towards morning became very chill; and we were glad when we could exclude it from our tent. Most of the pilgrims were doubtless under some kind of covering; but those who remained, professedly listening to the recitations all night long, were not few in number.

So, with little variation, the kṛt̐īs were conducted night after night. The most notable
alteration was this—the first company we came to on the second evening was addressed by a woman. We were told she was a widow named Sālubā. She might have been fifty years of age. She had no hand of assistants with her. She had a vīrā on her shoulder; but did not play nor sing;—she simply spoke in a mild, yet distinct voice. She was explaining a passage of the celebrated poem the Jñānāvartī (or, as the Marāthis pronounce it, Dvānāvarī), which is a commentary on the Bhagavad Gītā. A Brahman would have called her pronunciation and accent vulgar. We caught her meaning with difficulty; but we remained some time, admiring the quiet self-possession of the woman. There was no gesticulation—little animation; but she had the full sympathy of her audience. She uttered the words, often used as a mantrā or spell, Rāma Krishna Hari; and instantly the well-known sound was caught up by the hearers, and loud and long-continued was the shout, Rāma Krishna Hari. People at last held up their hands, and called out, Hush! and Sālubā, in her mild persuasive tones, cried Aikā māā—Listen, good friends. There were about a hundred and fifty people attending with evident interest to the female preacher.

We go on. Here is an audience exceeding 400, addressed by a man with great vehemence, who has preached himself quite hoarse. Who is he? He is speaking fair Marāthis, but probably be from the Gangetic valley. We find he is no disciple of our Marāthis school, but a follower of the celebrated Kabīr, or Kabīr Swāmī as they call him. And here is a man addressing a small company in Hindī. He turns out to be a follower of Swāmī Nārāyaṇ, who was a teacher—to some extent a reformer—that has exercised considerable influence in Gujarāṭ, though not in Mahārāṣṭra. The man holds that the supreme divinity is specially revealed in Krishna; but he says little or nothing about Viṭhobā. He has come here apparently to proselytize; and no one hinders him. There is large toleration exercised at Paṇḍharāpur.

But this evening we already begin to perceive a most disagreeable odour in many places on the sands; indeed, it drives us away from some of the companies when we would gladly have stayed. It is a disagreeable subject to mention; yet, as having been, throughout all the
centuries since yātrās and melās commenced, one of their most characteristic features, it cannot be passed over in silence. At the time I refer to there were no sanitary regulations enforced at yātrās by Government. The consequence was that, in two or three days, the air became poisoned—sickening, almost pestilential. So it used to be at all the great religious gatherings I have seen; and knowing what was to be expected, I had always to pass through a mental struggle before I could attend a yātrā—a scene, in many respects, most interesting, yet, in this one respect, unutterably disgusting. Paṇḍharāpur contains about 16,000 inhabitants. The great yātrā, which is held twice a year, brings generally about 120,000 pilgrims. Over-crowding and infinite discomfort are inevitable in such a case;—disease is frequent. But let us quit the unsavoury subject.

The cry was still, they come. Every morning, as we rode out to the sands we noted bands of pilgrims arriving. They crossed at two fords, in endless succession; men, women, children; some on foot, many on ponies, bullocks, or buffaloes, or in carts. They rested on the sands—trying to find a decently clean place; then generally they went to bathe, and stood shivering in the cold water, till we sometimes pleaded with them to get their ablutions over more quickly. After their humble meal, they moved up into the town to gaze on Viṭhobā, "upright on the brick." We ourselves tried to penetrate into the temple. We got as far as the entrance, which is from a narrow, crowded street; but permission to go farther was politely, yet peremptorily, refused. We certainly were anxious to see that particular image. We were told it had not been fashioned by human hands but was svayambhu, i.e. self-produced. We were further informed that in the morning it looked like a child; at noon like a full-grown man, in the evening like an old man. All day long crowds were passing into and out of the temple. The image is in a small dark apartment which is lighted by a lamp. The temple with its aisles, courts, &c. covers a large space of ground. Part of it is very old and much decayed. Some thirty years ago, however, important repairs were executed at the expense of a Poona Sardār.

It is often asserted that caste is disregarded at Paṇḍharāpur; but we found that Mhāres were
not allowed to approach beyond a certain point. This led us to ask for an explanation; and we quoted one of Tukkrama's most remarkable abhangs, beginning—
'Twixt the low and lofty, God no difference knoweth;
Still to faith He showeth
All his glory:

in which the poet declares that the god Vithoba assisted the Mahr devotee, Tsokha Meja, even to bear off dead cattle,—which is one of the most humiliating of employments. "Why then," we asked, "exclude Mahr worshippers now?"
"That was all very well for the god," was the reply; "he may do as he pleases; but men must obey the rules of caste."

We were Missionaries; and of course we sought opportunities of conversing with the people and of preaching. We met no bitter opposition: many expressed a desire to hear us again. I do not enter either on the manner, or matter, of our addresses farther than as doing so may serve to illustrate the mental state of the pilgrims. We generally began, in humble imitation of the Apostle at Athens, with a conciliatio benevolentiae. "You, good friends, are very much in earnest. Some of you have come 600 miles to this festival. The expense, the labour is very great; the risk to life not small; for you all know how frequently cholera breaks out at these gatherings. You expect much from this pilgrimage. How sad if you do not get what you want; but what do you want?":—somewhat in this way began our addresses.

"We bathe in the Bhima, and gaze on the god; and so all sin is removed, and much righteousness acquired," was the usual answer. "Are you sure that bathing in the Bhima washes away sin?" "Why, who doubts it? have not I come 300 miles to be purified so?" "And how does gazing on Vithoba give righteousness?" "Vithoba is Jivaar; don't call the image a mere stone." We found a perpetual confusion of thought between the material image and an unseen Vithoba. "Vithoba," said one of the hearers, "is almighty and omnipresent." "Is he in your own village?" "To be sure." "Then why travel 400 miles to see him here?" "Ah! but this is a special Vithoba; this is a wayambhu image." "Well; but is it the image or the deity, you trust in?"
"The deity." And so on—the reader can conceive for himself how Christian missionaries would proceed from such a starting-point. We found then, as we had found and have found in a thousand other cases, that you may say anything you please to the people without giving offence, provided your manner and words be friendly. A little gentle irony is at times unavoidable; but anything approaching scorn or sarcasm must sedulously be shunned; and if this is done, the common people (though not always the Brahmins) hear you gladly.

We heard less of miracles being performed than we had expected. "We shall show you a stone that swims on water," said one. We said we should be glad to see it; but somehow the promise was not kept. "When the palanquin of Vithoba goes to the Bhima, the river rises to meet it," said another. We saw the procession of the palanquin by and by; but no one afterwards referred to the homage of the water.

We were anxious to discover what precise meaning was affixed to the phrase which we heard continually—that the waters of the Bhima "wash away sin." Evidently the pilgrims believed that the guilt of sin was removed; but did they hold that their hearts were also purified? We repeatedly put questions regarding this. "Unless our hearts are purified," said one man, "there is little good in our coming here. But were they purified? we persisted in inquiring; did experience show that they were? No one affirmed that they were; or if one or two maintained this, it was easy to silence them by proverbs current in all parts of India to the effect that those who go on pilgrimage generally come back worse men than before. "Visit Benares thrice," say our Marath people, "and you become a thorough scoundrel." We asked again—"when a pilgrim visits Pandharipund, does he not generally carry home a load of pride and self-conceit?" "Too often," was the reply. "Has he then got any good by bathing in the Chandrabhaga?" "Very little." "Has he not got harm?" "Perhaps."

---

1 Tukkrama thus contrasts three great places of pilgrimage.

At Kali, they shave the head; at Dwarka, they brand the arm;

But at Pandharpur, all become one;
The eighteen castes are all just Vaishnavas,—
There is no other belief at Pandharpur.
Poor, simple country-folks; it is custom, rather than real conviction, that brings them to Pan-
dharpūr. But custom in India is omnipotent.

Tukirām and his brother poets, who extol the importance of bhakti, do not inculcate extreme asceticism. We were therefore rather surprised to see at least six persons, during the festival, who were performing dandawat around the temple, some of them having come in the same fashion from great distances. They prostrated themselves on their faces on the ground; with a small piece of stick they made a semicircle as far in front of the head as the arm could reach; they then rose and, planting their feet on the mark thus made, prostrated themselves again. Another man had come, rolling like a log at the rate of two miles a day, from the neighbourhood of Nāgpūr, occupying about two years in the achievement. We talked with these people. Some of them disliked the interruption; but one man, after a friendly conversation, said—"Gentlemen, if your words are true, I had better go home at once."

In most cases such austerities were performed in fulfillment of a vow. Some blessing had been prayed for and the vow made. When the votary believed that the prayer had been heard, the vow was faithfully performed. In other cases, righteousness was sought for; the penance was a work of supererogation done to merit a great reward in the next birth. In one case the object was distinctly stated to be worldly good in the present birth. I think that in three out of the six cases, the observance was in fulfillment of a vow. In one instance a child had been given; in another, a child had recovered from sickness; in a third, a nephew had done so.

We were not a little touched by these last cases and the details mentioned, in connexion with them. Those poor hearts were grateful, however much mistaken as to the mode of rendering thanks and as to the Being who had granted the blessing. We tried to deal tenderly, as well as faithfully, with such worshippers as these.

The crowding of the worshippers into the small apartment in which the god resides was reported to us as exceedingly great. Women were often injured in the dreadful crush; sometimes subjected to sad indignities; sometimes had their ornaments torn off. A thoughtful English magistrate had ruled, a few years before, that the sexes, on the great day of the feast, should, as far as possible, be kept separate. Even as we could see, the police peons beat the people mercilessly with twisted and knotted cloths, to keep them, as they said, in order. Altogether, the scene was one of terrible confusion; and it passed our power to conceive how any feeling akin to devotion could long animate the breasts of any of the struggling, reeking multitude. But the sight of the image was overpayment for all their toils and trials. So, at least, they said,—even as Tukā sang more than two hundred years ago—

Said Tukā, This is all my happiness—
I shall see the blessed face of Viṭhubā.

Western readers would hardly believe that the very men who were thus earnest in worshipping would, next day or perhaps an hour later, enjoy a little playful banter, or even downright ridicule of the whole exhibition. We had heard an abhang of Nāmā's quoted, in which the glory of Panḍharpūr and Viṭhubā was celebrated in strains more wildly hyperbolical than anything Tukā ever wrote. Well, we made a parody on Nāmā's verses, and repeated the lines to the people. They were instantly caught up and repeated with laughter, till we regretted that we had ever uttered them; and for this reason, that we did not deem it right to treat any religious belief with ridicule. But be it remembered that the Hindus themselves can, at one hour, worship their deity with all seeming reverence, and at another quiz him without mercy. Strange people; when shall we fully understand them?

We had heard that the observances at Gopalpūr on the great and closing day of the festival would far surpass in interest anything

sublime," as Campbell calls him in the "Pleasures of Hope," violating both prosody and common sense—is a god much worshipped. Yet, with his elephant head and huge belly, he rides on a rat. Accordingly, the following lines are popular all over Mahrāṭhāra—

Poor Ganpati bewails his rat
Abstracted by felocious cat;

"Short are my thighs; how can I trudge?"
And how shall this big belly budge?"
we had witnessed. We accordingly proceeded to Gopálpur, distant rather more than a mile from Paṇḍharpur; and we did so with high expectations. The road was densely crowded with men, women, children—many on foot, some on ponies, a few in palanquins; and there were some elephants and camels. This promised to be a grand occasion. The pilgrims—many of them—bore small flags, generally of a dirty red colour. Streams of people were evidently coming in from the villages around. On, on to a rising ground, on which stands a large and solidly built temple. We ascended to the summit, and waited patiently for the expected ceremonies. Still the people poured in, till an immense crowd surrounded the temple. Murmurs; the clashing of cymbals; occasional shouts; showers of parched grain, which are flung about till the ground becomes perfectly white. People crowd into the temple; but we are of course excluded. The bands of pilgrims, with their multitudinous banners, still fill all the road to Paṇḍharpur; they look almost like regiments marching to battle. But what is it all about? There is no recitation; it is all play. Men wrestle; some stand on one leg; some dance; others fence with sticks; all sorts of antics go on. There, positively, are women dancing with men;—can we believe our eyes? Occasional shouts—loud, almost terribly so; clapping of hands—how the thing spreads! It runs along the line of pilgrims, far into the distance towards Paṇḍharpur. At length we see a large black clay vessel, fastened on a tree; it is broken, and the mingled dahi (curdled milk) and parched grain tumble down, are snatched up by the screaming, struggling crowd below, and greedily devoured. And so ends the ceremony; which is evidently meant to commemorate the sports of the youthful Krishna, in the groves of Vṛndāvan. (Viṭhobá is a manifestation of Krishna.) We rode slowly back, Saddar and perhaps wiser men,—talking to the pilgrims who return singing the praises of the god, but are anxious now to get back to their own homes.

We were informed that they would now hurry off because it was the day of the full-moon; and it was said that, if it had not come before, disease would certainly break out in a violent form on that day. The dreaded cholera had not yet come; but the terrific demon-goddess was sure speedily to make up for lost time;—away, therefore, at once! So thought multitudes; and all day the two fords were crowded with people, bullocks, ponies, carts,—all speeding from Paṇḍharpur. Soon the Bhimā sands began to wear a different appearance; not a few tents were struck by the afternoon.

That evening came the procession of the god in his palanquin. We ride over to the town at a pretty late hour; the procession is already begun,—stormy music proclaims it. We move on through the narrow winding streets, till we meet the palanquin. First come the musicians, with two enormous brazen trumpets, which they use now and then; there are two smaller trumpets, flutes, cymbals, drums; men with baskets of rockets to be discharged, blue lights, blazing lights of all kinds. Then comes a company singing, dancing, and shouting Dnyānadv Tukárâm, Dnyānad Tukárâm,—some holding large, floating banners. We stand in a lane and look on the crowd as it passes. How slowly they move! At last comes the palanquin, carried by twelve or fourteen men; it is splendidly adorned; there are very rich cushions of red silk; but we can see no image, and we are told that only the pādāk (marks of feet) are there in brass, or, as some say, silver. The excited people gaze on the two Europeans. The last hour, the wild music, and the lurid lights might awaken a feeling of insecurity. Had the crowd been composed of Musalmans, there would have been danger; but we can trust the Hindus. We quietly look on; and not a word is said on either side. We then proceed to the river, recollecting what had been said about the Bhimā saluting the god; but our patience becomes exhausted before the palanquin reaches the water.

I seem to have omitted to mention in its proper place the procession of the chariot. We had visited the rath a day or two before it was to be used; it was a lofty, cumbrous erection of wood. A poor decrepit wretch was lying beneath it; and, as we examined the structure, "this also," said he, "hears prayers." We were startled; yet the sentiment was thoroughly Hindu. Even from the most ancient days,—those of the hymns of the Rig Veda,—implements used in sacrifice or worship have been regarded as partaking of divinity, and have been prayed to accordingly. Thousands of people wait for the procession of the chariot, on walls,
on roofs, at windows. Bands of pilgrims parade the streets, beating tals, and shouting Dysdnev Tukırâm. But here comes the chariot, drawn by apparently hundreds of men holding on by two immense, strong cables. Two similar ropes are attached to it behind. As the huge vehicle comes on rumbling, tumbling, jolting, crashing, along the rudely paved streets, the question occurs:—Can the worshippers intend this as a pleasure drive to Viṭhóbā? It is enough to break every bone in his body, if he has any bones to break. Or is it a procession in state? Strange that any one can think this frightful hubbub exalts the dignity of the god. People fling quantities of sweetmeats and dried fruits, which the bystanders eagerly catch up; and the procession turns to fun and frolic, except when a great lurch sends the crowd a-flying. A good many people stand on the car with chowries in their hands, vociferating loudly. The silver image of Viṭhóbā, which is raised on the front, is small. A small brass canopy overhangs it. A horse richly caparisoned is led in front of the chariot. "Whose horse is this?" we asked. "The god's horse, of course." "Does Viṭhóbā then take a ride occasionally?" No answer, except a sort of grin. This procession took place during the day. The people came crowding around us—most willing to listen. Some of them seemed to think the whole exhibition childish.

Probably the details I have mentioned are sufficient to give a tolerably clear idea of the worship performed at Pañdharpur during the two great annual festivals. Considerable numbers of devotees resort to it at other times, all through the year. About ten thousand are said to arrive on the 11th day of each Hindu month—to bathe in the Chandrabhāgā and gaze on Viṭhóbā.

I cannot at present inquire into the origin of the worship at Pañdharpur. I incline to believe, with Dr. Stevenson and others, that Pañdharpur was originally a gathering place of the Buddhists, which has been usurped and gradually Hinduized. We found it was no uncommon belief that Viṭhóbā was an image of the Bauddhā Avātār rather than of Krishna. There are still in Pañdharpur about 75 families of Jains. Some of these said that Viṭhóbā was properly "a Jain deity" (meaning thirthankar). About eight of the seventy-five families have the designation of Viṭhál ās, or slaves of Viṭhál. These play on instruments before the palanquin and the image in the temple.

I do not seem yet to have mentioned the Badave or sons of the river (Gangāputra), who with their families amount to about 500 persons, all Brahmans. These are the men who show the visitors the temples, images, &c. and who receive the offerings they bring. Those of the "sons of the river" with whom we came in contact were amazingly ignorant of everything except the ceremonies to be performed and the price to be paid.

We had intended to remain at Pañdharpur till the pilgrims had all dispersed. But as we crossed the sands on the evening of the full-moon, the unutterably filthy condition of the place not only filled us with disgust but made one of us seriously ill. So we suddenly altered our plans, and marched off to a neighbouring village.

I visited Pañdharpur a few years afterwards. On that occasion cholera broke out; and we had to minister to the bodies, as well as the souls, of the pilgrims. Happily the disease did not appear in so virulent a form as, in those days, it often assumed at the great gatherings.

A few years ago, a disappointed worshipper actually threw a great stone at the image and smashed one of its knees. The "self-existent" Viṭhóbā has now a broken leg. Still, the pilgrimage seems as popular as ever; the visitors do not sensibly diminish. It is even possible that, when the projected railway to Bārsī Road is constructed, the attendance may increase—that is, for a time.

This paper threatens to exceed its proper dimensions. I hasten therefore to notice that the last statement I have read regarding Pañdharpur is one made by its inhabitants themselves, in November last year. The place had then the honour of a visit from Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay; and in the address made to His Excellency by the Managing Committee of the School of Industry, the following words occur:—"From a dirty place, in which garbage and filth of all kinds were the conspicuous features, whose only water-supply consisted of the impure waters of the Bhimā, and whose name was ever associated with the outbreak and spread of virulent cholera epide-
mics, Patarkarpur has developed into a decent-looking, clean town, with a plentiful water-supply, and enjoying comparatively as much immunity from cholera as any other mofussil station.

We pause in the midst of our quotation. Alas! poor Tuka, has it come to this? Is thy beloved Chandrabhadra to be thus spoken of?

The impure waters of the Bhumā! And is thy "blessed, blessed Pandhari," thy "second heaven," to be called "a dirty place, full of filth and garbage," and that by its own children? Well; we at least can pardon the scorners, when they tell us farther that "sanitation has lately been much attended to; the annual outlay under this head being Rs. 7,500."

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, ESQ., C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 127.)

No. CXXIV.

Amongst the numerous stone-tablets extant at Lakshmīswar, there is one which has on it the remains of an Old-Canarese inscription of Gōvinda III. in which he is mentioned by his name of Śrīballāha, i.e. Śrīvardālaṇa. Lakshmīswar itself is mentioned, in line 3, under the name of Purigere; and this is the form used in all the Raṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions that mention the place, though the inscriptions of other dynasties use the form Puligere. The fragment does not contain the date, and it consists only of twelve lines of about seven letters each; it therefore cannot be edited unless some further portions of the tablet can be found.

No. CXXV.

The last inscription of Gōvinda III. that remains to be noticed is the copper-plate grant from Wani, in the Dīndīrī Talukā of the Nāsik District, which was published by Mr. Wathen in the Journ. R. As. Soc., O. S., Vol. V., pp. 343 &c. I re-edit this inscription now from the original plates, which belong to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The plates are three in number, each about 10½" long, by 7½" broad at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates were fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is very well preserved, except about the centre of the second side of the second plate. The writing on the plates is arranged so that they read consecutively if they are turned over like the pages of an English book; and is a somewhat exceptional arrangement in copper-plate grants, or in Hindu documents of any description. The ring, which had been cut before the grant came into my hands, is about ¾" thick, and 4½" in diameter. The seal on it is circular, about 2½" in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of the god Śiva, above a floral device, sitting cross-legged and facing to the front, and very similar in details to the image of the same god on the seals of the grants of Dantidurga and Gōvinda III., Nos. CXXI. and CXXIII. above. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The seventeenth verses of this inscription are all repeated in the Rādhāpur inscription. And, in addition to them—between the sixth and seventh verses of this grant, the Rādhāpur grant inserts another verse beginning Ṛkṣāt-ātmā-vakṣaṇa, descriptive of Dhūra or Dhrūva hemming in the Pallavas between his army on the one side and the ocean on the other, and despoothing their elephants; the eleventh verse of this grant, which consists of five pādas and is hardly translatable as it stands, is in the Rādhāpur grant properly given in two verses of four pādas each; between the twelfth and thirteenth verses of this grant, the Rādhāpur grant inserts another verse beginning Svaḥdāyā-śūla-sūkhāuda, descriptive of the flight of the Gōvinda king before Gōvinda III.; and between the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of this grant, the Rādhāpur grant inserts another verse beginning Lōkāhārā-mukh-bid-dādha-ravahāda, and describing how, before Gōvinda's messenger could utter more than half of the message that was sent by him, the lord of Veṇgi came and worked for Gōvinda III. like a servant, and built for him the high walls of a town or fort. The fact that the Gūrjara king, and the lord of Veṇgi,—apparently the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya, also called Narēndramūrgarāja, who reigned from about Śaka 710.
to Śaka 750,—are not mentioned in the present grant, suggests the inference that it was between the dates of the two grants that Gōvinda III. conquered them.

The present grant is issued from the capital of Māyūra-khaṇḍa, which Dr. Bühler has identified with Mūrkaṇṭha, a hill-fort to the north of Wani. It is dated Śaka 730 for 728 (A. D. 806–7), the Vyaya saṅvatāvata. And it records a grant of the village of Ambaka-grāma, in the Vaṭanagara viśaya or district of the Nāsika dēsa or country. Ambakagrāma has been identified for me by Mr. W. Ramsay, C.S., with the modern Ambē, to the south of Wani; and Vāriskada with the modern Warkhēd on the river Unandā, evidently the Pulinda of the inscription, close to Ambē, and about eight miles south of Wani. The other places mentioned in the inscription remain to be identified; Vaṭanagara being, perhaps, the modern Wani.

Transcription.

First plate.

1. Sa vēryād-Vērha-dhāma yan-nābhi-kalamāk kriyaṁ | Hārāscha yasya kāṅṣāndukalayā kam-alakṣākāma (1) Bhūpūr-bhavād-avyād-ura[h*]ṭamba-
2. rājāmāra-stūka-stūkhāt-āyata-kañārāya-ṣṭiṣṭii mūrtaḥ ṣva nābhi-kāṣṭhaḥ suti-anvitaḥ vipula-chakra-virinjita-
4. ṛt-rān-vitāt-yāsa-Chālukya-kulak-sunana-vivra(bu)dvra-rāśī-aśrayo vārīdhāra-lakṣmaṇa(m) Mandara-vat-sailhām-achirād-ākṣri-
6. ṭhādita-kahiṁtalāḥ Dhīrō[ḥ] dhairya-dhanō vīpaka-saṁitā-vakti-rājuv(bu)ja-śrī-ḥarō hārīkṛita yāśo yadīyaṃ-amī-
7. śaṁ dīn-nāyikābhi[ṛ*]iddhiṛitam Jyeṣṭhah[ḥ]j[ś*]aṅghaṇa-jatay-āpy-amalayā lakṣmyā sametō-pi san-yō bhū-nirmala-mahād-
8. la-svi(sti)ti-yutō dōh-ākaro na kvachit-Karnā-ādha[h*]sthitā-dāna-samānti-bhrītō yasya-ātya-dān-ādhikānu dānam vī-
9. kahya su-lajītā iva dīsāṁ prāntē sṛhitā dig-gajāḥ [[*]] Anyair-eṇa(na) jātu vijītaṁ taṁ guru-ākūti-sārom-ākāra-
10. nta-bhūtalam-ananāsasamā-mānaṁ yenaḥ va(bu)ddham-a[va*]losya chirāya Gaṅgāṃ dūraṅga [s*]eva-nirghaha-bhiyē-
11. va Kaliḥ pratyātāḥ [[*]] Hēlī-śvīktita-Gaṅgā-rājya-kamāla-mattam pravēśa-āchirād-durmārgam-Mura-ma-
12. dhyam-apratita(bu)las[ṛ*] yō Vatsavāl(r)jaṇaḥ va(bu)lai Gaṅgāyān śrād-indupāda-dhavālam āttha(chhe)tra-dvayaṃ kō(kō)vaṁrāmā n-ahītā tathā-
2. That the twentieth verse in his grant, though it is the last of the genealogical descriptive portion, is not the last of the whole medical portion of the grant, but is followed immediately by one more verse; and therefore there was no particular reason for particularizing it with a numeral; and 3. That, in ll. 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 24, and 35, of his grant, he has rendered precisely the same sign by final \( t \). In the present grant there are only seventeen verses; so this point furnishes no criterion. Also, in the words bhūpitaḥ, abhayāḥ, kṣhedyaḥ, and śrītāḥ, of Dr. Bühl's grant, the final \( t \) is, in this grant, avoided by caudati; the words Pathātā, and in chāt, of his grant, do not occur in this grant; and, in the case of annātī, l. 4, as also in caudat, l. 56, we have, in this grant, distinctly the usual form of \( t \), with a Vṛddham under it to denote the absence of a vowel. —The fact, of course, remains that a final \( t \) is not wanted, and is a mistake, after tād-girā, the closing word of the twentieth verse in Dr. Bühl's grant.—But, taking all these instances together, it appears to me clear and certain that this sign is nothing but a special form of final \( t \).

158 THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [JUNE, 1882.

[14] talasya kṛitvā punah Kṛitayuga-śrī (śrī) yam-a (py = a) jēshanān chitraṁ katham Nirūpamaḥ Kalivallabhāḥ-bhūt "[*] Prabhūd = dhai[r] = yvatas-tatō Nirū-

[13] pamād-indu[r] = yathā vāridhvāḥ śuddha-Ātmā paramesvar-ōmnata-śirāḥ-samsaktu-
pādaḥ suṭhaḥ padm-ānandakaraḥ prātā-

[16] [pa] = sahitō nityā-śatāḥ sōmatēḥ pūrvāt-ādīr = vaḥñām abhimatō Gūvindar-

[17] [y] = kṣhitipattān Śrī-Rāṣṭrakutān-āvayō jātē Yādava-vārā-ha vanMadhuriṇāv = āstād-


[19] tāta tav = nītad = apratahhātī dattā tavyā kaṇṭhikā kiṃ n = ajī = aiva mayā dhritē-ēti pitarukh yaṅkhaṁ yō-bhyadhat = tasmiṁ (n) svarga-

[20] vibhūsanaṁ janakā yātō yaśaḥ-śesahatām ekābhīṣya samudyatān vasumatān (m) = ekō = pi yō dvādaśa khyatā-

[21] n = apy = adhika-pratāpa-visāraṁ-sanvartakā = rkān = iva "[*] Yēn = ātyanta-dayālan = ātha niyoga = klāśā = apāya = āyatāt = sva-

[22] n = dēsūṁ gamitō-pi darpa-visarād = yāḥ pratikūlyē sthitaḥ yāvan = na bhṛi (bhru) kuti-laśa-phašala = yasyā-ōnātō lakṣhayē vikshē-

[23] pēsā viśtyā tāvad = acharād = va (ba) dādhaḥ sa Gaṅgāḥ punaḥ "[*] Yat = 10-pād-ānati-

[24] nātrak-aika = saraṇaṁ = ālōkya lakṣhmin = nijān = dū-

[25] rān Maḷava-nāyakāh naya-parā = yat = prāṇamat = prāṇajī = [h] = kō viyāṅ (n) va (ba) linā saha-

[26] ṣa = śa = ṣe = ṣa = ṣa = VIṣṇu = bhāsikā = kṣa = jāṁ śrīvā daṛkā = [r] = ya (n) =

[27] nijāv sva = dēsāṁ samupāgaṁ dhruvam = iva jāttāv bhīyā prēṛatā Mārāsvar-

[28] naṁhitār = drutam = agād = aprā-

[29] ptpurvaiḥ paraṁ yasyā = ēchchham = annukūlayaṁ (n) kula-dhanaṁ pādaṁ praṇāmaṁ =

[30] api "[*] Nītī śrībhavanē
ganhālana = ghana = vyāpt = āvya (mba) rāṁ pārvṛitāṁ tasmād = āgatavaṁ (n) samaṁ niya-

[31] va (ba) laiārā = Tungabhadrā-

tātaṁ tatra-sthāḥ svā-kara-sthitām = api punar = nī[ṛ] = jēsham = ākṛṣṭatvaṁ = vikshēpair = api

[32] chitrām = dō (ā) nata-ri-

[33] pūh yaḥ Pāllavaṁ [m] = śrī (śrī) yam "[*] Santrasat = para = chakra-rajakam = agat = tat-

[34] pūrva-śe = viṇdhi (dh) vṛtyā (ba) dhā = ājīlī = sōbhi-

[35] sōbhī = tēnu santaṁ mūḍhāṁ yad = abhiṣīr (ghri) - dṛvyām yad = yad = datta = parādhya-

[36] bhūpahānā = gajānānti tātāthā mā bhaśīh =īti satya-

[37] pālita = yāṣaḥ = th (sth) tyā yathā taḍ = girā "[*] Tēn = ēḍam = anila - vídyuch = chaśchalam =
avavāloka "[j] = vītam = asāraṁ kṣhitī-đāna-

This is a verse of five pādas. In Dr. Bühl's grant, 11-19 to 23, some additional matter is given, and we have two complete verses of four pādas each. It is difficult to translate the verse without this additional matter especially as it contains no verb; in my translation, therefore, I complete the meaning from Dr. Bühl's grant.

In Dr. Bühl's grant, this verse is preceded by one commencing Śoḍhrāḥ-kāṇu śilamukhān, and describing the defeat of the Gurjara king.

The engraver cut ya first, and then altered it into le.

In Dr. Bühl's grant, this verse is preceded by one commencing Leśhāhāra-mukhā-dādi-kāṇu khawan, and describing the building of the walls of a town or fortress for Gobinda by the lord of Vengi.

These two syllables, sōbhi, are repeated unnecessarily.

11 The engraver first cut it, and then altered it into jt without properly cancelling the t.
The whole may of course be correctly treated as a compound; but the insertion of a Vasirya here is permissible, and it serves to conveniently divide a very long word.

13 Mr. Wathen read Vasirya. But the consonant of the second syllable is clearly g, not s. The Annavāra is altogether in the wrong place to belong to the second syllable; and, though it is not directly above the es, as it should be, we have similar instances of its being placed as it is placed here, a little to the right of its proper place, in "sva" the form of samviddham in the preceding line, in trishad, 1, 46, and in shaśthi, 1, 59. — The Annavāra of chahta, 1, 5, might be quoted as an instance for reading it here as belonging to the second syllable, but at that place, there was hardly room to put the Annavāra in its proper position. And, as reading it here as part of the first syllable gives us an intelligible and familiar name, there is no reason for adopting the contrary course.

17 Mr. Wathen read Vasanagara; but, as the facsimile shows, wrongly.

18 Mr. Wathen read Vādāvura; but the last two syllables are certainly vāra.

50 Mr. Wathen read Padaṇḍa; but the consonant of the last syllable is s, not v.
May he protect you, the waterlily in whose navel is made a habitation by Védhas; and Hara, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent-moon!

(L. 1.)—There was a king, Kríshnárájá, upon the earth, whose throat was hidden by the hands, stretched out with fingers joined (behind his neck), of the goddess of fortune as she shone (reclining) on his broad chest, and who was endowed with truth, and who, though he conquered the host of his enemies with his large army, was yet free from any black deeds, — (like unto Kríshná), whose throat was hidden by the far-reaching rays of the jewel called krit-kauṣṭubhá that shone on his broad chest, and who was possessed of Satyá, and who, though he conquered the host of his enemies with his large discus, was yet free from any black deeds. He, Vállabha, who was the asylum of the entire assemblage of learned people, sportively and quickly tore away the goddess of (regal) fortune from the Chálukya family, which was made lustrous by the multitude of all the great kings who took refuge with it through fear of the destruction of their armies, and which was hard to be overcome by others, and which was possessed of many pure and resplendent jewels (of men), — just as (the mountain) Mandara, which was the asylum of the entire assemblage of the gods, sportively and quickly extracted Lakshmi from the ocean, which was made lustrous by the multitude of all the great mountains which had taken refuge in it through fear of having their wings cut off, and which was hard to be crossed by others, and which was possessed of many pure and resplendent jewels.

(L. 5.)—His son was Dhóra, rich in fortitude, the destroyer of the beauty of the waterlilies which were the faces of the wives of his enemies, — who, though he was like the fierce-rayed sun in pervading all the regions with the expansion of his prowess as the sun does with the expansion of its glowing heat, yet gladdened the earth by the lightness of his taxes, (while the sun torments it by the fierceness of its rays); and whose fame was made into a necklace of pearls and was always worn by the guardian-women of the quarters. Though he was endowed with a (regal) splendour which was pure, notwithstanding that it was attained by leaping over his elder brother (in the succession), yet he was established in a stainless realm of the world and never committed any faults, — (just as the moon), though endowed with a splendour which is pure in spite of being caused by passing (the constellation) Jyéshthá, is established in a halo which appears spotless to the world, and is not any more the maker of darkness; and, having seen the liberality, which surpassed the liberality of others, of him who maintained a continuance of charity which was inferior (only) to (that of) Kárña, the elephants of the quarters, maintaining a continuous flow of the rutting fluid from...
beneath their ears, stood, covered as it were with shame, at the (very) edges of the quarters of the compass. Having seen that Gaṅga,—who verily had not been conquered by any others; who was strong in the possession of the excellent constituents of regal power; who had pervaded the (whole) world; and who was possessed of a pride that was held in common with no others,—was at length (conquered and) imprisoned by him, Kali fled far away, as if through fear lest he himself should be punished with confinement. Having with his armies, which no other army could withstand, quickly caused Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of (the country of) Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of (the deserts of) Māru, he took away from him not only the two (regal) umbrellas of Gauḍa, that were as radiantly white as the rays of the autumn moon, but also, at the same moment, his fame, that had reached to the extremities of the regions. Since, with his pure actions, he quickly drove far away Kali, who had established himself on the earth, and made again complete the splendour of the Kṛitayuga,—it is wonderful how Nirupama became (invested with the name of) Kalīvalabha.

(L. 14.)—From that same Nirupama, possessed of fortitude, there sprang a son Gōvindarāja, highly esteemed of good people,—who was pure of soul, and whose feet were touched by the proud heads of kings (who bowed down before him), just as from the ocean there sprang forth the moon, which is of pure essence, and the rays of which touch the lofty head of Paramēśvara,—and who caused gladness to the goddess of (regal) fortune and was possessed of prowess and was always rising higher and higher, just as if he were the sun, which causes the happiness of the waterlilies (that flower by day) and is possessed of glowing heat and is always rising from the lofty mountain of the East. When he, the king, the asylum of all virtuous qualities, was born, the Śrī Rāṣṭrakūṭa family became invincible to its foes, just like the Yādava family when Madhuripā was born; and by him his enemies were clearly made to be exactly like his followers, since the former, by his slashing, (were driven away so that they) saw the boundaries of the regions and were destroyed and were made to abandon their food and ornaments, while the latter, by his liberality, (were satisfied so that they) saw the limits of their desires and were made proud and were decorated with necklaces of pearls. [When his father, seeing his superhuman form which like that of Krishnā was fitted to protect the three worlds from misfortune, was giving him the sole supremacy over the earth*] he addressed to his father this seemly speech, "Let it be, O my father!; this belongs to thee; has not the necklace,* given by thee, been accepted by me like a command that is not (to be) withstood?": and then,—when that father had gone to adorn heaven so that nothing was left (of him) save (his) fame,—he, though alone, by the expansion of his preeminent valour quickly [bereft of their lustre*] twelve famous [kings*] who, combining together, had prepared themselves [to destroy*] the earth,—just as the fire of universal dissolution with the diffusion of its excessive glowing heat [deprives*] the twelve suns [of their lustre*].

When Gaṅga,—though liberated by him, in his exceeding compassion, from his long captivity, and sent away to his own country,—through excess of pride stood (again) in opposition to him, then, in less time than that in which a crown could be noticed on his lofty brow, he was quickly conquered by his shower (of arrows)* and imprisoned again. The politic lord of Mālavā, seeing from afar that his fortunes depended solely and entirely upon bowing down at his feet, performed obeisance to him with his hands placed palm to palm in supplication: what wise man, possessed of but little strength, enters into the extremity of competition with a strong man?; for the

---

23 Vishnu, or Krishnā.
22 See note 9 above.
27 Dr. Bühler's suggestion, that the kantikā was the sign of the position of Vaśakāya seems to be correct. In an unpublished Eastern Chalukya grant there occurs the passage Tāt-tvāna pātāmasa viṇāyakāya kantikāt-paṭabandhā-wadhikāya bālam-sūchitāya Tāt-dhitāyā māśam-ekāyā [Vinni-raṣṭha-sūna-avatāyāt*]

---

Vikshīpa: Here, and in l. 29 below, I adopt the meaning suggested by Dr. Bühler. It seems to be justified, as vikshīpa has the meanings of 'the act of throwing apart or sneer; sending, dispatching; scattering,' and vikshīp has the meaning of 'letting loose a bowstring, shooting off.' But, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, vikshīpa may have some purely technical meaning not yet determined, being used in the Gūjīra grants in the place of the skandaśrīrasa, 'camp,' of other grants.
result of (the study of the rules of) polity is the power of discerning whether the superiority belongs to one's self or to one's enemy. Having heard through his own spies that he had pitched his camp on the slopes of the Vindhyā mountains, and thinking that he had already arrived at his own territory, king Mārāśarva, impelled by fear, went quickly to gain his goodwill by (offering) his excellent heir-looms, (the like of) which had not been previously obtained (by him), and to propitiate his feet by bowing down before them. Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is enveloped by compact clouds which have no interstices between them, at Śrībhaṇa, he went thence with his army to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā; and, abiding there, he, whose enemies bowed down before him, with the shower (of his arrows) in a wonderful way drew himself to its entirety, though it was already held in his hands, the wealth of the Pallavaśas. The hostile kings, with their foreheads adorned by their hands joined palm to palm in the act of doing obeisance to him, through fear betook themselves for protection to his two feet, which were not adorned so much by the heaps of most costly jewels given (by them), as by his (own) speech “Fear not!”, which by its truthfulness maintained the continuance of his fame.

(L. 32.)—By him, having seen that life is as unstable as the wind or the lightning and is unprofitable, this gift to a Brāhmaṇa, comprising the supreme religious merit of a grant of land, has been effected.

(L. 33.)—And he, the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, Śrī-Prabhūtavarsadēva, the favourite of the world, Śrī-Govindarāja-dēva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the glorious Dharavarsadēva,—being in good health, announces to the rādhapati, viṣṇupati, gramanikas, ayuktakas, niyuktakas,ādikārikas, mahattaras, &c., according as they are concerned:

(L. 37.)—“Be it known to you that,—by me, settled at (the city of) Mayūra-khaṇḍā, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame, both in this world and the next, of my parents and myself,—seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, in the Viṣṇava saṃkta-saras, on the great occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Vaiśākha,—the village of Ambaṅkara, which is included in the Vaṭanagara viṣaya belonging to the Nāsika dēka, and the boundaries of which are, on the east, the village of Vajāvura; on the south, the village of Vārikhēda; on the west, the village of Pallitavāḍa and the river Pulindā; and on the north the village of Padmanāla,”—this (village), thus defined as to its four boundaries,—together with the udraṅga, the uparikara, (the right to) fines and the (proceeds of punishments inflicted for) ten (classes of) offences, the bhātāppatipratyāgā, (the right to) forced labour that arises, and that which is receivable (in kind) in grain and gold; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; not to be pointed at with the finger (of appropriation) by any of the king's people; to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon and sun and ocean and earth and rivers and mountains may endure; with the exception of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; and (to be held) according to the (custom of) abhyantarasiddhi and the rule of bhāmichchhiddrayāya,—has to-day, after bathing, been given, with libations of water,—for the purpose of keeping up the rites of the five great sacrifices of the baṭi, charm, vaivikādēva, agnīḥṛta, and atithi,—to the Chaturvedi Dāmārābhaṭṭa, the son of the Drivedi Dāmādara, and the son's son of Vīṇābhāṭṭa, an inhabitant of (the city of) Vēṅgī, who belonged to the assembly of the Chaturvediś that place, who was of the Bhrārādāya gōṭra, and who was a student of the Tāttirīlya (śākhā).

(L. 44.)—“Wherefore, not even the slightest obstruction is to be made by any one to him who, according to the proper condition of a brahmādīya, enjoys (this village) or causes it to be enjoyed, or cultivates it, or causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (to another). And so this, my gift, is to be assented to and preserved, just as if it were a gift made by themselves, by future pious kings, whether

This, in other inscriptions, is the Sanskrit form of Panhaṭa, the name of the hill-fort above Kollapur.
of my lineage or others, recognising that the reward of a grant of land belongs in common (to him who makes it and to all who preserve it), and bearing in mind that riches are as transient as the lightning and are not enduring, and that life is as unstable as a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass. And he will be invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins, together with the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to (its confiscation)."

(L. 54.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (but) the confiscator (of a grant of land), and he who assents to (such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Thus does Ramabhadra again and again make his request to all these future princes, — "This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you!" And are not the reputations, even of others, to be preserved by men of very spotless minds, regardful of their own advantage, reflecting that wealth, and also human life, is as unstable as a drop of water on the petal of a waterlily?

(L. 61.)—(This charter has been) written by the illustrious Arunaditya, the son of Vatsaraja; and it has Bhuvirama for its Ditalaka.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE,

(Continued from p. 76.)

No. 14.—POPULAR SONG.

The Song of the Canal.

Sung by the Sainds and also by small boys in the neighbourhood of Firozpur.

Nahir da Rayy.

Pir Ustad Laqmân Hakim.

1. Nahari nahari phal pakke pani gahari.
2. Jadoin patti le andi nihar lagge moghe te jhalâr.
3. Rang sipâhlânu thekadâr jittbe nahar pâindi si a;
4. Tar tar gaṇjhe te tarkâl évr nihar de kañdé.
5. Lokl khanda kanak dail jittbe suá pia si a.
6. Jittbe Jâtân moghe lai la otthe kanak te kapâh ;
7. Phâtta Jât te jhalâh tâni târ galo to lâha.
8. Viga rupaiya Sârkâr dâ, âna Lambardâr dâ.
10. Sâhib Ji lendâ khari chándî pâni pan fut raâh ;
11. Pâni panj fut raâh suá tuñnu raâh.
12. Suá tuñ nuhich vich pia, Sâhib chhitâr leke pia.
13. Thoko kille ; deho parâli ; aggôi khût jîndi márî.

The Song of the Canal.

In the name of the Holy Teacher, the Doctor Luqmân.

By the deep waters of the canal the fruits ripen.

When they dug the canal, they made cuts and water-wheels.

Where the canal goes there are the profits of the watchmen and the contractors.

Also there are cucumbers, onions and vegetables on the canal banks.

Where the canal goes there the people eat wheat and pulse.

Where the Jât take the canal-cuts there grow wheat and cotton.

The Jât begins in earnest and the weaver breaks his loom.

A rupee an acre to the Government and an anna to the Lambardâr.

The magistrate demands silver in payment of fines for cutting the canal.

The magistrate takes good silver for five feet of water:

The water comes up to five feet and the cut runs continuously.

The cut breaks into the jangal and the Magistrate beats (the watchmen) with shoes.

Drive in the pegs! Give up your straw; and then your field will go to the bad.

First the headman and then the accountant are beaten in turn with slippers.
NOTES.

This song, though not strictly folklore in the sense of being descriptive of religion, superstition or custom, was sung us by the same Sākhī from whom the mantras in No. XII. were collected, and is very popular among the small children of the Firozpur District. It is rough and homely in the extreme, and exhibits in a most interesting manner the popular (illiterate) history and notions regarding the canals of Firozpur, the value of which was foreseen by Sir H. Lawrence in the first days of European occupation (1840), which were urged as a necessary work by Mr. Edward Brandreth and Sir Richard Temple in 1853, and finally taken in hand and brought into useful existence by Major Grey in 1875. I need hardly say that it has never been previously reduced to writing. Like all the unwritten popular songs of the illiterate natives with which I am acquainted its metre is exceedingly rough and the rhythm uncertain, but it is evidently intended for the common double rhyming eight foot metre of modern Panjābī poetry. The following are specimen verses:

1. Jadoh paṭ lo andi nahar laguje moghe mohr jha lahar.

2. Jitha jatān moghe lai la othor kanak te ka pah.

3. Agge raine pich chhe Paṭ wari chhittar paino varo wari.

I give below some scanned verses from the more literate song on the same subject attached to these notes for the sake of comparison; single rhyme twelve foot metre.

1. Pindoan andar shahr de jo bad maśīsh sha mīr.

Waro varo osne kite siddhes tir.

2. Sāt th rikhon mai th manhaṇ chhaḍḍyā an.

Do māh bai ros vich kite nahir rawan.

Such a metre as the above occurring in English lyric verse would be printed as follows, and this form will perhaps best bring the metre to English ears:

1. Pindoan andar shahr de,
   Jo badmāsh sharīr,
   Wārowārti ome
   Kite siddhe tir

When printed in this form it will be seen that the metre, rhythm and rhyme of a modern Panjābī and a modern English ballad are constructed on precisely the same system.

The poem opens with a very practical description of the blessings afforded by the canals, with a passing touch of irony at the profits made by the Government canal-watchmen and the contractors—a point readily appreciated by the poor and villagers in the Panjāb. The line, "the Jat begins in earnest and the weaver breaks his loom," is very forcible, showing that it was now worth the while of the cultivator by trade (Jat) to apply himself to his work, which it never was before in the good old days of the bārdhi (rainfall) cultivation, and not only that, but that it paid workmen (weavers) to give up their trades, and to take to ploughing. Then follows a characteristic notice of the Government taxes in consequence of the canals, and finally the closing verses described in the most homely fashion that eternal trouble of the canals the careless and illegal use of the water. In these final verses too is an allusion to the pressure on the people caused by the taxes and fines being levied in hard cash. Altogether the poem is one that could only have originated among the "people," and as such is instructive and interesting.

Dedication. Luqādn, the fabulist, usually invoked at the commencement of songs and incantations in the above form.

V. 1. Nahart nahart—the final t is merely euphonic for the sake of metre.

V. 2. Jadoh and jad = Hind. jād, when. This ablative inflection (t) on is a very common Panjāb addition, apparently optional, to adverbs.

Paṭt to dudī, lit. to dig and bring along; usual Panjāb expression for digging a canal. Paṭt is here a very interesting word. Panj. pāṭtā is to dig, but Hind. pāṭā with causal pāṭādari is to irrigate, and in its sense of to pay, settle, pāṭād is also used in Panj. Pāṭād would seem to have a clear derivation from Sansk. pāṭi, to cleave, tear up.

Moghe, lit. a hole, Panj., the water-cut or opening from a canal to irrigate the neighbouring fields, a canal cut, cut. Cf. Sansk. maśaka an air hole, Hind. maśka. Tē for ate Panj. and. Jhālā, Panj. and Hind. rustic, a Persian water-wheel. In the Panj. raḥat or hārt is used for the wheel in a well, and jhālā in a canal or stream.

V. 3. In this and the following line there is some sarcasm in making the first fruits of the
FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

[June, 1882.]

Canal to be the profits of the watchman and the contractor, and the presence of vegetables, etc., a secondary result. Laj, income, profit, probably arising out of the sense of “pleasure,” “enjoyment,” common to laj. Sipay, in common use for any Government messenger, peon or inferior servant: on the canals used as here for the canal watchmen. Jitthe, Panj., where. Painid and d (= Hind. akhar parth thin) came: went. This d or dha is very common in Panj., poetry: and is thrown in wherever convenient to fill up a syllable, very much like our old friends jan and num of school Latin verse. The use of paru or painid to mean come, arrive, is very common in Panjabi. Sarni painid et, there was great cold.


V. 5. This verse alludes to material prosperity—as wheat, pulse (dali) are usually beyond the reach of poor tribes like the Sainis. Sird, a canal cut, properly a needle; Sansk. sid. Pid et d, pidd is another form of painid in common use, see v. 4.

V. 6. Jatttai, the Jats, the cultivating race of the Panj. Mogha lai tla; lai daik larde, a redundant expression for brought; Mogha lund, idiomatic, to make a canal cut. Othra, Panj., these: jittai, othra, ethe are really all compounds with them, a place, and mean which place (joha), that place (oh), this place (eh), and so on. Kapda, the Panj. form of kapdas, Sansk. karpasas, cotton. Here a prosperous and remunerative cultivation is meant: cotton is a new growth in the Firozpur district since the canals.

V. 7. The point of this verse is that the Jat finds it worth his while to redouble his efforts, and that the weaver finding cultivation so profitable gives up his loom for it. Phulat, Panj. phulat = phaand to be entangled, thence as here to be engrossed with: to be in earnest. Tad, properly the warp, usually however the whole loom and also the woven cloth. Galon to lirha; to for ton, Panj. form of se. Lirha or lirhun, Panj., to lift off, unload, lit, lifted off from their necks, gave up. Common Panj. idiom.

V. 8. This verse is in allusion to the taxes for canals. Viga for vigra, an acre, commonly in Panj. gumando (1 acre). Lambardar, corruption of numbardo (i.e. number + dhar), bearing a number, registered: common, vulgar, rustic and official term for a village headman.

V. 9. The point here is that a fine inflicted in silver falls very heavily. The poor in the Panjab can usually pay easily in kind, but with difficulty in cash. They are very fond of illegally drawing water from canals, and the fines are purposely demanded in silver. Bhardi, is paid, lit. is filled; bhardi, commonly used in Panj. for to pay (a fine, tax, rent), thus bharda, to pay hire. In Hindi bharda apparently in this sense is used to mean to extort, exact, demand payment. Khat, a rivulet, watercourse; technically, a cut for private purposes from a Government canal, private canal cut, here it is used for one made without leave or payment, illegal use of water. Lound (="let") Panj. form, takes, Chitti chundai, white coin, rupees, silver money.

V. 10. This is in allusion to the demand of cash for payments for the use of canal water. Khott chundai, pure coin, in contradistinction to khot chundai, counterfeit coin. Fui, Eng. foot. This word and inch, Eng. inch, are current everywhere in the Panjab. From fui has come a curious word dofatt, any measuring rod, from the ordinary two-foot measure. Its use here proves its universality, as the persons singing such songs have no connexion, official or otherwise, with the English.

V. 11. Sudh tidhno roh, the cut kept on rushing, ran continually, tidhna (lit. to break) in Hind. and Panj., with reference to water is to rush forth, pour out in torrents.

V. 12. It is not an uncommon thing for canal cuts to overflow or burst owing to the carelessness of the canal watchmen and the villagers and headmen en route, and whenever this happens severe penalties invariably follow. This is the theme of this and other two concluding verses. Tid, rush forth, broke into: tid painid, emphatic form of tidhna, see preceding verse. Roh, properly upland, above water or flood level, in the Panjab synonymous with sandy jangal, desert; whence Rohat, the name of a Panj. district. In the Firozpur district the land is pretty nearly divided into the Roh, uplands, i.e. the higher land to the south of the old beds of the Satlaj river, and the Bhat, or river inundated lands, lowlands representing the former channels of the Satlaj. Before the era of canals the only irrigation in the Roh was by means of wells from 30 ft. to 100 ft. deep before water was reached. The inhabitants of the Roh and the Bhut differ remarkably,—of the former they are nearly all Hindu Jats, and in the latter, Musalmans; the Jat (Hindu) cultivators are distinguished, as a rule, by their industry and frugality, while the Musalmans of the fat Bhut lands are noted for being the idles, most improvident and perhaps meanest race in the Panj. Chitlat, Panj., an old shoe: to beat with shoes is in the Panj., a synonym for any severe punishment.

V. 13. The meaning of this verse is that the order to fill up the gaps in the cut compels the delinquents to use their own labour and the straw from their fields, which consequently have to be
neglected while the work of repair goes on. The
punishment for carelessness therefore falls very
heavily. Eho ( = deo) give, aggoā Panj. (aggo) for
ag with a common sense of and then, afterwards,
consequently, and so on.

V. 14. Panique, Panj. (=pane) or sarpanieh, the
head of the village council (panchadghat, Panj. pach-
dghat), a village headman. Praidge, the village
surveyor and accountant. These two worthies with
the chaukiddar, village watchman, form the official
portion of the ordinary village, and are therefore
the most influential persons in it, and to say that
they are punished is to say that no one escapes
punishment. Wārowārī, Panj. (bdṛ bādṛ, Hind.)
in turn.

I append another song about the Firozpur Canals
which is very popular in the district.

It is strictly local in all its allusions, and written
by one of "the people," and I give it here for the
sake of comparison with the above. It does not
soar far above the Sānsī song in point of poetry,
but is written in very smooth verse, and the author
shows his education by the frequent interlarding
of Arabic and Persian words. It is valuable in
so far as it is a specimen of what the modern
Panjabis call "good Panjabi poetry," and has
many non-dictionary words and phrases in it.:

**Qissa Nahir Firozpur Panjab**

Qissa, yāro, nawān mañi dān ik sunā,
Ajāb vich Firozpur jo kuchh nazari ā.
Zillā Sāhib vich shahar de, Sāhib jah o jalā,
Grey Sāhib us nām hai, Sāhib hunar kamāl.
Jaddā vich Firozpur ā Sher Jawān.
Rāzi harik oṣṭe hoyā hai insān.

---

1. Major Grey, C.S.I., the officer who made the canals.
2. Jaddā, for jadoā dā, poet, "from when," lit. "of when."
3. Sher Jawān = Bahadur, in allusion to the difficulties
ensconced by Major Grey in introducing the canal.
4. Ote, Panj. poet, for "to be," with him: to to - to, Panj. = Hindī, in, compare with Sansk. sati and tād.
5. Vide former notes to XII. (1).

---

Dukh ne dēv kissenūn hargiz zara mūl, Chhote wādje osdā karde amar qabul.
Rāhīzānū te juārīān kārdā māmōrār, Pāe bandī vich 29 os 11 jīte chōr-chačār.
Piṇḍāi andar shahr de jo badna'ash shahrī,
Wārowārī osne kte siddhā tī 1 9.
Dādhā 12 osdā dabāba 4 andar zillā pachhān,
Sūrā vekhanā 12 sērhī 17 kambān 27 dēo jāwān.
'Adal wāngō 19 Naushwān kārdā din te rāt.
Sher, darhdā, lompōn pē na bahār jhāt.
Jaddā ethe āyā Sāhib qadar buland.
Vich ujarān jangalān raunaq 21 hōi dochand.
Rahindī 21 khusās zamīn si ehi purānī jān,
Bā'ze piṇḍāi vich banjar bahot pachhān.
Arām ra'at wāste kti koshish ān,
Nahīr mangāi osne karke dādhā tān.
Sabhrwānī 22 ik grāna 22 hai shahro qāhvādī
dal, 27

---

Otthe nūnī 19 nahir dā kadāhyā 29 nāl 20 aqāl.
Vich mahine Fawwārī 21 kitā kam shurī,
Tārīk khandānī sē jānyōn hoyā jadoā rūjū.
Athārā sau vich sah de hor panjhatarā sāli.
Kitā jārī kam ā hūt khushī kamāl.
Mohītāmī Aḥā 24 nahir dā Mūshī Dāyā Rām,
Dāroghā hō 4 shahr dā khaslāt nek tamām.
Tahālīgarī Sāhib jānīo Mayā Dās Amlīr
Khush khulī halm-ul-tabā' hai jēno be-nazīr.
Muḥammad Sūlimān bht Shāristādār nābīj;
Mūshī 'Abd-ur-Rahmān sī Nazīr nek nasīb:
Hāfiz Ilāhī Baksh Nāhī osdā jān,
Us jhā 23 kē būmī vīrāl vich Jāhān.
Ramāt 'Ali Hākīm ik sāhib 'ilm halm:
Rājī Gōpī Mall Chaundhrī 'āqī, sughrāh fāhīm.

---

Panj. sōr + hī sōr Panj. 'pith, essence.' Sērhī = Hindī, vīth song.
21 Dīs jāunā, godlike men, i.e. the strongest of men.
22 Wēng, wāngū, wēngūn, wāngār, Panj. 'like.'
23 Jhāt or jhāt pānū, to cover. Cf. Hindī, jhwānāh.
24 Raunaq, lit. 'splendour,' here the produce or fertility of the
land.
25 Bahādūr (= rahīf) remains.
26 Jān, jānō, jāno, 'jangās interjectional—know that.
27 Tāb, Panj. 'strenuous effort.'
28 Sabhrwānī, the proper name for the well-known
battlefield of Sobraon about 20 miles to the east of
Firozpur.
29 Grāhā (= pāhā) 'village.'
30 Mūshī = mohād, a canal cut, see Sānsī song.
31 Khuddānā, Panj. 'to open.'
32 Nāl, Panj. 'with.
33 Fāwārī, corruption of English 'February.' The
English month are now as well known as the Hindu or Mulsāman months
and in common use among the literate classes.
34 A. D. 1875. The English term is now well known and
understood owing to the custom the Courts have of using it.
35 Aḥā, Abā Panj. was, peculiar to the Sikhs and of frequent
occurrences in the Sānsī Bībd Nānak, Life of Bābd Nānak.
36 Oke = 'oh, he.'
37 Jhāt, Panj. 'like.'
Phal jāūī quā m de rangā-rang pachhān,
Gulāb, chambā te mōtā, ki kujh karān bāynān:
Kālā, sev vilāyat, ja'ul hor badām,
Jammā āū, nibāū sārv bhī, meve haūn tāmām.
Khāführt saīr Lābōr di jāniī khalq hazār,
Hun āsān Fīrozpur vekhan bāgh-bāhār.
Fīrozpur is nām hai pīr fīrozānī nāl.
Goyā dūjā baīn ābdār Shahr Lāhūrār misāāl.
Zikar tāmām na likhīyā, honādā sī phir thōl:
Zāhār kītā Jag vich gall inthiīr mūl.
Ghulām Ahmad sī akhāyīī "Qissa Nahir bānā;"
Tāhīīī das vī baisāī maiī diī te jor sunā.
Rahṇād vīch Fīrozpur Fatteh-ud-dīn faqīr;
Sha'īr nāhūī mūl maiī, − ajīz te haqrāī.

Paqt.

The Story of the Fīrozpur Canal.

By Mīhā Fatteḥū'ī dīn of Fīrozpur.

My friends, I will tell you a new tale
Of a wonderful thing to be seen in Fīrozpur.
There is a Sāhīb in the district, of dignity and
pomp,
Grey Sāhib is his name, a Sāhib accomplished
in art!
Since that Lion-heart came to Fīrozpur,
Every man has rejoiced over him.
He has never injured any one at all:
Great and small agree to do his bidding.
He took great pains with the robbers and
gamblers,
And all the thieves he put in prison.
All the bad and wicked in the villages and cities
He thoroughly chastised in turn.

68 Asddāre poet, as asdd or saīde, Panj. 'our.'
69 Tūndī, Panj. tīnd, the small earthen pots attached to
a Persian wheel for drawing water from a well.
70 Khar hojāsān phīl; hojāsān will become, 3rd plur. from
hojāsān; (cf. above note on sanj.) sing. form hojāsā,
Panj. proverb is alluded to here: 
71 panjāh khātāh phāl, where there's a thorn there's a
flower.
72 Ik sīrī 'on one hand, on one side'− Panj.
73 Chambā, jāsminum grandiflorum, Spanish jasmine:
motā, jāsminum sambac, Arabian jasmine.
74 kujh (kuchī) 'something,'
75 Jāmnānī (ā jāmnānī) europs jambos; nībōnā nāmbō;
76 līmān.'
77 Asūn from sund, lit. 'they come,' used for the future
will come.
78 Fīroz āū, 'the turquoise'; here, however, used for
beauty, splendor.
79 Honādā sī (- hōtā thī) 'as it would have been.'
80 Sanāī, lit. 'the whole principal' (of a debt): the pith
of the story.
81 Mīhā āū Panj. 'our,' Mevāī āū, tīnāī āū, twenty;
82 Sān, Panj. were: another form is sān; sing. sā, but
more commonly sī for all genders.
83 Tāhārā māīān, Panj. to make a gurgling noise.
84 Dīmrīsī, pl. of dīmrī, (also jīmī, jīmī, and jīmī)
Panj., corruption of sāsaś, 'lands.'
The fear of him is strong in the District;
The strongest tremble at sight of him.
He did justice day and night like Naushirwan;
Nor tiger nor wild-beast, nor fox, dared peep out
Since the powerful Sahib came.
The produce of the deserts and the wastes has been doubled.
This very land had remained dry from all time,
And most of the villages lands were uncultivated.
He took much pains for the benefit of the people,
And brought the canal after the greatest efforts.
There is a village Sobraon towards the sunrise from the City;¹¹
There is a canal cut there cleverly made.
The work began in the month of February
Commencing on the fourteenth,
In the year eighteen hundred and seventy-five.
The work was commenced with great joy.
Munshi Daya Ram was the manager;
Superintendent was he of the city, possessing
good qualities.¹²
Tahsildar May Dass you know,
Unequalled for his good qualities and mild temper.
Muhammad Sulimân the excellent Clerk of the Court,
And the fortunate Munshi 'Abd-ur-Rahman the Sheriff.
Hafiz Ilahi Baksh his Deputy you know,
Like whom a man is rarely found in the world.
Rahmat 'Ali, the Doctor, learned and peaceable;
Rai Gopi Mall, the Chaudhri, clever and sagacious.
Hundreds of thousands dug at the canals:
The tale of them we cannot know: they were beyond number.
Work came to the people and the people increased,
And in a few days the canals began to run.
Cuts, too, innumerable were made in the villages,
And the water turned the fields into a spring garden.

They could be seen in the gardens round the city;
The Sahib with great acuteness made the canal surround it.
From the City wall he made the canal run
On both sides of the Mall Road.¹³
He took it to the Cantonment where the Courts are held,
Where he deals justice as a good swimmer swims.¹⁴
I do not write the whole story, though I know it,
I merely give the points; more would be superfluous.
The canal was opened on the 7th May,
In two months and 22 days the water began to run.
He had thousands of congratulations and the country prospered:
Seeing the canal, Grey Sahib rejoiced greatly in his heart.
All the dried up gardens became green;
The rich and poor saw the ripple of the water.
The barren and dry lands became pleasant;
Our fortune awoke at the running of the canal.
The villagers say, "Use no more pots for the wells,
"The canal water has come and the thorns have become flowers."
The water comes with great force,
Wave on wave is seen, hundreds of thousands of waves.
In the gardens is the splendour of fruit-bearing flowers,
Flowers of every colour and beauty of every hue.
On one hand is the tank of greatest beauty:
On the other the canal gives exquisite splendour.
On the roadside are fountained wells,
Cisterns, conduits and drains beyond measure.
Fruits of wondrous kinds;
Roses and jasmines beyond measure:
Plantains, English apples, nutmeg and almonds,
Jamans, limes, cypress and all fruits.

¹¹ The battlefield and village of Sahrawán or Sobraon is about 30 miles east of Firozpur City. The battlefield and monument have long since disappeared into the Satlaj, but the village is still there. Our English name is almost as successful as that of the neighbouring field of Ferossahab which is really Phero Shah, the City of Phero, the Sikh Saint.
¹² The next ten verses are in praise of the various native officials connected with canals.
¹³ The rest of the story is mostly taken up with the praise of the Mall at Firozpur, which is certainly one of the greenest and prettiest roads I have seen in any station in India. It is about three miles long.
¹⁴ Lat, 'as a young man swims so are truth and lies there.' The verse is very vague, but has apparently the sense I have given it.
Thousands go to see Lāhor,
Now they will come to see the gardens at
Firozpur.
Firozpur is so called as it is full of beauties;[a]
Now it is like a second Lābor.
I have not told the whole story: it would be
too long.
I have told the world merely the pith of it.
Ghulām Ahmēd[a] asked me to tell the story of
the canal,
So I have joined together some ten or twenty
verses about it.
I live in Firozpur and my name is Fattehū'd-dīn,
I am no poet at all: only lowly and humble.
No. 15.—Folk-Tale.
Death and Burial of Poor Hen-sparrow.¹

Once upon a time there lived a cock-sparrow
and his wife, who were both growing old.
But the cock-sparrow was a gay bird, old as he
was, and cast his eyes upon a lively young hen,
and determined to marry her. So they had a
grand wedding, every one was very merry except
the old wife, who went out and sat on a tree
disconsolately just under a crow's nest. While
she was there it began to rain, and the water
came drip, drip, on to her feathers, but she was
too sad to care. Now it so happened that the
crow had used some scraps of dyed cloth in
building its nest, and when they got wet, the
colours ran and went drip, drip, on to the old
sparrow till she was as gay as a peacock. When
she flew home the new wife was dreadfully
jealous of her old co-wife,² and asked her where
she had managed to get that lovely dress.
"Easily enough," she replied, "I just went
into the dyer's vat."³
"I will go too," thought the new wife, "I
don't have that old thing better dressed than
I am."
So she flew off to the dyer's, and went pop
into the middle of the vat, but it was scalding
hot, and she was half dead before she managed
to scramble out. Meanwhile, the old cock, not
finding the new wife at home, flew about
distracted in search of her, and wept salt tears when
he found her half drowned and half scalded with
all her feathers awry by the dyer's vat.
"What has happened?" quoth he.
The poor draggled thing could only gasp out
"Saukan rangan meh charh[4]
Maīh bht rangan meh parī."
"My co-wife got dyed,
But I fell into the vat."
So the sparrow took her up tenderly in his
bill, and flew away home with her. Just as he
was crossing a big river the old hen-sparrow
looked out of the nest, and when she saw her old
husband bringing his bride home in such a sorry
plight, she burst out laughing, and called out
"Ik sāri, ik balt;
Ik hinak mode charh[.]
"One is vexed, and one grieved,
And one laughing is carried on high."⁴
At this her husband was so enraged that he
could not hold his tongue, but shouted out—
"Hush, hush, you low old thing."⁵
Of course when he opened his mouth to speak
the poor draggled bride fell out, went plump
into the river, and was drowned.

Whereupon the cock-sparrow was so
distracted with grief that he picked off all his
feathers, till he was as bare as a ploughed
field, and went and sat quite naked on a pipal
tree and wept.

¹ The derivation is of course only fanciful, being a play
on the name Firozpur and the words frosen, 'beauty' (lit.
turquoise) and pur, 'full.'
² Ghulām Ahmēd is a bookseller of Firozpur.
³ Told by Hajījān, a Pathān girl at Musafargāz.—F. A. S.
⁴ Saukan, co-wife—also a cause of endless rhymes, songs,
sayings, and proverbs in India mostly with a tendency to
a wish on the part of one co-wife to be rid or freed from
the other. Hūr ūs saukān to ḍālā sa bārī—a witch
is better than a fairy co-wife—Fallon, New Hind.
Dict. art. ḍālā. No one can study the adages of India
without being convinced that if the women hate one
thing, except the mother-in-law, more than another it is
the existence of polygamy.—R. C. T.
⁵ ḍālā. To rot, to go bad, is used figuratively for to be
vexed, and bālā, to burn, for to be in great grief. This
verse alludes to a proverb founded on a common tale.
The verses usually ran thus:
Ik sāri, ḍāl balt;
Ḍāl ḍāl mode charh[.
First she was vexed, next she grieved;
The other went across mounted on the shoulder.
And the story goes that a man who had two wives had
began to cross a river. Both were wanted to go across first,
but in the end he took the youngest on his shoulders and
left the elder behind to struggle across as she best could.
The younger wife mocked the elder with the above
words. Hence the sting of the old sparrow's speech in
the text.—R. C. T.
⁶ Phapā, phapā, phapā! Panjī a low cunning
woman; Hind. phapā, a procuress; Panjī phapā,
deceit.—R. C. T.
Then the pipal said to him: "What has happened?"

"Don't ask me," said cock-sparrow. "It isn't decent to ask questions when a body is in mourning."

But the pipal wouldn't be satisfied, so at last with sobs and tears the poor bereaved cock-sparrow said—

"Ik chamkhāt hāṁ;
Chiri rangan charhā;
Chiri bedanā karī."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her."

Then the pipal was overwhelmed with grief too, and said "I must mourn also." So it shed all its leaves on the spot. By and bye a buffalo came in the heat of the day to rest in the shade of the pipal, and was astonished to find nothing but bare twigs. "What has happened to you?" said the buffalo, "you were as green as possible yesterday." "Don't ask me," whimpered the pipal, "where are your manners? Don't you know it isn't decent to ask questions when people are mourning?"

But the buffalo insisted, and at last with sobs and sighs the pipal said—

"Ik chamkhāt hāṁ;
Chiri rangan charhā;
Chiri bedanā karī;
Pipal pattrē jharī."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her;
So the pipal shed its leaves."

"Dear! dear! dear!" cried the buffalo.
"How very sad! I must mourn too." So she immediately cast her horns and wept and wailed. After a while she went to drink water in the river."

"What is the matter?" cried the river.
"And what have you done with your horns?"
"How rude you are?" wept the buffalo,
"can't you see I am in deep mourning? Don't you know it isn't manners to ask questions?"

But the river insisted till the buffalo with many sighs said:

"Ik chamkhāt hāṁ;
Chiri rangan charhā;
Chiri bedanā karī;
Pipal pattrē jharī;
Mahāṁ sing jharī."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pipal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns."

"Dreadful!" cried the river, and wept so much that its water became quite salt.

By and bye a cuckoo30 came to bathe in the river. "What has happened?" said the cuckoo, "you are as salt as tears."

"Don't ask me," mourned the river. "it's too dreadful for words."

But when the cuckoo insisted, it said:

"Ik chamkhāt hāṁ;
Chiri rangan charhā;
Chiri bedanā karī;
Pipal pattrē jharī;
Nāīṁ bāhā khāṛī."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pipal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt."

"Oh dear! oh dear!" cried the cuckoo,
"How very shocking! I must mourn too." So he plucked out an eye and went and sat by a tradesman's shop and wept.

"What's the matter?" cried Bhagtu,31 the tradesman.

"Don't ask me," sniveled the cuckoo, "it is such awful grief! such sorrow!"

But when the tradesman persisted the cuckoo said:

"Ik chamkhāt hāṁ;
Chiri rangan charhā;
Chiri bedanā karī;"
Pīpal pattrē jhāri;
Mahīn sing jhāri;
Nāī bahē kārī;
Koi āhū kānī.

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pīpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye."

"Bless me," cried Bhagtu, "but that is most distressing. I really must mourn too." So he wept and wailed till he lost his senses, so that when the king's maid-servant came to buy from him, he gave her pepper when she asked for turmeric, and onion when she asked for garlic, and wheat when she asked for pulse.

"Dear me, friend Bhagtu," cried the maid-servant, "what's the matter with you?"

"Don't!" cried the tradesman, "don't ask me! what can a man in such dreadful grief as I am know about onions and garlic and turmeric and pepper? It is too, too awful!"

But at last at the maid's entreaties he said:

"Ik chamkhāt hū;
 Chaīrī ranga charhi;
 Chaīrī bedan kāri;
 Pīpal pattrē jhāri;
 Mahīn sing jhāri;
 Nāī bahē kārī;
 Koī āhū kānī;
 Bhagtu dhwānī."

"One hen painted,
And the other was dyed,
And the cock loved her,
So the pīpal shed its leaves,
And the buffalo her horns,
So the river became salt,
And the cuckoo lost an eye,
So Bhagtu went mad."

"Oh how sad!" cried the maid-servant,
"I must mourn too." So she went to the palace saying dreadful things.14 "What is the matter?" cried the Queen, "what distresses you?"

"Oh!" cried the maid, "such dreadful news,"

"Ik chamkhāt hū;
 Chaīrī ranga charhi;
 Chaīrī bedan kāri;

14 Padā: padā (padā), lit. to break wind, in common parlance used of a coward, to be cowardly, and of women, to use bad language, to say outrageous things in society. Perhaps the best renderings of the word here are those in the text.—E. C. T.
BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(MONICAL FROM p. 146.)

MUSALMÁN BEGGARS.

Bombay being the principal port of embarkation for the Red Sea, there is annually a large concourse of Musalmán pilgrims going to Makka, from different provinces, and on their return they are fed, clothed and helped on their way back to their homes. Besides these pilgrims who make their stay for a time in Bombay, there is already a large number of Musalmán faqirs in Bombay inhabiting mosques, verandas of godowns and Muhammadan houses, or who squat on vacant ground employing themselves during the day as labourers, and in the evening salying forth as beggars, some with lanterns in their hands adorned with flower-garlands, while others go waving burning incense and return with a full scrip. These beggars frequent the houses of all. Hindus give these preference to their own beggars. To give charity to a faqir is in their estimation meritorious. They do not look at the corpse of a Hindu, but at a Musalmán's

they will try to have a glance, as he becomes, they say, a pérs after death, and that no evil spirit (písádha) enters his body; while others become devils, bhútas, and go to heaven or hell according to their deeds here on earth. But whatever the notions of the Hindus regarding Musalmán beggars may be, many of the latter are reputed to be drunkards, smokers of ganja, chandol, smugglers of opium, and it is generally believed that not a few are addicted to pilfering.

Dándiválás strike two wooden bats together, and curse and abuse if one does not present them with a copper.

Then there are the Urimárs, Schhariárs, and Gajmárs who carry a knife or a club with spikes on it. With these they wound themselves if one does not pay them.

Dóriválás spread a line, and from the houses coming within the length of this line they demand money, and then go to other houses.
repeating the process. In case of refusal the beggar forms the line into a noose, and threatens to hang himself. Then there is another who has no particular name assigned him, but who stands abusing the shopkeeper, and at last puts his hand in his mouth, and pulls out, as he says, his stomach, all bloody. This is a horrible sight to look at.

The Dāṇḍa kāvāṉḷā carries a club loaded with a number of small iron chains, and shaking the club he stands in front of shops.⁵

Gārūḍis are Muhammadan jugglers, who perform feats with snakes, which are taught to dance to the sound of a shrill musical instrument. They then produce cobras out of bambu baskets; the reptiles hissing fiercely, raise their eyes and hooded crests, and rear on end as if to strike the charmer. The snakes dance to the music of the gourd pipe, not with pleasure, but with rage and fear, the jugglers twist these snakes round their necks, keeping the mouth of the snake under their chin. They have no elaborate apparatus, but are generally accompanied by an assistant. They are almost naked, and their whole stock in trade consists of a few bambu baskets. They exhibit some extraordinary tricks:—thus, a boy aged ten or so is strongly tied up with a twisted cord or string, hands, feet, and all. Then a sack of strong netting is slipped over the boy, and he is squeezed down on his haunches so that the cords can be tied fast over the captive's head. He is then lifted from the ground to show how securely the sack is fastened. The boy is put into a basket about eighteen inches high and three feet long with a cover, and there appears to be a difficulty in fitting the lid on the top. The basket then in turn is tied up with another strong cord. Presently the lid is agitated, the cord and net jerked out. This done, the basket is pierced on all sides with a sword or foil which goes right through, and the juggler then calls out to the boy, but no answer comes from him, he then tells the spectators that the boy is dead.⁶ This scene excites the people, and the juggler profits by this opportunity to collect a few annas; as soon as this is done, he lifts up the lid, but the basket is empty! He calls out to the boy, when he answers from a distance, and comes running to-wards the juggler. Then the performer throws up into the air an earthen jar, which he receives on the back of the right hand, where it is kept dancing for a moment, and then on the extended arm. He dances with two double-bladed swords which he tosses in the air, catching them in the hand opposite to that from which they had been thrown, at the same time dancing to the rapid beating of the drum. A third and fourth, up to five or six, are kept in motion, the bells on his ankles jingling in time to the music. They swallow and spit out fire, exhibit an inexhaustible water vessel, and walk on pattens, held on by the feet making a vacuum with the soles. A mango seed is placed in the earth and covered with a basket, and by and by the old fellow, in an interval of snake-charming, exposes a bright green sprout, some eight or ten inches high, where he had apparently put in a seed. After a while it is uncovered, when it appears hung with tiny fruit. Then he puts down a small basket, chatter at it, and lo! there is an egg! he covers the egg with a basket, chatter at it and turns it over, out walks a pigeon. Next he places another egg under the basket, and another pretty pigeon comes out. There are various other sleights of hand performed by these people, such as thrusting spears and knives deep into their mouths, and pulling them out covered with blood. They also pull out of their mouths cotton thread several hundred yards long, quite dry, and, by a clever trick, apparently change a pinchful of dust into copper, silver, or gold coin, &c. &c.

The Tasmīvāḷḷā binds a strap of leather round his neck as if strangling himself, and flutters his hands and feet like one in the agonies of death.⁷

The ape men show off their favourites, which are trained to go through the manual and platoon exercise in a reckless manner, winding up with a general quarrel.

Hījādās or eunuchs come in groups of four or five, of all Hindu and Musalmān classes, they are either castrates or born so. In Native States fine-looking youths, for whom the wives of the Native princes take a liking, are castrated and made over to them as their keepers. Both the Hindu and Muhammadan eunuchs dress in robes and bodices, the Musalmān eunuchs being generally in white,

---

⁵ See Ind. Ant. vol. I, p. 163.
⁶ See Ind. Ant. vol. I, p. 163.
and the Hindu eunuchs in clothes of different colours. Musalmán eunuchs do not pray nor observe fasts or feasts, but the Hindu eunuchs apply red powder to their brows, and pray to Hindu goddesses. Excepting from the eyebrows, the eunuchs remove all hair from the face and wear the hair of the head in a back knot like women. They generally speak Hindustani. Besides committing sodomy, the Musalmán eunuchs dance and sing on occasions of births, of which they learn from midwives, or they go about the lanes, calling out 'Where is a son born?' If they should not be sent for, they contrive to find out the house and exact money. Should they be handsomely rewarded, well and good; if not, they raise a clamour and load the owner with curses. A good-looking person among them is selected to dance, and the rest play on a drum and pipe, and sing. Towards the conclusion of the dance the dancer presses on his abdomen by inserting a cloth pad under his dress to represent a pregnant woman. After a little while, as if in actual labour he screams and roars out lustily, and ultimately drops the pad as if bringing forth the infant. Then the pretended mother rocks it in a cradle or dandles it in her arms. After dancing and singing awhile they receive betel-nut, rice, and money, and depart. These creatures frequent the Märvāḍi and other shops, and stand clapping their hands, and using filthy language till the shop-keepers give them a pice. They do not feel ashamed to raise their waist cloth before shopkeepers if they do not pay them. When they die they are buried by their own people without any ceremony being performed either at their graves or afterwards. Hindus consider it a sin to look at them, but during the Holi holidays they are encouraged and their dances attended by low-class people.

Shidhis, both men and women, carry a cocoanut shell filled with small pebbles and covered over with a cloth, which they go on shaking, and at the same time singing songs. At other times they carry a long guitar on which they play, and beg. The men sometimes smear their bodies with a mixture of oil and soot, and frequent Märvāḍi shops.

The palanquin beggar is a Musalmán, who rides in a palanquin with a snake in his hand. Before him walk musicians. These together with the palanquin he hires for about three rupees a day.

Musalmán astrologers, squatting under trees on the Esplanade with books before them, pretend to foretell events. A pice satisfies them.

Chatāpānis are damaged characters, "squatting on the ground in a corner of a lane or street where fairs are held, with three cards placed before them, endeavouring to induce the onlookers to stake their money, and use some amusing flattery. But excepting one or two low castes, and damaged characters, the spectators are generally too cautious to venture anything on the famous three card trick, which has cost many a bumpkin his whole store of available cash."

The Pehlvān, or athletic, is a Musalmán. He first throws a large knife into the air, and then follows it up by some half a dozen more one after another, and keeps them in the air by constant movement. He takes up a large stone ball, and keeps it rolling up and down on one of his arms for a little while, and then by a jerk sends it on to the other arm, and so on. He next flings it up in the air, and allows it to fall heavily on his breast and back. He then pulls a long knife from his side, and catching it with both his hands forces it down his throat and after allowing it to remain there for a few minutes, as he says, to suck his blood, he pulls it out covered with blood, and shows it to each of the spectators, and asks for a pice.

THE DATE OF ŚAMKARĀCHĀRYA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B. A., BELGAUM HIGH SCHOOL.

Professor Weber places Śamkarāchārya in the 8th century, and says that Śamkara's date has not, unfortunately, been more accurately determined as yet. Other Oriental scholars place him in the 7th or 9th century. This uncertainty on a point of so much importance can be easily accounted for by the fact that places like Śrīnāgari in the South, which contain

*Munshi Vali Latfulla.*
imense literary treasures, have not as yet been visited by scholars in search of manuscripts.

I have lately come across a manuscript which gives the date of Śāṅkaraśāstra. The manuscript belongs to Mr. Govinda Bhata Yerlekara of Belgaum. It is a small one, consisting of three leaves only, written in Bālbodh characters. It begins thus:

The manuscript next says that Śāṅkara established his matha on the banks of the Tunggabhadrā, appointed Prithvídhara to be the head of it, conferred upon him the title of Bhāratī, and,

Then follow the names of his successors.

We next come to a minute description of the mathas established in various parts of India. Then follows the guru-parāhprā, or the succession of teachers, in which the Āchārya is described as Kusumānḍa-dīḍā. The reason

why he is so called is too well known to need any explanation here. This circumstance is not denied by Ānādagarī in his Śāṅkara viṣayu, who, as a warm admirer of Śāṅkara, cannot, of course, be expected to lay stress upon it:

But a Mādhva or a follower of Mādhva, in the Mani maṇījāri, does not scruple to tell us:

In the guru-parāhprā we are also told

After the guru-parāhprā, which is attributed to Ātmānanda, we read

The manuscript then proceeds to give the date of Mādhvāchārya and an account of the Mādhva sect, in which Mādhva is represented as the son of the demon Mādhu.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

7. OPPROBRIOS NAMES.—Chhajjā Singh.

—At p. 332, vol. X ante, the name Chhajjā is given as an opprobrious one from the Panjāb with the meaning of “winnowing basket.” But the Sikh name Chhajjā Singh or Chhajjā has a widely different signification, and teaches us the lesson of “never jumping to a conclusion.” In Panjābī chhajjā is a long heavy head, also a man with a long beard; (?) from the old Sansk. root chhad,

to cover.² In Hindi chhajjā means ‘long-bearded.’ Chhajjā Singh has reference to this meaning, and though a nickname is hardly opprobrious, considering the honour in which a beard is held by Sikhs: Chhajjā has reference to the custom of dragging children in a winnowing basket, and is decidedly opprobrious:—the names exist side by side in the Panjāb.

R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICE.


We read this work in French soon after its first appearance, and we are glad to see it in an English

dress. It is a book of no small value. Whether the author has studied Sanskrit with any care we have no means of judging; but he has diligently collected information from all available sources in the languages of Europe. M. Barth

¹ This corresponds to Śaka 710.

² This corresponds to Śaka 742 or A.D. 829.
is evidently a person of well-balanced mind; acute; and also careful in weighing facts. He is by no means disposed to accept theories at second hand, however high may be the authority from which they emanate. He earnestly works out every question for himself, yet without being excessively fond of novel views. The work, from beginning to end, is full of information, and—especially when read in the writer's lucid French—is really one of the most charming books on Indian thought and life that have for a long time come in our way.

The work would deserve an elaborate review; but the present paper is intended simply as a notice—a kind of advertisement to English readers. If we had leisure we should be glad to discuss—though we should be still better pleased to see others discuss—the views in which M. Barth departs from the usual line of thought.

Some of his opinions will rather startle Orientalists. For example, he sees in the Veda "a literature pre-eminently sacerdotal, and, in no sense, popular." "Not even in the oldest hymns" can he discover "primitive, natural simplicity." He doubts, therefore, or rather denies, that we have a right to speak of a "Vedic people"—that is, a race whose general belief is represented in the Vedas. Professor Thiele of Leyden—a most respectable name—holds the same opinion; and it certainly deserves discussion. It seems that M. Barth has entered more fully into this subject in the Revue Critique—a periodical to which we have at present no access; but we understand him to hold not merely that the hymns of the Rig Veda are only a selection of ancient Aryan poems, but that they represent simply a portion even of the religious thought of Vedic days. At the tim; the hymns were written, popular religions may have existed side by side with the Vedic system—religions, out of which probably arose the Vishnuite and Sivite faiths of later ages. Such is his belief; and we repeat that the question deserves earnest consideration.

Another point on which M. Barth makes us pause and ponder, relates to the deity Varuna. He does not admit that Varuna is in "a state of decay"—a king dethroned. Ever since we read the brilliant disquisition of Roth on the subject, we have thought otherwise; and M. Barth supplies no sufficient reason for a change of opinion.

Our author, instead of always finding profound thought in the Veda, declares that the poets often "strive to be unintelligible," and manifest "affectation and indolence." Let this view also be considered; it is not self-evidently wrong,—though the bewildering confusion we often meet has seemed to us to prove the imperfection of our knowledge of Vedic language, rather than an affection of mystery on the part of the Rishis. We are far, indeed, from saying that, even if we had a more exact knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit, the thought of the poet would be always clear. Indian mind delights in mysterious speculations, and the old Rishis doubtless often went beyond their depth; but the question is—were they intentionally obscure?

M. Barth's acuteness shows itself in his earnest attempt to lead us through the maze of the Upanishads and the Darśanas. Here again he always interests, without just always convincing us. Some of his criticisms of the philosophic speculations are severe—perhaps severely just. Thus, "Here the haughty theosophy collapses." "Conscientiously observed" (he is speaking especially of the Yoga)—"these observances can issue only in folly and idiocy."

We do not see that M. Barth has supplied much that is new in his discussion on Buddhism and Jainism; but his summaries of fact are drawn up with care. In regard to modern Hinduism, our author must have felt that he had too vast a subject to grapple with, considering the space at his command. We should be glad to see this portion of his book enlarged, and to some extent re-written. He differs from Weber as to the Krishna legend, and from Burnell in reference to the influence of Manicheism and Christianity on the great religious movements in the South, between the 9th and 12th centuries; and, in these cases, we deem him in the wrong. He is mistaken as to the number, and rank in society, of the Syrian Christians. It may probably be a new fact to him that, in the province of Travancore, every fifth man is a Christian. Farther, it is a pity that such a writer, in speaking of Christian Missions, should say "there are no conversions." In the South of India alone, the professed Protestants are now 350,000—and their number has quadrupled during the last twenty years. Moreover the Roman Catholics would loudly protest against the declaration that "the operations of the Propaganda have long since come to a standstill."

But, although sometimes imperfectly informed as to present things, M. Barth is always thoroughly honest and anxious to be impartial.

One word as to the translation. It is fairly executed; but it does not run in very limpid English.

It is dedicated to the late Dr. John Muir—over whose death so many have recently had cause to mourn.—J. M. M.
INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES.

BY PROF. EM. FORCHHAMMER.

I.

MONOSYLLABISM has hitherto been almost the sole ground upon which the Burmese, Tai, Talang, Tibetan, and Chinese languages have been pronounced consanguineous. The linguistic history of these numerous tongues is still unwritten, and the records of Western Indo-Chinese nations begins with preserving the memory of the advance, upon their borders, of foreign civilization and culture, of rulers and events inextricably interwoven with the dateless monarchs and episodes of Hindu legendary lore.

We cannot, therefore, begin our inquiry by settling upon a prime al language—upon a parent from which the innumerable languages and dialects, comprised within the term Indo-Chinese, have sprung and entered upon an individual career of linguistic growth or decay. Nor is it admissible to deduce from such principles as govern the phonetic changes in other language-groups, those which obtain in monosyllabic tongues. Agglutination, integration, and accent, which have wrought such changes in Indo-European words, but little affect monosyllables, in the present stage of language struggling for grammatical and syntactical independence. It is, first, the tonal inflection of the vowel element, the pitch of voice, emphasis and quantity with which a vowel is pronounced which chiefly cause and direct the changes in the surrounding consonants; secondly, final consonants, the absence or presence of which affect the preceding vowel or consonant, or both; thirdly, symbolism—consonants and occasionally vowels undergo changes, directly and organically indicative of a variation in meaning; these changes are not, as in most other language-groups, the effect of agglutination, integration of elements, or change of accent. In the Indo-Chinese languages accent must be strictly separated from tonal inflexion, pitch of voice, emphasis, and quantity of the vowel element; it is simply sentence-stress, and imparts emphasis to the prominent elements in the collocation of monosyllabic roots. Lastly, the most peculiar feature is the production of parallel roots, with concordant or antithetic vowel-sounds; this process is also in part symbolic; it accounts for the existence of the innumerable nearly homonymous roots in these languages, carrying the same or but a slightly modified meaning, and of radices which have the same consonant and signification, but bifurcate, according to strict rules of euphony—the vowel element into antithetic vowel sounds.

2. Talaing, Burmese, and Shan—the chief literary languages of Burma—have adopted Indian alphabets, and arrange their letters in rows, containing, more or less complete, the vowels and consonants of the Indian vargas. The Indian alphabets, however, are inadequate to express graphically the numerous and important distinctions, which the Indo-Chinese languages admit in emphasis, tone and quantity of vowel-sounds. The result is a large number of homonymous words, especially in Shan, widely different in meaning, and distinguished in spoken language by well-defined modulations in the utterance of the vowel element. The Shan word kən, for instance, written with the two letters k and n, is capable of conveying 16 totally distinct meanings, according as the vowel is pronounced with the high, low, middle or rising tone, with teeth and lips either widely or but slightly opened, with full or restrained expiration of breath. On the other hand, the adoption of Indian vargas imposed upon Burmese and Talaing supernumerary letters for sounds, which do not exist in these languages. The distinction of tenuae and mediae and their aspirates cannot consistently be upheld in the Indo-Chinese languages; k and kh occur, but the medial g and gh are foreign consonants, occurring only in borrowed words. The Shan has omitted the mediae and mediae aspirate altogether; in Talaing and Karen the sounds represented by g and gh are different from the Arian g and gh; in the former g resembles the Hebrew yin, gh the Hebrew cheth.

A further discrepancy arose by representing the peculiar Indo-Chinese sibilants by palatals, and by writing true palatals with a double letter consisting of a guttural and y (ya-gäu'k or ya-pe'k le'k).

Cerebrals are natural to the Talaing,—in all other Burmese languages they occur only in
words of foreign origin. The Shan (and also Khyen, Sgő, and Pgö Karen) have not admitted cerebrals into their alphabets.

Dentals and labials of a peculiar nature occur in Talaing, Khyen, and Karen; Talaing has invented two letters for labials in addition to the Indian varga; Khyen also requires an extra sign in the labial row.

Sibilants, though numerous in the languages of Further India, have graphically but one representative; it is pronounced in Talaing and Burmese very much like English th in those, but in Shan like s, and in the latter undistinguished in form or sound from the aspirated s舉辦 consonant placed in the palatal varga. It has already been intimated that the sounds, arranged as palatals in written language, are in their nature sibilants.

Writing in Talaing, Burmese, and Shan is not the handmaid of speech; orthoepy is but dimly reflected in orthography; a "stranger may acquire the spoken tongue by training of the mouth and ear, or the written by help of grammar and dictionary, and in either case the other tongue will be nearly as strange to him as if it belonged to an unknown race."

Nor do the methods of spelling in these three languages deserve, on historical grounds, the same consideration as the hands of philologists, as antiquated modes of spelling in other languages; in the former the tie between writing and utterance must at all times have been exceedingly loose and indefinite; ancient Talaing and Burmese inscriptions furnish important data for paleography, but philology is unable, from ancient or modern written documents, to unveil important phases of the life and growth of Indo-Chinese languages.

Researches, based upon the evidence of written idioms, into their nature and genetic connection, must prove abortive. A thorough investigation of the physiology of sounds and of their relation to one another, as exhibited in the spoken languages, must precede all other linguistic inquiries.

3. Before we enter upon the exposition of the Indo-Chinese phonetic system, it is incumbent to ascertain, what in these idioms is due to ethnic capacities and what are transmitted habits, arising from the contact with other languages.

Buddhism became established in China at the beginning of the Christian era; it rose by imperial favour to a high legitimate status; devoted Chinese priests studied, translated, and imitated Buddhistic legendary and controversial literature; and the Chinese people divided their homage between Con-fu-tse, Lao-tse, and Buddha. In China the Mahāyāna school prevailed; its vehicle was Sanskrit.

In Further India the sacred language of Buddhism is Pāli; this idiom began its influence upon Talaing about 2,000 years ago; upon Burmese 900; and upon Shan probably not more than 300 years ago. The Sanskritic mantra School of Northern India left also some traces on the alphabet, literature, and language of the Burmans. The differences subsisting between Pāli and Sanskrit are not sufficiently important to produce dissimilar effects in the phonetic habits or morphological structure of those monosyllabic languages, which they have influenced in common. The latter, however, differ greatly as to the conditions under which they granted citizenship to the long-membered sojourners from India.

The Chinese possessed considerable and varied learning before the advent of Buddhism and the diffusion of its literature in their dominions. Many technical vocabularies were transferred from Sanskrit, yet Chinese commentators were not at a loss to bring their meaning home to their readers in terms of their own tongue. A written literary language, the regulated medium of the thoughts of the wise, and uninfluenced by Aryan diction, was understood in all corners of China, irrespective of differences in their common dialects.

In Further India, Hindu colonists imparted the first impulse of culture and development to the life and languages of the natives; they had not yet gathered up and set in order their own legendary lore and poetry; their vulgar tongues had never been the medium for themes of imagination or philosophy. The constant presence and pressure of a learned, highly organised, but uncongenial language upon the undeveloped indigenous idioms, rather retarded and crippled their internal growth, too slow to keep pace with the demands made upon its own resources, by the altered material conditions, ways of life, and new institutions, social and private. They had recourse to external growth; the technical vocabularies of crafts, arts, and sciences of Hindu origin are decidedly
Indo-Aryan. Sanskrit words were not, as a rule, incorporated into Chinese; they were merely transliterated and set against the native equivalent. Mahâyâna prātipā, for instance, was divided into a succession of monosyllables, each provided with a Chinese phonetic sign, pronounced with the tone, emphasis, and quantity peculiar to it; thus in its Chinese dress the word assumes the form: mo-ho-ye-na-po-lo-ti-i-po, in Chinese ta-ching-teng—the lamp, the torch of the Great Vehicle (St. Julien, Méth. pour déchiffrer et transcr. les noms Sanskrit, etc., p. 60).

4. The tonal inflections, though a very important feature in the Indo-Chinese languages, are the most volatile of vowel accidents, and therefore most liable to be influenced by contact with foreign tongues. The position which the tonal system assumed towards borrowed words deserves particular attention. The Chinese, we have seen, devised means, by transliterating Sanskrit words with Chinese graphic signs, and pronouncing them as such, which deprived foreign elements of all disturbing influence upon tonal inflection. Talaing, Burmese, and Shan, partly because fettered by Indian alphabets, were forced to grant important concessions to intruders. Shan assigned to all borrowed words, whether Aryan or Burmese, the deepest, duldest tone; to some unaccented syllables, suffixes and affixes, the short, jerking 5th tone. Between these two extreme points, native words have ample space to clamber the length of the tonal ladder or foot at either end. Thus the Shan limited the destructive influence of foreign atonal words, by apportioning to them a fixed position in the tone-scale. Talaing and Burmese made no similar provisions, and this neglect resulted in the decomposition of their tonal system.

5. But Aryan speech effected a change of far greater importance in the cultured Indo-Chinese languages. Its recondite influence will at once become apparent by comparing the written Burmese, Talaing, or Shan, with their colloquial forms of speech and with the illiterate tongues of the Khyens and Karens.

In classifying Indo-Chinese roots upon principles of genetic connection, a singular phonetic phenomenon reveals itself. Nearly all roots, whether used attributively, predicatively, or appellatively—for Indo-Chinese languages have no formal distinction between verb, noun, or adjective—occur under two or more forms, possessing the same consonantal character, but various and different vowel elements—their nature in the parallel roots being always conditioned by the vowel in the primary root; this peculiarity rests upon altogether different laws than “vowel harmony” in the Ural-Altaic languages. The related roots, for instance, for ‘slimy,’ ‘macilaginous,’ fall under two heads: viz., a guttural and the vowel a, a guttural and the vowel i: 1

\[ k + a \quad k + i \]

Shan ka  \[ k \]
Chinese ka  \[ k \]
Chinese, chi  \[ k \]
Sgö Karen qi  \[ k \]
Burmese ky  \[ k \]

\[ p + a \text{ (or nasalized } a) \quad p + i \text{ (or nasalized } i) \]

Hokkien bûn  \[ p \]
Shangai p'  \[ p \]
Shangai wan, p' an  \[ p \]
Amoy (colloq.) pin
p' a
Anam. vûn  \[ p \]
Shang-chaw pin
Amoy bûn, pûn  \[ p \]
Shangai p' ' p' i:
Chang-chew pan  \[ p \]
Chang-poo pin
Shan pan, phan  \[ p \]
Shan pin, phin
Burmese pan (in Ka-Sgö Karen phn
p'n, to turn
over)
Talaing bôn, boh
Khyen p' an

\[ b'd't, \text{ to conceal, hide} \]

b (p or m) + a. \[ b (p \text{ or } m) + i \]
Hokkien bdî.  \[ b \]
Hokkien (colloq.) b'd't
Anam. mät  \[ b \]
Shangai mî't
Amoy bat  \[ b \]
Amoy (colloq.) b' t
Shan ma' p  \[ m \]
Sgö Karen pa  \[ m \]
Talaing b'd'h

Talaing roots, indicates that the root is to be pronounced with the high tone; in couples it distinguishes the syllable which bears the sentence-accent; a circumflex is placed over a deep toned long vowel, in couples over a deep toned accented syllable; a dash indicates a long vowel, pronounced with the middle tone. The relation of sounds to the signs employed to represent them will be illustrated in a subsequent article.

1 The examples given below are taken unaltered from Taber’s *Dict. Anamitico-Latinum*, Douglas’ *Chinese-English Dictionary*, Medhurst’s *Dict. of the Hok-kien Dialect*, Stent’s *Chinese-English Pocket Dictionary*, The numerals following Karen and Shan words refer to the tonal inflections as given in Wade’s *Karen Vocabulary* and Rev. Dr. Cushings’ *Shan Dictionary*. An acute over a vowel in single Burmese, Khyen and
If the root begins with the vowel a and ends with a labial or h or a nasal, or if the initial consonant is the soft sonant u, and the final a labial or nasal, the antiphonous vowel is u. The preference of u to i is here due to the influence of the adjacent labials or h; however, i is frequently retained.

ap (a kind of box)

\[ a + p \ (or \ h) \quad u (u) + p \quad i + p \ (or \ t) \]

Hokkien dh Sgō Karen u* Shan i*p
Shangai ah* Shan up*c Burm. i*t
Amoy ap, ah Burmese u*p
Shan ap*

ap*

am, ang, dark, secret.

a + m u + m

Hokkien am Shan um*10 Shan im*c
Amoy am* um*4c
Shangai: am* Sgō Karen δ5
Anam. am
Shan am*c

am*c

In Sgō Karen we have δ instead of u; this is owing to the loss of the final nasal, which left the evidence of its former existence upon the surviving portion of the root by strengthening u to the full de-toned δ.

bān, to plaster.

b (m) + a b (m, bh) + u b (m) + i

Hokkien bān Shan mum*c Shan mim*c
Amoy bān Sgō Karen bhū (in)
Anam. mān bā bhū
Shan mam*

Burmese mam Burmese mām.

The following is a scheme of the principal antithetic vowel sounds in parallel roots:

a require i or u u require au

d, , t or d io, do

u, a ui, ai

d, a ne, ai

e, , d, e, i ̃, u, a or i, rarely o

ai, i , d, i, δ

δ, d, e, or e ou, i

au, u

This peculiar feature, which will be further illustrated in the chapter on “phonetic couples,” assumes strong traits in the individual members of the Indo-Chinese group, especially in the uncultured tongues. The law above set forth is in full force in Shan, Khuyen, and Karen.

In Rev. Mr. Cushing’s Shan Dictionary, a very careful and laborious compilation, the parallel roots, as they exist in the spoken and written language, are added to each radical form. The reverend author is the first writer on the Burmese languages who has exhibited in detail and to some extent perceived the importance of vowel antithesis in otherwise homonymous roots; he says (Shan Dictionary, pp. 12, 15): “Phonetic couples (in Shan) are syllables having no meaning in themselves, which are joined to a word for the sake of the additional sound which they produce. . . . When they are employed, it is generally through the influence of anger, a desire for fun, or some feeling which seeks to express itself in a many-worded form. . . . It may be that these phonetic couples are the empty signs of dead words, but I incline to think that they have grown out of the tonal character of the language to supply a demand for a slightly more emphatic form of expression than any afforded by simple words.”

We have seen that the antithetic parallel root to Shan ka is ki, but also that both ka and ki, or their etymological derivatives, are historical roots; ki, the secondary form in Shan, has survived as primary form in Chinese chi, Sgō Karen ghi Burmese kyi; Shan kham, gold, has for its antithetic form kham; but the Chinese words for gold (chim, kin, guin) are all related to kham; and kham occurs as the parallel form. Shan has preserved the majority of forms, which the law of vowel-antithesis is capable of producing; the consequent surfeit pressed many into services of secondary importance. Shan may truly be said to contain the index to the related roots in kindred languages, in which the law of divarication of the vowel elements operated less energetically, or in which it has been crippled through the influence of foreign idioms.

The three parallel Shan forms, ap, up, ip, direct the etymologist to search for the related vocables in the Burmese and Chinese languages under the vowel a, or u, or i; Sgō Karen and Burmese have no representative of the ap form, but they are found as a or up; Burmese has also preserved the -root (iti) which is lost in Karen; the Chinese relatives survive as ah, ah, and ap, the collateral u- and i- branches having died out.

The theory of these parallel roots in Shan
having "grown out of the tonal character of the (Shan) language to supply a demand for a slightly more emphatic form of expression than is afforded by simple words" is untenable; they are, what Rev. Mr. Cushing advances as the other alternative "signs of words now dead." Though in Shan they serve at present the ends of euphony and rhythmical cadence, yet in kindred languages they continue as independent and living roots; they are the common inheritance, apportioned in different measures, to all Indo-Chinese tongues, of a common parent language, which must have been prevalingly onomatopoeic, in which existed a more or less distant likeness between articulate signs and the acts and qualities designated.

6. It is not intended to afford props to the vagaries of the 'bow-wow,' 'ding-dong,' or similar theories; but the testimony of still living and widely spread languages in Further India exact the acknowledgment of a decidedly imitative principle, affecting their entire apparatus of speech. Monosyllabism is common to all; yet the most ancient feature of the members of this language-group appears to have been a tendency towards joining roots, directly significant of quality or action to a synthetic complex of an imitative, symbolic nature. The accessory circumstances of actions and conditions, the moments of time and place, intensity of action, its repetition, interruption, mode of continuance, length of duration, are depicted in utterance by a repetition of the root, and samenesse or diversification of its vowel elements. A predicative root was seldom used singly; being, conditions, and relations were apprehended in the totality of their apparent qualities, and were expressed either in a directly onomatopoeic or distantly descriptive synthesis. Of about 120 words and examples given under letter "nga" in Wade's Sgö Karen Vocabulary, not less than 80 are purely onomatopoeic:—

ngi ngi | nga nga, imitative of sound as a dog biting fleas;
ngi ngi | nga nga, imitative of sound made through the nose;
ngwe ọ | ngwe ọ, imitative of the yelling of a cat; etc., etc., etc.

Words which resemble the sound made by the thing signified form a very considerable portion of all languages of Further India.

Again, about 70 per cent. of the entire Karen vocabulary, which is not strictly onomatopoeic, bears an imitative complexion:
tà kà | tà kà, anything astringent;
là ró | là rá, with contortions of the body;
là thí | là thí, now and then a word;
wa lé | wa ké, a sliver of bamboo;
ka kà | ke ká, having short bends; bent here and there, at short intervals;
là thó | là thó, act of coming into being successively;
sò mì | so mò, rising to prominence;
sò ghà | so ghè, pinch up and hold fast with the thumb and finger.

Shan:—
tut tut | tap tap, to be considerably warm, hotter than usual.
tup kwa | tup mā, to go to and fro;
tup tī | tup tap, bending one way, then another;
mung mung | mang mang, used to express brilliancy;

and numberless other examples also in Burmese, Khyen, Phalung and Talaing. The arrangement of the roots in these phonetic synthesises is dichotomous, each member consisting of one, two, and even three monosyllables, being either a repetition of the same root, or—if a complex action or quality is involved—of several radices. The constituents of the first member condition those of the second in number, accent, vowel, and to some extent even tone. The phonetic laws which divericate the vowel element in couplets are identical with those in single roots and their parallels. If in a phonetic couplet ka is the first monosyllable in the first member, the second member must begin with a root containing the vowel a, u or i, though the root itself be not related with ka, and possessed of a different vowel before forming part of the couplet.

Phonetic decay cannot easily affect imitative couplets; the mutual dependence of their members tends also towards preserving them; a phonetic change in one must affect the entire synthesis; if ka changes to ke, its counterpart in the second member can no longer remain ki or ku, but must take the antithetic vowel required by e.

It is evident that a large portion of imitative couplets owe their origin and continuance in speech to external circumstances; to diversity
of scenery, seasons, and temperature; the aspect of animal and vegetable life; to the peculiarity of mental and physical activity, customs, and habits of a people. The removal of a tribe from a mountainous region to a level sea shore would gradually bring into disuse the numerous couplets, imitative of the sound of water now falling in cataracts, now gathering in pools, cool and dim, amidst impeding boulders, now meandering many-limbed between them, gently flowing or ruffled, whistling, bubbling, murmuring, with tribes of loquacious birds humming, buzzing insects lighting on ferns, and creepers along the banks; in short of all the varied noises and voices which invest a mountain vastness.

(payó) á zgá | á zgá, the lateral crags or ribs of a mountain range;
swé thá | swé ló, having elevations and depressions;
ló plá | ló plá (indicating the idea of trees or other objects pendant from rocks, or overhanging breaks in a hilly country;
pgá ká thá | pgá ká thá, a species of mountain creeper.

Such and similar couplets would gradually be effaced from the memory of people no longer mountaineers, or would disintegrate, and their constituents join with other roots to form new couplets.

7. In Skythian and some Dravidian languages, especially in Telugu, “the law of harmonic sequence of vowels” is purely euphonic; in the former the vowel of the root, unchangeable in itself, determines the nature of the vowel element in the agglutinated suffixes. In Telugu “it is the vowels of the appended particles, which are changed through the attraction of the vowels of the word to which they are suffixed; but in a large number of cases the suffixed particles retain their own vowels, and draw the vowels of the verb or noun to which they are suffixed, as also the vowels of any particles that may be added to them, into harmony with themselves.” In the Indo-Chinese languages, the principle of vowel harmony and vowel-antithesis has been brought into play, to depict symbolically the accessory qualities of actions, motions, and phenomenal conditions. The creative language-sense, unconsciously and instinctively characterised, by means of the vowel-element in the root, harmonies and especially differences (for nations in a low stage of culture perceive more readily the latter than the former) in a manner, which its most conscious and subtlest operations could not have devised more suitably.

8. The predominatingly imitative nature of many Indo-Chinese idioms in their oldest and their present forms, suggests that originally the formation of language in this group must have been a synthetic process. Roots are chiefly used predicatively. Every action, motion, or condition is conceived by the mind in a twofold aspect—first, in its inherent nature; secondly, in its relation to time and place, giving the distinction between this and that, the nearer and the remoter object of attention with reference to the ego. The subjective changes produced by impressions from the external world, led to an intimate interpenetration of a concrete idea with language-form, effecting a structure, in which existed, first, a constant relation between the nature and number of articulate sounds and the nature of the idea and number of its accessories; secondly, a mutual dependency and corresponding co-ordination of articulate sounds, exhibiting a succession and external union, which symbolized that of the idea represented, and also the inner sequence and dependence of its constituents. It is a reflex, in language, of the synthetic process of the internal perception of impressions and their idealization by the mind. Language symbolized external phenomena in the totality of their complex nature by a corresponding synthesis; and the instinctive and unconscious endeavour of the language-sense, allowed to each cognition, the aggregate of which forms the composite idea, one expiration of breath and efforts of the organs of speech, constituting a syllable, thus holding the synthesis in monosyllabic separation.

9. Not before the mind of a nation developed and rose to the contemplation of the language it spoke, and exercised its retrospective and analytical power upon it, would single roots be selected and separated from a concrete synthesis, to be made the bearer of an abstract idea, and invested with the definiteness and vigour of separate individuality. In the Karen symbolic synthesis (a more appropriate appellation than “phonetic couplet”) sgi sgi | sga sga,
IMITATIVE OF THE CREEPING AND CRACKING SOUND, produced by the tense friction of two hard bodies, is expressed by the repeated and alternate occurrence of sharp cracking (i-i) and duller cracking (a-a) sounds. In the consonantal element is contained the inherent quality of the action or motion, in the vowels the accessories of time and place—the here and there, the now and then; the functions of roots verbal and roots pronominal are here exercised by forms purely predicative. As the language developed and new means of distinction became necessary, pronominal roots came into use to more clearly define temporal and local relations; this appears to have been effected by tā, kā, and pā and couplets like tā sgi | tā sga, having the same, or nearly the same, meaning as sgi sgi | sga sga, were formed. The separation of the roots sgi and sga, conveying the abstract idea of suffering by the ill-will of others, is of a later date. A few more examples are:

tū tū (Karen) imitative of a dull, heavy sound, produced by vehement striking; subsequently the single root tū came to mean, to submit to hardship, to endure; if the sound is separated at regular intervals, the pronominal particle kā enters the synthesis: kā tū | kā tū.

ām ām | īn īn (Shan) adv. in a low murmuring manner; whence ām, to speak in an indistinct tone, and īn, to speak with a weak voice, as an old man.

mīng mīng | mīng mīng (Shan) with flashes, as a distant light, and mīng mīng | mīng mīng, shining with brilliancy—whence mīng and mīng, to shine.

pēk pēk | pēk pēk (Shan), to spread out in a disorderly manner; pēk (antithetic root pēk) to divide into parts.

phōuk phōuk | phak phak (Shan), abundantly, as sweat or tears.

thān, thān—thō thō (Burmese), applied to hearing distant sounds; whence thān for the abstract conception of sound.

I am persuaded that these couplets preceded the isolation of single roots as exponents of an abstract idea; to assume that sgi to endure, to suffer from the molestation of others, existed before sgi sgi | sga sga, or to suppose the idea of suffering to have been degraded to the symbolic representation of a cracking sound, caused by friction with another hard substance, is to allow either an uncommonly high degree of abstraction or idealization to uncultured nations, or a perverted proceeding in the process of the formation of language, for which there is no analogy in the experiences of linguistic history.

It appears to me also erroneous to view sga, īm, mīng, pēk, phak in the second member of the synthesis as etymological derivatives, as separate and distinct roots from sgi, īm, mīng, mīng, pēk, phōuk in the first member; the former are genetically identical with the latter; a in sgi is not a phonetic change brought about in the course of the linguistic life of the root sgi—but an original vowel-antithesis in the symbolic synthesis sgi sgi | sga sga.

10. This peculiar feature deserves careful attention in comparative studies of the Indo-Chinese languages. An instance of how genetic connection of roots in these idioms may be traced and established, let us collate the words for pony, horse:

Burmese myi; Phalung ḳ (Kā ṛī; Arakanese mra; Kachyen ṛ (Kā ṛa; Shan ma (antithetic root: mī); Hokkien bd, nd; Shanghai mā; Anam. ma.

Guided by similarity of sound, we might infer relationship between these terms; but the laws of phonetic changes, which are considered as valid in other language-families, have but little bearing upon the nature of changes, and their causes, in Burmese and Chinese words. We must first direct attention to the final element of the several roots. The number of initial consonants and of vowels stand in a definite relation to the number of accidents in the vowel-element and of the final consonants:

1. If the root possesses one of the six final consonants k, ng, t, n, p, m, and at the same time a fully developed tonal system as in the southern Chinese languages and Shan, the number of initial consonants is comparatively small, from seventeen to twenty, made up chiefly of tenuae and tenuae aspirates; double initial consonants very rarely occur, and generally only in borrowed words.

2. If the roots exhibit the six final consonants, above alluded to, but a crippled tone-scale, the number of vowels and initial consonants increases in exact proportion as the means, to
distinguish roots by tonal inflexion, diminish; as in Khyn and Burmese.

3. Phaloung and Talaiang have developed, besides the usual finals, also ㄹ,  בחיי, ㄹ, ㄹ; the initials are very numerous; the tonal system has been discarded—because the language possessed in its consonants and simple a-tonal vowels sufficient means of differentiation of roots.

4. Where final consonants have been partly or wholly disposed of (as in the Mandarin and Syo Karen), vowel-accidents (tone, pitch of voice, emphasis) and initial consonants increase correspondingly.

In Burmese, Arakanese (a dialect of Burmese), Phaloung and Kachyen the words for "pony" show a final nasal; it is not, however, an organic ㄹ or ㄹ, produced by an actual contact of the organs of speech, but a mere nasalised vowel, which can be easily ascertained by a phono-physiological examination of the parts concerned in its pronunciation. But we shall be brought to the same conclusion by induction from the phonetic law that in the Indo-Chinese languages a final sound, to the pronunciation of which a renewed effort of the voice or a separate contact of the organs of utterance are necessary, is never lost without affecting and changing the remainder of the root. In the Burmese-Phaloung group, we find a double initial consonant, and to infer from the way in which these words are written with native characters, or the usual systems of transliteration—also a final nasal, a separate phonetic entity from the preceding vowel. In the Shan-Chinese representatives ম, က, ဗ, a simple initial consonant and the same vowels occur. Now, a double initial consonant in မ, ဗ, with a supposed final nasal, cannot be reduced by phonetic tear and wear to such forms as မ and က; wherever a final nasal is lost, a preceding အ is changed to the deep-toned ဗ or ဗ or ဗ.

Hokkiien  bang to dream
Shan  pha
Anam.:  mā
Karen  mā, ဗ mā ဗ
Phaloung  ဗ
Hokkiien  bang to hope, expect.
Shangai  wāng
Anam.:  wāng
Amoy  bang Karen mā

Shan māng Burm. ဗ, ဗ
Hokkiien  bang a curtain, to cover
Anam.  māng
Amoy  bān
Shan  pan-pān
Kachyen  pāng
Karen  ဗ
Burmese  mā
Shangai  mā

In these examples a well-defined nasal follows the vowel, and where it disappeared, the preceding vowel changed from အ to ဗ, ဗ or ဗ. We can therefore with safety draw the inferences, that Shan-Chinese ဗ, က, ဗ, have either no affinity at all with the Burmese-Phaloung equivalents, or, if their kinship is supported by other evidences, the final in မ, ဗ, is not a nasal consonant, but merely an accident of the preceding vowel, in the utterance of which the vibration, caused by the passing column of air in the vocal cords of the larynx, is communicated to the nose and the roof of the mouth, and the current of breath, bearing the vowel-sound, is slightly modified by the resonance-capacity of the organs through which it passes. In Burmese, Kachyen, Pgo Karen, Talaiang and Kachyen, nasalised vowels are of common occurrence; nasalisation forms a volatile concomitant to the vowel-element, leaving at its disappearance no inheritance to the survivors, which, in return, are not affected by the bereavement. The nature of the final element in the several roots for "pony" in the Burmese-Phaloung and Shan-Chinese groups offer no feature opposed to the assumption of their genetic connection.

We now proceed to consider the initial consonants in the examples given, viz. ဗ, က (Burmese က corresponds nearly always to Arakanese က) ဗ, ဗ and ဗ. As already intimated, the number of initial consonants stand in a definite relation to the number of final consonants and the tone-scale of the root-vowel. Shan-Chinese requires fewer consonants than Burmese, Talaiang, Kachyen and Phaloung, by reason of its six finals and fully developed tone-system. Double initials in the latter occur in the former as simple initials, medine and medine aspirate as tenses and tenses aspirate without any compensation for the loss or change. Besides, several other initials in Burmese, Talaiang, Phaloung and Kachyen coalesce into one in
Shan; hang, rang, yong, ram are all etymologically represented by the one Shan-root, hang; klang, krim, kàm, kàn, ran, gan by the Shan kang and kan; shàng, khin, khán, khàn, khrang, khang, chông by the Shan khàng (antithetic parallel root khang). In the latter, differentiation is affected by differences in the vowel of the root (tone, emphasis, etc.); in the former, by differences in the consonants—the vowel element being a-tonal. It is not, therefore, a violation of sound etymology to accept the Shan-Chinese initials m and b as legitimate representatives of mr, my, and pr; the latter must, however, be viewed as the older forms, which became simplified in Shan-Chinese.

The vowel element in the roots under consideration offers some difficulty. We observe, that in all cases where it is not a, it is i; a sudden transition, so uniformly appearing in widely different families, from a to i, or i to a, is impossible, if it were attempted to explain this peculiarity by a purely phonetic change, gradually brought about during the linguistic history of the root. No forms with intermediate, transitional vowels are discoverable. We find, however, a ready solution of this phenomenon, by admitting this polarization of vowels being due to vowel-antithesis, the nominal root ma and mi, mra and mya, having risen to individual life and independence from a symbolizing synthesis consisting of predicative roots. We need not, however, base this conclusion upon theories only—the synthesis in question still exists in Shan, which, together with the forms in the kindred tongues, must have been derived from a synthesis in a primitive Indo-Chinese language. In the process of forming abstract ideas from concrete ideas, nominal roots from verbal ones, and in accordance with a predisposition for certain vowels, either the root containing the a vowel, or the root with i, or both, as in Shan, were separated and invested with individual life. Thus we can establish not only the relationship between mra, pra; mya, pri and ma, mi, but also between (see § 5) ka and ki; pan and pin; bat and bit; mat and mit; ap, up and ip; am, um and im, and all other roots which divericate the vowel element according to the scheme laid down in § 5. mra, mya and pra may, however, be composite roots; we have probably an original ma-ra, ma-yi and pi-ra before us, in which ma and pa are either pronominal roots, and ra, yi the terms for “pony,” or ma, pa are identical with the Chinese ma and ba and ran, yin obsolete classifiers or numeral auxiliaries.²

11. The relation which subsists in Chinese between the “old sounds” and “new sounds,” and between the words used in the colloquial and the literary language may also be connected with the law of vowel-antithesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old sound</th>
<th>New sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bang</td>
<td>ping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an, am</td>
<td>in, yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>pi and pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak</td>
<td>pik, and pe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final k has been thrown off.

hiang hung, hung.

A few more illustrations will not be out of place:

Hokkien áng, a jar
Amoy ang
Burmesé ing
Shan ang⁰ (parallel root ing ²)
Hokkien ba, pa, a scar
Shangai pà
Amoy phá, pa
Shan pa⁴ (parallel root pr⁴)
Talaing pà (in pà mi a scar)
Burm. mā (in á mā yū)
Hokkien bā (in bā hong) leprosy, small-pox
Shanghai ma
Anam. ma
Amoy bá
Karen mā (the meales)
Shan mā (parallel root mi)
Burm. myā (in myā phā)
Hokk. bā (in bā bē), a fox
Amoy bā, a wild cat (lāt bā, a sort of fox)
Shan mā { mī a dog (mā mīn, a fox)
Karen mī a cat (hūn mī, a fox)
Hokkien bāi, to bury, to hide away, to cover up
Shangai mai
Anam. mai
Amoy bai
Shan mai⁰ (parallel root mī mai⁰)
Karen bāi and bāi³

² For kā in Phaloung and Kakhien (kā) pra⁶, (kā) pra⁶ see footnote ² page 186.
12. In tracing the history of Indo-Chinese roots it is expedient to admit of two causes affecting the root, namely, vowel-antithesis, or diversification of the vowel-element in the original symbolizing synthesis, and purely phonetic changes, to which all roots are susceptible, after having begun an individual career. Thus Phaloug jìn is contained in the Shan predicative couplet kan-hin, and genetically connected with its second member kin; but the change of k to r is phonetic, Shan k in this couplet being a palatal sound, (in the languages of Further India we must distinguish between really guttural gutturals and palatal gutturals,) which is very frequently changed to the peculiar Phaloug j, owing to an incomplete contact of the tongue and palate in attempting to pronounce k.

13. A language, which in its first stage of development consists mainly of syntheses of an imitative nature, symbolizing unanalyzed conceptions of qualities and activities, composite in their nature, must soon have become embarrased by its limited scope, when new thoughts and increased knowledge required the formation of new words. Though there existed a vast language-material, as various and different as the external phenomena which it depicted, yet the vowel-element, with all its possible accidents, was entirely engrossed in expressing temporal and local relations. No particular portion of the synthesis expressed the whole conception or bore any meaning as a separate entity. The necessity of creating new terms naturally led men to reflect upon the existing material and its relation to the conceptions produced by impressions from without. The analytic process of language began. The mind learned to distinguish the essential, innate qualities of beings, actions and conditions, from their secondary local and temporal characteristics. Hitherto the functions of verbal and pronominal roots were exercised simultaneously in a predicative synthesis, each constituent contributing, by inner changes, to the expression of accessory attributes, without a formal development of pronominal roots.

The apprehension of the objective, individual properties, suggested the means of making a portion, a syllable, of the synthesis their exclusive bearer, and raise it to the definiteness of a separate existence; while a small number of radices were set apart as exponents of the more general and subjective relations of time and place, and then joined to the predicative root as bearers of qualities common alike to external phenomena.

14. The most primitive pronominal roots in the Indo-Chinese languages are the demonstrative particles kā, tā and pā. Kā expresses progressive motion from a point (the ego, or thou or he) towards another; next, the act of "becoming" ("das Werden"), and the approximation to the act or state of being, expressed by the root; or it signifies an action as occurring but once, or, when repeated, as occurring repeatedly or alternately with another action, at stated intervals.

Kā kā | kā kā, (Karen) describing motion, attended with various twistings and bendings of the body; hence kā, to twist, to screw; kā a generic name for worms, and kā kā, to become intertwisted by the described motion.

Klā klā | klā klā, (Karen) with that motion which tends to push or work one thing into another; hence, klā, to press, to push; and klā, to attach one thing to another, having a flat or smooth surface; klā klā | klā klā, to cringe, crouch (i.e. working one's self into favour with another, by humouring his fancies).

Rā rā | rā rā, imitative of screaming, crying, in the excitement of play or fear; kā rā, one sharp, shrill cry; kā rā | kā rā, to cry out now and then; kā rā | kā rā, screams and cries, here and there, arising from a multitude in a state of panic.

Lā lā | lā lā (Burmesse, see Karen klā klā | klā klā, above) to move backwards and forwards kā lā | kā lā or kā lā | kā lā | to rock a child in the arms, by way of fondling.

Kā yā | kā yā (Burmesse, from yu yu or yu yu | ya ya) with tender care and solicitude towards another.

Kā rā | kā rā (Burmesse, to do in a loose and careless manner); working, to appearance, here and there, without accomplishing or finishing anything.\footnote{In the examples given another feature appears, which the etymologist must be careful to notice; a considerable portion of roots in Karen, Burmesse, Taliang and Phaloug begin with double consonants: klu, kla; fra, tre, fri; pra, pri, etc. etc. are composite roots, consisting of lu, la, ru, ro, ri with the demonstrative particle kā tā or pā prefixed. Double initials occur chiefly in Karen; it has rejected all final consonants, and had recourse in consequence to a fuller development of initials; kā, tā and pā (also čhā and ē) being unaccented, short syllables, gradually lost their independence, and coalesced finally with the other consonant, to form a new root; the}
Kà came gradually to denote the future tense in Karen (as: sà kà | khà lä | khà lä); the ablative (from, out of) in Burmese, Khayan, Amoy, Hokkien (as kà); place and motion, from or to, in Shan and Siamese (kà nán, there, kà nük, outside of, kà pìn yonder); in Phalong and Talaing also the ablative (kà in nù kà tâ ngô kò, from that day onwards).

15. Tà denotes continuance in a condition; as in Karen pù tà pà | sì tà sì sít, that person continues a long time in an almost dying state. Mü | hîh tû tà hîh hîh, almost noon. Tà isolates single actions or conditions out of several or different ones; it has then become the particle of impersonification and individualization, assuming the function of a definite or indefinite article, converting predicatives into nominal roots.

Kà (Karen, antithetic roots ko or kà), to screen; chi tà kà | chi tà kà, to tie up something for a screen; tà kà a screen; tà in its extended form tà (Karen) is prefixed to verbs to form substantive, or verbal nouns; it is also prefixed or affixed instead of a noun indefinite; it came to mean something, and finally a thing, subject, matter; a ‘one’ is likewise tà; compare Burmese tà sâm | tà khâ; in tà phân | tà là; and tà as a numeral auxiliary lù tà yôk, a man, one man; khwe tà koung, a dog, one dog.

16. Pà indicates the doing or causing of an action expressed by the verb; it also intensifies action. In Karen it is interchangeable with kà (có, ko) and tà.

Karen: pà kà | pà kà, to shear away, as in steering a boat. Kà pà kà | kà pà kà, to twist or contort with an oblique or side motion.

Burmese: pà rû kà | pà rû kà, to be agitated, in a flurry; pà rû kà | pà rû, in the way of joking; with too much freedom or familiarity.

Talaing: pà tà | pà tàk, to cause to increase; pà lém | pà lâm, to destroy, to spoil.

To what extent these particles are used, especially in the illiterate tongues of Further India, is exemplified in Rev. Mr. Wade’s Karen Dictionary (quarto 1842) beginning with the letter and the particle kà, illustrating its uses, in connection with verbs over 324 pages.

17. By allotting the expression of the accessories of time and place to a few particles, applicative and demonstrative particles were then again prefixed to it; thus kà kà, if analyzed, appears as kà kà tà. Burmese in this and many other instances has not allowed the root cable alike to all roots, the vowel-element in the latter became disconnected from these functions, and would now supply material for the formation of terms for new thoughts and knowledge. From the moment syllables began to be separated from syntheses by the conscious exercise of the retrospective and analytical power of the mind—the further development of the language depended in great part on the extent to which pronominal particles succeeded, by attachment to separated roots, in overcoming their innate tendency to restore their former connection in a symbolising synthesis, or in a complex, phonetically resembling the former. In the latter case, they joined to “phonetic couplets” which owed their origin not directly to symbolim, but to the tendency of the idiom, inherited from a previous phase of its existence, towards that peculiar mode of utterance, which characterised symbolic synthesis. We have seen that kà ro | kà ri is derived from ro ro | ri ri; a similar association of sound has been effected in kà ro | kà ro, or kà ri kà ri | kà ro kà ro. If two different actions or conditions are to be expressed in a couplet, the two predicative roots are joined upon the same principle.

Tu tà, imitative of a heavy dull sound, produced by the vehement contact with another body; kà tà | kà tà, the same sound occurring repeatedly and at regular intervals; tà (originally the antithetic form of tà) to strike, to beat in such a manner as to raise marks or ridges; kà tà | kà tà, to strike repeatedly so as to produce the said sounds, and to raise upon each stroke a mark on the body beaten.

Thus innumerable new couplets were formed, as in Burmese: kà tung | kà ting; kà tung | kà yâng; kà tàk | kà yàk’; pà lam | pà tue; tà zun | tà khû; in Chinese: tøen mo shou | tøen mo hîng; chiù-sao | chiù-hû; chiù teo | tø teo; chiù thên | chiù bin.

Roots in phonetic couplets were separated from each other only by one syllable, always short and unaccented; their insertion was not sufficient to annul the innate bent of the predicative root towards regaining companionship with its former associates or others similarly inclined.

and particle to coalesce; hence Burmese tà tà | tà tà, is genetically identical with Karen kà kà kà kà kà; and kà tà with kà tà.
18. Roots of predication or assertion—so far from being entities, sent astray in naked helplessness and loneliness, with no influence beyond the boundaries of their own restricted self, to clothe as best they could their long-continued nudity with the tatters of pronominal roots, which gradually effected agglutination and finally synthesis—had in Indo-Chinese languages their first being within the folds of synthesis, the truest reflex of nature and its first embodiment in utterance. The automatic recollection of this its original phase, continued in the numerous offspring of the primitive language; and every monosyllable still bears in its phonetic character the stamp of its former association. In some of the so-called monosyllabic languages, the features alluded to in the preceding paragraphs have in part disappeared, either in the idiom of polite, high-flown conversation, or in the prose style of commentaries and translations. But it is a curious circumstance that the phonetic laws of symbolic syntheses or phonetic couplets revive in full force in poetical effusions. We have already in § 6 alluded to the external character of couplets, and seen that their most salient feature consisted in the prosodical equipoise, maintained between the two members of a couplet; “the constituents of the first member condition those of the second in the number of syllables, quantity and quality of vowels, accent and even tone.” The laws of prosody of popular poetry in Burmese, Talaing Khyen, Karen, Shan and Phalung are identical with those obtaining in the primitive descriptive synthesis. In the following examples, couplets are put in brackets: Burmese; see Mahâgitamedān kyan, vu't tō theingyee p. 18:

(Bhē hma | hō hma) ngē lē
(gyān sē | gyān so) yue hū
(hmō hna | zaï ūt pū | zaï ūt pū)
(hmō hna | zaï ūt pū)

p. 59 (lān lān) se (khawng pan | thein than) we
ngue huoing tā (phyēn phayan | ṭen ṭen)
le huoing tā (myan myan)
(lum lum) to hmaing
(phīye lē | phīye pā) huoing
(bue xing | khoe xing) tue
or in prose (Mahâsaugā vathu, p. 6):
(mī pun pū | lē pun to) xhī, hē lât yuē; (tā hlyap hlyap | tā khein khein), (ā shein | ā vā)
hning touk pa kum ī.

Khyen poetry: (ā hāng | ā yō), (mā neī | thā toi) hā
(eik dūn | ou'k dūn), (a'ng gang | a'ng gang) ngā
(sān sīt | yē hāi, sān sīt | yā hūi) hā
wāi sīt bē hei, gang ngā
lu toi (dun nē | sun nē) nō ā
Khūī nō, an sām (wei hmē | eik hmū) bhuī in.
Karen prose: mē (pā sī | pā kā) mā tā tā (mā mī | me ge); pā kā le tā tā (pū pu | me ge);
(mā o, tā, mā o) dā ā tā (kā rā ka re | kā rā
kā re) (yē yā) tā kā xu lē.

Poetry, the modes of expressing thought and feeling, which are suitable to the imagination when excited or elevated, cannot in the languages of Further India lay claim to a particular constructive or creative effort of the mind; imaginative composition lies, as far as the language is concerned, in this instance completely within the sphere of automatic recollection of the original phase of the idiom employed.

19. There remains to be mentioned another peculiarity of Indo-Chinese languages: initial consonants undergo changes directly and organically indicative of a variation in meaning. This process is therefore also symbolic, and is in full force in Burmese and Khyen, but has more or less lost its vitality in the other members of the family, though traces of its former operation are found in all.

Intransitive verbs are changed to transitive; passive or neuter, to active or causative verbs by strengthening the initial consonant.

Intransitive, passive.

Burmese. Khyen.

kāy kloy to be bruised.
kāy mōn, to be broken.
kāy kyan, to remain.
kāi zōuk, to burn.
pā pū to be full.
pāyk pūyak, to be destroyed.
myōp mūl, to be buried.
myōn mōl, to be turned back.
myōng mōng, to be high.
kow kāk, to be detached.

Transitive, or causative.

Burmese. Khyen.

kāy kley, to pulverize.
kāy mōn, to break, to snap.
kāy khyān, to leave, to set aside.
šī tōink, to ignite.
pō phū, to fill up.
CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

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

(Continued from p. 141.)

XVI.

Having rewarded the various companions who had served him so well in his early days, Chinghiz Khan proceeded to reorganize what may be described as his household troops. The details of this organization which follow are recorded in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi alone, and are too frequently obscure. According to this authority Chinghiz Khan, having distributed the various rewards as already described, said — "Formerly I had only 80 men for the night-watch and 70 men in the body-guard, Sanban. Now inasmuch as heaven has willed that I should rule all peoples, let there be chosen 10,000 men for my body-guard, Sanban, and as they will be attached to my person, let them be selected from the children of titled and free persons, and let active, tall, strong men be chosen. The son of the tisiadnik, millenarian or commander of 1,000 men shall bring with him one relative and 10 companions, the son of the sotnik, centurion or commander of 100 men must bring a relative and five companions, while the sons of a desiatnik, decurion, or commander of 10 men and other free-born people a relative and three companions each. The horses for the 10 companions of the son of the millenarian must be supplied by the men under his command as well as the harness, and they must be equipped according to the recent decree. Except in regard to things given by a man's father or such things as he has earned himself, the horses for the companions of the son of the centurion, decurion, &c. will be furnished according to the former decree.² Any millenarian, centurion or decurion who shall oppose this shall be punished. If any one who has been selected fails to take his place in the night-guard, he must be banished to a distant place and another must be selected to take his place. No one must oppose any person who wishes to enter the guards." The millenarians and centurions in accordance with the wish of Chinghiz made a conscription, and raised the number of the night-guards to 800. Chinghiz ordered them to make it 1,000, and appointed Yekeneurina as first millenarian. The 400 picked archers were entrusted to Jelmi, Yesuntai, and Bugidai. The Sanban archers when on duty were divided into four sections or watches; the captain of the first was Yesuntai, of the second Bugidai, of the third Khokhuda, and of the fourth Lablakha.—Yesuntai being put at the head of all four sections.

Up to this time, Ogelecherbi, Boorchia's nearest relative, had commanded the body-guard, Sanban. He was now given command of the first division of it, which was raised to 1,000 strong. The second division of 1,000 was made over to Bukhe, the near relative of Mukhalib, the third to Alchida's nearest relative, Ilugaib, the fourth to Dodaicherbi, the fifth to Dokkolkhu, the sixth to Chanai, the nearest relative of Churches, the seventh to Akhutai, the nearest relative of Alchi. The eighth section of select braves was made over to Arkhaikhasar. In peaceful times these were Sanbans, but in war time they were the first braves.

These eight divisions of 1,000 strong each, with the 2,000 archers, formed the full body of guards. Chinghiz declared they should in future form the centre of the army, i.e. that section immediately commanded by the Khan. He said further, the guard will be divided into four turns, of which Bukhe shall command one, Alchida a second, Dodaicherbi a third,

² I do not know what this refers to.
and Dokholkhu a fourth. He then appointed the order of the turns which were to be relieved every third night. The chief whose turn it was and who did not duly make his appearance was to receive 30 lashes; for a repetition of the offence 70 lashes, while if he shirked his duty a third time he was to receive 37 lashes and be banished to a distant country. The commanders of the guard in relieving each other were to remind one another of this, the one who failed to do so was to be punished. The commanders of the life-guards could not punish offenders without first getting permission directly from Chinghiz Khan himself. "In case any of them commit a crime," he says, "I am to be immediately informed, when he who ought to be beheaded shall have his head cut off, and he who ought to be lashed shall be lashed. If any one punishes with lash or fist those under his command, he shall receive the same punishment himself."

Chinghiz went on to declare that each member of his life-guard, Sanban, was to be superior to every millenarian and his dependents to rank above centurions and decurions, and a millenarian who should venture to quarrel and fight with a Sanban of the life-guard should be punished. Addressing himself to the chiefs of the turns, he said, "A Sanban consisting of archers and cooks entering on their duty shall employ themselves in the daytime with their proper duty as guards, and at sunset shall march out and hand over, the archers, their bow and arrows, and the cooks, their pots, to the night-guards. The following morning when warm water is brought in, all shall enter again and busy themselves with their duties. At sunset the night-guards must arrest the persons they find walking to and fro or round about the tent, and must examine them on the following day. When the night-guard is relieved each fresh watch must give the countersign and then approach. The night-guard must march round the tent at night and stand at the entrance. If any one enters, at night his head is to be broken and he is to be cut down. If any one comes on urgent business he must first speak to the night-guard and then enter with it. It is not lawful for any one to walk or sit before or among the night-guards. No one again.

is to ask about the number, &c., of the guard. Any one who does this is to have his saddled horse and his dress taken from him." It came about that one of his faithful friends Eljigiddai having walked into the midst of the night-guards was in fact arrested.

Addressing himself to the old body-guards, &c. Chinghiz said—"You the body-guard of the night-guard have watched about my tent for the peace of my body and soul on rainy and snowy nights as well as on clear nights, and in times of tumult and strife with the enemy. In no important matter have you been lazy or careless. Through this it is that I have attained such a high position. I will now call this good and faithful night-guard the old night-guard. The 70 Sanbans who have been commanded by Oglecherbi I will call the great Sanban, the braves under Arkhankhasar I will call the old braves; the archers of Yesunta and others I will style the great archers. My body-guards are the selected men from 35,000. I order my descendants to look on these body-guards as a monument of myself; to see carefully to their welfare; to avoid giving them dissatisfaction; to consider them as fortunate spirits." He said further: "The inner cherbis and herdsmen or shepherds of the night-guard must be under the superintendence of the night body-guards. They must also look after the kibitkas, standards, provisions, ready-made food and utensils. If they need anything, they must apply to the night-guards. Without their approval neither food nor clothes must be given out, and when they are given out, they must be the first to receive theirs. The body-guards must strictly watch those who enter and those who leave the tent. The doorkeepers must constantly stand at the doors. Inside the doors two must always watch the wine stores. The watchmen of the camp must be selected from the night body-guards. In the great hunts when a circle of men is made, and a space enclosed, they must also join, but half of them must remain with the kibitkas of the hunters."

Chinghiz further went on to say—"When I do not join in a campaign the night body-guard must remain with me. I will not permit them to go, for their duty is to constantly guard me.

* Bastinadoed?

* i. e. the cherbis and shepherds belonging to Chinghiz Khan's household.
In the hunt they will follow me, and they must superintend the putting up of the kibitkas and other things.

"One of the body-guards with Shigikhutukh will see to putting away and distributing dresses, armour, bows and arrows, and military arms. Another must look after nets and ropes. The body-guards with Cherbi must give out the felts. While the camp is being laid out the Sanban archers together with the archers of Yesuntai must be on the right side of the Tent, the braves of Arkhai in front of it, and the Sanban of Bukhi and the others on the left. The night body-guards who look after the Tent and kibitkas must be near the Tent on both sides. All the Sanban of the life-guards and the domestics under the command of Dodai cherbi must be constantly near the tent."*  

Such is the account preserved for us in the Yuan-ch’o-pi-shi of the organization of Chinghiz Khan’s immediate dependents and of his guards. It shows what a life of adventure and difficulty that of the nomades of Central Asia is. How surprise and unexpected attack have to be guarded against at every turn, and what an array of precautions was deemed necessary by the great chief who had supplanted so many others, and who must have been surrounded by many jealous and envious peers. At the Kuriltsai, at which this organization was perfected, there was also apparently issued the code of laws which afterwards became so famous.

The Jihan-leuhi says that ‘‘in accordance with the wishes of Chinghiz Khan his laws and ordinances were written down in books, and the collection was known by the title Yassanmeh-buzurg.”5 Vassaf tells us that the word yasa in the language of Khurezm* meant an order of the king.” M. Quatrèmère urges on the contrary that the word is of Mongol origin.

The question of its Mongol or Turkish etymology was made the subject of a discussion by Von Hammer and Schmidt. The former quotes three Turkish dictionaries in which it occurs. In the Forhengi Shauri published at Constantinople we read ‘‘Yasa in the language of the Khurezmians means a royal order, and was the name of Chinghiz Khan’s collection of laws.” In the Turkish dictionary Lebjetül-Lughat published at the same place, Yasak is explained as a universal expression for a prohibition, while in the Jagatai dictionary published at Calcutta Yasa is also glossed as meaning a command or order.*  

Schmidt, on the other hand, says the word is Mongol, and that it ought to be written yassak, which means order, regulation or reform. In the modern pronunciation he says it is written drossak, y and d being interchangeable letters at the beginning of Mongol words. It is derived, he says, from the verb yassakho or drossakho, to set in order, put right, whence also yassal or drossal, a remedy for a disease, and Yassakchi or Drossakchi, the title of several princes who have been legislators; also the verb yassaklahko or drossaklahko, to carry out the law or to punish.” It seems to me that in this case Schmidt has proved his point. Not only has he shewn that the word has a number of related forms in Mongol, but the term is still in use both among the Mongols and Kalmuks, and it would seem that like some other terms it passed into Turkish from Mongol. The term eventually acquired a much wider meaning, and included that of a penalty and also of a tax. As is well known, the tax exacted by the early Cossacks from the various Siberian tribes whom they conquered was termed yasak. Yassak is the form of the word as given by the Armenian historian Vartan, who says that by this word the Tartars designated the institutions of Chinghiz Khan.  

Vassaf tells us the Mongols had another name besides yasa for their code. He speaks of the Great Law Book which they call Tunjin. He adds that the meaning of the word tunjin is ‘‘to be on one’s guard.” Schmidt declares there is no such word in Mongol.* Another name by which the code of Chinghiz Khan was known according to Ibn Arabshah, was Tora Chinghiz-Khania. This word torah was also used by various authors in an extended sense for any law or ordinance.  

*2 Great Law, Quatrèmère, Rashida’d-din, p. cli, note 4.  
*3 Great Law, Quatrèmère, Rashida’d-din, p. cli, note 4.  
*4 Great Law, Quatrèmère, Rashida’d-din, p. cli, note 4.  
*5 Yasa in the language of the Khurezmians means a royal order, and was the name of Chinghiz Khan’s collection of laws.” In the Turkish dictionary Lebjetül-Lughat published at the same place, Yasak is explained as a universal expression for a prohibition, while in the Jagatai dictionary published at Calcutta Yasa is also glossed as meaning a command or order.*  

Schmidt, on the other hand, says the word is Mongol, and that it ought to be written yassak, which means order, regulation or reform. In the modern pronunciation he says it is written drossak, y and d being interchangeable letters at the beginning of Mongol words. It is derived, he says, from the verb yassakho or drossakho, to set in order, put right, whence also yassal or drossal, a remedy for a disease, and Yassakchi or Drossakchi, the title of several princes who have been legislators; also the verb yassaklahko or drossaklahko, to carry out the law or to punish.” It seems to me that in this case Schmidt has proved his point. Not only has he shewn that the word has a number of related forms in Mongol, but the term is still in use both among the Mongols and Kalmuks, and it would seem that like some other terms it passed into Turkish from Mongol. The term eventually acquired a much wider meaning, and included that of a penalty and also of a tax. As is well known, the tax exacted by the early Cossacks from the various Siberian tribes whom they conquered was termed yasak. Yassak is the form of the word as given by the Armenian historian Vartan, who says that by this word the Tartars designated the institutions of Chinghiz Khan.  

Vassaf tells us the Mongols had another name besides yasa for their code. He speaks of the Great Law Book which they call Tunjin. He adds that the meaning of the word tunjin is ‘‘to be on one’s guard.” Schmidt declares there is no such word in Mongol.* Another name by which the code of Chinghiz Khan was known according to Ibn Arabshah, was Tora Chinghiz-Khania. This word torah was also used by various authors in an extended sense for any law or ordinance.  

*9 Id. p. 630.  
*11 I.e. the Mongols.  
*12 Von Hammer, op. cit. p. 183 and notes 2 and 3.  
*13 Id. p. 630.  
*14 Quatrèmère, op. cit. clxx. &c.
wrong, and as Von Hammer urges, "the word is no doubt the Hebrew and Arabic Tora, originally meaning the Law of Moses, which has been applied by the Musalman historians to the Mongol code. Timur's code was called Tauskut. Schmidt says täsgüge and täsusü mean, in Mongol, survey taxation. In the Shajrat ul atrak we are told, that the orders and regulations of Chinghiz were written in the Uighur character in the records called Shub Ashob, and they were also called the great code of Regulations."

Let us now turn to the code itself. It had a very wide application. Makrizi tells us that it was known even in Egypt where many Mongals lived, some who had been bought as slaves, others carried off there as prisoners, while in some cases bodies of them had deserted and joined the service of the Mamlik Sultans. These strangers took their law and customs with them into Syria and Egypt, and officials were appointed to administer justice among them. Among them Makrizi mentions the two amirs Arkatai and Itmesh, who were constantly consulted in regard to the Yasa. Makrizi tells us further that when Chinghiz promulgated his code he had it engraved on iron plates, while Arabshah says that when it had been written down in Mongol characters it was divided into several sections which were wrapped in silk, and ornamented with precious stones, and they were then put away among the archives. Makrizi tells he was informed by Abu Hashim ibn Bushan that he had seen a copy of the Yasa in the Madrasseh Mostansari at Baghdad.

The Yasa was the final court by which difficulties of all kinds arising in the Mongal polity were tried, and it was treated in the various Hordes as of supreme authority. It is very strange considering its reputation and renown that we should be so wanting in definite information as to its contents. The great historiographer Rashidu'd-din does not tell us what it contained. Makrizi in his account of Egypt has preserved some of its enactments, and his notice is supposed to be the most valuable one extant. Mirkhavend has also preserved a number of its clauses, but his narrative contains a medley of Mongol Laws and of their customs, and is clearly not immediately derived from the Yasa. His notice is the basis of the account of the Yasa contained in Petis de la Croix's history of Chinghiz Khân and in the notice of it in De Guignes' history, while it has also been illustrated at greater length from the same source mainly by M. Langlois' article on Mirkhavend's account of Chinghiz Khân, published in the 5th volume of the Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi. In both these accounts as well as in that given by D'Olsens the account of Mirkhavend is supplemented by extracts from Rabraquis, etc. and which are in several cases rather descriptions of manners than laws, and have no claim to belong to the Yasa. It was Von Hammer who in his case as in so many others introduced a methodical treatment of the subject. He has gone through the various authors who have left us materials for Mongol history, and collected the notices of enactments and laws which they assign to the Yasa, thus laying under contribution Javeni, Bar Hebraeus, Binaketi, Rashidi'd-din, Vassaf, Makrizi, Mirkhavend, Khwandmir Abulghazi, the Mokademi or introduction to the Sherif Nameh, etc., etc. The notices these authors have preserved of the Yasa, Von Hammer has classified and arranged. It will be understood that what follows, which is based largely on Von Hammer's analysis, is to some extent conjectural as we have no actual transcript of the Yasa to go to. Nor must we suppose that in many cases Chinghiz Khân was the author and originator of the regulations. In many cases he no doubt merely embodied and set in orderly fashion the matured experience and the long-established customs of his people, and gave express authority to the old common law of the steppes.

Before I turn to Von Hammer's analysis, which I shall supplement from other quarters, I will quote a passage from an author apparently overlooked on this occasion by him, namely, Haji Khalifa, an extract from whose Jihan Nama is given by Langlois, who reports that by the Yasa it was forbidden on pain of death for any one to assume the position of Khakan or Grand Khan until he had

---

16 Miles, op. cit., p. 91.
17 Quatrémere, op. cit., cxxvi and cxxvii note.
been first elected to the post in a general kuriltai or assembly of the princes, generals, etc. who should elect to the post the wisest and most prudent member of the family. If a ruler was deposed, he was to be confined with all his relatives and people in a fortress where they were to be supplied with all they needed, but no one was to have any communication with them. The empire was to be deemed hereditary,¹⁹ and when the Khakan died the heads of the seven principal tribes were to repair in white robes as a sign of mourning to the house of the chief minister. After the customary prayer the new Khakan was to be summoned and placed on a piece of black felt in the midst of the house, and was to be then told to raise his head and adore the sun, the eternal being, of which he himself was the shadow. That he should reign in accordance with the divine will, so that he might be yet more exalted in the next world than in this, while if he behaved ill he might be reduced to the possession of the piece of felt he then sat upon. After the installation the assistants were to put away their mourning and to put on red robes. Each one was to have an aigrette in his cap, and the chief magistrate was to put the crown on his head and on that of his wife, who was to have honours paid to her as he himself had. After this the various grandees, etc. etc., were to approach and prostrate themselves three times, and kiss his feet, and to give him presents, consisting of nine objects of each kind.²⁰

Von Hammer divides the contents of the Tasa under four heads:—I. Laws involving the penalty of death. II. Laws relating to war and the mode of carrying it on. III. Laws relating to the family and household management. IV. Laws inculcating certain virtues. V. Laws about various forbidden things.

I. The penalty of death was inflicted for:—1, adultery (in which a man caught flagrante delicto might be at once put to death); 2, sodomy; 3, robbery; 4, manslaughter, in which the penalty of blood could be commuted for a money payment, which according to the Shajrat ul atrak and Mirkhavend was 40 golden balishes in the case of a Mongol who was killed, while a Chinese was only valued at the same price as a donkey; 5, false witness; 6, sorcery; 7, harbouring or giving food or drink to a runaway-slave or not returning him to his master when met with; 8, failing to pick up and restore to a companion in arms in battle any weapon or other thing he might have lost; 9, losing or squandering for the third time the capital entrusted to any one; 10, interfering in a struggle between two champions or wrestlers to help either of them; 11, desertion or mutiny; 12 and 13, micturating into live ashes or into water; 14, killing animals in the Mussulman fashion by cutting their throats instead of in the prescribed way by laying them on their backs, tying their legs together, slitting open their bellies, and then tearing out or squeezing their hearts till they died. Pallus tells us this custom still prevails with the Kalmucks who attribute its introduction to Chinghiz Khan. Those guilty of offences punished by death were conducted veiled before the Khans and in cases of State criminals their whole families were extirpated.

II. The regulations relating to war and the means for carrying it on fell into several heads as—the mode of carrying on war,²¹ discipline—and tactics; training by means of hunting; the facilitating of the rapid conveyance of intelligence by means of the State post, etc. War was to be prosecuted without any consideration or regard for the property or life of the enemy. As Abulghazi tells us the army was divided into bodies of 10,000 men,²² each commanded by a tuman aghazi.²³ These divisions were again divided into regiments of 1,000 men, each commanded by hezarels or Mine-bashis,²⁴ three into companies of 100 commanded by Sadès or Yuz-bashis,²⁵ three into sections of 50 commanded by penjes or ittek bashis,²⁶ and these into sections of 10 men commanded by Dèhès or On bashis, i.e. decurions. It was forbidden to attach any of these subordinate sections to any other than its own division. Any officer thus migrating to another section or one receiving him was to be put to death, while each officer with his men was only to receive from his immediate superior the commands of his tumanbashı. The greatest atten-

¹⁹ i.e. in the Eastern sense where a man's brothers succeed in turn to one another, and it is not till they are all exhausted that his sons claim the throne.
²⁰ Langles, op. cit., pp. 205 and 207.
²¹ i.e. strategy.
²² i.e. tumanas.
²³ He was also styled a temnik.
²⁴ i.e. millenarians.
²⁵ Centurions.
²⁶ Leaders of fifty men.
tion was to be paid to exercising the troops in all kinds of warlike operations, archery, the management of horses, etc. The strictest discipline was to be exacted and the most implicit obedience. A son disobeying or showing disrespect to his father, a younger brother to an older one, a wife towards her husband, a man to his father-in-law was to be punished. The soldiers were to be trained to undergo severe hardships, so that they might be like hungry wolves and not effeminate like fat dogs, nor was a man to enter the army until he was 20. No one was to begin to pillage till the commander issued his orders, after which a simple soldier had the same privilege as an officer, and kept any booty he took on paying the dues to the Khan's officials.

The commander was to be most solicitous about the needs of his men and to see they provided themselves not merely with arms such as bows, arrows and hatchets, swords, helmets and armour, but also all the things necessary for the work of the camp, as sieves, avis, files, and even needles and thread. These were to be given out of the magazines before a war or before the winter hunt, and to be returned again afterwards. While a man was absent on a campaign his wife was to till his fields, to look after his business and to send him the proceeds. The formula for summoning a country to submit or a town to surrender was to be short and to the purpose—"If you do not submit, who knows what will happen? God alone knows." The citizens of a town which did not submit but had to be stormed were to be mercilessly slaughtered. Peace was not to be made with any people till it had completely submitted. When a nation was conquered a tithe of its agricultural produce, cattle and even of its inhabitants, was to be taken as a tax. If a commander had to be punished, however great he might be, the order was to be taken by a single messenger. If he had orders to take his head back with him, all the power of the general could not save him. Mirkhavend contrasts this with the case of other rulers who often found themselves opposed by slaves they had bought, and who although they might not own ten horses needed conciliating before they would obey. When death was not the punishment for an offence it was generally the bastinado, from which even princes were not to be exempt. The number of blows inflicted was generally one in which the figure seven occurred as 7, 17, 27, 37, and so on to 700. Von Hammer says the number of strokes varied from 3 to 77. This cudgelling was generally inflicted for petty thefts, but it might be compounded for by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen. Every man had to do some work for the State. If he did not go to the wars he had to devote a certain number of days annually to public works and one day a week to the immediate service of the Khan. Post stations and relays of horses were to be planted on the various routes for the convenience of envoys, couriers, and those employed on various State commissions and duties, and special enactments were made as to the number of horses to be supplied, etc. etc. Those travelling on public duties were not only to be provided with horses, but also to have their food and other requirements supplied. Hunting was to be deemed a school for war, and it was therefore ordered that in the winter there should be great hunts organized in which the army should take part properly arrayed with its right and left wing and a centre. A vast breadth of country, sometimes an extent of twenty miles, was to be enclosed by the hunters who should draw nearer and nearer one another until they formed a circuit with their arms and knees touching to prevent the game escaping. Those permitting animals to escape were to be punished, as were those who allowed the ranks or circle to be broken. When the circle was thus formed, the Khan was first to enter himself with the princes of the blood, and his intimates. When they had hunted for a while they retired to a hill, whence they watched, first the officers, and lastly the soldiers. Eventually, that there might be a chance of some game in succeeding seasons, at a certain stage, some old men were to go through the performance of soliciting the lives of the remaining animals, which were accordingly spared and allowed to go free.

III. The domestic and household regulations of the Yasa, so far as we can recover them, were as follows: a man had to purchase his wife, nor was he permitted to marry any one to whom he was related in the first or second degree, but he might marry two sisters. Polygamy was permitted and the free use of female slaves. The children of the latter were deemed legitimate but were to take precedence after those born
of a man's wives. Two families were allowed to unite although they had no living children. It was sufficient that one had had a son and the other a daughter, although both were dead; the contract of marriage was drawn up and the ceremony gone through in their names, when, although dead, they were deemed to be married, and the two families allied together by marriage. This custom, says De la Croix, is still in use among the Tartars at this day, but superstition has added more circumstances to it. They throw the contract of marriage into the fire, after having drawn some figures on it to represent the persons pretended to be so married, and some forms of beasts, and are persuaded that all this is carried by the smoke to their children who thereupon marry in the other world. The youngest son was deemed his father's substitute or proxy, the herdsman of his flocks, the maintainer of the family in case his brothers should perish in war. The author of the Jihan Kushai says the youngest of the princes was called Ulugh Noyan, i.e. the great prince. The former is a Turkish, and the latter a Mongol, word, which makes it appear that there has been some mistake in the title.

Women were treated by the Mongols with great consideration. "It is a rule of the Mongol Yasaz," says Vassaf, "that in the wildest disorders, the women are to be treated with the greatest attention and consideration, and no harm is to be done them." If the ruler was pleased with any woman, her husband was to surrender her, and she was to pass into his harem. The mother of the prince was to have the position of regent. The successor to the throne was to be the son of the princess of noblest descent; the wet-nurse of the prince was not to be visited by her husband, while she was giving suck to the child. Mongols married their daughters to those of lower rank than themselves.

IV. The four cardinal virtues enjoined by the Mongol law were—tolerance, hospitality, simplicity in manners and speech, and lastly, says Von Hammer, a devotion to filth! All religions without any preference were tolerated, and the ministers of all creeds, as well as doctors, the poor, the learned, and those of renowned piety or dervishes, those who summoned people to prayer, i.e. the criers, and those who washed the dead were to be exempted from the payment of all taxes.

Hospitality was strictly enjoined. Any one passing when a meal was being eaten was to be asked to join. The host was to taste the meal before his guest, even if a prince. This was doubtless to remove the suspicion that the food was poisoned. The guest must always have the back bone as the tit bit. No one was permitted to sit down unless invited to do so, nor was any one to eat more than his neighbour. The greatest simplicity and plainness were to be used in conversation. Every one, even the Khan, was to be addressed merely by his name.

Chinghis Khan forbade the use of pompous titles, inflated sentences and flourishes, and a secretary who, in spite of the rule, indulged in such inflated forms when addressing the ruler of Syria, paid for his rhetoric with his life. Von Hammer has very strongly described uncleanliness as one of the Mongol virtues. Here Schmidt certainly has the best of him. No doubt some of the rules he enjoined did not tend to promote cleanliness, but certainly a mere love of dirt was not their raison d'être. The real reason for these rules was the fear of offending the elements by polluting them, especially water and fire. Thus the Mongols were ordered not to wash their clothes, but to wear them until they dropped off or wore out. It was forbidden to put hand or foot in water. Von Hammer, notwithstanding his untenable postulate, very properly compares some of the prohibitions and injunctions of the Mongol code with other similar regulations. As the Pythagorean was forbidden to micturate towards the sun converso ad solenum, so were the Mongols forbidden on pain of death to do the same into water or live ashes; as the Pythagoreans were forbidden to raise a fire, ignem gladium non foeditium, and to step across or over balance or steel yard, statere non transiliendum, so were the Mongols forbidden to step over a fire, a table or a platter. As the former were forbidden to eat the heart, cor non edendum, so were the latter originally forbidden to eat an animal's blood and entrails, although this prohibition was afterwards removed.

---

21 Diogenes Laertius, Pythagoras XVII.
22 i.e. fire.
access to the ruler. The will of the Khán was to be supreme everywhere.\textsuperscript{22}

The foregoing account of the Yasa is mainly based on Von Hammer's account, with which I have incorporated such notices as I could find elsewhere which may be reasonably attributed to the great Code. Those who wish to study the laws which at present govern the Eastern Mongols would do well to refer to Hyacinthe's work on Mongolia, in the German translation of which by Borg (pp. 320-426) will be found a very elaborate account of the current laws and institutions of Mongolia. A more interesting collection of laws was published by Pallas in his well known work entitled Sammlungen Historischer Nachrichten, etc., vol. I. p. 195, etc. Here will be found a very interesting series of enactments drawn up at the beginning of the 17th century, and assented to by the various principal chiefs of the Mongols and Kalmucks, twenty-six in number, as well as the special enactments published by the famous Kalmuck chief Geldin, by a special commission of six leading Buddhist monks, etc. In addition to these Pallas, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 193-4, refers to a very old law book, \textit{Zaachin Bichik}. Of this he had not been able to get a copy, nor were its enactments in force, but he had heard of several of them which were curious, and of which he quotes some, but there is no reason to suppose that any of them have been derived from the great Yasa, or are indeed to be attributed to so early a date as that of Chinghiz Khán.

\section*{FISH-CURING AT THE MALDIVES.}

\textbf{BY E. C. P. BELL, C.C.S.}

The fish caught in the seas encircling the Atols of the Maldives archipelago are classed by the natives broadly into two chief kinds:\textsuperscript{23}

(i.) \textit{Faru mas}. This term includes what the Sinhalese call \textit{gul malu}, and bears the same literal meaning, viz., 'rock fish'; such are:—

- \textit{Maldiva}.
- \textit{Sinhalese}.
- \textit{Rhai mas},
- \textit{Tambuwud},
- \textit{Farutoli mas},
- \textit{Sulved},
- \textit{Hibaru mas},
- \textit{Kopperd}.

(ii.) The real \textit{"Maldivian fish" (M. Kaibabili mas)}, vulgarly \textit{komboli mas}, \textit{S. umbhala kada}, of the Ceylon and Indian markets are chiefly


\textsuperscript{1} See \textit{Ind. Ant.} vol. VIII. p. 321, "Notes and Queries," where Mr. D. Ferguson on the authority of "the learned M. de Zouma" would set old Pyrrhus right, by deriving "cubiis" from the Sinhalese \textit{Kaibabili} (pl. of \textit{Kaibabila}) 'pieces,' and \textit{mas} fish. Quandique bonus dormitat Homerus.
Bonito (S. balaya)—Scomber Pelamis, Linn.—though two or three more species are similarly cured, e.g. M. godā (? S. etawalā); M. kennelli (S. kelawalā); M. raqōdi (S. raqoodwā). The flesh of these fish is tough, dark and not very palatable, and—especially kelawalā and balaya—spoken of by the Sinhalese as ginigam, 'heating.' At one season of the year a large number of these balaya or bonitos are caught off the south-west coast of this island, and from the fishery the village of Balapitiya (the hamlet of the balaya'), on the sea board, twenty-three miles north of Point de Galle, has derived its name.5

The details of the kalubili mas curing industry—the staple export of the Mâldive Islands—are extremely simple.

After the fish are brought on shore a portion is sold whilst fresh, and the remainder treated as follows. The entrails (M. gōhoru, S. boku) and the lower part of the belly (M. bađu, S. bađa wōtā) are extracted, the head and tail cut off and thrown away, the fish split up, and the spine bone removed. The two slices are then divided in one of two ways:

i. If into two pieces (i.e. four pieces in all) they are known generally as himiț mas—each individual piece as gāđu—and all four together as mahē or emmas ('one fish').

This plan of cutting the bonito is said to have originated in an island named Himiti (? Nilandu Atol.)

ii. If the two slices are divided into four strips with a transverse cut across the front of the fish thus:

---

5 "These seas are frequented by Bonitores or good fishes, which are wholesome food, though the flesh is dry. They are of the same figure and bigness as Osarus, but somewhat thicker. They swim in shoals close together, and always follow the ships. These also devour a great quantity of flying fish, which you find many times undigested in their bellies."—A Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company—translated into English.

The pieces have separate names and are valued differently—

a. a. the pieces along the back and belly, called gāđu mas;

b. b. those along the middle of the side, called među mas;

c. c. that between the head and the ends of a. a. and b. b., called kîrd mas.

Gāđu mas, so called because they are supposed to be the best pieces; među (S. međa) mas because they are from the centre; kîrd mas, because these pieces are weighed (M. kirang, S. kiranavā 'to weigh'), and not counted in selling.

The march of civilization has introduced modern weights (cwt. qr. and lbs.) into the Mâldives, but until recently the different pieces of Mâldive fish had a relative value to one another. Thus: 4 pieces među mas = 2 gāđu mas (of the same fish); 8 gāđu mas = 7 pieces himiț mas; kîrd mas, as above said, being valued against their weight of gāđu mas, &c.

When the fish have been divided into the usual number of pieces, these are washed with salt water; then thrown into a caldron or chatty of boiling salt water, and allowed to remain for a few minutes only, to prevent the flesh becoming too soft. It is said to be important that the water should be boiling from the first. On being taken out they are placed on the wattle loft or shelf (M. mehi, S. meśa) above the fire. There they are left three or four days till well blackened and dried, after which, if necessary, they are exposed to the sun to be finished.

Thus dried they are, as is well known, of the appearance and consistency of blocks of wood.

Fish-curing is carried on at the Mâldives all the year round, but chiefly in the dry season from January to July. The same process obtains throughout the group, and it is curious to note that it has remained unchanged since Pyrrad's day (A.D. 1602—1607).6 "The fish," says he, "which is caught in this manner, is called in their language by the general term...

---

6 Gāđu, kōja, affixes employed when speaking of anything connected with the Sultan, e.g. hai-loku, the State umbrella.

6 P. Pyrrad de Laval spent five years of captivity in the group. His account is thoroughly accurate, and the fullest extent. The extracts are from the edition of 1679, &c.
or send away. As there is no salt made at the Maldives, that of which they make use comes from the coast of Malabar, and it would not suffice for so large a quantity of fish as is daily caught for the supply of the inhabitants as well as for trade. For, in truth, I believe there is no place throughout India, nor elsewhere, where the fishery is richer and more plentiful."

Two and a half centuries earlier the Arab traveller Ibn Batūta (A.D. 1344) also wrote of this fishery:—"The food of the natives consists of a fish like the lyrodis, which they call kulub al màs. Its flesh is red; it has no grease, but its smell resembles that of mutton. When caught at the fishery, each fish is cut up into four pieces, and then slightly cooked. It is then placed in baskets of coco leaves and suspended in the smoke. It is eaten when perfectly dry. From this country it is exported to India, China, and Yaman. It is called kulub al màs." (A. Gray, translating "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," Tome 4e; Paris, 1879).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SINHALESE GRAMMAR.

The Sinhalese language, whatever degree of reliance we may place in the historical traditions of the people who spoke it, was certainly severed from Indian soil more than two centuries before the reign of the Emperor Asoka, that is to say, at the latest 450 B.C. Whatever direct relations therefore we find between the language of Ceylon and the vernaculars of India, will be highly interesting as throwing some light on the real rustic speech of India, as opposed to the language of the learned at so remote a period.

1 i.e. "the fish blood" and "salt fish" occasionally imported into Ceylon, called by the Maldivians râh hakuru (lit. "fish sugar"). This consists of the broth in which the bonito has been boiled, to which old scraps are added from time to time, the whole after two or three days being again boiled down to a gelatinous syrup containing more solid lumps.

2 The plan of this I found among Dr. Goldschmidt's papers, but as it could not be published in that form, I thought it better to wait till I could complete it from the new materials I was then about to find. I have added all the references from the different inscriptions, of which Dr. Goldschmidt at the time he wrote this, and have also considerably enlarged the number of examples from the Elu poetry. In the introduction, which treats of the position of the Sinhalese language, I was obliged to make some alterations, as the knowledge of Indian vernaculars has been considerably increased by several new publications of Pāli, Prakrit, and Jainas texts made after Dr. Goldschmidt's death.

3 Lassen (Ind. Alterth. vol. II, p. 105) identifies Lāla with Lāya (Greek Larike—Gujarati). The whole context of the Māhāvīra, however shows that this cannot be meant. This seems also to be the opinion of Burnouf (Recherches sur la Geographie Anciennes de Ceylon, p. 61) as he identifies Lāla with Rākha—"la partie basse du Bengale actuel, qui s'étend sur la rive droite de la rivière Hugli, et comprend les districts de Tamoulk et de Midnapour." This country then must have been thoroughly Aryan at so remote a time as the 5th century B.C. at the latest, for not only is the Sinhalese language Sanskrit, but the vast majority of the higher castes of the Sinhalese have unmistakably the Aryan type of features, and, as for the lower castes, they do not look like Dravidians, but resemble the Veddas.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO SIMHALESE GRAMMAR.

July, 1882.

Generally by the facts derived from a comparison of the languages of Māgadhā and Ceylon. Various dialects have been assigned to Magadha. Pāli we may no longer take into consideration as its different origin has been proved. (Westergaard and Kuhn take Pāli to be the language of Ujjaini, but Oldenberg (Vinaya-pitaka, Introd. p. 54) thinks that its original home was in the kingdoms of Andhra and Kāliṅga.) There remain three dialects which bear the name of Māgadhā, viz. the dialects in which some of Aśoka’s edicts are written, the dramatic Māgadhī, and the language of the sacred books of the Jain sect.

The investigation of the dramatic Māgadhī has presented no slight difficulties, on account of the apparent preservation of an ancient phonetic condition long left behind by contemporary dialects and even by the dialects spoken in the time of Aśoka. I allude here to the substitution of st for ss and sth (Hemachandra, IV, 289) and of st for ssth and sth (Hemachandra, IV, 290). If we had only st for ssth, and st for sth, the conclusion would be most natural that these combinations were the immediate successors of the corresponding ones found in Sanskrit, but that st also stands for ss and st for ssth alters the case. I believe the Skt. ssth had first changed, as in all Prākrits, into sth, and subsequently lost the aspiration, sth into st and st. It was to avoid the difficult pronunciation of a double consonant that, in Māgadhī, the first of them was changed into a sibilant, and thus titta = tṛṭha becomes tiṣṭa, conf. nirastīya ‘disinterested’ (inscription of Śahibāzgari, in Cunningham, Reports, vol. I. p. 78). Atta, artha = asa, patta = past, sṛṣṭi, suṣṭhū = susā; sṛṣṭide = suṣṭide, &c. It is not easy to account for ak = kṣh in prekṣh and dhakṣh, Hem. IV, 297, but as this change is limited to these two verbs and the precedent of a sibilant being put before a hard consonant was given in the case of dentoals, it may very well also be regarded as secondary. ṛth = cṣh (Hem. IV, 295) is the third remarkable change, but this cannot be old. The possibility remains to account for all these changes by an antipathy to aspiration, which would have become hardened and put before the consonant; but then there is ṣṭh which has no aspiration treated in the same way.

Quite different from this artificial language is the Māgadhī of the Jain sect, or, as it is now generally called, the Jain Prākrit. The only point in which both agree is the termination e of the nom. sing. in the first declension (Hem. IV, 287), and this termination is also to be found in Aśoka’s inscriptions (not only in the nom. sing. but wherever the corresponding Sanskrit form terminates in as, for instance lājine = rājine, lājine = rājina and in Sinhalese), whereas the Pāli preserves the ancient o of the Sanskrit. The principal peculiarities of the Jain Prākrit are the change of a single consonant in the middle of a word into y (Hem. I, 177) which is the last stage before the dropping of the consonant as found in other Prākrits, the change of initial y to j and of ṣṣ to ṣj, the change of aspirates to h. (See my Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina-prākrit, p. 12.)

The name of Aṛdhā māgadhī, by which the Prākrit grammarians call this language, does not help us in finding out its position amongst the Prākrits, for it was applied to different dialects at different periods, as may be seen from Hem. IV, 287, Comment. We can however fix its position between the Pāli and Māgadhī of the inscriptions on one side and the Māhārāṣṭrī on the other.

I now proceed to give a small comparative table of Māgadhī and Sinhalese words and grammatical forms, and then to point out some such differences as must have existed between the two languages before the departure of the Sinhalese from India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aśoka</th>
<th>Dramatic</th>
<th>Jaina</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>vasi</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupphe (Kern Aśoka 102)</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puluva (Kam. I, 69)</td>
<td>puluva</td>
<td>tubbha, tubbhe (Hem. III, 90)</td>
<td>pure kamma (Hem. I, 57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purawa (Hem. IV, 323) in Śauraseni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pera, pura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōla (Hem. IV, 302)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pāgōjjhiya (Hem. IV, 216)</td>
<td>kariya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadua (Hem. IV, 272)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kattu (Hem. II, 164)</td>
<td>kōfu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dramatic Māgadhi already shows a tendency to change aspirated into unaspirated consonants, on the other hand there seems to be a beginning in Sinhalese of changing ṛ into l, which is the rule in all the Māgadha dialects.

The Sinhalese have two l’s (l and ḷ) but the cerebral l does not appear in the most ancient inscriptions, and I have reason to believe it was called into being on Ceylon soil. Cerebrals (&, ṛ, ṝ, ṭ) are changed into the cerebral l; there are few exceptions to this rule, but notably several where we find ṛ in Sanskrit. These I believe are due to a Māgadha origin; this change must have begun when the Sinhalese left India, and afterwards have been given up again by them. I give here gali, gala = gi; chatalina later satalina (always written with l in inscriptions) and mala, a younger brother = kumṭra, māḷu (Situlp. Report, XXV, p. 7) but malaṉuvaṇ S. M. A. 27; Hitila S. B. M. A. 1 ilmasa = śīva.

In the face of these facts I believe we have the less reason to doubt the correctness of the Sinhalese historical tradition, and we may safely assume Sinhalese to have its nearest
Most of these nasals were never reinstalled in their places, so that the greater part of the examples mentioned have still got the same shape at the present day (pas = pašcha; hatalis = chantala; visi = vishala; actula = alaš); but later on, the inclination of the language totally changed and was very much in favour of a new form; namely, not only were nasals inserted before single consonants to form a new group, but consonants also after nasals to support them (see below). Of the first process we find analogies in Pali, Prakrit and Gipsy, but the second seems to be a peculiarity of the Siṃhalese. So also is the change of the aspirates, especially of dh to j, for the change of cḥh to s we find an analogy in Prakrit pus = praschha, Bhala, Hem. IV, 105, Siṃhalese pahu, in Gipsy, —(Mikl. Beiträge zur kenntnis des Zigemenu mundarten, I, II, 17), and commonly in Marathi (Beames, I, 218). The change of dh to s in the inscription of king Aira Mahāmeghavahana at Khandagiri, Cunn. I, 98.

Another peculiarity of the Siṃhalese is the further change of kṣh, ch and cḥh to h after it has passed through s. Kṣh is also changed to h in Kaira.

Siṃhalese.

1 adiya = anhri, a foot, footstep, edi feet. Bat. Comm. to Gutta 60.
We now proceed to examine the development of the Sinhalese language from the earliest times (first centuries of the Christian era) down to the present day. I need hardly remark that this paper does not pretend to exhaust the subject, as this would require much more time than I can spare at present, and also a larger amount of material to work from than I have got at my disposal now. I will however try to show the features which the language has adopted in the different stages it has gone through, and to give a history at least of those words which can be traced back to an early period. My examples down to the 4th century A.D. are all taken from

* List of Books:—
Ab.—Abhikkhunappadipika, Col. 1865.
Bhag.—Weber, Fragment der Bhagavati.
E. M. J. P.—E. Müller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainapārakrīti, Berlin, 1876.
Gutt.—Guttia, Hilaia, 1870.
Jāt. I, II.—The Jātaka, ed. by V. Fussboll, Vols. I, II.
K. S.—Kolpaditra of Bhadrabhū, ed. by Hermann Jacobi.
Kāvyā.—Kāvyakathāsūtra.
Mah. I.—Mahāvamsa, by Turner, Colombo, 1887.
Mah. II.—Mahāvamsa II. part ed. by H. Samangala and Ratnasirimadhawa, Col. 1877.
Mikl.—Miklosich Über die Münzen der die Wanderungen der Zungen Europas, Wien, 1872.
Nām.—Vijayabahu, Colombo, 1885.
Nirāy.—Nīrāyacalāya, ed. by Dr. S. Warren, Amsterdam, 1879.
S. L.—Sello, Lihini Sandes, ed. by W. C. Macready, Colombo, 1885.
S. S.—Sidath Sangarāṣava.
List of Inscriptions.

A.—Inscriptions before 400, A. D.
2.—Inscription at Badgiri Hambanta (Badg.)

Indian Vernaculars.
Prakrit vara.
Pahīṭa kātai, a young donkey (Trumpp. 56).
tara, Hem. IV, 86, Mahār. tara 'it is possible.'
Sindhi sola yu 'to divulge,' Trumpp. S. Gr. 263.
Māg. bāhāra, (Mīrīchāh. 43, and Edict V, Cunn. p. 72). Pāli and Prakrit bāhāra (Hem. II, 140. Ks. 32), and common in modern vernaculars.

7.—Hinguraka.
9.—Kiriinde (Kir.) E. Müller's Rep. XXV, p. 6, and Ind. Ant. vol. VIII, p. 226.
11.—Mahā Katama (Mah. B.)
12.—Meghavanne Ablaya's inscription at Mihintale.
16.—Inscription at Sandagiri vihāra Tissamahārāna (Sand.)
18.—Thalagala.

B.—Inscriptions from the 9th to the 13th Century.
1.—Abhayayawwa (Abha).
5.—Nissanka Malla's inscription at Dambulla, (D. I) (translated by Armour, Ceylon Almanac, 1834).
scriptions mentioned in the text, referring to the places where they have been published, and also of the other books of reference which I have principally used.

The original Sinhalese alphabet consists only of the three short vowels a, i, u, and also e and o, the original quantity of which I cannot ascertain. Consonants: k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, tī, dī, nī, p, b, m, y, l, w, s, and h. We see the Sinhalese had given up r, l, a, eu (like all the vernaculars), the aspirates, ū and ū, ē and ō and ānuveda. Besides they knew neither double nor compound consonants and no virāma, as all words end in vowels.

(a) Vowel System.

The simplicity of the Sinhalese vowel system continued for some time, then lengthening of the vowels took place from two reasons: (1) contraction, (2) accent. In the 4th century we find bāya brother for batiya. I have met with very few long vowels before that time, though they appear occasionally, either from a desire of the inscriber to improve the language imitating Pāli and Sanskrit or by irregular elongation. Tātāmasa as a (p. 23) pāya = prasāda, L. V. K, rāda honorific form rādala, master, lord, husband, i. e. rāja and affix la, gānāw for gānāwd, to smear, to daub, plaster, Sanskrit gārish, Sinhīl gānuma to rub, Trumpe 2, 64.

Mī in mānased = madhu-nakshith 'a bee,' mī = madhāka, Amb. A, 50; and māpāmi =

11.—Inscription at Kongolla (Kong).
15.—Inscription at Minki (Min.), see Goldschmidt's Rep. XI, p. 11, and Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 322.

madhupantiyaṃḥ; meyā D. I. 10 = māśika, a rat; weyā, a white ant D. I. 10, probably from Pāli upakhāṭa (Sk. upākhaṭa) through uñākhaṭa uñākhaṭa; māṇḍa = vṛkha; māṇḍa 'pestle' = māṇḍala; pōya 'day of the new and full moon,' for pohiya = upasatha; bō for bodhi, boyā, the Bodhi tree; gēṃ, gānā for gānāwa, a woman = gāṃkha; mūda for munāwa, mūdha, samudra; dāgaba for dāgāvarbha; anurā = anuśīpā, Amb. A, 42; dākama = dākāraka, Amb. A, 20, B, 3; āu = ābhūta, ib. A, 15, 50, 53; paha wacii = pāsādavāsī, Amb. B, 26; pā = pātra, Amb. B, 20, 23; ledara = lekhāhraka, Amb. B, 43; lekama = lekhācaraka, Amb. A, 25; dd = jāta, Mayil. A, 15; dd = dhātu, Wandar. R. D. 20; sat = satteva P. P. 8; āu = dāhu, Gp. B, 3; māmbo, P. P. 32; nimi = nirmita, P. P. 29; nīravād = nirād, nīti, P. P. 4; nīvānti, P. P. 3; nīvānti, P. P. P. P. 19; dd = jāla, Kavy. XIII, 33; dd = dāma, K. J. 308; pāmā = prāmāda, P. P. 19; pāmā = prātimokha, P. P. 19.

The force of accent we observe in bāhā (ma) much = bāhu; asātu, 80 Gp. C. 2, 104, 7, anūcā 90; in verbal nouns like gālina (from galanaud) gal, etc. older sonin, sītim 10th century, still older pāsātārikama for prati- saṃskārākara. The lengthening of the final vowel in animates as d in minād, I believe, to be due to a former termination in ak, affix ka, now used to indicate indefiniteness in inanimates. In modern Indian vernaculars, too, we find d as a masculine termination, comp. Beames, Compl. Gram., vol. II, p. 160. A further important addition to the vowel system was made by the two characters peculiar to Sinhalese ę and its lengthened form dē. They are not found in the 4th century, but are firmly established in the

18.—Nişanka Malla's inscription at the Ruanweli Dēgoa (B. D.) Anurādhapura; Rhys Davids, Jour. R. A. Soc. 1874, p. 360.
23.—Inscription at Wewelkkotiyēḷ (Wewelk.)
9th—about the interval I am unable to judge, yet though not written they may have been pronounced long previously.

Mr. Beames (Comp. Gram., vol. I, p. 141 ff.) has the following interesting note:—“The Bengali language as actually spoken by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, differs in many respects from the language as written in books, especially this noticeable in the treatment of the vowel ə which, in colloquial usage, is frequently, (in fact almost universally), corrected into e.” Now, this is exactly the sound of the Sinhalese ae, and as the Sinhalese probably came from a part of Bengal, they might have brought this sound with them. There is another reason to suppose that these sounds are older than the invention of the characters proper to them. The Sinhalese waddaranaed is a corrupted tattam from Pāli avadhāreti; the verbal noun at present is wadderuma, older wadērūma. Now, in an inscription of the second or third century A.D. at Badagirīya we find vajjiriya he declares—he uses—to express the sound ə, which is a modification of ə.

Ae commonly appears as modified from a through the influence of ə. Instances are—


daeñati, Abhid. 442, dañwañika, Kavya. IX, 57  

meth. Sinh. dañwañika; tam = athana; guem = grāma; hana (handa) 104, 14 = deñkadaña  

Amb. A, 10, P. P. 31, K. J. 51; adure = adhārya  

Amb. B, 39, 44; kaññaya old kaññaya, Amb. A, 123  

ckyā; hanaṇe = mādārāma Amb. B, 52,  

cf. aemana, Kavya. X, 101, Nām. 233; kaññiyaka,  

Amb. A, 25, 58; kaññawu, Amb. A, 48, kaññawuṇa  

Amb. A, 33, 37, kaññay Amb. A, 46, kaññayēki  

Amb. A, 44, kaññipaya Amb. A, 50 (as is the termina-  


tion of the infinitive in the inscr. at Ambasthala,  

comp. J. C. A. S., 1889, p. 7); bauṇdā Amb. B, 44,  

bauṇe Amb. A, 38; bauṇe Amb. A, 11; gamañika,  

Amb. B, 28; gañmiru Amb. B, A, 52; dañjuru = jārjariya, Kavya. X, 118; wazum or wazump  

'wages,' Pālī uṣṭi; na = prakañna, Nām. 60;  

dō (saman) R. D. I. 29; Nām. 127 = jāti; daem =  

dāśā, L. V. K. C., S. M. A., 12; nañmin =  


The influence of e or a cerebral is observable in vañnañwa, of a (or e) in sañnapanañwa (satapā  

Pāñjakaranañwa) Inscr. at Pollon. 31). In vañna (12th century, now yata) already Kavya. IX, 27 = adhastā, Pālī heññya; Hindī heññ, the  

modification of a (or e) seems due to a preceding  

y. In other cases again a nasal seems to have  
effect the change, as panañes, fifty (12th century),  

old panañ, now panañha, panañ; aññiga = aññga,  
tats.; sāññya = sāñka, tats.; sāññol = cāññola,  
poetical; sāñpañ, sāñpañ, corrupted tats.;  


II, p. 55), Pālī bhuma, for bhuma, Prak. bhuma,  

II, 167, Vararuci IV, 33. There are still other  

instances which I do not know how to explain,  
as rañvöl, ‘beard’ (imañra, perhaps through  
māñura, māñura, māñura, māñura+la);  
asaññya = saññhīka; sañndayya = sañña, tats.;  
daela = dāla; vaññada, older wordjī,  
aparāñdā. At the end of a word we find ao  
changing with ā a dull sound (like a in but’  
as mae, ma (older mī) corroboration particle,  
kotā, koñ, or koñ, and so often.  

Añ is either a modification of d, or sprung  
from contraction. Of the first process we find  
instances in numerous tattasmas as saññedhuma  
(verbal norn of wadaranuñwa); sañstra = idistra;  
boñgīn, Amb. A, 52, boñya = bhōya; pēlā,  
Amb. B, 30; Wandañra 14 = pālī, measure,  
old tats.; saññamaya = idana; saññiyā =  
śānti. Contraction from ao, and other vowels  
in wañya, ‘adze,’ probably for wahiya = vālī;  

bañña = bhāgīneya; rañ night for rañya (Inscr.  
13th cent.) = rātri. Genuine Sinhalese instances  
are bañ, Amb. A, 5, from bhya (comp. bhaññ,  
Inscr. of Dhauli), batiya, a brother, Dañgiriya.  
Añ for ey we find in lañam for leya = lekhañka;  
soby (now sīya) for seya; cheya = chāityya;  
dañ for deya = drañya, Ruan. D. 17; añ for añ  
in maññyan for maya ‘mother'; sañmin, ‘all’ for  
saññama = sarva, comp. Hindi sañdī, Beames,  
Comp. Gr., vol. II, p. 25; Mah. B.; añ for yo in  
the tattasma lañgi, lañgī = tyāga.  

Añ for i in pañlanda P. P. P. A. 8, Kavya. X,  
180 = Pālī pilaññhana; for a in pañdañnuñ =  
pradakñhiña Rank. 3; bañña S. M. A. 28. As  
for u in vanañ = guña, for instance vamañi,  
the inscription of Ambasthala which affects an older  
dialect we find still sey = chāityya, leya, le  
(daru) = lekha(dhāraka), while the contemporaneous  
inscription of Mahākalatattāwa (J. C. A. S. 1879, p. 22) has sañ and labañ, but also  
mañña. Añyaka we find in the inscription  
Siri Sanga Bo at Mihintale. So we find deya  
= drañya, Rank. D. 9, S. M. B. 27, but dañ  
Rank. D. 17.  

Shortening of long vowels (cf. avasāyeyu, in  
in the inscr. of Dhauli and Jiangada, Cunningham  
I, 92, palībhasayiṣan, edict of Delhi, No. III)  
is very frequent. I give only the following  
instances from the inscriptions:—  

Kari = karīha, conf. karīco, Hem. I, 101; Amb.  
A, 52; avasa = avata, Amb. A, 15, Nām. 259;  
awasa = avasāṇa, Amb.A, 57; awa = awa Amb. A,  
23, S. S. 1; karuña = karuña, Amb. A, 25, karuña  
= kāraka Amb. A, 47; kāla = kāla, Amb. B, 56;  
kuña, Amb. B, 53, and kāna, Amb. A, 42,  
kuññyā S. S. 32; gom = gomna, Amb. A, 50, Mah. B.;  
lam = sthāna, Amb. A, 19; tanatūram P. P. P.  
58; loc. tanañ, Amb. A, 28; tal = talā, Amb. A, 50, Nām.  
136; dar = dura, Amb. B, 23, 24; dusa = dusa  
Amb. A, 41, 45, Gipsy das, Mikl. VII, 42; dūm  
= dūmā, Amb. A, 37; Ab. 904; navak = nānak  
Amb. B, 13; pamañu = papanu Amb. A, 46,  
Mahā Rātmala L.V.K.B.; pahāyātāna = prabhāyātana,  
Amb. A, 3; perasañu = prāsañu, Amb. A, 28,  
mañ = māñ, Amb. B, 4, 50; mas = māñna ‘flesh,’  
Gipsy mas, Mikl. VIII, 12; mahawar = mahā-  
prā, Amb. B, 54, Report XXV, p. 4; rāj = rājī  
L.V.K.A, Amb. A, 1, Gipsy rāj, Mikl. VIII, 54,  
mahārañja, Gp. A, 5; kī = kṛti, Nām. 61, cf. kī  
in Āsoka’s edicts, Cunning. I, 80; abarañna =  
āharana, Amb. A, 13; arak = arakṣh Amb. A,  
32, 33, Ruan. D, 30; kapura = karpāra, Rank. D,

Fifth, into e: geya = griha, Gp. C, 1, J. P. geha; gōn, Gp. A, 2; gōnōd, Gp. B, 2; genae

Sixth into o, kōtu = krīvīdr, Māg. and Sāur. kātu, ko Mah. B., Amb. A, 22; dōla = dritā (Dolugal), pokyō = prithivi, E. P. J. pūk-hari.


Ninth: B is lost in nāga, 'debt' from riṣa P. P. 11, (nāga, Gp. C. 24.)

I need hardly remark that in the present language, as well as a, aw are found in the numerous tātaṁsas with which it abounds. But there are also new diphthongs peculiar to Sāninha, at least pronounced though not written. Aṣi is pronounced ai, for instance hānday, i.e., sundara + asti “it is good,” is pronounced hāndai. Avo becomes ev, for instance awurudda, “a year” = santētāra, pronounced awurudda; valaunwa, “a headman’s house,” pronounced valaunwa; awun = dēpas pronounced awu; awu and aw are pronounced aw, not like the German au, almost the English ou, but like eu, both quite distinct but very short as Dewunwa, Dewunware; sīvā, sīvā, is pronounced sīu in the same way as dōw.

I now proceed to the rest of the vowels: a is pronounced very short and dull as the concluding vowel of a word, where in former times it sometimes changed with aw, or was altogether dropped, as waun, “tank,” where the a is pronounced very much like u ‘but.’

A for i: dāwasa, older dāwasa, day, Amb. A, 55, B, 1; navartu = nāravartu, Nām. 27, Kāv. XIII, 33; vaisāl = vīśāl, S. S. 4; dāla = dīvā, Nām. 147, 165, 175; Salamanā = Sīkārmanar, inscription at Ellawesvā Panalis, Amb. A, 1, wena = wīnā, Amb. A, 12; wapana = vīmāna, inscription at Hinguregala; bohāla, cālī = vīdāla; māka = nākā, Amb. A, 20, B, I, P. P. 13; nawanum = nīrīti talī; “sesamum” = tīl; but for the forms in other vernaculars, drama-
tic Māg. pēta (Stenzler Mriceh. 112, comp. note) Hindu pēta, Beames. II. 129; Bang. id. II. 40; etc. I believe pēta to be derived from pīṣṭa which originally denoted any globular thing; Prākrit pīṣa, Gipsy por, Mikl. VIII. 47; pēta could easily be changed from this; if in pēta the second syllable had followed the first and adopted a surd; in bāṣā the reverse was the case. Perhaps it is not exactly the form pīṣṭa to which we have to recur for the explanation of pēta, etc.; pīṣṭa is nothing else but a nasalized Prākrit form of pīkha, pīkha; in some dialects this may have been changed into pīṣṭa with the same meaning attached to it. In Sinhalese we have a word for 'quadruped,—dāja in dājayana, hunting, and ḍaḷamas; ḍaḷa; bāṣa; pēta.

A for u; parana = purana, J. P. pordā; baddā = buddhāvina, S. M. B. 12; tālata = tudhāhā, Alungalāvihāra.


A for o in kana = koṇa, Abhayawawena A. 11. As regards a, I have nothing to add to the general remarks made above on the origin of long vowels in Sinhalese (Sinhalese dative comp. Mar. dhī in Beames II. 273).

A dropped in the beginning in bēsk, etc. cf. bhīsita in Asoka's inscr. Cunningham I. 68; bhīveśya, inscr. of Khandagiri, Cunningham I. 98; vāla = vāla of vāla, Hāla, 237, bidam, Amb. A. 13; dīvana = adhīshadhana, Kāvya. 84; naē = ananta, S. S. 9, K. J. 84; nurū = anūrā, Nāmā. 89, Kāvya. X. 19; noē = anēka, K. J. 86; yata or yāta = abhassita, J. P. khēthāna maēti = abhassita, K. J. 116; hōpata = asokapala, Nāmā. 121; pīyana = apāhāna, Amb. B. 11, 12.

I for a; pịkanasō, to cook (pīkanas Amb. B. 23 comp. Prākrit pikan, (Var) Gipsy pēkā. The other vernaculars retain ā, except Guj. which has pīkanam, and pākāna, and Mar. pīkanam; dīya = udaka, daka; kūrī = kūrīkātā (see above) Hindi kūrīkātā, Beames. I. 130; kīsīwan = kathay; pīṣyagā = pīṣyagā, Amb. B. 55, Mah. C. comp. Rep. XXV. p. 5; but pudya, Ing. B. 24, Kong. A. 16, K. M. A. 17, cf. pedna, Kāvya. III. 4; rīya = Pāli rītanā, Skt. rati, Amb. A. 52; pīṣīrā 'straw' probably = pālāda from an older form; rītī = rājata; hiraye "a prison" = Pāli hirakā; siyya, 100 = sāta; kēlā, arm-pit = kēkōkha; bill = bāl, Māg. bīrā. By assimilation we have—

First: mīrī = marīca, pepper; bhīrā = balīhāra

*In Jaina Prākrit, we have no skiyanai = na atikramati for which I gave a somewhat different explanation. 
pina = puya, P. P. P. 14; kipanwa "to be irritated," kuyup, kuypati by openthesis, Gp. A, 7, P. P. 38; mitaya = mūṣṭi, kimblu = kumbhira.

We have seen that pari and prati become pūru and pūsu respectively. Through the agency of p, however, they sometimes go a step farther and become pūru and pūsu, thus we have in modern Sinhalese purudu adj. = parichaya (subst. used as adj. are very common in Sinhalese) and puluwana, possible, able, old, piliwana = prati-pusa.


Fifth: i for u in conjunction, as upādiyāva = āppāda; yuganvā = āngama, see later on; kvenā = kusnā, S. S. 14; kimilawāva old mujita. Hab. = Skt. majj, but kumvā, S. S. 8.

Sixth: i for e, nominative singular masculine as Buddhīsava, Amb. B, 42, = Buddhādhiseka, but generally budu; i for e in nīm = nemi, Ab. 373.

Seventh: i for a, -pūnahāv, to wipe, Mald. fohing, Skt. purahāv, Prākrit pus, Hāla, p. 31, Hem. IV, 105, Mar. pūnahāv.

Eighth: i for ya in anik also avīt "the other" from avaya.

Ninth: in the beginning of a tatasama before s with another consonant īstulī = strū; īpadewa, cf. phāsā pālu, L. V. K. B. leisure, modern Sinhalese pāhun, idisū, īsāla (Dutch for stables.)


U is dropped in the beginning in diya = idaka, J. P. daga or daya but ida, Pāṭyālī, 28, poha is pusantha, J. P. pohatha.

Second: u is dropped at the end in the suffix tu, for instance het = hetu, Amb. A, 49.


Seventh: u for o (ava): aluwa = "loom" = alaka; usas = okada, Amb. A, 46, B, 57, Nām. 231; yuganvā, "to cook," derived from odana, Ruhana (a part of Ceylon)—Rohini from Rohini Kạminī; name of a prince (second century A. D.) modern Ruhana-Rana.
Eighth: 'a by contraction lānu, from lakunu = lakuna "garlick, onion."

E and o represent ə and d, ai and au of the Skt.; ə and d are due to contraction or accent. I have not found either before the 12th century, but there are cases where e and o seem to have had a long quantity before that time, and about the oldest pronunciation I am altogether doubtful—e in nom. sing. For instance, we would imagine to be long, but then it was changed into i and a.

First: e for a, d by influence of i or y: eliya = dōka, Mald. ali, Gray, 15, yela; Pāli diyaṭṭhā, diyaṭṭha, delum = dādīma, dalima, Nām. 126, I. 1, 202, Prákrit dalima, Sindhi dārā 'pomegranate;'

Dēmska, Pāli Dēmska, Amb. B, 56; sena, Nām. 34, hendya 'thunder' = asani; wāna, wāna; weļndēd old wānda, wāndja; set = sānī, K. J. 55; velep = uōpāa, Nām. 113, Kāy. X. 178; P. J. viśīma; pīrisya = parikshā, P. P. 19; kēhel, from kāya = kāhā from tala P. P. 6; kēhel = kudall; perum = pāramid, Gott. 2; pilēva = pāipīti, Amb. A, 2; nēralu = nālīka; nē = nālma, Amb. B, 36, Ab. 685; reda = rajus, Gott. 106; urci = uras, R. D. 12; telas = trāyodāka, Abhayawadha A, 5; deya = drāyva, S. M. B. 27; deya = jaya, Aṣṭavirgingle, but jaya, E. P.; pedi = padārhāvaka, Ing. B, 24, K. M. A, 17; derana = dharaṇį, K. J. 55, Gott. 61; senavī [yana] = senapati, L. V. K. B. old Javanese rīmi (Cohen Stuart Kavi Oorkodon VI. 2a 5); pcē = pāthīna, Nām. 55, Kāy. X. 166; mehēs or mēsi = Pāli, mahēs, Skt. mahāsī. Ruan D. 12, Mayil. A. 8; geta = grantha, Kāy. XIII. 16, getum, S. S. 23, but gotanada see below.

Otherwise; dana = jana, Wandar. 6, comp. Gipsy djenā(m) "person" but jana constantly used at Amb.: kēnaka, kēnakun, Gipsy kēnak, kēnaka (Pasp.); dewd = dattu, Wandar. 14; danēd = dād + nā, Niš; Malla’s inscription at Polon. A, 31; e for in tyā = kyā "yesterday."

Further in Nom. Sing. masc. (and neuter in old Sinhalese).


Fifth: e for o: lē for lohita (infl. of i), rc = roha, Nām. 58, Kāy. X. 166.

Sixth: e contracted from aya in senasun = iayanasan, P. P. 32; leva = layana; e is regularly pronounced and often written for aya in the present language.

Seventh: e for aya in ge, gēya "house," deya = drāyva, "thing."" Eighth: e for iya in welanasaw "to dry," forolder viyalana, comp. viyalu dry. In Maldivian we find hikang "to dry," which corresponds to Māg. ukkāndhaasei, Mriceh. 133.


Second: o for i, in tota = tūthā cf. tāka, Hāla.
In Sinhalese we find not unfrequently compound consonants preserved by the insertion of a vowel. We have however to distinguish between a natural diaeresis and such cases in which a vowel is inserted to make a tatsama pronounceable.


A, 18, B. 59, the same in J. P. (Kalpawesha ed. Jacob, 146, 147); bhutu, R. D. 1, kiltiti, Gutt. 6; uiyat = vyaka, Mayil. A. 16; kirula = kvlu K. J. 44, Ndm. 1, 69; tiyus = titkhu, Gp. A. 8; maharu = J. P. maharika = mahkara.

[B] In artificial corrupted tatsama, especially poetry (comp. in Tamil, etc., Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 89): keleka, P. P. 3; Taraarawa = Atharawana, Kdvy. V. 3; palusa = plashtha, S. S. 94; saruruwa = edatra, D. I. 21; sumara = sarnara, Kdvy. VI. 25, Ndm. 73; saruara = srudra, Kdvy. VII. 55; sikuru = srkara, Ndm. 48, Mad. hakuru, Gruy. 15; sininda = snigdha, Kdvy. 125, Ndm. 248; siyurum = sikhuma, Gutt. 201, Ndm. 233; suvum = suvdmin, 104, 15, cf. suvdmi in the inscriptions of Kap. Dhanuli, Cunn. I. 79; visurura = vichitra; saturu = srtr, Gp. B. 21; siiri = stri (comp. Beames II. 71); pahasa = spunta, Kdvy. X. 10, Gutt. passim, Hem. IV. 182, J. P. phasa or phusa, M. 47, but a, Gutt. 96; samudura = samudra.

A strangely corrupted tatsama we have in sanka, 'health,' very common in modern conversational language from sampatti; from the same word we have a corrupted tatsa. saepa, saepat, 'wealth.'

ELISION OF VOWELS.

Originally every Sinhalese word terminated in a vowel. Between the 7th and 9th century the tendency of the language was so much changed that most nouns came to terminate in a consonant; later, a short a was appended to inanimates, animate males partly contracted the syllable ab to d (so at least I understand this process at present), and if they ended in u or i, this had been changed into wak and yak. W and y assimilated with the preceding consonant, and we find thus double consonants with d in the nominative singular (for instance, kurulu, kurulvak, wurulld).

Hiatus is not tolerated in written Sinhalese, but avoided by the interposition of y or w; but in pronunciation wea becomes a; iya, ia, aya, i, aiy, aei, aew, au.

Ancient Sinhalese, as has already been observed, had lost the aspirates, of nasals, Anuvāra and a, and the power of doubling or compounding consonants. The aspirates have always remained foreign to Sinhalese, though we early find them introduced through some tatsamas as Buddha, sidäham, bhikkhu, Abhaya. Besides these we find aspirates in a few ancient inscriptions, viz. those at Kirinda (Rep. XXV, p. 6), Kottrakimbiyāwa (Rep. II, p. 3, 4),
and in the large inscription of Meghavarā, Abhayā at Mihintale (cf. Report XI, p. 5).

Commonly even such words (except siddham, which we find on the head of inscriptions) were Sinhalized according to different methods:

First.—The aspiration was simply given up in tadbhavas, and this is the usual way, as Abaya (early Chr. cent.), bika (do.), bidam = abidhammo, bindiya from bhid, Kir. Amb. A, 13; Mekawa (early Chr. cent.); paridhi = paridhi, Gp. B, 8; paridden, S. M. B, 24, P. P. 9, 16; andhara = andhakara, P. P. A. 12; for ddh in bada, Rank. D. 1, 7, Amb. A, 15; badana = bandhana, R. D. 27; ladi, Mahak. D. Second.—The aspirate was divided into two parts, the corresponding explosive sound and a and a vowel inserted: daham, Mayil. A. 17, Gp. C. 2, = dhamma; Abahay = Abhay; alohan = alhūna; K. J. 182, (dsahaena, K. J. XIII, 50); tahavuru = sthavira, S. S. 31; dharah = dhūra, S. S. 22; dahagā, Wandel. 12; bauma = bhauma, S. S. 1. 22.

Third.—Dh was expressed by j, as already in an inscription at Badagiriya between the first and fourth centuries; wajeri = Pāli avadhūtī, later in an inscription of King Mahindo III at Mihintale, we find this in many places: wajār = avadhūtri wajārā, Amb. A, 20, wajārāna, i.e. B, 38; later d in wajārāna, Kong. A, 8; wadda, Ing. A, 11; wadda, Wp. D, 3, waddā and waddēyis Mah. A, B, Gp. 11, waddērā, P. P. A. 25; wadri = aparādha, Amb. A, 51, warada, P. P. 20; wicarādi = sīraparādhi, Ch. II. 15; for dh in Majimoṇī, (March—April) Hab. 10, later Māndavāma (inscription at Abhayawagēwa A. 4), now Māndavāma. Instances from literature are wajām = abhidhamma and from modern conversational speech—Anurajapura = Anurādhopura. It is not before the 12th century we find the Skt. aspirates regularly employed and from that time they have kept their place in those numerous tattasmas which the Sinhalese of the present day are so fond of. They are clearly pronounced by most people, though perhaps not of the lowest classes and not in all words.

Fourth.—H appears as an aspirate in hingasās, Pāli bhikkhī artificially transformed to singasād in Kāy. X. 78, 79, 147, 161. In the language of the poets and pandits h for aspirate is very common, e. g. heli = phālīka, Gutt. 42. In some cases h for aspirates must be genuine, for instance hamāsād “to blow” dhārā corrobated by Māla. ḍoṇa “to blow,” cf. Pāli ruhā = rudhāra Jāt. II. 276; artificial h in hām “hot, fever,” corrobated by Māla. huṇa “fever.”

Nasals and Anuvāra.

Although the anuvāra does not appear in Sinhalese words up to the fourth century A.D., it is doubtful whether it was not pronounced; for later we find many words written with anuvāra or a nasal before a consonant which had the same in Skt. but not in ancient Sinhalese, while it would be difficult to consider them all as tattasmas; for instance, Skt. chandra, A. S. chanda, modern Sinhalese handa, Maldavian hadu (hadu is a mistake) besides Skt. apiya, Mod. Sin. apiya; Skt. maṇḍala, M. S. maṇḍul, etc.

It is true the Sinhalese in ancient times wrote the anuvāra and nasal before strong consonants in Pāli words and, besides, without assuming the doubtful words to be tattasmas they might have been altered by the influence of the priesthood, the influential instructors of the people. And on the other hand, there are instances enough where the nasal has been entirely lost. I therefore consider it best to assume that the Sinhalese had lost the anuvāra and the nasal before other consonants. In the ninth century the nasal is frequent enough before g, d, other nasals before consonants; and the anuvāra (bindu) properly so called, came in later with the twelfth century. At present there is a difference in pronunciation between the real bindu and those weak nasals before other consonants. I doubt whether two kinds of nasals existed in the twelfth century, for we find the bindu used with k and ligatures with all the other nasalized consonants. N and ŋ were distinguished up to a late time, though there is no difference in pronunciation now. In some instances ŋ had early to yield its place, for instance in the Gen. Plur. in an, later Accusative and general formative of the plur. in an we seldom meet with ŋ. Further it was soon given up in the verbal nouns in na, as karana, etc., though we find rakaṇa in the fourth century and sporadic ŋ even in the tenth century. In most other instances ŋ was preserved to at least the twelfth century; n for ŋ in ran = hirāna, n for gn in bun = bhūnya for bhukta, Mayil. B. 5, Nām. 271, cf. bunayāṇa, P. P. 26; ŋ for sn, nh in pinanawā, to swim; ŋ for jī in annaik, although not written, in this way in Ceylon. A similar combination is that of ŋ in annaik—acription at Kātika, Rep. II. p. 5.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

Gp. A. 3, S. M. A. 22; by mahāpanas, Ing. A. 8, Gp. B. 1, and dhapayāmi in Asoka's edict, Cunn. I. 74: as in the forms of Jainā Prakritā, K.S., anā, Bhag. 379, etc. Pāli anā, Hem. II. 42; for śāna we have nānna, L. V. K. C. P. P. 6, nāna, K. J. 104; as for kā in panna, Wewelk. 18, P. P. 4 = pañchāśatā, cf. pana in the inscription of Delhi, Cunningham, 112; the Prakrits have ṇ or ṇa, Pāli ū, Hem. II. 43, and E. M. J. P. 41; we find unorganics as nasal parasite consonants since the 9th century, thus we have—

Maṃdava = mādyā, P. P. 46, but maeda, 38; haṃdasa = dhāḍḍasa, Amb. A, 10, K. J. 51; naṃdu, Amb. B, 24; nāmund, D. I. 20, R. D. 14, Wrand. 5; kaseṃtu = kāgya; mun = mudda, Kāry, V. 5, Pāli munna, B. I. 288; dasambul = dasalā, Kāry, I. 60; veลำba, elemi, awelemi, 'mare' from wadū (see Childers, Notes II); numbu for nūba = nubha, Gutt. 68; tambanaw = 'to boil' (comp. Anson Zwingler, 42); suna = slaksha, duṇḍa, 'poverty' from ḍaṇḍa, R. D. 15; mūn, mukundu for mūda, mukhā, hamuda, samudra, Gp. B, 14, S. M. B. 7; munda = mirdhā, Amb. A, 25, S. M. 4; veṃnda = merchant, old wamnaya—inscription at Galvihāra, to which may be added a Tamil word introduced to Sinhalese pāngu = bāgā; kumbuk or kūbuk = kākuba, Ab. 592, Mahā. 188; mündi = nūḍā, P. P. 37, Gipsy, Lāndra, Mikl. VIII, 7; mahaṃgī = mahādyrā, but mūnaṃg, P. P. 13, K. J. 105; for ṣ in man = mārga, Pāli magga, Amb. B, 54, cf. Gipsy munged = 'to beg, pray,' Mikl. VIII. 12.

In contrast to these words there is a great number of other words where a genuine nasal became supported by the sonant of its organ.

First ṣ for m, undaua "government," from Pāli ṭāya; pūnyāra, "tribute," from Pāli puṇyakāra, Amb. A, 47; Nādu, 191, Kāry, IX. 18.

Second nd for n: anuṇa "bed" from yahana = Pāli sayana; kanda, "hill, embankment," old kana, inscription at Habaranbe 2, Amb. B. 55, derived from Skt. sthūna, "raised, elevated," śthakā; kīndā = kinnāra; Devanāgarī for Devanāgarī (Deranagara); pīṇḍana = pīṇḍāna, i.e. pīṇḍa, "father" and honorific suffix dae (has no meaning at all); wandura, "monkey," = vānara, comp. Hindi bandora = sāndra = "at the time when" from kāhāṇa;

* The Māgadhī and Pāli word pāṇu (pāṇu according to Cunn. 97) cf. pāṇyā, pāṭa, L. V. K. B. I believe is to be explained by the support of a similar process. Prof. Weber (J. G. O. R. S. 1879, p. 15), like Childers, rejects the explanation of the Northern Buddhists of "vukrovāsā," which would presuppose an adjective vukrovāsā. He thinks this could not assume the sense "painless." But in Mahā Prakrit we find a verb mūnās, from which we are led to conclude an original form empi for Skt. mūnā and Latin malus. If we imagine an adjective mūnās derived herefrom, this would meet all the

Amb. A, 12, Kāry. I. 14, and often,—but kanda, P. P. 32.

Third mb for m, imbūl "cotton tree," Skt. idmālī, Hindi imābala (see Beames I. 346); ambūl "soot" (this is a doubtful case, as the word may be derived either from amūla or from dīvā or be a tats. for Pāli ambula) Skt. amūla, drām. Māg. dīvā; dambara "dark coloured," dhamāra; kumbhāra = kālpa, Gutt. 63; bhamīs, cf. bimbhās in the inscriptions of Kap. Dhau, Jāngada, Cunn. ningham, I. 68, Hem. II. 74. (Elu poetry) = bimhina; bhamba = bhramāra, Malvīsan mahāra; rōmbhū = rōmbhā = rōmbha; kumbhāra = kumbha, Amb. A, 11. 28; kumbha, Amb. B, 47 = kumbhāra.

DOUBLE AND COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

Double consonants become single in Sinhalese (without compensatory lengthening, as in Hindi and other Indian vernaculars), compound consonants either underwent the process of assimilation and became double consonants previously, or they were preserved by the insertion of a vowel (see above). In the course of time it became very common to drop concluding vowels as well as vowels between consonants, and in the 9th century therefore and later, double consonants as well as compound consonants are met with frequently enough. Assimilation takes place as innumā for hindā, sūdā, sāthā. Another case of doubling consonants is from the change of i and u into ya and wa and subsequent assimilation in nominal themes (see above). The change, however, did not always take place, thus from balū we have bālī, from bhashū, bhashū; assimilation in attu and atālō, S. S. 28 (vrt., Nādu, 164); viṣāam = viṣākām, S. S. 1. 12.

SOFTENING AND HARDENING.

Softening of surds to sonants is so frequent and natural a process in all languages, that we need not here advert to it, but may notify the change under the head of the respective letters. But the opposite process of hardening sonants is also found in the Sinhalese. Instances are:

Dhī. dhāgāp; bheḥ; pānguva = bāgā, cf. difficulties regarding the signification of pāṇa, and as for the etymological connection, the transition smārīna, smūn, pāṇu; or following the other method mādu, bāhu, pāṇu, is easy enough. If with Prof. Weber I here derive pāṇu rather from smārī rather than from spīrī, I do so under the supposition that at the time of the formation of this word, the verbs māra and spīrī were already perfectly separated not only in Skt. but also in the vernacular dialects, for it is clear that mārī and spīrī are merely differentiations of the same root, mārī.
Gipsy phag = bhashə, Mikl. VIII. 38; phen = bha-
gin, ib. 41, terewaad, dhar, cf. Gipsy terwa, 
Mikl. VIII. 17; op or opa = dōbdā, hofa 'snout' 
= sunda (comp. Mād. hofa, proboscis); 
koka 'secret things' hidden property, J. C. A. S. 1879, 
p. 41; pokh kān, Ky. XIII. 15 = gwād, kirkawd = 
giribhāda, Amb. A. 32, 34; koalawd P. P. B. 
12, cf. Gipsy khom = charma, khan = muchos, Mikl. 
VII. 77; khas = ghas, ib. 75, kher, ib. 79.

Elision of consonants is of course of frequent 
occurrence as in all secondary languages. A 
few instances will suffice: h particularly is often 
elided. As this consonant is also changed from 
s, w, from ch, we often simplify a vowel instead 
of c with a vowel or s with a vowel. Instances for 
loss of ch are:

Ibinawad 'to kiss, smell' chumb, andinawad 
'to put on' chhād; āis old hās 'ashes' from 
khāna, Pāli chhadīka, J. P. chhard, Bhag. 214, Sindhī 
chḥara (comp. Beames I. 310, Mikl. VII. 29), but 
Mahār. khāra; for loss of s in inawad 'to be,' 
'sit,' used of animals only, , sāda, sād, yā, 
'small river' srotas, Pāli Prākṛti srota, Hindi sōt; 
ārā = sākāra, 'boar,' frī sow; yā, older hāya, 
'arrow,' probably from sāta 'sharpened,' t is to be 
followed from the previous transitional changes 
sita, hīya, hīya, hī, awī, 'longs,' Skt. sājīśa, 
Pāli sājīsa (see Chiders); ēsa = śrīka; ēra = 
śrīya; ēma = śrīman, cf. śrīma, Amb. B. 55, 
chhinayāv sīch; siddha or sītika, Ab. 494, Ky. 
X. 188; inūrā 'ginger' = śrīgavara, ancient 
hingura, S. S. 22; īnūrī, the clearing nut, old 
hingū, Report II. 1889, p. 5. Loss of initial 
k in ndēlaa 'hose' Skt. kuddāla, of initial w in 
shinawad = śvī, loss of w in ukuw 'louse'; 
Skt. yānd, Pāli ṣāk, H. jūm, Gipsy, ḍyav 
pout' Faspati, Mar. 4 and ak. Loss of whole 
syllables we find in kūlī = kūlūmbī, (inscription 
eleventh century, comp. B. 146) Amb. A. 
24, 41; dora = dawrākdhaka, Gp. C. I. 2, 
Nām. 104; gondā = gondhāna, Amb. B. 28, 42, 
gonak = ganaka, Amb. B. 5; āna = ānūpā 
(Gipsy čhwa, Mikl. II. 11) 'to eat' 
khdā, Dram. Māg. khdūtī, Mrīch, Hindi khdānī, 
(see above); rada, Wowel. 17, Ang. A. 8, nīmae 
= nīmaniya, R. D. 21; pāda = pawata, in dawna-
pāt, Amb. A. 55, Māh. B; J. A. S. 1879, p. 29; 
dawtā, to burn dāh; latwā 'wing' = pātāva, 
pārakana, Amb. B. 42, pātāvanā; sītāra = 
chitrokāra, Amb. B. 37, S. S. 23; w = vrīhi, Amb. 
A. 36; padā; rd 'toddle,' older surd; ādmā = 
srūma (serwa), Amb. A. 36; nāya 'debt' = riṣa;

* The syllable na is probably due to an original fem. uku, 
the same origin, I believe, is to be attributed to the syllab-
rid 'silver' = rajata; ran 'gold' = hirana; 
pāntu = prāntipatti, Amb. A. 42; pēra = pēhara 
= pēhāra, Amb. B. 11; dūvar = divasawar, 
Amb. A. 44; nāvā = navakara, mīnīr = 
myīhara, Amb. B. 46; Kātunūrā = Kāthanta-
aya, Mah. 51, 73; kumbā = kumhakara, Amb. 
B. 27, dā = dhūtā, Amb. A. 31; nūga = nayagodha, 
ekkoma and akkoma; bula nom. bula 'dog' = 
Skt. bhasha and aff. la, possibly also koṭa 'don-
key' = gāra (bha) aff la; arānhad = dhrū, rū 
'night' for rāma, S. M. A. 15 = dhrī; rīga = prā-
dāda, L. V. K. A.; hera, S. S. 57, P. P. 25 for 
mahānāra = samanēro, pīlu = pungaa, Ab. 319; 
miyagunna = mhiyaguna, Gp. B. 10; wisi 
'twenty' older wisi; khyawā, near, neighbour-
hood = nīkha? niṣed = mahisa, 'buffalo;' maŋ, 
mokada, mona; lamu = rākand.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.

Lahyā = lākā, Amb. A, 10, S. S. 14; sarakā 
'bullock,' Gp. A. 19, Skt. sabhāra, bhakāra, 
āhāra, bākāra 'bull,' a ox, bākāra 'a 
raught ox,' mahāna, In. A. 20, later mahānuyan 
= ērāyanakāra, Gp. A. 23, Pāli sama, old 
Sinh. khamana, mehen = śrāmanī, Mah. B, (but 
samanā, Mah. A). It is doubtful whether J. P. 
mahanā is the same as this or ērāyanakāra; 
maḥā, maṇḍa, older kamā (Gāmə. Abb. Mih.) 
= samāra; monār 'peacock' for monar, i.e., 
morā + na (on na see above note). The Mal-
divian has gone a step further and made it 
niṃerī 'peacock.' The s and s corroborate 
my conjecture that the affix na is due to an 
original feminine tāt. monar; andā, 90,' for 
narunva, Pāli naruti, kotakaya = karaka, 'the sign 
Cancer,' perhaps koṭa 'short,' Mald. kora, from 
stokā comp. tikiri or it may be for loka, the 
affix ta in Sinhalese corresponding to ta in 
Indian vernaculars, comp. Mar. jokā, 'short,' rāla 
'wave' = Skt. āla, lahari (see above); ṛipan 
'to float' for ṛipindaw, πι and ut; ṛa = 
āhuva, Mah. II. 189; damora, S. S. 18 = damo-
dara; pōho = upasatha, Amb. A, 44; mumburdu, 
grandor, older munumara, also marumakara 
(first to fourth century, A. D.) from munorama 
'mind delighting' comp. nandana 'son;' āvurdu 
'year older hawuru, Eld. F. A. 14 for hawudara, 
sammāra = sāvāsara, līṭhī 'slack' loose for 
hūlī, Ky. V. 63 = śīṭhala (comp. Prākṛti śīṭhā); 
butāt, Kaeig. A. 24 'bottol' for tabula from 
tambīla; rēh, Ky. IX. 31, contracted rd from 
surh through sūrd; asapua for Pāli upasaya; 
stāwela = kṣāt, Ab. 448; another difficult word is 
lāyā 'heart' only found in literature, here I am 
also inclined to think of akopoke of the first 
syllable and to assume the original form to have been 
ble na in gōsā, Pāli gōsā, Dram. Māg. Mrīch, Sinhalese 
gōsā.
K is the old Sanskrit guttural. We find it of course for kha, as kaḍanaṃvā "to break" (καράδα) kaḍāwā = khadga, etc.; kra and other compound consonants:

First: for kha in kaeto, D. I. 9 = kṣātrīga; keta = kṣetra; kiri 'milk' = kṣītra; kuḍa small = kṣudra; ruk = vṛksha cf. laktu in the inscriptions of Kap., Dhauli, Jaug. Cunn. 67 (Girnar, vachehha), Hem. II. 17; rakinawād 'to watch'; salakanawād probably tats.; makanawād वर्कन ; uk 'sugar cane' = ikṣu; aka = akka, Amb. A, 6, B, 1, 7; k for sikh in kasa, kanda = ekhanna (see above), k for sikh in kaya S. M. B. 29 = Pāli and J. P. ḍhāna, Hem. II. 7; Hālā, ḍhāna p. 43. K for k; kutwal = hīndula, Mah. II. 12, 59; kk for k, in ekkasa, Amb. A, 10.

Second: for g for k (kh, keh, etc.) in givuła = kaviśtha; gesevanda 'to spend' as dawas gesevanda 'to spend one's day' (Par. Poll.) also 'to pay' from kṣhip caus. = Pāli khepeći; giraw 'parrot', Skt. kira; affix ka sometimes is changed into ṣa and nga, as senaga, Rank. D, senanga, R. D.; uṣaṇa = vasag, Amb. A, 12, B, 6; sulaṅga 'wind' = chalaka, Nām. 25, Kāvy. XIII. 37; agi = āgni, S. B. M. B. 2, but generally gini; g for s in dig, P. P. 5, digin Gp. B. 4; for Gk. št in Sāskhalese.

Sinhalalese.

tota 'ferry;' totwea 'heathen' S. S. 42.
puta 'son' in some old inscriptions, usually
puta, Šāurasenī puja, puḍḍo.
aśa 'half'
udā 'above'
ataya in the Sinhalese dative, comp. B.

II. 272.

wacēti
maeti, Amb. B. 8.

wacenaṇāvd 'to fall.'

In other words Pāli and Sinhalese coincide as:

tota nata

vata

puta

addha and addha

uddha

attāya: so also in Aśoka's inscription,

Cunn. I. 70.
uaddhi and vaddhi

mattikā, comp. Beames I. 333, II. 35 J. P.

matiyā

pat, Prākṛti pad, Gipsy perasa, Amb. A, 49, cf. niyōda, Nirnay. 5.

attī Prākṛti do, Sindhi haṭha, Pashṭo had, see Trumpp's Gram.

heṭha Prākṛti do, Sindhi heṅḍa, Beluchi yāḍā (j = ḍ.)
ganḍhī, Mar. gāṇḍa; S. gāṇḍī, ghaṇḍī;
Pashṭo gūṇḍī, Trumpp's P. Gram. p. 6.

nataṭi

vaddhəti

vaddhəti
--- | --- | ---
wañowanaka (ancient name), wañowan, | vardhamana, | vadhamunaaka
P. P. 6 | vartika | vatiyakta, but no cerebral in B. H. Beames, I. 154.
wañawa 'quail' | vartaka | wañawa, 'quail' (see above), goha, etc. The cerebralization in

Other instances of cerebralization are adiya (see above), goda, etc. The cerebralization in ūṭika is not explainable (see above), dahanavaed 'to bite' probably a Pāli tataśama. We have no cerebralization in tabanaδa to put, Pāli ṭhāpeti, Prākrit thēvi (but paṭān = praśhēṇa), danawed to burn (compare Beames, I. 155).

Further, ṛ is without influence in keīla = keśeṣa, gotanavā from śṛgātha, get-gaṇtha, and yetam; puta, pute, pute = puta; katura 'scissors' (Mald. katura) = kartaria; amalavādū, ṛadāy, tiha 'thirty' = trisūkita; chāda, modern handa = chandā. For ṛ we find in oruca = uḍava (see above). Cerebral r we find for ṛ, ṛ, ṛ. The two ṛ's are kept distinct till the 13th century, though in the present day there is no difference in their pronunciation, it seems to have been still retained in the end of the 12th century as we find even the Skt. word pralaya written pralaya, D. I. 1, S. M. A. 2, Gp. A. 13, on account of the preceding ṛ. The instances in which ṛ is found for cerebrals I shall advert to later on. In two instances I find an ṛ—in elabae, Gerund of elavanuva = avalambu (see above), Mald. elawauo or efau 'to cast, throw.' Christ, Par. inscr. at Polonn. 15, and keñenaka, ib. 9. Fortunately the Maldivian dialect has kept the two ṛ's distinct to the present day, and thus we are able to know the nature of ṛ in many words for which the inscriptions furnish no examples.


Third: ṛ and ṛ for ṛ, and ṛ for ṛ, through the influence of ṛ: kevel = kāvela (inscription of Abhaya wansa Skm. Museum), Pāli kevelto, H. kevela, wolā 'hole, cavity, pāt' Mald. wolā = avata; adva = kah streams; pilisīlāca = padipti, Amb. A. 2, pilisīlāca, P. P. 47; galapana, galawa, R. D. 8 = ghalpeti, S. S., Wevel. 21; pilisīlāca, P. P. 44, Amb. A. 18, J. P. pilisīlakā, paliyata, Hab. 7 = pakhāla, Gajab; pilisīlakā, K. J. 45; J. P. phalika, Ka. Hem. I. 198; dēla = yajya, Kāvya III. 23; salu = būkara, Nām. 173, Kāvya X. 92; telā 'lip for tunda' 'beak.' In the Maldivian dialect we find tund, i.e. tunda 'beak' and tundfai, i.e. tundfapi 'lip,' properly the blade of the beak or mouth (also comp. Mar. tunda 'mouth'). The lip therefore was originally called in Sinhalese the blade of the beak, but pata was omitted afterwards. Etiwa = Pāli ekāka, Māg. ekāka, Cunn. 112; kuruva, kuriśati = guranda (see above); kela 'saliva,' Pāli kekha, Skt. kīla, Mald. kuḷa, kuḷa, Amb. A. 14, 51, P. P. 17, = kīta but Pāli kato, akula, Hab. 7, Sīta. 3; mala 'dead' dram. Mag. made, J. P.
D for ṭ. Kuṭṭ = kuṭumbiṇa; puṇava = puṇa; goda = Skt. garta, Mahār. gaḍḍa, Hindi gaḍḍha (see above). D for ṭ: udāla, Amb. A. 34, but udāla P. P. P. 12, Gp. A. 12; ḍḍiḍi, Kāvy. VI. 33, ḍḍadiya 'sweat,' 'perspiration' literally 'heat water' from ḍḍha and udaka. The same root dahl in Pāli and Prākrit often shows an initial cerebral, for instance ḍājāṃanta, K. S. passim, Hem. I. 218, but in Sinhalēse it is danaṃ with a dental. In maḍa 'mud' we perhaps have another form of Skt. māla. Perhaps there is another irregular cerebralization in haṇḍa 'sound' haṇṇaṇu to 'call,' which it is difficult to connect with any other Skt. word but sabda.10

DENTALS.

T for st, in atesvatu = hasta and vastu 'account,' Amb. A. 56: atīva = ativṛtta, tata = tādāha Gp. A. 9; mata = māstaka, L. V. K. C.; pata = pāṭha, Amb. B. 9. 17; watup 'garden,' Amb. A. 49 = watu, Kāvy. X. 99, Pāli watthu, Mahāvageya III. 56; batalaka = batalatha, Hab. 5 (batalane S. B. M. A. 3 is probably a mistake for this); tiram, R. D. 13 = śthira; t for kt: rat 'red,' = raktā (sagā 'gold,' properly red gold); yvū = yuka, Amb. A. 23; bat 'boiled rice;' mut = mukta; t for tt in antara, Kāvy. ṭ for ṭt in natuṇu old nāpa, Galvama 'heir from nāpatī; t for st in satuṇu, P. P. P. A. 20; ṭ for ṭ in artificial Sinhalēse, Kāvy. XII. 17 ṭew for iesha; t for ty in cheya (later cheya, sey, sā, sāya) = chattiyā; ameta and ametiyā, Pāli amachcha; t for k, in anit for anit 'the other'; t for ṭt in satuṇu, R. D. 28, and t of the suffix ṭra preserved in sutu = sutra, Amb. A. 13, but dropped in pd = pātra. T for ch (cf. J. P. togecchād = chikād, diṭṭhi = dhikkhati, vatthyo, [diṭṭhi], Beitr. 5, 25), I have found only in artificial Sinhalēse. It is easily explained as the modern pronunciation of ch is very much like ty and with uneducated people often hardly different from t. Instances are ruti = ruci, Kāvy. passim, and taepa, X. 98; vitula, 'he inquired,' from the ticht. viṭṭhαnu, Kāvy. X. 214: vitulakā 'they inquired,' Kāvy. XI. 31; t for j in parivatika = pārivṛtta (?), kiya = kākacho; ṭ for ṭt termination of the old ablative do, da (fourth century A. D.); kādima = kaṃjāmat; dunnasāgul Mahā C., inscription of Kassapa Mihint. A. 10, modern duniṣṭhāla = tunāḍala, the dress of a Buddhist priest which covers the three circles (see above tunu = trīṇ; d for j is the common change (cf. J. P. duggacchhā = dugapu, Bhag. 413, Hem. IV. 4; dosing = jutemānd, Bhag. 415, Pāli jumhā, Prākrit jumhā, Hem. II. 75, Pāli parīchchedhā words continue to be trap and [pr]abba. In this case the cerebralization in haṇḍa etc. may be due to the original influence of r.

10 sabda, I believe, is originally = sapt, participle of sap, and this verb, I think, is nothing but the causative of sar = sarvayati. It is not impossible, though I do not consider it very probable, myself, that in some dialects these...
from parichchajjati, daddallati, Pasenadī, digha-
chhā; dampati = jayampati in tudampat, Māg.
divikimu in Cave inscriptions of Barabar and
Nāgārjuna, Cumm. 103: radd, Mah. A. ‘king’ =
raja in the inscriptions of Mahākāl and Mayil,
while the inscription of Amb. has rājā, rājana,
and L. V. K. raja, cf. Goldschmidt’s Report, XI,
p. 19; warada = yusarrāja, Gp. C. 5; radahara
‘royal taxos,’ Mayil. B. 4, Report II. 1880, p. 5;
radawa = rājaka, Amb. B. 53; radol = rājakula,
Wewelk. 17, Ing. B. 21; raedna ‘queen’ = rājīt;
badinava ‘to fry’ = bhīrij, danna ‘to know’ =
rejīd, Jādunī; deṇ = jyeshtha, S. B. M. B. 1;
madata = majjēstha, Nām. 121, K. J. 66; arada
= sājana, corrupted tats.; kutu ‘hump-backed’ =
kuḷ, Pāli kūḷo; teda = tejas, Gp. A. 9, D.
I. 2; maeda = mādha, Māl. medu; midūl =
majj, J. P. majj, Nām. 105, Kādy.XII. 47; ada for
ajja ‘ayda; mada ‘kernel’ = majj, Pāli mājja;
dēka kēpaīya from jāhāti, Amb. A. 17; dāva, at.
Amb. A. 16, daeath, S. S. 22; ēda ‘cook,’ S.
L. 50, jēmata, Amb. B. 19; wadna from wadina
vēra; paevidi, P. P. 30, Amb. B. 15, paeveji,
P. P. 34, 38, 48; vēda = vēja Skt. vējā, Gutt.
Amb. A. 11, B. 30; dēya = jāgat, Gutt. 47, S. S. 13;
āda ‘person’ = jana, comp. Giprā dēna (person) =
Pās.; dāna ‘knee’ = jāna; dēya = jālā, J. P.
and Pāli jālā, the soot on utensils, comp. Childers
s. v. rājovejālla, Māl. deli ‘ink’; dēya = kajjād,
Kādy. XI. 25; dēya = jāya, Aetawrāgoli; dēya = jāya,
Mayil. A. 15, B. D. 12; dāvāvā ‘to decay’ =
ri, dēya ‘name’ = jēda; dēya = jālā ‘net’
dēya ‘tongue’ = jīhōt, Māl. dēya; dīv (old) life =
jīhōt, Gp. B. 6, P. P. 4, dēmāl. Gp. A. 19,
but jēmāl, Amb. A. 43, 53; dēya = dēyājā, Gutt.
181, Nām. 201, J. P. dēya and jāyā; dambāvān,
Gp. B. 15, 21; sādī, P. B. R. D. 13; dēna, vēja
or jād (?) Gp. C. 12, 13; baddākgā = bhrājīta;
udināvā = vījānā, Ch. II. 21, wījīvā, K. J.
87; lanu = jāja in vēlāna, Nām. 261; dāngā = jājāh,
S. S. 16; haemānda = sāmvējā, Amb. B. 52,
cf. eemad, S. S. 22, eemad, Kādy. X. 101; bodnā,
S. S. 21, but bymūn, P. P. 32, 33; maendāna,
P. P. 39, older maendānā, Abhay 4, still older ma-
modinī, Hāb. 10; ydē, vējā P. P. 16, generally
ydē or yēdā, P. P. 50; sādā = sārjā, Gp. B. 3,
K. J. 44; kādā = kājājā, Māl. II. 345, Nām.
145.

Kimidiūnā ‘to dive’ with the exception of the
first syllable is derived from vēmajā; in the
4th cent. A. D. we find majjā, ‘inundated.’
The first syllable ki represents evidently an old
gerund which I have not succeeded in tracing.
The Śiṃhalese, however, are very fond of com-
bining two verbs in this fashion. Not to speak
of the so-called reflexives as bēla gannaū, ‘to
look, to examine,’ etc., we find hāpū kanaū,
‘to bite’ (literally, ‘having chewed to eat’),
and others. In bāpūnāwā, ‘to float, to swim,’
also, the second part, nanāvā, is vēnā; the first
part, an old gerund, perhaps modern bē from
vēpū, ‘to drink,’ Śiṃhalese bawōna. It then
probably meant originally only ‘to bathe,’ like
the simple vēnā, though at present it is rather
the custom of the Śiṃhalese to wash first in the
water, which they drink afterwards. Māl. fīnā
means ‘to dive’ which corroborates its etymology.

D for jū we find in dat (literary) = jūtā, data
supine = jūtum, comp. jū for jū in Mahār. Varar.
III. 5: savavajjo, ingiajo; d for ch (apparently
through 9) in mudanaū = vē much, cf. midināwā,
Tiss., K. J. 115, Situlp.; aeddū = dhrēya, Amb.
B. 39, 44, Māl. adur ‘teacher,’ havurūd =
svañvatāra, Pāli sampāchchiaro (see above);
godūra, ‘prey’ = gochara, cf. panaara and
pannāsana, Cumm. 112, 98; puruddu = purichita,
Ab. 105; yādinauvā, ‘to pray, beseech’ = vē yē,
yēdā = yēdā, S. M. A. 17; dūn = dūn, Kādy. X.
98; dāngā = chānčē, Kādy. II. 24; d for s in dāna
= sahāna, S. M. B. 10.

LABIALS.

P for b, see above; p for mp in parapuren, E.
pardapuren, Ing. A. 13, parapurehī, P. P. 1,
in the old formula Ośkūrā rāja parapurehī,
but in the text the more modern form paraparabyen
corrupted tats. Amb. B. 25; p for 3p in kāpanu,
kaepiu, inscription of Kassapo V. Mīhin, Report
1879, p. 21; p for w in hāpūnāwā, ‘to chew,’
hāpūra, Mar. chānčūn (comp. Beames, I. 332); p
difficult to explain in wētup ‘garden,’ Amb. A.
49 = wētā, Kādy. X. 99, Pāli vaśtu, Mahāvagga,
II. 5, 6, and in wētup, ‘wages,’ Nām. 209, Gutt.
178; Amb. A. 47, and Kādy. XIII. 64, present the
form wētum instead, in Pāli it is vētī; b for p
in bēda ‘belly’ (see above); bōnuwā ‘to drink,’
/pād, pāhu, boruwa ‘lie,’ from aparāthā; eba,
‘mustard’ = sarīkāpa, Pāli sāpā; balanāwā
‘to look,’ Amb. A. 20, 31, Skt. prakā, Prākrit
pralā, prālā, prālā; tabālavā = sthdpā, Pāli
sthāpeti, Prākrit śātāt; b for m in mūnunu
(see above), perhaps in bātelawā, ‘sheep,’ from
medhīra, menydā; affix la; tambah = tāmā, Gp.
18, J. P. id.; kappī = kambāpi, S. S. 23; imbūl =
śdimalī, J. P. sambali; arūb = ārāma, Amba.
18, 46; saeχā = samāhāi (p.); tambūra = tamālā.
Mah. II. 125; b for y in dālawā = jārī, Pāli
jālā; b for w in bakamānd, ‘owl’ (vakka +
mukha); bālā = vēddā; wejamba, ekhami,
asaebima, ‘mare,’ from wādawā.
M becomes n frequently in the end of a word, nikon and nikan (commonly pronounced niko[n]), 'empty' = nis + karman.
M for lm in kamas = kalmasha (?), Amb. B. 41.
M for w in nawsa = 'nine,' but also and more elegantly nawsa; Wessamani, J. P. Vessamana, Bhai. 213 = Vaśrivaṇa, Ruwanwacli Wandar. 9.

**Semi-vowels Y and W.**

Both these semi-vowels supplant other consonants. Thus we have:

Affix ya after the fashion of the Jaîna Prâkrit (called yaṭrati) for ka in kiyana, Amb. A. 12, S. S. 57, = kathay, sitiyama, daṣyama, 'hunting' for karman; diya = daka, sivalu = saka; piliyan = patikamaka, Gp. C. 6.
Y for kh in nigha = nakha, Nâm. 163, liyanawad, = lih.
Y for f in niyam = futala, S. S. 21.11
Y for t in oya = ortas; aya = santta (?)
Amb. A. 52, D. I. 7, Gutt. 122, heyin = hitud in wodhayin, Mah. A.; giya = gata; siya = sata; viya = widdina, K. J. 48, Nâm. 175, Ab. 299; manuyiya, P. P. 26 = madhpîdî.
Y for d in niyanaud, 'to cook,' from odana; piya = pada.
Y for y in yahana, yakana, 'bed.' = voyana, S. S. 14, Amb. A. 11; yahana = soyhâya; yal = sall, Amb. B. 27; kiriya = kariša, S. S. 18 (kari, Habi. 4), Amb. A. 32; 'yap, amat= sukha prâpta; aṣṭi old asati in inscriptions.
Abhay. A. 17; paexas = prakâsa K. J. 74; raekina = rakkanandyaka, Amb. B. 17, 18; setusama = svetakarma, Amb. B. 7, 3.

W for kh in suva = sukha; maha = mukha, P. P. 42.
W for g in nuguara = nagara; guwma = gaga-; suwana = suganda, R. D. 24, tůwara = togarâ, Nâm. 129.
W for t in rućan = rata; awuwa = d̄apa; guwa, Pali glorya, G. vâyâ, R. D. 26, Ab. 30; siya = chit carbohydrate in swu pasayan, L. V. K. B. cf. chhitupusar, Pillar at Delhi, II. Cunn. 112; siwuru, Rank. D. cf. siwunadasur, K. J. 107, Nâm. 104; siwurana, fourfold, Gp. B. 8, siwurana B. 13.
W for d in anumowana = anumodana, L. V. K. C.
W for dh in tulawara = tulddhâra, Nâm. 224, cf. tarahal, K. J. 171.
W for P in all causatives, as dakausowad, etc., genussowad (so already in very old inscr.); the only apparent exception is galapanowad, S. S. 25, an old tatama for Pali ghatiṇipati; vaenausowad, P. P. 30; pilwisad = pratipuchchhā, Kâvya. V. 29; saak-paksha, Amb. A. 45, 53; nura = nava, Nâm. 170, Prâkr. neura, Hem. I. 123, Pakiniyura, Ab. 285, Hem. I. 123; maenaw = manpâ, J. P. mansma; kawala = kapâla, Nâm. 104, Ab. 218; waedena, sapat; madaw = madpâ, weeswana, vepp; deça = deça; devisa = devisa; veeya = upachâk, D. I. 10; vaena, old wawiya = vâpi; wahan = upâhana, Skt. upâdana; weyautu (old) for upâyuka; avud = ðapta, Amb. A. 11.
W for bh in wena = wena, wad and wae = bhâta Mahâk. wenausowad, R. D. 18.
W for m in wakusowad, 'to daub,' 'smear,' old maeknow, S. M. B. 28, ∨ mukah.
W for y in wacana = ysdanu (pronounced nydnam, with insertion of u); hewana = chedâ, Singhd. chedâ; tuwaq (old) 'three'; wiya, wiya-gaha = 'yoke' = yuga through yiga. In awiya = dyudha, Gutt. 106, y first-changed into w through the influence of the original u, afterwards u was changed into i.
W for s (s), h in porawu = parâu.
W for h in lowinawad, ∨ lih, downinawad, ∨ duh.
To explain wara 'monastery' Mahâkalatattaewa, Amb. B. 34, is difficult. It is the common word for 'house' in Prâkrit, and Weber, Hâla, 338, derives it from ghara = griha, but Bollensen Vikingarvâ, from drava. W often is developed from u, to introduce a word into the a-declension.

a vowel in bariya (cave inscription=bahûyd, Mahâr. bahûd) is in maliyâ (2nd century A. D.)=waliya modern Sinhalese maliya). It must be noted that y is not changed into i in the case of Skt. yasthi, Sinhalese yata (it is genuine), Pali Prâkrit yasthi, and so i in all vernaculars.
L AND R.

L for n in alai 'new,' from anuktaḥ; wali-wana, asal = dasana; I have not noticed for other dentals, perhaps however sela is derived from sasta, partic. of sas; n for l in nagavanu, naegakavu, lāni (for the modification of the meaning, comp. Pāli cusa and Gipsy ugli-deva = uulgah and uyghirda = avalangh, Mīk. II. 8); naga taia = lāngala, Pāli nanguta; naga 'plough' = lāngala, Pāli nangala; nala, forehead = lāldā (lañgha, Pāli nangala, K. S., Hem. I. 125).

L for dh in kulala, 'neck' = kanda, Ab. 263, kanda, Jāt. 33, Mād. kadaura.

L for m in verbal nouns, as gaeni, gaenuma gaenuma, gaenilla, from yaomnia (the old form is ikama ima, as in pōisaterikama = pōisakarikama, etc.) J. C. A. S. 1879, p. 24.

L for r in gali, gula = giri; chalīsa, katalīsa = chatvarīśāvat, Ḫima for tūva (old hikīla, 10th century, Nām. sīhīl; mula younger brother = kunda, mula, situl, but matelanne, S. M. A. 27, also infant, Nām.; bāvī 'string,' 'rope' = raṭānī; kimbali 'alligator,' Skt. kumbhāra, Pāli kumbhīla; kola 'leaf,' perhaps = koroka 'bud'; elea, keleka = Ḫiśā, Ḫiśā, Prāk. ēria, ēria. The l appears here at least in leha (inac. 12th century). It is not unlikely that the Simhalese brought these words with them from India where they had begun to change r to l in the Māgadhí fashion; 'noll = war plural. (This is modern, therefore not cerebral.)

L for other cerebrals. Welu (later Wēn, Kāy. XII. 14, old for Vēn) Ṣett.; gael = Skt. gandrī, etc. (Cerebralization may have been given up previously, so inac. of the 10th century). Where the nature of the l is doubtful I have written according to etymology as hata 'hole' and in other cases as the only exception known to me is gael; I have adopted a different method, however, with l from r for the reasons above given.

L for k in leka 'sick' for kliśa either through apokope of k or through kilīthi with apokope of the whole syllable.

B for y in nahara = māya, Pāli nāhara, J. P. nāhara, Bhag. 172; gaward = gawaryd.

SIHLANTS.

In most ancient Simhalese inscriptions we find two characters for s, but used indiscriminately, the common Indian s and f, the latter was given up before the Christian era.

We find s for chh and ksh. S for ksh (through chh, ch): maseu = Pāli makkhikā, Prāk. makhikā (Vār); pasa = pakeha, Amb. A. 14, but pak, Amb. A. 4; waak, Amb. A. 45, 53; aasa 'eye' = aksha; 12 Gamuna, Kāy. XI. 2; hubula, ib. XI. 34; ratavalu, ib. IX. 70; mandavela, ib. X. 123; ratavelu, ib. XI. The old form was found in inscriptions down to the begin-

H for rh in kahapana, inscript. at Mihintale last line (Pāli kahāpāna or karisāpāna), kahawāna, Niśa. Mall's inscr. at Polonn. A. 18. In some cases we find h used for aspirates, perhaps already softened to h before the emigration from India. The only certain instance I am acquainted with is bhīra 'deaf,' mhihura, 'sweet,' cf. Pāli ruhira, Jāt. II. 276 (poetical muhuna, K. J. 82, is made by the Pañjits); for other consonants in kehel 'plantain' = Skt. kadali, H. kold, etc. Beames I. 142; h for an aspirate in the old corrupted tatsuama hinganavā = bhikā, further corrupted into singanavā, Kávy. X. 78, P. P. 26. Quite irregular is humba, 'ant hill,' older tumbasa in literature.

AN ÁBU INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BHĪMADEVA II, DATED SAMVAT 1265.

BY W. CARETTELLERI, VIENNA.

An imperfect translation of the subjoined inscription has been given by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the As. Res. vol. XVI, pp. 299-301. The transcript now published has been prepared, with the assistance of Prof. G. Bühler, Ph.D., according to a facsimile taken by Dr. Burgess.

The preservation of the inscription is very good; there is only a small abrasion at the end of the first and second line, and the last letters of the inscription have been lost. The characters are the common Jaina-Devāṅgāral of the 12th and 13th centuries.

The inscription was caused to be incised by Kedārārāsi, who seems to have been the superior of a Śaiva monastery at Ujjain, belonging to the Chaṇḍālā sect, and its object is to record his building operations at the Tirtha of Kanakhala in Achalgadh. It begins with an invocation of Śiva, the Lord of the holy Mount Ábu, and after a glorification of Ujjain, the spiritual ancestors of Kedārārāsi are enumerated, just as kings in their grants give their genealogical tree. The first ascetic named is Tāpasa who came from the Nūtana-matha and was the superior of the Chaṇḍikārāma. He was followed by Vākalarāsi, Jyeshtajarāsi, Yāgeśvarāsi, Maumirāsi, Yāgeśvari a female ascetic, Durvāśarāsi, and finally by Kedārārāsi.

The constructions made by the latter for the deities of Kanakhala are, according to the inscription, very considerable. Firstly, he renovated the temple of Koteśvara at Kanakhala; secondly, he paved the interior of the whole Tirtha with large stone-slabs and surrounded it with high walls; thirdly, he renovated the temple of Atulanātha; fourthly, he built two new temples of Śūlapāyi and embellished the temple of Kanakhalaśāmbhū by erecting in its Mantapa a row of pillars of black stone. His sister Mūkheśvarī built also a temple of Śiva.

Interesting as these details may be for the antiquarian, the chief historical value of the inscription lies in the postscript which mentions Bhīma dēvā II. of Aśihvādas lord paramount of Ábu, and shows that the Mantalaśa of Chandrāvatī, Dharāvarṣha, acknowledged his supremacy Saṅvāt, i.e. Vikrama-Saṅvāt 1265, or 1208-9 A. D.1

1 See also Ind. Ant., vol. VI, pp. 187-88.
Translation.

Om! Hail! 1. May the three-eyed god protect you, he who abandons one half of his own self and whose remaining half becomes identical with the foe of Mura (Vishnu), in order to destroy the notion of duality among men deficient in true knowledge, he who is the birth of...he whose neck is dark-blue as a cloud at the end of the Kalpa, and on whose forehead glitters the crescent of the moon. 2. Glory to Aavarti, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords, [cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of its Brâhmaṇs who follow the way prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths. 3. In this city Tapasa (arose) from the monastery called Nûtana, a man eminent through learning and austerity, of firm mind, the ornament of the Chapaliya race, following the road to the Nivinde and dedicating himself daily with his whole heart to the worship of Chandjisa (Siva); he became the glorious superior of Chandikârama (the hermitage of Chandika).

4. The disciple of that ascetic was the resplendent sage called Vâkalarâsi who practised great austerities, who was a mine of judgment, learning and humility, who deeply venerated his Gurus, and was free from vice.

5. Then Jyeshtajarâsi succeeded. In the next generation after him he was called Yâgevârarakshasi was an ascetic full of tranquility of mind, exclusively engaged in worshipping Trilochana (Siva).

6. After him the illustrious Manirâsi appeared, resembling the sun who illuminates both worlds, unrivalled in destroying the darkness of wrath. The disciple of that ascetic was the austere and victorious Yâgevârî who resembled Sûleśvâri on account of her tranquility, patience, piety and other qualities.

7. Her disciple Durrâsarâsi was equal to Durvasas. He was mighty among ascetics through austerity and luster.

8. Kedârarâsi, his disciple, became the ornament of the ascetics belonging to the pure Chapala race who resembled the moon, since he grew through keeping his vow and restrictive rules, just as the moon grows through her kals, the fame of whose virtuous life was celebrated in the whole world.

9. He who out of faith made here an extensive renovation of (the temple of) Koteśvara (Siva) the Guru of Tridivapati (Indra) and in the whole of Kanakhalâ a broad pavement of (stone) slabs, by whom the fort in this place was built, which perhaps may arrest the chariot of the sun in the sky by its high walls, and which is a snare terrifying the bird-like moveable mind of Kañi.

10. By whom the old home of Atulanâtha was repaired, a sublime image, as it were, of his new fame, who built here, in front of Kanakhalanâtha, two new solid, large temples of Sûnapaṇi,—

11. Whose sister Mokshâsvâri (a mistress of liberation, as it were,) on earth, tranquil and chaste, built a beautiful temple of Siva,—

12. Erected in the Manḍapa of this temple of Kanakhalashambhu a row of pillars made of pure black stone, and shaped like sacrificial posts, a modern imitation, as it were, (of those which were used) for the high-famed sacrifices of yore.

13. As long as this serpent Arûnda easily bears Nandivardhana on his back, so long this song of praise shall rejoice in the world.

19 Line 22 read रसिन्यान्त सारा there are two strokes above the अ signifying that it should be removed.
20 Line 23 read ब्रह्मादेशातः.
21 The half of his body, which Siva abandons, is his śakti Pûrvatī with which he is united in his form of Arhandaśivâra. The remaining half identifies itself with Vishnu. The god does this in order to destroy the notion of duality (dvitabhabha), i.e. the idea that Vishnu and Siva are two different deities which prevails among the ignorant. The poet though proclaiming the identity of the two gods, yet indicates that Siva is greater than Vishnu, since one half of Siva is equal to Vishnu.
22 Bhujahkhirti, which seems to be the reading of the text, must be intended as a synonym of bhikshâ (king), though it is not clear how the word could acquire that meaning; possibly the poet may have coined it because bhikshâ would not fit the metre.
23 The subject is Kedârarâsi taken up again from v. 8.
AN ENGRAVED STONE WITH PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION FROM BAGHDĀD.

BY E. W. WEST, Pa.D., MUNICH.

The late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, writing from Constantinople on the 11th November 1875, enclosed to the late Professor Hau of Munich some ink impressions of a stone talisman engraved with a long inscription in Pahlavi characters, which impressions he had received some days before from Baghādād. He remarked that the characters seemed to be those of the seventh or eighth century, and though he could decipher some isolated words, such as nafshman, pavan shem-t yazdī, &c., yet he could nowhere discover a connected sentence. He, therefore, had some slight suspicion that the inscription might be a forgery, more especially as, notwithstanding its great length, he thought it did not contain some of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet. He further mentioned that its native owner wanted £45 for the stone.

This letter was handed to me on my return from India in June 1875, just after the death of Professor Hau. It contained one impression of the obverse, two of the reverse, and four of the edge of a circular stone about 1½ inch in diameter and ½ inch thick. And the impression consisted of a single line around the figures on the obverse, five concentric lines round those on the reverse, and three lines round the edge of the stone. The characters were, nearly all, very distinct, and after careful examination and study I was able to discover the order in which the lines ought to be read, as well as several connected sentences and well-defined words.

It appeared from this examination that the inscription contained all the Pahlavi letters except gh, a letter which is not used in Sasanian Pahlavi, though it occurs on the Pahlavi papyri of the eighth or ninth century lately found in Egypt. The sentences, also, so far as they could be read, were too idiomatically correct to be the production of any modern writer. I was, therefore, able to assure Dr. Mordtmann, when sending him an attempt at a fragmentary translation of about three-fourths of the inscription, that there was every probability that the inscription was genuine. Owing to several scattered words being still unintelligible, this tentative translation was, no doubt, too unsatisfactory for Dr. Mordtmann to make use of, as I heard nothing further about it. I likewise sent copies of the inscription to some of the Parsi Dasturs in India, to see if they could suggest a more complete translation, but their attempts furnished me with only two or three verbal improvements.

After an interval of four years and a half I asked Mr. Thomas a few months ago whether he had heard of this inscription, when he informed me that he had received a set of impressions of it some years before from Sir inscriptions we read (sākara) jādun, mātrayāparin, paripan thiyatī. "Sākara" or "āparin," meaning "making Śrī," then obtains the meaning of "Secretariat."  
11 Pahlādānādeva, the younger brother of Dāhārvavsha, was a poet who wrote several Sanskrit plays; see Rep. on Search for Sanskrit MS. Bombay, 1872-73, p. 1.
for mounting or stringing the stone upon a wire, and was probably drilled before the inscription was engraved, as none of the letters appear to be really mutilated by the drilling.

The inscription commences on the obverse, continues on the edge of the stone, and terminates on the reverse at the end of the outermost line. The beginning of each line of the inscription being indicated by the short lines external to the impressions on the photo-lithograph, which exhibits the letters and figures as they appear on the stone, and not reversed, but is by no means so clear as the original impressions.

The following transcription and translation of this inscription will probably be found to give a pretty close approximation to the actual meaning, though some of the words are still more or less ambiguous.

Transcription.

[One line on the obverse. 1] Dūshbakht barman va Hāsmābakt-i āsafū barman pētkham shēdrūnt, aikām ārdō khāst hāstō;

[Three lines on the edge. 2] kevan bidūnva kanjakā, barā hālā khēzak chūk, lākhvār va nafshman küpō min ich-at shēdrūnam. Zāk vārdār varētd

[3] aikāt aft lā sejgūn, chūgūn vakhūndānam amatam lōt; va zāk shibā rīdō va shibā kanjakān shēdrūnt


[Five lines on the reverse. 5] Kolā ārd dūrēst vad sakhūn-khwādī khhvār. Demnān lāg

[6] pavan khašīh a ḵyevantu, dush anšātā! Afat vān īlī

[7] va nēm-lī apīrān va pīrān va kolā khsūrīg-lī tīgil barman, min kevan rashkō vad bánān, lā

[8] vijādōd, barā varetd. Va kevan pavan

perpetrated, as may be better seen from the other occurrences of the word in II, 2, 5. It may be further noted that the word is spelt shēdrūn (just as in this inscription) in MSS. of the Dinkard written in Persia.

2 This form, traceable to Chald. shēdr, is a more satisfactory reading for the verb 'to send' than the shēdrēn of the MSS., which has been explained as a contraction of yakhūdēn (traceable to Chald. shēda, 'to throw'). The Glossaries give two forms, shēdrēn and shedēn; the first is evidently the shēdrēn of our text with one stroke (forming the ū) omitted, while the second is a joining of the ū at the top so as to form ūd, a malformation easily

3 This word is correctly read bakhūn owing to malformation.

4 We might read ḵakhvār vādīnt, 'delivered back,' if we were at liberty to assume that the engraver had misformed the letters  Lifestyle in the former word, and if we did not know that the latter word ought to be written vāddīnt or vādīnt. This word is usually written with an additional medial stroke, so as to make the ū long.
IMPRESSIONS FROM AN ENGRAVED STONE
WITH PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION FROM BAGHDAD.

NATURAL SIZE.
PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION FROM BAGHDAD.

Therefore, nearly certain, and there is little room for emendation without altering the reading of the words which, considering the ambiguity of several of the Pahlavi letters, is a matter that can never be altogether free from doubt.

The date of the inscription may be approximately stated as earlier than the conversion of the Sasanian šh, and later than the conversion of the Sasanian ḥ or ḵ into the corresponding letters of modern Pahlavi. Now although there was, no doubt, a considerable period during which either the old or new forms might be used, yet it appears from the evidence of dated coins, subsequent to the Muhammadan conquest of Persia, that the modern form of the ḥ came into use about A.D. 670, and that of the šh about A.D. 680. So that the date of this inscription may be reasonably fixed at the latter end of the seventh century. If, therefore, there be any one who still doubts the genuineness of the Pahlavi MSS. preserved by the Parsis, it will be important for him to notice that we have here an inscription of considerable length, which numismatists must admit to be about twelve hundred years old for paleographical reasons, and which, at the same time, is composed in the same style, and uses the same words and phrases, as the said Pahlavi MSS. employ. The only practical conclusion that can be drawn from such facts is that the MSS. are really (as they profess to be) specimens of a written language still current in Persia twelve hundred years ago.

This inscription is also of some interest to philologists from its giving the probably correct form (šehdrān) of the Huvārīsh verb 'to send' (see note 2), and from its use of the unusual word vārān in the sense of 'slave,' which word is the equivalent of verečēna, 'bondsmen,' in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta. But its chief importance lies in its supplying some connecting links between the form of the final syllable -man of many

Or perhaps, 'to Khamsbakht with the distracted son.'
Or it may be kinhā, 'wisdom,' both here and in 1. 5.
Or, perhaps, 'an uprising penis.'
Better than reading kīšā min, chād and translating to their own mountain aside' with-ick-of being a true Pahlavi idiom.
Or choose the torment 'if we read vikhrat instead of vārān.'
Or it may be kōpād, 'strike': the verb may, however, be 3rd sing. present.
That is, anger is justifiable so long as it does not deprive one of speech.
Or gash, 'handsome.'
Semitic words in modern Pahlavi and that of its equivalent letter in Sasanian Pahlavi. Of such words ending in -man there are three occurrences of barman, one of nafshan, and two of denman in this inscription. In lin. 1 the -man in barman differs but slightly from its Sasanian form; there is no open loop to the m, and the a is decidedly curved. In the word nafshin in lin. 2 the loop of the a is open, but unlike the usual form of that letter, and the a is still curved. In barman in lin. 7 the a is straighter, but the -man still differs from the following word, min, composed of the same letters. While in denman in l. 5, 9 there is hardly any difference between the final -man and any ordinary min or mā. There is thus a regular gradation of forms in this inscription from the Sasanian letter to its modern representative -man, illustrative of the progress from the one form to the other, and showing that this final syllable -man can hardly have arisen from a combination of the letters m and a, but from a gradual alteration of the form of a single letter of the Sasanian alphabet, which letter in the great majority of cases corresponds to the Chaldee emphatic suffix 'd.'

With regard to the stone itself, although it has, no doubt, been used as an amulet, there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that it was manufactured for that purpose. It seems to be merely a record of part of an insulting correspondence between two men, possibly imaginary, engraved probably by direction of Khasmakht who, from the allusion to the dādū rāj or 'sacred feast of fire' being despised by his opponent may perhaps be conjectured to have been a Zoroastrian, and may be represented by the man's bust on the reverse of the stone. Whether the demon on the obverse be intended as a fancy portrait of 'the son of Dāshbakht,' or as a representation of the 'accursed' evil spirit in whose name he is told to curse himself, it is hardly safe to guess. It is also difficult to conceive the object of engravings such an inscription as a permanent record.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Miss F. A. STEEL.


(Continued from p. 172.)

No. 15.—The Rat's Wedding.¹

Once upon a time a rat was caught in a shower of rain. Being far from shelter, he set to work and soon dug a hole in the ground, in which he sat as dry as a bone. Now while he was digging he came on a fine bit of a dry root.

"This is quite a prize," said he to himself, "I must take it home."

So when the rain was over, he took the dry root in his mouth, and set off home. On the way he saw a man trying to light a fire while his children stood by and howled with hunger.

"Dear me," said the rat, "what an awful noise! What is the matter?"

"The bairns are hungry," answered the man, "and want their breakfast, but the fire won't light because the sticks are wet, so how can I cook the bread?"

"If that is all," said the good-natured rat, "take this dry root. I'll warrant it will make a fine blaze."

"That's really most kind of you," replied the man gratefully, "and in return take this bit of dough."

"What a clever fellow I am," thought the rat as he trotted off, "what bargains I make! Fancy getting food that will last me for five days for an old stick! Wah!"

Soon after he saw a potter trying to pacify three little children who were howling, and crying, and screaming. "Dear! dear! what is the matter?" asked the rat.

"The bairns are hungry," answered the potter, "I haven't any food to give them."

"Is that all?" said the soft-hearted rat.

"Here take this dough, cook it quickly."

"You are most obliging," cried the potter delighted, "and in return take one of those pippins."²

The rat was delighted at this exchange though he found the pot rather hard to carry. At last, however, he managed to balance it on his head.

¹ Told at Muzaffargarh by a boy of Pārbī origin named Nanādar. F. A. S.
² Ghārā—a round earthen pot. R. C. T.
and went gingerly tink-a-tink, tink-a-tink down the road, saying to himself, "How clever I am! what a hand at bargain! Wah!"

By and bye he came to where some cowherds were milking a buffalo in the jangal, and having no pail they used their shoes instead. "Oh fie!" cried the rat quite shocked, "what a nasty trick! Why don't you use a pail?"

"Haven't got one," growled the cowherds sulkily. They didn't see why the rat should call them over the coals.

"Is that all?" cried the cleanly rat. "Here, take this pipkin. I can't bear dirt!"

The cowherds were delighted, took the pipkin, and milked away till it was quite full. Then they brought it to the rat, saying—"Here little fellow, drink your fill as a reward."

"Come! None of that!" cried the rat, who was as shrewd, as he was good-natured, "as if I could drink the worth of my pipkin at a draught! I couldn't hold it! Besides I always make good bargains, and you must just give me the buffalo."

"Rubbish!" returned the cowherds, "Who ever heard of such a price? Besides, what could you do with such a big beast? The pipkin was about as much as you could manage."

"Leave that to me," said the rat, "all you have to do is to give me the buffalo."

"All right," said the cowherds laughing. So just to humour the rat and for the fun of the thing, they loosed the buffalo's halter and began to tie it to the rat's tail.

"No! no!" shouted he in a great hurry. "I won't be safe there. Why, if that big brute were to pull, the skin would come off, and then where should I be? Tie it round my neck instead."

So they tied the rope round the rat's neck, and he set off gaily towards home; but when he came to the end of the tether, not a step further could he go, for the buffalo saw a fine tuft of grass in another direction, and marched on to eat it, and the rat willy-nilly had to trot behind. But he was much too proud to confess the fact, so he nodded his head gaily to the cowherds, and said, "Ta Ta, I shall go home this way, it is a little roundabout perhaps, but it is much shadier." And when the cowherds burst out laughing, he took no notice, but looked as dignified as possible.

"After all," he said to himself, "when one keeps a buffalo, one has to look after it when it is grazing. There is plenty of time before me, and the beast must get a bellyful of grass if it is to give any milk." So he trotted about amiably after the buffalo all day, making believe. But by the evening he was dead tired of it, and was quite glad when the buffalo lay down under a tree to rest.

Just then a bridal party came by, and sat down in the shade to cook some food.

"What detestable meanness," grumbled the palanquin-bearers and servants, "fancy giving us plain palan3 with never a scrap of meat in it. It would serve the skinflints right if we left the bride in a ditch."

"Dear me," said the rat, "what a shame! I sympathise with you entirely, and to show you how I feel for you, I will give you my buffalo, kill it and cook it."

"Phoo!" returned the servants, "what rubbish! who heard of a rat who owned a buffalo?"

"Not often, I admit," replied the rat with pride, "but look yourself! don't you see I am leading the beast with string?"

"Bother the string!" cried a great big hungry bearer, "Master or no Master, I'll have meat for my dinner!"

Whereupon they killed the buffalo, and cooked the flesh, saying "Here little ratskin, have same palan in payment."

"Now look here! none of your sauce!" cried the rat, "you don't suppose I am going to give you my beautiful buffalo that gave quarts and quarts* of milk for a wee bit of its flesh. No! I got a leaf for a bit of stick; I got a pot for a little loaf; I got a buffalo for an earthen pot, and now I'll have the bride for my buffalo, and nothing else!"

The servants by this time having satisfied

---

3 Palau, a rich Indian dish of rice boiled in soup with meat, spices, etc.—Falloon. A dish composed of flesh or fish highly seasoned, first roasted and afterwards fricasséed or stewed, covered and heaped over with rice newly-boiled, seasoned, and sometimes coloured, and garnished with eggs and onions.—Johnson Pers. and Arab. Dict.

* Ser: liquids are always sold in India by weight not by any measure of capacity; a ser (sēr) equals 2 lbs. or about a quart.—R. C. T.
their hunger became rather alarmed at what they had done, and came to the conclusion it would be best to escape while they could. So leaving the bride in the dola she bolted in different directions.

Then the rat drew aside the curtain, and in his sweetest voice, and with his best bow begged the bride to descend. She hardly knew whether to laugh or to cry, but as anything was better than staying alone in the jungal, she followed him as she was bid. The rat was delighted to find by her rich dress and jewels that she was a king's daughter, and went trotting along, saying to himself, “Oh, how clever I am! what bargains I do make to be sure! Wah! wah!!” When they arrived at his hole, he said to the bride with a polite air—“Welcome, Madam, pray step in. I'll show you the way.” Whereupon he ran in first, but when he found the bride didn't follow, he put his nose out again, saying testily—“Why don't you come? It's rude to keep your husband waiting.”

“My good Sir,” laughed the bride, “I can't get in there.”

“There is something in that,” replied the rat thoughtfully, “I must build you a thatch somewhere. In the meantime sit under that wild plum tree.”

“But I'm hungry,” said the bride.

“Dear me, that's very sad,” returned the rat, “I'll fetch you something in a trice.”

So he ran into his hole and returned with an ear of millet, and one pea. “There's a fine dinner,” said he triumphantly.

“I can't eat that,” whispered the bride, “I want palas and cakes, and sweet eggs, koftas, and sugar-drops. I shall die if I don't get them.”

“Dear, dear!” said the rat fretfully, “what a bother a bride is! Why don't you eat the wild plums?”

“I can't live on wild plums,” replied the

bride, “besides they are only half ripe, and I can't reach them.”

“Rubbish!” cried the rat, “you must for to-night, and to-morrow you can gather a basket-full and sell them in the city, and then you can buy sugar-drops and sweet-eggs and koftas and cakes.”

So the very next morning the rat climbed up the plum tree, and nibbled away at the stalks till the fruit fell down. Then the king's daughter gathered them up, unripe as they were, and carried them to the town in a basket, calling out,

Gaderi gader! gaderi gader!
Bajá ðí bëti, chákha lëgá jher?

Green plums I sell! green plums I sell!
Princess am I, rat's bride as well.

As she passed by the palace, her mother heard the voice, and ran out—even so happy to find her daughter safe again, for they thought she had been eaten by wild beasts. So they feasted and were very merry. By and bye who should come to the door but the rat with a big stick. He was in a frightful rage, and called out—

“Give me my wife! Give me my wife. I gave a stick and I got a loaf; I gave a loaf and I got a pot; I gave a pot and I got a buffalo; I gave a buffalo and I got a bride. Give me my wife! Give me my wife!”

“La! son-in-law,” said the wily old Queen,
what a fuss you make! Who wants to take away your wife? On the contrary we are delighted to see you. Just wait a bit till I spread the carpets, and then we will receive you in style.”

The rat was mollified by the old lady's politeness, and waited patiently outside, while the cunning old thing cut a hole out of the middle of a stool, and put a red-hot flaming stone underneath, covering up the hole with an iron sauce-pan lid, then she threw a fine embroidered cloth over all, and called out,
"Come in now, my dear son-in-law, and rest yourself."

"Dear me! how clever I am! what bargains I make!" said the rat to himself as he climbed on to the stool. "Here am I the son-in-law of a real live Queen! What will the neighbours say?"

He sat down on the edge of the stool at first, and after a time he said, "Dear me! mother-in-law! how hot your house is."

"You are sitting out of the wind there," said the wily Queen, "sit more in the middle. It's cooler there."

But it wasn't! for the sauce-pan lid had become so hot that the rat fairly hissed when he sat down, and stuck so that he left all his hair and the best part of his skin behind him, before he managed to escape, howling and vowing that he never, never, never would make a bargain any more.

No. 17.—A Story of Heroes.*

There was once upon a time a wrestler who lived in a far country, and hearing there was a mighty wrestler in India, he determined to try a fall with him; so he tied up 10,000 lbs.* of flour† in his blanket, put the bundle on his head, and set off. Towards evening he came to a little tank in the middle of the desert, so he took a good drink of water first, then emptied all the flour into the remainder, stirred it up into brose, and made a hearty meal. Then he lay down to sleep under a tree.

By and by an elephant came to drink, and was astonished to find the tank quite dry with only a little mud and flour at the bottom. "What shall I do now?" thought the elephant, "there is no other water for twenty miles."

Then it espied the wrestler under the tree, and became furious, saying, "This is the creature that has done the mischief."

So it galloped up to the sleeping man and stamped on his head, determined to crush him. But the wrestler only stirred, and said sleepily, "What the dickens are you at? If you want to shampoo my head why don't you do it properly? Put a little of your weight into it, my friend."

At this the elephant stared: "Never mind," thought it however, "I'll just seize him by my trunk, and dash him to the ground."

So it seized the wrestler by the waist, and was dragging him up, when the man quietly caught its tail, and saying—"Ho my friend, that's your little game, is it?" threw the big beast over his shoulder, and set off on his journey.

By and bye he came to the Indian wrestler's house, and called out—"Ho! my friend, come out, and try a fall!"

"My husband's not at home," cried the wrestler's wife, "he has gone to the wood for sticks."

"Well, when he returns," cried the stranger, "give him that, and tell him the owner has come far to challenge him."

With that he chuckled the elephant over the courtyard wall.

"Oh Mama! Mama!" cried a treble voice inside, "that nasty man has thrown a mouse over the wall, what shall I do?"

"Never mind, my little daughter," answered the wrestler's wife, "Papa will teach him manners. Take the grass broom and sweep it away." Then there was a sound of sweeping, and the dead elephant came flying over the wall.

"Now!" thought the stranger, "if his little daughter can do this, the man himself will be a worthy foe."

So he set off to the wood, and on his way he met the Indian wrestler dragging 160 carts laden with brushwood. So he stole behind the carts, and laid hold of the last. "Now we shall see," quoth he, and began to pull.

"That's a deep rut," said the Indian wrestler, and pulled harder. So it went on for an hour, but not an inch one way or the other did the carts move. "There must be some one behind," said the Indian wrestler at last, and walked back to see. Sure enough there was the stranger, who said to him at once—"I think we are pretty well matched, let us have a fall together."

"With all my heart," answered the other, "but not here alone. It is no fun fighting without applause."

* Told by a cook at Muzaffargarh, who came from Banda.—F. A. S.

* 160 man: the man is 82 lbs., therefore the weight named was really 13,160 lbs.—R. C. T.

† Sattu, grain parched and ground: flour; meal, especially grain, peas, or pulse meal. In the Panjâb the real sattu is barley (jhu) meal, sometimes mixed with pulse (chând) meal. It is thus made as a delicacy: some ears of ripe barley before harvest are out and winnowed, and then roasted and ground into flour.—R. C. T.
the jogi's order he had two kinds of khichdi. One half was sweet khichdi, and the other half was very salt.

Now when dinner was served the sweet khichdi side of the dish was put towards the king, but the salt side towards the Snake Woman. She found it very salt, but seeing the king eat away without any remark went on eating also. But after they had retired to rest, when the king by the jogi's orders was feigning sleep, the Snake Woman became so thirsty, so dreadfully thirsty from all the salt food she had eaten, that she longed for water. As there was none in the room she had to go out for it. Now a Snake Woman always resumes her snake shape when she goes out at night. The king could scarcely lie still as he saw the beautiful woman in his arms change to a deadly slimy snake that slid out of the bed and out of the door into the garden. He followed it softly. It drank of every fountain by the way, but nothing quenched its thirst till it reached the Dal Lake, where it bathed and drank for hours.

Fully satisfied of the horrible truth the king begged the jogi to show him some way out of the trouble. Whereon the jogi said: "Don't be alarmed. I can save you and destroy this Snake Woman if you will do as I bid you." The king promised, and according to the jogi's orders had an oven made of a hundred different kinds of metal, very large and very strong, with a cover and a padlock. This was placed in a shady spot in the garden, and fastened to the ground with chains. Then the king said to the Snake Woman, "My heart's beloved! Let us amuse ourselves with cooking our own food to-day."

She, nothing loth, consented. Then the king heated the oven very hot and set to work to knead bread, but being clumsy at it he found it hard work, so after he had kneaded two loaves he said to the Snake Woman—"To oblige me bake the bread while I knead it."

At first she refused, saying she did not like ovens, but when the king said: "Oh, I see you do not love me since you will not help me," she set to work with a bad grace to tend the baking.

The king watched his opportunity as she stooped over the oven's mouth to turn the loaves, gave her a shove in, and clapped down the cover and locked it fast.

When the Snake Woman found herself caught, she bounded so that if it had not been for the chains she would have bounded out of the garden, oven and all, and this went on from four o'clock one day to four o'clock the next, when all was quiet. Then the jogi and the king waited till the oven was cold, and when they opened it the jogi took the ashes, and gave the king a small round stone that was in the middle of them, saying, "This is the real essence of the Snake Woman, whatever you touch with it will turn to gold." But the king said—"Such a treasure as that is more than a man's life is worth, for it must bring envy and battle and murder with it." So when he went to Atak he threw it into the river near Hoti Mardan.

**LAMIA OR A'MIA.**

What is the Lamia? is the question I propound here in the hope that some of the readers of this Journal will be able to help me to solve it.

Some little time ago Mrs. Steel sent me from Kashmir a folktale, which she had entitled the "Story of the Lamia and the King." Owing to the uncertainty as to what the Lamia is, the title was altered to "King All Mardan Khan and the Snake Woman," (see p. 230,) there being no doubt its name signifies merely the head quarters of the Muhammadan tribe of the Hofs, had ever any connection with 'Ali Mardan Khan, a name with quite a different derivation. Perhaps the similarity of sound has suggested the connection here. I think it is pretty clear that this is an old tale fastened on to a celebrated man as a peg whereon to hang it. Mülir of Multán, who lived in this century, in another personage to whom such tales are commonly fastened in the Panjáb. This tale and those about Mülir, Sir H. Lawrence, Knt. Singh the Kikā and the very modern legend of Dalā and Sākh Sarwar, which I have given elsewhere (Panjáb Folklore and Calcutta Review, October, 1881,) show how many centuries behind the natives of India are in mental darkness.—E. C. T.
whatever as to what the Lamia was in the tale, viz., a snake woman.

Now in the tale the Lamia is a “beautiful damsel, beautiful as a flower,” who is found by ‘Ali Mardan Khan in the forest above the Dal Lake at Srinagar, and gives herself out to be “the Emperor of China’s hand-maiden.” The Viceroy, for that is what he really was, takes possession of her, and lives with her in the celebrated Shalimar gardens for three years, “and yet he was not happy, and a strange look came into his face, and a stern look into his eyes.” At last a Jogi comes and explains to him that she “is nothing but a Wasdū, a Lamia, or snake, two hundred years old, which has the power of taking the form of a woman.” This makes him determined to destroy her, which he effects by tricking her into an oven, and baking her “from 4 P.M. to 4 P.M.”

There are two peculiarities about this Lamia which I would notice. She had to resume her snake-shape if she went out of the house at night, and after she had been burnt a small round stone was found in the ashes, which the Jogi said was “the real essence of the Lamia: whatever you touch with it will turn into gold.” This I take to be the Ćdras, or Philosopher’s stone, the classical Sperma-nani. Clearly in the above story the Lamia is a snake-woman, but whence her names?

Wasdū is the same as Bādey, i.e. Vāsudeva, the patronymic of Krishna and Balarāma from their father Vāsudeva. Balarāma is constantly mixed up with Śaiva Nāga and Vāsuki, now known as Bāsak Nāg, the King of the Serpents. Hence I fancy Wasdū comes to mean generically any supernatural serpent.

The derivation of Lamia, also generic be it observed, is not so clear.

The Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Dictionary, 1854, gives—lamb, a tall man: also long, lengthy, protracted: lambet, lambada, a tall man: lamba, a leech: lambidura, to spin out, lengthen: lamba, long; lambī and lamba, length: lamba, a tall man: lamba, a tall woman: idām and idā, length. Lam is also a compound for length, e.g., lam-nakī, long-nosed; lam-kamū, long-eared. And lastly, and here is the point—Lambad means also a snake or serpent. Fallon, New Hind. Dict. 1879, gives lamba, long, tall; lambē, lambē, length: lamba, long-shanks, tall; and also lam in composition for length, as lam-fang, long-legs: a crane.

Monier-Williams, Sansk. Dict. 1872, says—lamba, a later form of root ramb, to hang down, depend, whence the causal verb lambayati, to cause to hang down, stretch out, extend: and gives refer-

ences to Lat. labi; Lith. rambus; Angl. Sax. lamian ge-limb; Eng. limb. Lamia, hanging down, long, tall: name of a Muni: name of a Dāitya. Lamba, a kind of bitter gourd, or cucumber: name of one of the Mātris attending on Skanda: a name of Durgā or Gaurī: of Lakšmī: of a daughter of Daksā and wife of Dharma or Manu: of a Rākshas.

In the same article lamba, long, is found compounded with the following names of demi-gods and demons. These are names of Mātris, attending on Skanda or Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva: lambapayoḍhā, hanging-breasted, and lambin, hanging. These are names of Rākshasas: lamba-kūra, long-eared; lambabhā, lolling-tongued; lambodāri, pot-bellied. And lastly, Lambuki is the name of a serpent-demon.

The inference then is that the Lamia or snake-woman is an old Indian Aryan word meaning long or length. As it might be of Muhammādan origin I searched in Johnson’s Persian and Arab Dict. 1852, where I find only Persian lamsadan, to sleep soundly, to stretch out, which may be compared with lamba hond in Hind., (lit. to be long,) to be off, go away. All the other words in Persian as lām, rest, tranquillity: lāntur, fat, still, tranquil, languid: lāmbar, lāmov, fat, large; point to a connection with the Sanskrit root rem, rest, repose. This strengthens the reference of Lamia to an Indian Aryan origin.

I may here mention that a snake of 100 years is able to fly and lives in the sandal-wood tree, thriving on the scent (chandana). 200 years’ snake is the Lamia. A 1000 years’ snake can fly to the moon, where it lives on ambrosia (amrita): its name is chandramrita, which is pure Sanskrit, though I cannot find any classical trace of it.

If then we must go to Aryan mythology for an origin for Lamia, I select “Lambā, the name of a daughter of Daksā and wife of Dharma or Manu and of a Rākshas,” to investigate further. Hindu mythology is more than usually confused regarding Daksā, but from Dowson’s Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology, 1879, I gather:

Dakṣaḥ, ‘able, competent, intelligent.’ This name generally carries with it the idea of a creative power. Daksha is a son of Brahmā; he is one of the Prajapati, and is sometimes regarded as their chief. There is a great deal of doubt and confusion about him, which of old the sage Parāśara could only account for by saying “that in every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed.”

According to Manu and the Mahābhārata he gave ten of his daughters to Dharma and thirteen to

* i.e. Kārtikēya, the son of Śiva. * Creators.
Kaśyapa, who became mothers of gods, demons, men, birds, serpents and all living things.

Ḍharma. An ancient sage, sometimes classed among the Prajāpatī. He married 13 (or 10) of the daughters of Daksha, and had a numerous progeny, but all his children “are manifestly allegorical, being personifications of intelligences and virtues and religious rites, and being therefore appropriately wedged to the probable authors of the Hindu code of religion and morals! or the equally allegorical representation of that code, Dharmas, moral and religious duty.”—Wilson.

Ḍaytās. Titans. Descendants from Diti by Kaśyapa. They are a race of demons and giants who warred against the gods and interfered with sacrifices. They and the Dānāvas are generally associated and hardly distinguishable.

Diti. Daughter of Daksha, wife of Kaśyapa and mother of the Daityas.

Dānāvas, descendants from Danu by the sage Kaśyapa. They were giants who warred against the gods.

Asuras. The word has long been used as a general name for the enemies of the gods, including Daityas and Dānāvas and other descendants of Kaśyapa.

Putting all the above evidence together, and taking into consideration the confusion into which mythological legends are apt to fall, I do not think it an unfair inference to draw that the modern Aryan Lamia, the snake-woman demon, is the classical Aryan Lamba, the demon, Titan or giant, or the mother of the demons, Titans or giants, or probably either indifferently, and that her name means ‘the Long One.’

But the Lamia is equally the property of Europe as of India. In All the Year Round, New Series, Vol. XXIX. No. 691, p. 41, for February 1882, I chanced on the following: “The most cruel and formidable of all ferocious animals is the Lamia, a monster like unto an enormous goat, except that it has the hoofs of a horse.” In its wild rush it breaks down well grown trees, snaps off and scatters their boughs, and loves to fall upon men and bite them, the wound being incurable within sound of the creature’s voice. In its fury it tears even its young to pieces.”

The author of the article “Imaginary Monsters,” quotes as his authorities the Bestiaire d’Amour of Richard de Fournival, the Ortuus Sanitatis of Johann von Cube and the De Proprietatis Rerum of Bartholomeus de Glanville, black letter, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494. He does not say from which of the above authors the passage is culled.

Liddell and Scott’s Greek Lexicon, 1864, says—

Láma, ḫ (not ḫáma ṣ sûrāna. Vers. H. P. 33, Menand. p. 145), a fabulous monster said to feed on man’s flesh, a bugbear to children. Ar. Vesp. 1177, etc.


Smith’s Dict. of G. and R. Biog. and Mythol. 1859, gives Lámia (lámia) a female-phantom (Empusa). Also—

Empusa (Empusa), a monstrous spectre which was believed to devour human beings. It could assume different forms, and was sent by Hecate to frighten travellers. It was believed usually to appear with one leg of brass and the other of an ass, whence it was called ὤνοξεις and ὄνωξα. The Lamia and Mormolyceus, who assumed the form of handsome women for the purpose of attracting young men, and then sucked their blood like vampsirs and ate their flesh, were reckoned among the Empusa.

Liddell and Scott, Greek Lex., give Ἐπούσα, ἰ, Empusa, a hobgoblin assuming various shapes, said to be sent by Hecate, also ὠνωξαὶς and ὄνωξα, the donkey-footed: Aristoph. Rhet. 299, Eccl. 1056, cf. Dem. 270, 25; sometimes identified with Hecate Ar. Fr. 426. v. láma.

Smith, Biog. and Mythol. Dict., gives Morma (Morma also Μορμολίκκος, Μορμολίκκος), a female spectre with which the Greeks used to frighten their children. Again, Liddell and Scott say Morma and Mormous, a hideous she-monster used by nurses to frighten children with, like the Lamia, Mania and Maniola of the Romans: Luc. Philop. Rhuk. Tim.: generally, a bugbear. Mormolíkkoς like morm, a bugbear, hobgoblin: Ar. Thesm. 417; Fr. 97, 187; Plat. Phaed. 77E; cf. Ruhn. Tim. In MSS. sometimes mormolíkkoς, also mormolíkkoς, ἰ; Strabo, 19.

Smith, Dict. of Biog. and Myth. gives Mänia, a formidable Italian, probably Etruscan, divinity of the lower world. Smith, Latin Dict. says Mmnia, a bugbear for children. Arn. 6 fin. Mämola, little bugbears for children; Fest. s.v.

Lastly, Smith, Dict. of Biog. and Myth. says Hecate, Eláry, a mysterious divinity.

According to the most genuine traditions she appears to have been an ancient Thracian divinity and a Titan. She was the only one among the Titans who retained power under the

Sărădălas in the north and Ylla in the south.—Ed.

Connected with Māne, the infernal deities, not with mānīk, madames.
rule of Zeus and she was honoured by all the immortal gods. . . . . She thus became a deity of the lower world, and is described in this capacity as a mighty and formidable divinity. . . . . From her being an infernal divinity she came to be regarded as a spectral being, who sent at night all kinds of demons and terrible phantoms from the lower world and also taught sorcery and witchcraft and dwelt at places where two roads crossed, on tombs and near the blood of murdered persons. She herself wandered about with the souls of the dead, and her approach was announced by the whining and howling of dogs.

Therefore we may fairly assume that the medieval monster, the Lamia, was the classical demon traced back to the Titans and giants, or to the mother or mistress of Titans and giants. The descent, so to speak, of the European Lamia bears a most remarkable resemblance to that of the Indian Aryan Lamia. The similarity is rendered all the more striking by the fundamental closeness of the connection between Sanskrit mythology on the one hand and the Greek and Latin mythology on the other.

We in India, away from public libraries, are forced practically to rely on our private ones, and hence the limited nature of the enquiry I have been able to make now. I give the above evidence in the hope that some one, who has the command of a large library, may take up the thread and prove or disprove the connection between Lamia and Láma.

R. C. Temple.

Anaballa, 19th April 1882.

The following notes may perhaps help to throw some light on the Lamia:

1. Among the six forms under which living beings may be reborn, according to Tibetan belief, the third is that of the Lha-ma-yin or 'evil spirits' (Sans. Auras). To them the Yakshas, the Nāgas, the Rākṣasas, and many other groups of ill-natured spirits are subjected; their particular adversaries are the four Mahārājas (Tib. rGyal-chhen-ḥzhis); they inhabit the fourth step of Mount Meru (Burnouf, Introd., 2 ed. p. 538, and Georgi, Alphab. Tibet, p. 481). Among them are those who cause "unanimous death" (see Schlagenwein, Buddhism in Tibet, pp. 92, 106). Rāhu is classed among the Lha-ma-yin.

2. The Dūd-po (bDud-po) the assistants of rShin-rje, the judge of the dead, and often likewise called Shinjes, inhabit the region Paramapāta Vāśavartina ("obedient to the will of those who are transformed by others"). They try to hinder the depopulation of the world by supporting man in evil desire, and by keeping the Bodhisattvas from attaining to Bōdhi: it is they who disturb the devoutness of assembled Buddhists and put an end to steady meditation by assuming the shape of a beautiful woman, etc. (Schlagwein, p. 110).

3. The goddess Lhā-mo (Sansk. Kāladāvi)—also called Ri-ma-te—was married to rShin-rje, king of the bDud-pos, who at the time had assumed the form of the king of Ceylon. The goddess had made a vow either to soften her husband's notoriously wild and wicked manners, and make him favourably disposed towards Buddhism, or, to extinguish his race by killing the children of their marriage. It was beyond her power to turn the king from his evil ways, and she accordingly determined to kill their son, who was greatly beloved by his father, because in him he hoped to put a complete end to Buddhism in Ceylon. During a temporary absence of the king, she flayed her son alive, drank the blood out of his skull, and ate his flesh. She then set out for her northern home, using her son's skin as a saddle for the king's best horse. On his return, the king—seeing what had happened—seized his bow, and with a terrible incantation, shot a poisoned arrow after his dreadful wife. The arrow pierced the horse's back; but the queen, neutralizing the efficacy of the imprecation, took out the deadly weapon and uttered the prayer—"May the wound of my horse become an eye large enough to overlook the twenty-four regions, and may I myself extirpate the race of these malignant kings of Ceylon!" She continued her journey towards the north, traversing in great haste India, Tibet, Mongolia and part of China, and settled in Mount Oikhan, in the district Olgon, supposed to be in Eastern Siberia. (Ib. pp. 112, 113.)

J. B.

BHAṬTI.

In the last volume of the Notices of Sanskrit MSS. (Calcutta, 1881), vol. VI, pp. 146, 147, I am reproached by Dr. Rājendrālā Mitra for not having discriminated between Bhaṭṭi, the author of the Bhaṭṭikṣayya, and Bhaṭṛihari. It seems a pity that the Doctor is inclined to make unfounded assertions. In the Index to my Catalogue of the Oxford MSS. p. 509, Bhaṭṭi is stated to be the author of the Bhaṭṭikṣayya, while on the next page Bhaṭṛihari is cited as the well known poet of the Sutaka, and a writer of the same name as the author of grammatical memorial verses (Kārūṭa) and the Vīḍyāpaṭṭya. Every page where these distinct authors are quoted is accurately given. The Sarasvatikṣaṇaḥdbhāraṇa mentions by name neither Bhaṭṭi nor Bhaṭṛihari (Catalogue, p. 288), but contains verses of both. Dr. Rājendrālā Mitra would oblige Sanskrit scholars by favour-
ing them with his reasons for the statement that "Bhójadeva, the author of the Sarasvatī-
kaṭhādbhāraṇa, lived over a thousand years ago." As Muñja and Bhójadeva are cited in the
work, and as Bhilhana mentions the latter king of Diśarā, we cannot place the work in question
earlier than the end of the eleventh century. With respect to Bhāti it deserves notice that two
verses of his are cited in the Sārīgadharopadhati, one under the name of Bhaṭṭāravāmī, while
the other is ascribed to Bhattavāmī (Journal of the Ger. Or. Soc., pp. 60 and 96).

DR. AUFRECHT.

Bonh.

AKHANNA AND MĀDANNA.

STR,—In the last March number, p. 82, statements are made regarding these two ministers
which seem due to confusion in traditions. Elphinstone is referred to as the authority for saying
that "Sultan Abdul Hasan, the last of the Kūrāb Shahī dynasty, who ascended the throne of
Golkonda in 1670, entrusted the administration of his dominions to two singularly able Brahmins,
Akhaṇa and Madana Pantū." But on turning to Elphinstone I find only "Madna Pant" mentioned
as Abdul Hasan's minister; and it is the fate of "Madna Pant"—alone which is related further on,
this being correctly quoted.

Akhaṇa and Mādanna, on the other hand, were two brothers, who administered some of the
eastern provinces of the Vaijayanāgar kingdom in the reign of Devarāya in 1431,
or 259 years before Abdul Hasan. The evidence of this is found in grants at Malbāglal translated
in my "Mysore Inscriptions," pp. 213 and 259. They there describe themselves as the Heggade
Devas of the Vishnu varḍhamāna gōtra. Akhaṇa Dānayaka and Mādanna Dānayaka,
the sons of Vommayamman. At p. 208 there is another inscription in which they are called Akhaṇa
Vôjayar and Mādanna Vôjayar.

They are said in the latter to have conferred the possession of Tekal on a Gōparāja. Singularly
enough Gopanna is also given as the name of the nephew of Madana Pantulu, the minister of
Abdul Hasan; but his individuality seems as sufficiently marked as his uncle's.

Lewis Rice.

BANGALORE, 9TH MAY 1882.

SUPARĀ—SURPARĀKA—ZOYAPA.

In the Mahâvaṇisa, pari. vi, l. 46, we read Supparaka, we the son of the Vaijayā nāru okkāmī;
pariṣad adhaśēṇātthā būlī navaṇi pundruhi. "Now

Vijaya disembarked at the port of Supparaka,
but because of the lawlessness of his followers, he re-embarked in his vessel."

One hardly expects to find Vijaya landing on the west coast of India when on his way from
Bengal to Ceylon, and accordingly Burnouf supposed this might be the same as Ptolemy's Zoýapa
(Geog. VII, i, 16) on the east coast, which Gosselin had identified with 'Sipelier' on one of the mouths
of the Krishna (Recher. sur la geogr. des anciens, tome III, p. 253); but Lassen places it at False
Point in Orissa. Supparaka on the west coast, however, was a place of note among the Buddhists
long before Mahāyāna's time, and, as his ideas of geography were probably not very clear, he may
have believed that this place really was visited by Vijaya.

is connected with the city of Supparaka—a great seaport and the residence of a king.
Pūrṇa 'the Ārya,' a very prosperous merchant of the city, who had made seven successful voyages
'on the great ocean,' is represented as going to Śrīvasti—more than a hundred yojanas from
Supparaka—where he was instructed by Buddha
and became one of his most famous disciples
(Burnouf, Intro. pp. 426, 503; Lotus, p. 2;
Beal, Catena, pp. 287, 344; Edkins, Chin. Buddh.,
p. 230). He was then allowed to return and live among the Śrūnāparāntakas (Pāli—Sunāparāntakas)—a name evidently
connected with Aparānta.2 Buddha is said to have afterwards minaciously visited Supparaka
in person, where he again met with Pūrṇa and preached his law to Krīṣṇa and Gauntaka,
two Nāga kings who came out of the great ocean to hear him. Pūrṇamaitrāyanī built a vihāra for
Buddha; he is regarded as a Bodhisattva, and is expected to reappear as the Buddha Dharma-
prabhāsa, who is often confounded with Maitrīya. Hiwen Thang found his stūpa at Mathurā
together with those of Sāriputta, Māṇuśrī, and other disciples and Bodhisattvas (Julien,
Mou. sur les Cont. Occid. tome I, p. 268; Vie de H. Thawng, p. 103). He was regarded as the
patron saint of the Sātrāntika (Pāli—Suttavādā) school—a branch of the Sāvatīvādins,
found by Kumārabhātī about 400 years after the Vīravāda (see Ind. Ant. vol. IX, pp. 301, 302).
Supparaka, Supparaka, or Sūparāka, in Pāli Supparaka, is said to have been founded by Parasurāma, and is frequently alluded to in Sanskrit literature: e.g. Mahābhārata II, 1169.

1 In the Mahāvaṇisa we read that "the excellent water-lily, so much used in the region called Aparānta,

is ready to be cut in one month after it has been sown" (Hardy, Man. Buddh., p. 489). What is referred to here?
Tathā Śūrparakāhin chaiva Tālāddakam athāpi cha-bhavam cha-hārān mahādājī. Dānajānaśe Śūrparakāhis mahābale.\[1\]  
Ib. III, 8155-6, —
Tathā Śūrparakāha gachchhāṭī Jāmadagni-nirvāhāta Ṛāma.\[2\]  
‘Then let one go to Śūrparakā ha dwelt in by Jāmadagnya: the man who bathes in the Rāmatirtha will obtain much gold.”
III, 8337, —
Vedī Śūrparakāha tatā Jāmadagnyā mahātmānaṁ | 
‘The vedī of the high-souled Jāmadagnya, my son, at Śūrparakā ha.” Lassen understands this as the vedī of Rāma.\[3\]  
III, 10227, —
Krama gachchhāṇa paripāṇaṁ kāha nmaḥpari-pāṇikāhaṁ | 
‘Thereupon Sūgara fashioned forthwith for that Jāmadagnya the Śūrparakā ha country occupying the western face of the earth.”
And XIII, 1739, —
Nirmādāyam upasraṣṭaḥ tathā Śūrparakāha-kāhā ekapakshām nirakāḥ padaṇapruṇaḥ vīdhīyaḥ ||
Harivaśa, 5390, —
Ishupāṭīna nagaraṁ kriyā Śūrparakāhyā | 
Ib. 5397, — Rāma the son of Jāmadagnya speaks:
Kṛṣṇaḥ Ṛāmaṁ abhavat tuva pañca Sūrparakāhā nibhā ||
And Malkhavāya Purāṇa, lvii, 49, —
Dākshinādyā te aṁte te deva Aparatāṁ nibhāda mā | 
Śūrparakāha Kṛdbalā Ṛāmadādhyāvakaḥ saha ||
Also in Varahī Mihira’s Brīhat Sanhitā, lxxv, 6 (Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S. vol. VII, p. 125), the Surāśhtria diamond is said to be somewhat copper-coloured, and that from Śūrparakā ha, dark. See also Bhāgovata Purāṇa, x, 79, 20; and Gorresio’s Bhāvabhyasa, vol. IV, p. 526.

In cave No. VIII at Nāsik is a Sanskrit inscription of Rāhabhadra the son-in-law of Nāhāpāna, in which Śūrparaka is mentioned apparently as a place of note, and a few lines further down, among other places is named “Rāmatirtha near Śūrparaka.” (Arch. Surv. Rep. W. Ind. vol. IV, pp. 41, 100; Trans. Cong. Orient. 1874, p. 323). And it has not yet been noted that in the Mahābhārata, 8185, this Rāmatirtha at Śūrparaka is also mentioned, and at I. 8337 the Vedi at the same place. In the Pāli inscriptions also at the Kanheri caves, Sopapāraga is twice named; a short inscription over a cistern at Nanaghat reads, —Sopapāraga Govindadattaścā cṛdā viśva pālaḥ; on a pillar in the chaitya cave at Kārli, it is twice spelt Sopapāraga (Arch. Surv. Rep. W. I. vol. IV, p. 91; Cave Temple Inscr. p. 31, 32); and in the Silahara grant of Anantadēva (Ś. 1016), it is spelt Sarppāraga (Ind. Ant. vol. IX, pp. 35, 38), probably for Surppāraga.

In Jaina literature we find that Vairācaṇa, a Śrī—whom they place about A. D. 60-80—converted the four sons of Jina, at Sūrparakā ha, who became the founders of four Kulas.


The port of Sūrapara or Sūtra—also called Sūfārā and Sūfāla—is also mentioned by the Arab writers—Al Mas‘ūdū, Abd‘l-Fida, Rashīdu’d-dīn, Al Istakhri, Ibn Hisa, Al Idrīsī, and the Nubian geographer. Ptolemy (Geogr. VII, i, 6), calls it Σούπροα, and the author of the Periplus Σούπροα. Conf. also Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 96; IV, 282; VII, 259; VIII, 144, 145; IX, 44n, 46, 314.

Edinburgh, July, 1882.  
J. BURGESSE.

Dhanakaṭaka: A Reply.

The learned Editor, in his paper published in the Indian Antiquary for April 1882 (vol. XI, p. 95), opposes certain views which I expressed in an article read before the Royal Asiatic Society in November 1879 regarding the identification of Hiwen-Thang’s kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka and its two monasteries. It is with great diffidence that I again come forward as a controversialist. The truth, however, will not suffer by my attacks if I am wrong; while any light thrown on this rather difficult subject will be a gain to science.

The question stands thus:—Hiwen Thang describes two monasteries, the Pāvavratī and the Avasakāla sarvāgāra-kāla, as existing in the kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka. Was “Dhanakaṭaka” the name of a city as well as of the kingdom? Where was its site? Were the monasteries at Bezuvaḍa or not?

---

1 Published in J. R. A. S. N. S. vol. XII, pp. 98-109.
Dr. Burgess has adduced excellent proofs—proofs which probably will only be strengthened as time goes on—to show that the city of Dhamnakataka was situated at or near Amaravāti; and I frankly admit that I was probably in error in placing it 17 miles to the east at Bezañavā. This, however, does not invalidate the possibility that the kingdom, of which probably Bezañavā formed part, took its name from the great religious centre where stood the magnificent marble stūpa now known as the "Amarāvatī Tope." Amarāvatī being situated in a flat plain, it is, indeed, probable that the royal residence should be looked for in a place better adapted for defensive purposes; and in Bezañavā just such a place presents itself. No finer position could be chosen in the neighbourhood than the site of this very ancient town, which is protected by steep hills on the west, north, and part of the east, while the south is guarded by the Krishnā River. There is no prima facie reason therefore (and Dr. Burgess admits this) why the "capital city"—the royal residence—of the kingdom of Dhamnakataka should not be at Bezañavā, though the city of Dhamnakataka lay at Amaravāti.

Now as to the two monasteries. It must, I think, be conceded that the pilgrim, when he penned his descriptive note regarding them, had in his mind buildings situated on mountains, and could not have been describing buildings in a plain. A very careful translation of the passage in the Si-yā-ki was most kindly made for me by Mr. Beal, to whom I communicated the nature of the questions at issue, so that he might be on his guard. It runs as follows:—"Placed on a mountain to the east of the city is to be seen the . . . . Pārvāsilā Sanghārāma; on a mountain to the west of the city is the Avaramsilā Sanghārāma. An early king of this country . . . . . . . . . . . . . made in the sides of the mountain long galleries, wide chambers, connecting them with one another along the whole course of the ascent." And this is the only passage; for in the Life of Hiwen Thasang written by Hoi-li, the description of the same monasteries is given. It is there said that the Avarasāsi monastery was raised on the side of the hill facing the mountain on which stood the Pārvāsilā Sanghārāma (sur le côté opposé de la montagne), and that the reason why the monasteries were deserted in his day was because the "spirits of the mountains" had changed their sentiments and driven visitors away by their violence. When we look to Amaravāti as a possible site for these monasteries we are met at the outset by the stern fact that that place lies in a gently undulating plain, and that even if the hills about 3 miles to the east be taken as the site of the Pārvāsilā monastery, we should have to travel five or six times that distance to the west before we could find a hill on which to locate its companion. It is clear that Hiwen Thasang could not have been thinking of Amaravāti when he wrote the passages quoted above. And if it be contended that possibly the pilgrim might have been confusing two places or more in his mind, and that the monasteries might after all really have been built in a plain, surely the very names of the monasteries themselves tend to contradict this supposition: for one is called the Eastern rock (pārvā silā) monastery, the other the Western—or Opposite—rock monastery (avara, or aparā, silā).

Dr. Burgess admits that the language of the original passage applies in a very marked degree to Bezañavā. There is the eastern hill with rock-cut remains. There is the western hill, a lofty ridge rising 600 ft. sheer out of the plain, with rock-cut remains exactly where described, "on the side opposite" the first. More than that, there is, as stated by the pilgrim, an "énorme rocher" right opposite Bezañavā, exactly in the direction mentioned,—due south. This is the Sitānagaram Hill, shaped—as seen from Bezañavā—like a steep-sided pyramid, or cone, and several hundred feet high. I may have been in error in assuming the hill to the south-west, which contains the Upāvalle cave temple, to have been the "énorme rocher" in question, in which was said to lie the "palace of the Asuras;" but if so, the error only tends to make Hiwen Thasang's description still more applicable to Bezañavā, because the steep rock at Sitānagaram does actually lie due south. It is true that the pilgrim omits mention of the river, but this omission cannot alter the applicability of the rest of the passage because it may have been purely accidental.

It will perhaps be argued that the applicability of the whole passage to Bezañavā may be accidental. Doubtless; but it is at least an extraordinary coincidence that the pilgrim, writing of a place which must have been at or near Bezañavā, should have given a description which so exactly answers to Bezañavā itself. Still this is possible, and possibly on the hills near Bezañavā may, by and bye, be found the remains of the monasteries. But it seems almost beyond question that they could not have been at Amaravāti.

Everything at present would seem to show that the rock-cut remains to be seen on the Bezañavā Hills, or some portion of them at least, are the remains of these monasteries,—were it not that

---

*But the remains in both these cases are not Baudha, but distinctly Brahmanical.—J. B.*

*But it contains no 'cavern' so far as we know.—J. B.*
Dr. Burgess asserts positively that, after careful examination, he cannot find amongst those remains a trace of anything which would prove them to be Buddhist.* So far as it goes this is unanswerable; but the question presents itself whether it is entirely possible to determine the creed of the people who cut, for instance, a broad flight of steps on the eastern hill leading to the summit. If there is nothing Buddhist about these, can it be asserted that there is anything distinctly Brahmanical? And similarly with regard to some of the remains on the western hill? If Dr. Burgess, who has had more practical experience in these matters than any man living, can positively declare that none of the rock-work could possibly be of Buddhist origin,6 then it follows that we have not yet hit on the true site of the two monasteries, and that they must be looked for elsewhere. But even then, I must be permitted, for the present, to adhere to my belief that they were not situated in an open plain, and consequently cannot be located at Amaravati. R. Sewell.

---

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABETS.

Many readers of the Academy1 will, no doubt, be glad to hear of a most important discovery, due to Prof. A. H. Sayce, by which new and complete light will be thrown on the difficult question of the origin of the Indian alphabets.

To show the importance of this discovery it is necessary to state, briefly, how the question stands at present.

The numerous alphabets that have been used, or are now in use, in India can all be traced back to two, which may be termed the North and South Asoka alphabets. The first, of undoubted Phoenician origin, has disappeared, without leaving any successors or developments. To the second can be traced all the alphabets now in use in India, and some in use in other parts of the East. The origin of this alphabet has never been clearly settled, though several hypotheses have been put forward. It is impossible to trace these alphabets farther back than about 250 B.C., or to put their introduction into India earlier than about 300 B.C.

---

A third distinct alphabet was early used by the Tamil people in South India in the early centuries a.d. This has almost disappeared, and, except perhaps, in Malabar, has left no traces in India proper. For reasons that it would be tedious to give here, though this third alphabet has the same method of marking the vowels in the middle of words as the other two alphabets, which, in some ways, recalls the Semitic way of affecting the same object, it is impossible to trace its origin to either of the other alphabets, or vice versa. It is, however, impossible to doubt that all three are from the same original source, though derived, probably, at different periods.

That we can read these alphabets is due to most illustrious names—the second was deciphered by Princep; the first by Edwin Norris; and the third by F. W. Ellis. Mr. Edward Thomas has chiefly created the history of the first, and has shown what may probably be done in the future. But many differences of opinion have arisen.

The discovery of Prof. Sayce has now put the key-stone to the arch that has been so long waiting its completion. It is as follows:—As many will know, there are some Babylonian contract tablets in the British Museum; one of these has a docket by one of the contracting parties in a hitherto unknown character. This person is called Urmunu (Prof. Sayce informs me) in the cuneiform part of the document. This had, no doubt, been seen by others, but to Prof. Sayce is due the suggestion that it might be an Aramaic character subsequently imported into India. With this discovery, he most kindly sent me a specimen in March last; which, directly I examined it, disclosed a character closely resembling the South Asoka alphabet, with vowels marked as was done in the Indian alphabets. Here at last, then, was the long-wished-for original of these Indian alphabets that had puzzled Orientalists for so many years! I could at once, besides the vowel signs, identify several letters, k, m, r, s, &c., but the language does not in any way seem to be Sanskritic or Indian. At the end is what Prof. Sayce identified as a signature, and this appears to me to be Urmunu, which the cuneiform part shows is the writer's name. The document is dated in the end of the scarp that they had been brought from some Buddhist place of worship at a much greater distance. There might have been other marble sculptures, too, at Bevāvāla. For, judging from the absolute disappearance within the last century of hundreds of sculptured marbles at Amaravati, I think it may be readily understood how every fragment of sculptured marble might, in the course of 12 centuries, have been burned for lime, and otherwise destroyed at Bevāvāla.

1 I go even further and assert that they are distinctly Brahmanical; no one familiar with the remains of the two sects is likely to mistake a Rândhâ cave for a Brahmanical or vice versa. In this case there are considerable remains of caves beside the steps.—J. B.

2 Dr. Burgess alludes to two marble statues of Buddha which I found just under the western hill at Bevāvāla, on the western side of it. He thinks it improbable that these should have come from the east side of the hill. But is it so improbable? They were lying flat, covered with debris from the hill above, and quite at its base. These are unmistakably Buddhist, and I think it is more natural to assume that they had been carried a few hundred yards round the

4 I think I have been sufficiently emphatic on the character of the rock-excavations in the paper. Mr. Sewell is criticising, see ante, p. 90.—J. B.

5 The Academy, June 17, 1882, p. 493.
LIST OF BOOK NOTICES.


This number of the Revue de l'histoire des Religions, is occupied entirely by a paper by M. A. Barth, a most accomplished French Sanskritist, which is devoted to brief notices of the publications relative to the history of Indian religions—more especially Brahmanism and Buddhism—is issued in England, India, Germany, America and France during the year 1881. The Bulletin is somewhat on the plan of the Reves Annuelles for the Hindustani Language and Literature, so long continued by the late M. Garcia de Tassy, but the notices are often fuller and more critical; while the list of books and papers noticed is not quite so exhaustive—though it mentions nearly everything of value on the subject. This Bulletin of M. Barth's is calculated to be most useful to the general student of Oriental Religions.


The Quatrains of Ghiasuddin Abu'l-fathah Omar bin Ibrahim Al Khayyam, the fellow student and friend of Nizamul Mulk, (cir. 445-517 A.H.), have already been introduced to the English reader in Mr. Fitzgerald's brilliant translation of some of the more striking of them. Mr. Whinfield's version supplies us with translations of 253 out of about 800 in all, but it does not include those rendered by his predecessor, which we think is rather be regretted. The selection, however, is sufficiently extensive to give the English reader a very correct idea of Omar's verses—of which the best specimens only were translated by Mr. Fitzgerald,—and the estimate of the author left on the reader's mind from the perusal of this volume will probably be best summed up in the lines of Mr. Matthew Arnold prefixed to it—

"An acting body, and a mind
Not wholly clear, nor wholly blind,
Too keen to rest, too weak to find,
That travail sore, and brings forth wind."

Mr. Whinfield has been very fairly successful in his metrical rendering of his author, and his version embraces a much wider field than the small selection published by his precursor. As samples taken at random, both of the author's matter and the translator's style, we give the following:

156. Once in a potter's shop a company
Of goodly cups and jars I did spy,
And when they saw me, one cried out and said,
"Who made, who sells, who buys this crockery?"

198. Some look for truth in creeds and rites and rules,
Some grope for doubts or dogmas in the schools;
But from behind the veil a voice proclaims,
"Your road lies neither here nor there, O fools!"

212. Suppose you hold the world in fee, what then?
When life's last page is read and turned, what then?
You may outlive this present century,
And haply see the next, but what comes then?

213. O thou who hast done ill, and ill alone,
Think not to find forgiveness at the throne;
Hope not for mercy, for good left undone
Cannot be done, nor evil done undone.

220. I never would have come had I been asked;
I would as lief not go, if I were asked;
And, to be short, I would annihilate
All coming, being, going, were I asked.

221. O heart! canst thou the darksome riddle read?
When wisest men have failed, will thou succeed?
Quaff wine, and make thy heaven here below,
Who knows if heaven above will be thy meed?

As questions of Palaeography now appear to be attracting attention, I would point out that the physiological side remains to be considered. This new branch of science has been founded by Prof. C. Vogt (La Revue scientifique, 26 Juin 1880) in an article "L'Excrature considérée au point de vue physiologique," though Dr. Gaetan Delaunay (somewhat later in the same periodical) has questioned part of Prof. Vogt's conclusions.

A. BURNELL.

PS.—Prof. Sayce has just found in the British Museum some other tablets of an earlier date—viz., before 640 B.C.—inscribed in a similar character. But these seem to be earlier forms, in which the system of marking the vowels was not fully developed, or, at least, is not so evident as in the other tablet.
A GRANT OF ARJUNĀDĒVA OF GUJARAT, DATED 1264 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCHE, PH.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined stone-inscription of Somānātha Pāthān, the original of which is now in the temple of Harasta at Vērāvāl, was first mentioned by Colonel Tod. On Tod's so-called translation, which is in fact nothing but the result of the author's fancy, the account of Arjunādēva's reign in Mr. Forbes' Rād Mālā is based. The inscription deserves a trustworthy edition for several reasons; especially, because it is dated in four eras, and because it contains a curious mixture of Hindū and Musalman languages, religions, and customs. An excellent photocopigraph—prepared from a rubbing by Pandit Bhagvānīlā Indrājī, and made over to me by Professor Bühler, who has also most kindly assisted me during the preparation of this paper—settles most of the difficulties. However, the preservation of the stone is not very good, and a few of the local termini technici do not admit of certain explanation.

A few palæographical peculiarities must be noticed. The jihāmālīya occurs once (I.121, line 41). The letter  is rarely distinguished from  ; if so, a dot is placed in the centre of the loop. At the end of lines, the division of words is marked by a vertical stroke, which looks in some cases exactly like the sign for  or by two such strokes.

The inscription is dated in the Hijrī year 662, Vikrama S. 1320, Valabhi S. 345, and Sinhā S. 151, Ashadhā badi 13. As Vikrama S. 1320 begins in the month of Kārttika of 1263 A.D., the end of Ashadhā of Vikrama S. 1320 falls before the middle of 1264 A.D. According to Wūstenfeld's Tables, the middle of 1264 A.D. falls in the Hijrī year 662, which begins on the 4th November of 1263 A.D. Thus the Vikrama and Hijrī dates are in perfect harmony. This is not the place to discuss the rather doubtful historical value of the Valabhi era. I shall only remind the reader that, according to the native authorities, the city of Valabhi was destroyed in Vikrama Saṁ. 375 = 318-19 A.D., and that Al-birūnī gives Saka S. 241 and Vikrama Saṁ. 376 = 319-20 A.D. as the starting-point of the 'era of Balābī' (بالي جامع). The date of the inscription corroborates the tradition of the native historians as it leads to Vikrama Saṁ. 375 and 319 A.D. The difference of one year in Al-birūnī's statement may be owing to the fact that the New Year of the Valabhi S. fell later than the New Year of the Vikrama S., as the New Year of the Saka S. begins with Chaitra. The Sinhā era would begin in Vikrama S. 1169, and 1113 A.D. Tod calls it the Śīva-Singa era, and remarks that it was established by the Gohila in the island of Deo (Div).

The inscription contains very little about king Arjunādēva, in whose reign it falls. From Professor Bühler's introduction to his edition of eleven Chaulya inscriptions, I repeat here that Arjunadeva, the second independent king of the Vayāghrapali or Vaghelā branch line of the old Chaulya or Sōlanki dynasty of Aḥhilvād, ruled, according to Merutungā's Viḥāraśatāpam, from Vik S. 1318 to 1331, 1261-62 to 1274-75 A.D., and that besides the Somānātha Pāthān grant of S. 1320, there exists a Kachch inscription of Arjunādēva dated Vik S. 1328. From the situation of the localities where Arjunadeva's two inscriptions are found, it appears that this last Ḥindu ruler of Aḥhilvād but two, was a worthy successor of the valiant Viṣdēva, as his kingdom extended also over the provinces of Kāṭhāvād and Kachch. The northern boundary of his realm must have been Mount Ābū, whence an inscription of his successor Sāravaṅgadeva is dated. In the following inscription Arjunadeva receives the same titles as had been borne by his predecessors (samaśa-dīvisa-samādānīkṛita, parameśvara, parameśvara, mahādātāraka, mahārājadhīrāja) ; like these he was a devotee of Śiva (trīmūrtipattara-
The Masalmān congregations of Somanātha Pāthān are appointed trustees.

The grant is written in very bad Sanskrit. The Śābakī rules are rarely observed; nouns often remain uninflected (I. 25, 27ff.), and are in this state joined together by tatha (I. 21f. 24, 30f.). Other irregularities are sābhāyāsinīstha sāhāyāstha or sakhīvā (I. 28.), and the verb vedāratī (for udgiratī) used as an intransitive (I. 36). As was to be expected, the grant affords also a few Gujarāti words: धारी 'an oil-mill,' खुना 'lime,' छोर 'mortar' (now छोर; compare Hindi छोर 'chalk'), and छोटा 'this' (now छोटा; compare Hindi छोटा 'to that'). I subjoin a list of the numerous Arabic and Persian words occurring in the grant:

\begin{itemize}
  \item नाबू 'नबू' नबू 'नबू' नाबू 'नबू'
  \item जैं 'जैं'
  \item छोटा 'छोटा'
\end{itemize}

Of these words निःस्तिति (I. 30) and जैं (I. 37f.) are not inflected, while छोटा occurs three times.

**Transcript.**

[1] श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीतन्त्रभवानी श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[2] श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[3] तथा श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[4] तथा श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[5] तथा श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[6] तथा श्रीविष्णुप्रसादः श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[7] महामार्गीभवानी श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[8] महामार्गीभवानी श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[9] महामार्गीभवानी श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

[10] महामार्गीभवानी श्रीकालासुति श्रीकालसुतिः।

* Anahilapātāka, as in *Chaul. Inscri.* No. 8 to 11, while the word is split with one I in the earlier ones.

**L. 3, the of तिर distinct. L. 4, read जीवितं. L. 5, read तिरमारणाराजं.*
[14] मायात्मा मदेशीपिसिद्धानाथों अनुगाहितमोरनाथ। नीरोदीपिरोजने। श्रीमान्।
[15] समावेशदेशीपि भवरथ माधवाध्यायं। नासिकं निवासरं। श्रीमान्।
[16] वृश्चिकाप्रकाशः। श्रीमतोऽरिश्वनाथयुद्धः। श्रीमान्।
[17] सज्जनसः। श्रीमान्यां समाजाध्यायं। निवासरं। श्रीमान्।
[18] तत् योगेश्वरप्रसिद्धां नन्देशीपिन्यानन्दायं। सम्प्रतिपाडः। तत्। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[19] ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[20] शास्त्रायं। ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[21] अर्थ क्विपिनालिपिसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[22] शास्त्रायं। ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[23] शास्त्रायं। ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[24] शास्त्रायं। ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
[25] शास्त्रायं। ने नृसेश्वरसागरसागरस्त्रूपसमन्नवर्त्तने। नारायणसम्प्रदायं। नारदः। पीरोजने।
Translation.

Oṃ. Oṃ. Adoration to holy Viśvanātha! Adoration to thee who art the Lord of the Universe, adoration to thee whose form is the void, adoration to thee who art visible and invisible (at the same time)!

In the year 662 of the Prophet Mahammad who is the teacher of the sailors living near (the temple of) holy Viśvanātha, and in the year 1320 of the illustrious king Vikrama, and in the year 945 of famous Valabhi, and in the year 151 of the illustrious Sīhha, on Sunday the 13th day of the dark half of Ashadh, today (and) here!—during the prosperous, happy, and victorious reign of the illustrious Arjuna-dēva, the king of great kings, the wheeling of the illustrious Chaulukya (race), (who is) a thorn in the heart of the king Nihānakamalla, who acquired great majesty (in consequence of) a boon (granted by) the holy husband of Uma, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, who is adorned by the whole line of kings (his ancestors), and who resides in famous Anahillapātaka, (and) while the prime minister Rāṇaka Śrī-Māladeva who lives devoted to his (Arjuna-deva’s) lotus-feet was conducting all the business of the seal, such as the drawing-up of documents,¹⁸ at this period;—with the consent of the Pańchakula,¹² here in the town of Śrī-Somanāthadēva, such as Mahān[tā] Śrī-Abhayāṣṭha, the servant (parī[parivēka]) of Mahattara Gandāṣṭri-Parāvira-bhadra, the great teacher of the Pāṇḍvatas, the great scholar, an incarnation of the god of Justice, while on the shore of the Hurmuz coast¹⁴ the reign was conducted¹⁵ by the Amir Śrī-

Ruknu’d-dīn; the shipowner Nūru’d-dīn Piroz, son of the shipowner Khoja Abū Ibrāhīm, a native of Hurmuz, who had come for some business to the town of Śrī-Somanāthadēva, bought a piece of land situated in the Sikottart Mahāyanapālī outside the town of Śrī-Somanāthadēva, together with the nine treasures,¹⁷ to do with what he would wish and list, by the manner of touching,¹⁸ in the presence of all the great men¹⁹ living in the Mahāyanadēva adjoining the Dropt of Śrī-Somanāthadēva, (viz.) the householder (?), and great man Thakkura Śrī-Palugidēva, the great man Rāṇaka Śrī-Somesvaradēva, the great man Thakkura Śrī-Rāmandēva, the great man Thakkura Śrī-Bhīmasīha, the great man Rāja [kula]²⁰ Śrī-Chhāda, etc., and in the presence of all (Musalmān) congregations, from the great man Rāja[kula] Śrī-Chhāda, son of Raja[kula] Śrī-Nāmasīha, etc.

Then, from the desire that his glory should last as long as moon and sun endure, (and) for the sake of his salvation, the ship-owner Piroz, who was excessively religious in accordance with the code of his religion (the Kurʿān) (and) who, by his alliance with the great man Rāja[kula] Śrī-Chhāda, had become his associate in (this) meritorious work²¹, caused a place of worship (called) a Masjid facing the east to be erected on the above-mentioned piece of land.

For the maintenance of this place of worship (called) Masjid, for the lamps, oil, and water (required for) the daily worship, and for (the appointment of) a preceptor, a crier to prayers, and a monthly reader (of the Kurʿān), and for the payment of the expenses of the particular honouring Persian coast may be understood.

¹² Literally ‘the making śrī (at the beginning of documents)’. The whole phrase तन्वाय to परिरवर्तित occurs also in the Abū inscription of Arjuna-deva’s successor Śrīnagādeva, dated S. 1320, and with a slight difference in Chaul. Inscri. No. II. 1, 7. The various reading भद्रीवर्तिनी is found in the two inscriptions of Kumārapāla dated S. 1313 and of Bhīmadrāva II. dated S. 1304, and in a grant of Ajayapāla dated in Vaisākha of S. 1299, discovered at Udayapura in the province of Bhāsīlāvānī (Bhīsā), and published in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XXXI, p. 129, by Dr. Hall, who did not recognise it as a Chaulukya grant, and read आमदनाथवर्तित instead of भद्रीवर्तिनीके.

¹³ According to Professor Bühler, Pańchakula (i.e. ‘as clever as five families’) is preserved in the modern name Pańchakulli, which is borne by many distinguished Kāyasūta families.

¹⁴ Hereby the coast of the island itself or the neigh-

¹⁵ مِهْ دْيَن must be an abbreviation of جَهْيات or another synonym of جٰيٰدٰي.

¹⁶ The expression नवनवमिसतिः occurs also in Nos. 4 to 11 of the Chaul. Inscriptions.

¹⁷ This seems to allude to some custom observed in making a purchase.

¹⁸ Mahān must be employed in the sense of महान and व्यूरुक्ष.


²¹ This implies that Chhāda contributed to Piroz’s donation.
religious festivals of Barāṭārībẖatamārāti according to the custom of the sailors, and for the annual white-washing and repairs of rents and defects (confirming the gift) by (a libation of) water, the ship-owner Piroz gave the following (source of income).

(Firstly, the whole Pallādīkā belonging to (the temple of) Śrī-Bāḷēśvara in the centre of the town of Śrī-Somanāṭhādeva, which he had bought from Śrī-Parātribhāntaka, the superior (of the convent) of Śrī-Navaṛaṇa, and from Vīnāyaka-ḥaṭṭāraka, Paratānāsvara, and others. (This Pallādīkā is) filled with houses, which are turned in various directions and covered with grass, thatch, and Cheluka. On its northern side stands a convent of two stories; west of it in the middle (i.e.) the property of the carpenter (śvarta dhāra) Kānaḥ; on the eastern side (stands) a single house outside; on the boundary of all four (sides) it is enclosed by a continuous wall, and it has (a door for) ingress and egress towards the road on the northern side. (Thus) it is defined by its four fixed boundaries, and its circuit is known.

(Secondly,) the Dānapala belonging to 1 (one) oil-mill.

(Thirdly,) two shops in front of this Masjīd, which he had bought by (the manner of) touching from Kiḷhaṇādeva, son of the household (and great man) Nirmālyachhadāśodhala, and from Lūnasīhadharaṇimāsūmā, son of Ṣṭakkura Sohaṇa, and from Rāṇaka Āśadhara, who resides in Bāḷyartakareṇa, and from others.

From this source of income, this place of worship (called) a Masjīd belonging to the ship-owner Piroz is to be kept up and maintained, and the rents and defects have to be repaired, as long as moon, planets, and stars endure, for the salvation of the ship-owner Piroz.

All the surplus that remains, while from this source of income this place of worship is maintained and kept up, and the expenses on the days of the particular festivals are paid, is to be sent to the holy district of Makka and Madīna.

The source of income of this place of worship is for ever to be guarded, and this place of worship to be maintained by all the following congregations together: the congregation of the ship-owners . . . and the congregation of all the wharf-people who are devoted to the Martyr (Abī), together with their preacher, and the congregation of the (Persian) artisans, and the congregation of the Musalmāns among the landholders, and others.

The donor, he who causes (the donation to be made), and those who protect (the charity) according to the law, all these will certainly enter heaven for their good deeds.

Whosoever plunders or causes to be plundered this place of worship and this source of income, that bad man will be defiled by (a guilt as heavy as) the guilt of the five mortal sins and go to hell.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE JAINAS.

BY JOHANNES KLATT, PH.D., BERLIN.

Dr. Bhānu Dāji in a paper, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, gave a great deal of information about the early history of the Jainas, which he extracted from Merutuṅga's Theravāti and other works. In the following pages I shall give the most important dates contained in the Pattāvali of the two chief sects of the Jainas, the Kharatara- and Tapā-gachha. My sources of information are 22 MSS., 20 from Bombay and 2 of Berlin, for which the kind information of K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

I. Pattāvali of the Kharatargaschā. 1. Maḥāvīra, of the tribe (kula) of Ikṣvāku and the Kāṣṭhayagotra, son of Sīdhartha, king of Kṣatryakundagṛāṃ-

---

22 Professor Wahrnum, whom I consulted about this word, considers it the name of a brotherhood: "good deeds gaining fruit." Although this interpretation fits the letters admirably, the context rather requires a compound of names of festivals; the first may be Hindi bhārati "a marriage company."

23 Chau. Inscr. Nos. 8 and 11.

24 महासम्प्रदाय ‘superior of a convent’ and various synonyms; Chau. Inscr. Nos. 5 to 11.

25 Compare line 12 of the inscription.

26 खड़िक is probably derived from खड़ (Hindi खड़) ‘a landing-place.’

27 If खड़ stands for the plural स् खड़, समस्तहड़कस्वात्रा would mean ‘devoted to all Martyrs.’

28 The translation of पवाणि is conjectural. Compare पवाण ‘a district’; Chau. Inscr. Nos. 3 to 11.


nagara, and his wife Triśalā, born chaītra sudi trayaśadāyāḥ, died (nirvāṇa) at the age of 72, kārtikāmāsādāyāḥ, in the city of Pāpa, 3 years 8½ months before the end of the 4th spoke of the wheel of time. He had eleven disciples, the gaṇadhara.

His first disciple was Gautama, also called Indrabhūti, of the Gautamagotra, son of the Brāhmaṇa Vasiṣhṭhūti and the Brāhmaṇa Prīthvī, born at Govaramagrāma in Magadhā, died (nirvāṇa) at Rājahriya at the age of 92, 12 years after Vīra's Nirvāṇa. As the Sādhus, consecrated by Gautama, died early, and the other nine gaṇadhara yielded up their pupils to Sudharman, only the succession of Sudharman, the fifth gaṇadhara, is left and will remain till Duḥpraśaṅgairi at the end of the 5th spoke of the wheel of time.

Fourteen years after Vīra, the 1st Niḥnava, caused by Jamāli, took place, 16 after Vīra, the 2nd Niḥnava, by Tīshyagupta (Prādeśikā).

2. Sudharman, born at Kolakagrāma, of the Agnivaisyaṇanagotra, son of Dhammilla and Bhuddilā, lived 50 years as grīhastha, 42 as cchādomastra, 8 as kovalin, died (nirvāṇa) 20 years after Vīra, at the age of 100.

3. Jambū, from Rājahriya, of the Kātyāyanagotra, son of krośhīn Rishabhadatta and Dhāriya, lived 16 years as grīhastha, 20 as cchādomastra, 44 as kovalin, and entered nirvāṇa at the age of 80, 64 years after Vīra. He was the last kovalin.

4. Prabhava, of the Kātyāyanagotra, son of King Vindhyas of Jayapura, lived 30 years in grīhastha, 44 (according to others 64) in sāṃdvyavatā, 11 as ṛčārya, and died in 75 V.,* at the age of 85 (or 105).

5. Sayyambhava, from Rājahriya, of the Vāṭysagotra, was converted by the appearance of an image of Śaṇṭi, composed for his son Manaka the Daśavikākāstā, lived 28 years in grīhastha, 11 in vrata, 23 as ṛčārya, died 98 V., at the age of 62.

6. Yaśobhadra, of the Tāṇḍyaṇagotra, lived 22 years in grīhastha, 14 in vrata, 50 as ṛčārya, died 148 V., at the age of 86.

7 and 8. Saṁbhūtivijaya and his layḥugurubhādar Bhadrabahu; the former, of the Mahānagotra, lived 42 years in grīhastha, 40 in vrata, 8 as yugaprabhāna, died at the age of 90, in 156 V.

Bhadrabahu, of the Prāchhagotra, composed the Upasunaharastotra, the Kaṭkpastotra and nirvākṣit śatāś tatras, viz. Avayaka, Daśavikākāśika, etc., lived 45 years in grīhastha, 17 in vrata, 14 as yugaprabhāna, died in 170 V., at the age of 76.

9. Sthulabhadra,* from Pātaliputra, of the Gautamagotra; his father was Śakukāla, a mantrin of the 9th Nanda, his mother Lāchchadēvī. He converted the Veṣiyo Kōṣā and was the last, who knew the 14 pāśa, but with this modification:—

7. Pūrṇānanda, vīṣvyānaṁ gno, na svaroṣṭi, yaṁ bhūtyāyaṣṭaṁ vā pāyam aṣṭaṁ ārthasya bhūtāni, pratiṣṭhānaṁ tārūṇaṁ nā bhūtā eva vasiṣṭhānāyaṁ vā bhūtā eva pariṣṭhānaṁ
dharmadām vāravāyaṁ

10 and 11. Ārya-Mahāghiri and his layḥugurubhādar Ārya-Suhastin; the former, of the Elāṭhagotra, lived 30 years in grīhastha, 40 in vrata, 30 as śrāvi, died at the age of 100, 249 V.*

Suḥastin, of the Vāsishthagotra, lived 30 years in grīhastha, 24 in vrata, 46 as śrāvi, and died 100 years old, 265 V. By him king Saṁpratī was converted, who began to reign in 235 V.,* the 17th successor of Śrēṇika, and adorned the trikāhāṇḍā with prāśādaṁ, bhinās etc., and established a vihāra in the Ānāryadesa. Avantiṣukumāla and many others besides were converted by Suḥastin.

12. Ārya-Suṣṭhita,* with the bhirudas

bhū are here omitted.

* The Paṭṭhāval of the Taṇḍagotra has Śaṇṭikāla.
* Prājñāp. VIII, v., 5 (Berlin M.S., f. 60a) Lakṣmīvatī.
* 245 V., as is generally stated.
* He was the pupil of Suḥastin. Mahāghiri had two pupils, Bakula and Balisena. The followers of the latter are enumerated in the Sūkhaśvānt of the Avayaka and Nandīśūtra.
Kotika (कोतिका) and Kākandika (काकंदिका), lived 31 years in grīka, 17 in vṛata, 46 as sūrī, died 313. With him originated the Kōtīkaśaṭṭha.—Supratibuddha was his laghubhṛatar.

13. Indrādīna.
15. Sīṁhagiri, jātisomarājaṇānavān.

At that time lived Pādaliptāchārya, Vīḍīdhavādisūri and the pupil of the latter, Siddhasenaśivakara, whose received the dīkshādīnāman of Kummudachandra (Prabhāvakacāra, VIII, v. 57). The last mentioned split the liṅgām of Rudra in the temple of Mahākkāla at Ujjayini and called forth an image of Pārvanāthā by the Kālayānamandirastavat. He converted Vikramāditya, 470 after Vīra's Nirvāṇa.

16. Vaiḍra, of the Gantamogra, son of Dhanagiri and Sunandā, who dwelt at Tumbavanagrama, born 496, lived 8 years in grīka, 44 in vṛata, 36 as sūrī, died at the age of 88 in 584. After Sīṁhagiri had taught him the seven angas, Vaiḍra went from Daśapura to Bhdragupta at Avantī (Ujjayini), to learn the 12th, viz. the Drīstīvedīdaṅga. He was the last, who knew the complete ten pāraus (पारासानी तत्ततांततसानी नि-पंस्थिताः), and he extended the Jaina religion southward in the kingdom of the Bandhas. From him arose the Vaiḍraśākha.

In 525, the Śatrūnāyajitirtha was demolished and in 570, Vīṣṇu was restored by Jāvadā. In 544, the 6th Nihavān, by name Trivārīka, was caused by Rohagupta.

17. Vaijrasena, of the Utkāśikāgrā, (etc.), converted at Sīgharaka the four sons of Śrīvīśhīna Jinaḍatta and Lāvari, by name Nāgendra, Chandra, Nivrūti and Vidyādhara, the founders of four kulas.

18. Chandra lived 37 years in grīka, 23 in vṛata, 7 as sūrī, in all 67 years.

At the same time lived Āryaṅkṣhita, son of the purohita Somadeva and Rudrasomāni, dwelling at Daśapura. He learnt from Vaiḍra nine pāraus and a fragment of the 10th, and taught them to his pupil Dürbaliṇa-pūṣpamitra.

In 584, the 7th Nihavāna, the Goshthāmāhila, took place, in 609, the Digambaras arose.11

19. Samantabhādra, called Vanaśvini.
20. Deva, called Vṛijdātha.
22. Mānadeva, author of Śāntīstava.
24. Vīra, 980, the Śiddhānta was reduced to writing by Devardhāghānishaṁaṁ-grāmaṇa,12 the pupil of Lokīta-sūri, at the council of Valabhi. In Devardhā's time only one pāraus remained.

993, Vālaka transferred the Paryuṣaṇaparvan from Bhdhrapadaśvapanchamā to chaturthi. Here the MSS. intercalate, that before him there were two other saints of the same name, of whom the one called Śyāma, author of the Prajñāpanā and interpreter of the Nipāda, lived 370 Vīra, the other, the expeller of Gardabhiśa, 453 Vīra.

The MSS. quote further Jina-bhadra-ṅākṣhāmārāmaṇa, composer of Vīṣṇu-vāyaṇakādādhyya,13 and his pupil Śīлānka, called Koliyāchārya, composer of vṛittis on the 1st and 2nd angas.14

Hari-bhadra, by birth a Brāhmaṇa, was instructed in the Jaina doctrine by Jinabhāta.15 Two of his pupils, Huṣa and Paramahāra, were killed by the Bandhas in Bhoṣadeśa. He wrote 14415 works, such as Ashīkha, Pañčābāka.

26. Devānanda.
27. Vīkrama.
29. Samudra.
30. Mānadeva.
31. Vībhudhāprabha.
32. Jayānanda.

12 Otherwise he is called Dvarakāchāra and pupil of Daśahagurī.
14 According to Prabhāvakacāra, XIX, v. 105, he wrote vṛittis on eleven angas, which with the exception of two have been lost. The Āchāryavārttika contains the date of its composition, Sāka 798. But as the verse, which contains the date, has been added after the colophon of the MS. it seems to be of no great weight.
15 Alas Jinabhāta, cf. Kielhorn L. I. p. 24 n. 40 (Jinabhāta) and p. 31 n. 48 (Jinabhāta). According to others 1400. In a commentary upon Jinaḍatta's Ganaṭhamārācāraṇāṭaka, v. 55, is a list of about 30 works of H., most of which exist in MSS.
33. Raviprabha.
34. Yāsōbhadrā.
35. Vimalachandra.
36. Devā, founder of the Suvihitapaksha-gachha.
37. Nemichandra.
38. Uddyotana, with whose pupils originated the 84 gachhas, now existing. He died on a pilgrimage, which he had undertaken from Mālavakadēsa to Śatrūnijaya, to worship Rishabhā.
39. Vardhamaṇa, the first Sūri, peculiar to the Kharataragachha, was at first the pupil of the Chaitiyavāsin Jinachandra, but passed over to Uddyotana. He converted the two sons Śīveśvara and Buddhāghāra and the daughter Kalyāṇavati of the Brāhmaṇa Somā. Śīveśvara received at the dīkṣā the name of Jineśvara.

The statement is written in Sanskrit and English.

40. Jineśvara went with his brother Buddhāghāra from Marudēsa to Gurjaradēsa, to debate with the Chaitiyavāsins. In Saṅ. 1090 in a rājasahā of Durlabhā, king of Apahillapura, after the passages on the sāhāvīchārā had been read out of the Dāsakavāḍika-sūtra, which was brought forth from the Sarasvatībhānḍāgāra, he overcame the Chaitiyavāsins and received the biruda of Kharatarā.
41. Jinachandra, author of Saṅvegamānagadāparakrama.
42. Abhayādeva, laghagurubhrūtar of Jinachandra, was the son of Dhana, a kṛṣṇātman at Dха, and Dhanadevi, and was originally called Abhayakumāra. By excessive self-torment he became leprous, his hands fell off, but he was healed by a miracle. By the Jayathih-

 ganastotra he called forth an image of Pārāvya, near Stambhanaka. He wrote commentaries on nine aṅgas and died at Kappadavipijagnavana in Gurjaradēsa.
43. Jinavallabha, first pupil of Jineśvarasūri, a Chaitiyavāsin of the Kūrca puragachha, afterwards became pupil of Abhayadeva. His works are Pīndaviśuddhānivikāraṇa, Ganaḍḥaraśrādāhāstaka, Šaḍāśītī etc. In Saṅ. 1167 he was consecrated Sūri by Dēvabhadṛāchārya and died 6 months afterwards.

During his spiritual government the Madhu kharataraśakhe separated, and this was the first gachchhabheda.
44. Jinadatta, son of Vāchbigamantrī and Vāhadvēdī, of the Humbadgaṅga, born Saṅ. 1132, originally called Somachandra, received dīkṣā Saṅ. 1141 and the vīrīṃḍra from Dēvabhadṛāchārya at Chitrakūṭa Saṅ. 1169 Vaśākha vadi 6. He propagated the Jain religion by miracles, which he performed in many cities, composed the Saṅhāṣadōlāvatī and many other works, and died at Ajamēr Saṅ. 1211. Aśādēha sudi 11. In Saṅ. 1204 at Rudrapali the Rudrapalīyakharaṭarāśkha was founded by Jināśekharāchārya,—this was the 2nd gachchhabheda.
45. Jinachandra, born Saṅ. 1197, Bhadra. sudi 8, son of Sāhā-Rāsala and Dēhāḍavēdi, received dīkṣā at Ajamēr Saṅ. 1203 Phālguna vadi 9, was made āchārya by Jinadhata at Vikramapura Saṅ. 1211 Vaśākha sudi 6 (at the age of 14!), and died Saṅ. 1223 Bhadra. vadi 14 at Dilli, where a stūpa was erected to his memory. He is supposed to have had a jewel in his head.
46. Jinapati, born Saṅ. 1210 Chaitra vadi 8, son of Sāhā-Yaśōvardhana and Sāhāvadēvi. Saṅ. 1218 Phālguna vadi 8 his dīkṣā took place at Dilli; Saṅ. 1223 Kārtika sudi 13 his padasthāpanā by Jayadevāchārya; and Saṅ.

The text continues with further details and historical notes.
1277 his death at Pāhlaṇapura at the age of 67.

In Śān. 1213 originated the Ānchalikatamata, and in Śān. 1288 the Tapāgana from Jagachchandraśūri of the Chitrakālagaṇachāra.

47. Jinaśvaraka, born Śān. 1245 Mārga sudi 11 at Marota, son of Bhārājakarika Nemi-

chandra and Lakshmi, originally called Ambāḍa, received in Śān. 1255 at his ākṣhāṇa at Kheḍanagara the name of Viraprabha; Śān. 1278 Māgha sudi 6, padasthāpata at Jālora-

nagara from Sarvadevākṣhara; died Śān. 1331 Āśvina vadi 6.

In the same year the Laghuhekarataraśūri was founded by Jarvisān, the 3rd gachhaśāla.

48. Jinaṇaprabodha, son of Durṇa-

prabodhaśūri, son of Śāhā-Shrikanta and Sirīyādevi, born Śān. 1285, mūlanadana Parvata; received Śān. 1296 Phālguna vadi 5, at Thirupadranagara the ākṣhāṇa and the name of Prabodhamūrti; in Śān. 1331 Āśvina vadi 5, the pāṭṭākhishikha, and in the same year Phālguna vadi 8, the padamahotseva. He died Śān. 1341.

49. Jinaṇachandra, born Śān. 1236 Mārga sudi 4, at Samiyānpārma, son of Mantri-

Devarāja of the Chhājaśrāgata and Kamaladevi, mūlanadana Shambharāya; ākṣhāṇa Śān.

1352 at Jālora; padamahotēva Śān. 1341 Vaiśākha sudi 3 Somavare. He converted four kings and went under the biruda of Kalikālakṣa. Died Śān. 1376 at Kusumāṅgārāṇa.

50. Jinaṇakūṣala, famous by the name of Dāduṇājai, born Śān. 1337 at Samiyānpārma, son of Mantri-Jhāgāra of the Chhājaśrāgata and Jayatīṣri; received ākṣhāṇa Śān. 1347, sūrimatra from Rājendrāchārya Śān. 1377 Jyēṣṭha vadi 11; died at Dāntrā Śān. 1389 Phālguna vadi Amāvāśyam.

51. Jinaṇapada, son of the Chhājaśrā-

vaṇśa, born in the Panjab, received the sūrimatra from Tarunaprabhākṣhara and died Śān. 1400 Vaiśākha sudi 14 at Pāṭaṇa.

52. Jinaṇalabdhi, died Śān. 1406 at Nā-

gāpura.

53. Jinaṇachandra, died Śān. 1415 Āśvādhāna vadi 13, at Stambhaṭṭrāṇa.

54. Jinaṇada, son of Sāha-Rundapāla, who dwelt at Pāhlaṇapura, and of Dhārālandeśi, born Śān. 1375; mūlanadana Samaran. Śān. 1415 Āśvādhāna sudi 2, his padasthāpana was made by Tarunaprabhākṣhara at Stambhaṭṭrāṇa. At the same place he founded a Chaitya to Ajita, and on the Satrūṣjaya he made five pratikṣhētas. He died Śān. 1432 Bhāḍrā vadi 11, at Pāṭaṇa.

In his time, Śān. 1422 the Vēgadakharataraśūri took its rise, founded by Dharmanavalla-

bhāraṇi, the 4th gachhaśāla.

55. Jinaṇarāja received the sūripadakaśhāpata Śān. 1432 Phālguna vadi 6, at Pāṭaṇa, and died Śān. 1461 at Bēvalavāda.

56. Jinaṇabhāraṇa.

At first Jinaṇavardhanadārāja was appointed successor to Jinaṇarāja, Śān. 1461, but on account of the breach of the 4th vratā he was pronounced unworthy, and his place was given to Jinaṇabhāraṇa Śān. 1475 Māgha sudi 15. Jinaṇabhāraṇa of the Bhāpasālikagotra, originally named Bhādan, set up many images, founded many temples and libraries, and died Śān. 1514 Mārga vadi 9, at Kumbhalamēr.

The abovementioned Jinaṇavardhanadārāja founded Śān. 1474 the Pippalakakharataraśūri,—

the 5th gachhaśāla.

57. Jinaṇachandra, son of Sāha-V轨道-

rāja of the Channagotra and Vēlādevi, born Śān. 1487 at Āsālāmēr; ākṣhāṇa Śān. 1492; sūripadakaśhāpata Śān. 1514 Vaiśākha vadi 2, died Śān. 1530 at Āsālāmēr.

Śān. 1508 the Lekhaka Laṅkak—removed statues at Ahmadāvād, and Śān. 1524—origi-

nated the matam, called after him.31

58. Jinaṇasamudra, son of Dekau-sāha of the Pārashagotra and Dēvaladēvi, born Śān. 1506 at Bāhaḍāmēr; ākṣhāṇa Śān. 1521; padasthāpana Śān. 1530 Māgha sudi 13, died Śān.

1555 at Ahmadāvād.

59. Jinaṇabhāna, son of Sāha-Megharāja of the Chhōpājagotra and Kamaladevi, born Śān. 1524; ākṣhāṇa Śān. 1535; padasthāpana Śān. 1555 at Ahmadāvād; died Śān. 1582 at Pāṭaṇa.

Śān. 1564 the Āchāryaśākharataraśūri arose.

30 His pupil Dharmasthālakaṇgi wrote Śān. 1222 a vrittī on Jinaṇavallakṣaṇa's Aśaṭāśantaśita, beginning Uḍina-

kkame,—colophon of a MS.

31 Cf. Kielhorn l. i, p. 25, n. 44.

32 Author of Chaityavandanaśukulavrittī, Kielhorn l. i, p. 18, 14.
founded by Acharya-Santisagar in Marudeśa,—
the 6th gacchhabheda.

60. Jina[m]āṇikya, son of Sāha-Jivaraṇa of the Kūkājachopājadgōtra and Padmādevī, born Sam. 1549; dīkṣād Sam. 1560; padasthāpana Sam. 1582 Bhādra3 vadi 9; died Sam. 1612 Ashādha sudi 5.

61. Jina[nc]handa, son of Sāha-Śrīvanta of the Rāhadgōtra and Siriyādevī, born at Vaḍaligrāma near Timarānagara Sam. 1505; dīkṣād Sam. 1596; sūripada at Jēsalamēru Sam. 1612 Bhādra3 sudi 9. He is said to have converted the Emperor Akbar to the Jain religion. He had 95 pupils,—Samayanāra, Mahimarāja, Dharmarathana, Ratmanidhāna, Jānakimala, etc. and died at Venāṭata Sa. 1670 Āśvina vadi 2.

S. 1621 originated the Bhavaharshakhaṭānakāthakaṭa, founded by Bhavaharshopādhyāya,—the 7th gacchhabheda.


Sa. 1686 originated the Laghuchāryakhaṭārutaraśāhā from Āchārya-Jinasaggarāṣūri, occasioned by Harshanaṇanda,23 pupil of Samayasundara,—this is the 8th gacchhabheda.

Sa. 1700 originated the Rāgpavijayakhaṭāurataraśāhā from Rāgpavijayagani,—this is the 9th gacchhabheda, and from this śāhā sprung the Srīrūyakhaṭāurataraśāhā, founded by Śrīrūyopādhyāya,—the 10th gacchhabheda.

Author's note:

23 Author of a Rishimandalasīkā, Berlin or. fol. 719.
II. Pattévali of the Tapágachcha.

The Pattévali of the Tapágachcha enumerates the same old teachers from Mahávrtra to Uddydána, the 38th súri of the Kharatara-gachcha, but with some differences. Firstly Mahávrtra is not included, therefore the chronicler, Híptáján, has been placed as the first Súria of the Tapágachcha. Secondly, Mahávrtra is not included, therefore the chronicler, Híptáján, has been placed as the first Súria of the Tapágachcha.

1. Sudharmán, the first áchárya of the first udáya.

2. Jambu. On him the following verses are quoted:

3. Prabhávata.

4. Śyayamábhava. On him the following ślokas are quoted:

5. Yaśobhadra.

6. Sambhátavijaya (sic) and Bhrdrábhánu,.online version

7. Stehlabhadra. Here we find the following dates, differing a little from those of the Kharatara-Pattévali: He lived 30 years in griha, 24 in vrata, and 45 as yugapradhána, and died at 99 in 215 V. But the dates of the Kharatara-Pattévali are also mentioned.

8. Árya-Mahágirirand Árya-Suhasin, guru-bhrdrátor: the former lived 30 years in griha, 40 in vrata, 30 as yugapradhána, in all 100 years, the latter, 30 years in griha, 24 in vrata, 46 as yugá, in all 100 years, and died in 291 V. The composer of the Pattévali draws attention to the improbability of this statement:

9. Sushita and Supratibuddha (sic), pupils of Saśastin, surnamed Kotika and Kákandika. From that time the name of the Nígrantha was changed to that of the Kátipagachcha.

10. Indradinna.

Kálakasúri, the uprooter of Gardabilla, lived 453 V.; according to other MSS. the same Kálak also transferred the Paryushaparvan, and as authorities for this fact are mentioned the Stehánakavríttri, Dharmopadaksándérttri, Pushpmándérttri, samastá-Kálakáyácákathá and Prabhávákachátrir.

Árya-Khapúta lived at the same time, 453 V., according to a Jóma-Pattévali, but besides it is said, that the Prabhávákachátrir gives the date as 484 V.

In 467 V. lived Árya-Mángu, Viddhávádin and Pádálipá, at the same time Siddhasenadívákara, author of the Kálydpamandásértavá and converter of Vikramáditya (470 V.). Here follow the three

---

34 From Híptáján's Paríkíraph, V. v. 86, 103-5.
35 In the same year the 9th Nanda was killed by Chandragupta.
36 V. 27, 28. Prof. Jacob, Z. D. M. G. XXXIV, p. 392, quotes the verses, read Bhrdránamacári (madipugyasa) in v. 27, and cha sañjávino in v. 28.
37 Of the Kharastara-Pattévali, sub 24.
38 Sríngá IV.
39 It is really so!
Prakrit verses, which Prof. Bühler first published in the Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 362 (in v. 3 read Nahavāna for Nahavahana). In a Gurusvālī of the Vṛhadrāja the following two gāthās are added:

दृष्टिनिःसन्ध्यात् १३०
विज्ञानकाल विकास विज्ञानसम्यक्ष ६०।
भव्यान्ध्या चालन्ते (श्री) ४०।
वासुदेव निर्देश २२ नाथों और माण ॥
इत्यादि ३ सामाग्रिक
वासुदेव निर्देश १३१॥
विभक्तमहानी सागराणि
पण्डितारुपा वरि संज्ञानोति।

11. Dinna.
12. Simhagiri.
13. Vajra, born 496 V., died 584 V., etc., conf. Kharātara-Patīvalī No. 16.

Thus Bhīmārīya 915 V. Bhimaśeṣaśīta, Bhīmaśeṣaśīta, गृहा निवासितम् गृहा निवासितम् प्राप्त्यतत् ४५२ वृद्धाशितम् विधाने विधाने। तथा चरिताभूतत्वात् विनिवृत्तम् विनिवृत्तम् तथास्वदेशस्वता।

But according to other MSS. the year of Bhādragupta's death is 563 V., that of Āryarakhta's 557 V., and that of Śri-Gupta's 584 V.

14. Vajrasena lived 9 years in grīha, 116 (sic) in wṛata, 3 as yugapradhāna, and died at 123 in 620 V. (!)

Respecting the year of Āryarakhta's death the following is asserted: "Bhimaśeṣaśīta: 919 वर्षां तस्मान विलीनतात्त्विन विलीनतात्त्विन प्राप्त्यतत् ४५२ वृद्धाशितम् विनिवृत्तम्। तथा चरिताभूतत्वात् विनिवृत्तम्।"

Durbaṅkappushpa died 616 V., in 617 V. the first udāya ends and the second begins. 620 V. Ujjayantuśvarau Tavadyudhdhrāṣṭa.

15. Chandra. तस्मातः ग्राहकच सति द्वितैव नाम प्राप्तेऽन्।
16. Sāmaprabodha. तस्मातः सप्तप्राप्तेऽन्।
17. Vṛddhadeva, कविके नामांस्वस्तिज्ञानादातिह सतिः श्रीब्रजरीत्यं तथा। सा च प्रतिष्ठा विक्रमत्रपतिनां गुरुप्रवचनुसारं। तथा "शालिवासुदेव"।

* According to the Kharātara-Patīvalī Vīra was a contemporary of Devardhidgani, 980 V. or 510 Sath.
* Cf. Prabhādevakāti, v. 79, 80.
1055 v. or Sa. 585 Haribhadrasuri, the son of Yakini, died.

In 1115 v.44 lived the Yugapradhana Jina

bhadragani, who was looked upon as bhuna,

on account of his work Jina bhadriyadhyana-
tatata.;


30. Vipra prabha, who erected a temple to

Neminathat Nadgulapura 1170 v. or Sa.

700.

In 1100 v. lived the Yugapradhana Umad-
svati (Abhinasamajarajasastra: ).

31. Yasodeva.

1272 v. or Sa. 802 Anahillapurapat-

tana was founded by Vanaraja.45

1270 v. or Sa. 800 Bhadra2 sukla 3,

Bappabhati,46 who converted king Ama,

was born; died 1365 v. or Sa. 895 Bhadra2

sukla 6.

32. Pradyumna.

33. Manadeva, author of Upadhna-

vitya and other granthas.

34. Vimalachandra.

35. Uddyota consecrated 1464 v. or

Sa. 994 Sarvadevasuri, according to others 8

siris, under a large fig-tree (vata) in the

boundary of the village Telli on Mount Arbuda.

Thence originated the Vihad- or Vada-Vata-

gaccha (the 5th name).

36. Sarvadeva, as the Abhina-

samajarajasastra sastra:

Buddhist literature.


29. Vipra prabha, who erected a temple to

Neminathat Nadgulapura 1170 v. or Sa.

700.

In 1100 v. lived the Yugapradhana Umad-

svati (Abhinasamajarajasastra: ).

31. Yasodeva.

1272 v. or Sa. 802 Anahillapurapat-

tana was founded by Vanaraja.45

1270 v. or Sa. 800 Bhadra2 sukla 3,

Bappabhati,46 who converted king Ama,

was born; died 1365 v. or Sa. 895 Bhadra2

sukla 6.

32. Pradyumna.

33. Manadeva, author of Upadhna-

vitya and other granthas.

34. Vimalachandra.

35. Uddyota consecrated 1464 v. or

Sa. 994 Sarvadevasuri, according to others 8

siris, under a large fig-tree (vata) in the

boundary of the village Telli on Mount Arbuda.

Thence originated the Vihad- or Vada-Vata-

gaccha (the 5th name).

36. Sarvadeva, as the Abhina-

samajarajasastra sastra:

Buddhist literature.

Besides the following verses are quoted:

37. Deva, named Rupasuri.

38. Sarvadeva.

39. Yasobhadra and Nemicandra,

gurubhrataraha.

In Sa. 1135, according to others 1139,

Abhayanavasuri, composer of vrittis on 9

aagas, died.

The Gauwamaharajasastra sastra sastra:

Buddhist literature.

According to Prabhadaksyatitakshanastava, c.

194; Vijnanacharitakarita, XXVII, v. 194;

The Prabhadaksyatitakshana sastra sastra.

According to the Kharatara-Gautamacchana,

one of the pupils of Udityotana, died Sa. 1088. If this
data is correct, the consecration must have been later
than Sa. 994.

44 From a Guruvavall composed Sa. 1466 by Munisundara,
v. 56—58.

45 Saatma.

46 Sarvadeva.

47 From Munisundila's Guruvavall, v. 60—69 and 72.
A pupil of Munichandra was Dévaśūri, who conquered the Digambara Kumudachandrācārya in a dispute before Jayasinhadeva, king of Anahillapurapatnam, and thereby hindered the entrance of the Digambaras into that town. In Saṅh. 1204 Dévaśūri founded a chaitya and raised a bimba at Phalavardhigrama (now Chandrakona), and made a Nemināthapatinishtā at Arasāya. He composed Syād-vādārunakāra, a pranamagrantha, from whence sprang the Chatunakajatiśikhyā. Dévaśūri was born Saṅh. 1143; dīkṣā 1152; sūripada 1174; svarga 1226 Śrīvaṣṭa vadi 7 Guraṅ. At the same time lived Hēmāchandra-sūri, pupil of Dévachandra-sūri, who converted Kumārpāla, author of trikṣu-granthas, born Saṅh. 1145 Kārtika sud 15; dīkṣā 1150; sūripada 1160; svarga 1229.

41. Ajitadeva.

25. Kielhorn, I, 1, p. 76.
27. Alūs Śidhharaṇa, who reigned Saṅh. 1150-90. The dispute took place Saṅh. 1181.
29. Ārya Śridhārāyana Śrīvatsa-bhakta.
30. Prodhāvakararaṇa, XXI, v. 95.
31. Prodhāvakararaṇa, XXI, vv. 267 seqq. (Sivasāyati, Jñāna Śrīkaṇṭha Śrīvatsa-bhakta, vṛttatakṣakāṅkṣātāḥ).
32. Ārya Śridhārāyana Śrīvatsa-bhakta.
33. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
34. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
35. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
36. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
37. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
38. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
40. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
41. Prakṛta-granthsamāraṇaśrī.
42. Vijayasiṃha, corrected the Vīrakamiṇjarī.
43. Somaprabha and Maṇiratna.
44. Jagadechandra, the well known founder of the Tapāgachcha. This Śrīvatsa-bhakta Vīrakamiṇjarī, who was born in the Tapāgachcha and was the most distinguished and famous of his family, and was also known as the "Vīra-vatsa-bhakta."
47. Somaprabha, born Sañ. 1310, took vrata 1321, sûripada 1332, and died 1373. His works are as follows: *Namidhā bhaqān evam ity ādy ardhanāsūtraḥ*, swistara-Yatifitakalamūsūtraḥ, Yatrapakhyādā 23 stutyaḥ, Jinaṇa yena stutyaḥ, Śrīmadhakarm三亚dāyaḥ. He gave the sûripada Sañ. 1357 to his pupil Vimalaprabha, and after the death of the last to his pupils Paramānda and Somāndika, the last mentioned of whom succeeded him.

48. Somatilaka, born Sañ. 1355 Māghe; dīkṣādā 1369; sûripada 1373; evarga 1424; composed: *Vṛihannavakṣeratrasaṃupalstotraṃ,* *Sattariṣaśāhāraṃ,* *Yatrapakhyādā Jaya Vrisabha,* *Śaśārmane vṛṣṭayaḥ,* *Śrī-rājagṛīdā vrataratnaḥ,* *Subhādhabhāvānaḥ,* *Śrīmad-Virasu evam ity ādy kalmabalabhasvavitaśaṃsūtraṃ,* *Sūtrasaṃhitā Śrī-nāthasūkti vṛṣṭayaḥ* ity ṣaṅkīti stūbivaṃśi. He gave the sûripada successively to Padmatilaka, Chandrasekhar, Jayananda and Dēvasundara. Padmatilaka died one year after; Chandrasekhar, born Sañ. 1373; received vrata Sañ. 1385; sûripada Sañ. 1393, (according to Muniṣundara’s *Gṛṇāvali* 1392); died Sañ. 1423, composed *Uṣhtabhovakakathā* (otherwise *Vṛṣṭi-kayojyakathānaka*), *Yuvājñārājikaḥ,* *Śrīnāṭyamabhakaraśabdahastavati* (otherwise *Satrujakṣayajya-Raivastututi*). Jayananda, born Sañ. 1380; vrata Sañ. 1382 Āśādā 7 Śukre; at Dhārā; sûripada Sañ. 1420 Vaśākha śūri 10; at Apāhillaṭṭapattana; died Sañ. 1441; wrote *Sthulabhadracharitra, Devīḥ prabodhānaya prabhoti sūtraṃviṣṭaṃ.*

49. Dēvasundara, born Sañ. 1396; vrata 1404 at Mahēṣvaragrāma; sûripada 1420 at Apāhillaṭṭapattana; had five pupils.—Jānāsāgara, Kulaṃapaṇa, Guṇaratna, Śādhuratna and Somasundara.

Jānāsāgara, born Sañ. 1405; dīkṣādā 1417; sûripada 1441; died 1460; wrote avachārīnān evam on the *Avāyaka* and *Oghānāryutikā* and on other books, *Śrīnāṭyamabhasviti* Ghanavakṣeravahāndapārśvadvitānaḥ, etc.

Kulaṃapaṇa, born Sañ. 1409; vrata 1417; sûripada 1442; died 1455 Cātriṇa. His works are *Śiddhāntādakapaddhāraḥ, Vīvānādakarm三亚dārcharabhadhastavā, Gaṇīḥ prabhāvitaṃ,* etc.

---

63 From Muniṣundara’s *Gṛṇāvali,* v. 171.
Gujaratnawrote Kriyaratnasamuchchaya,ShaddarmanasamuchchayaPrithvivaidusya,etc.
Sadhuratnawrote a vrtti on the Yatijatvalaka(cf.No.47),etc.

50. Somasundara, born Sa. 1430
Mgavavadi 14 Sakre; vrtta 1451; vchakapada 1450; sripada 1457; died 1499; wrote bdacca-
bodhas on Yogasutra, Upadhyamad, Shadacca-
ayaka, Navaratvita, etc. His pupils were Muni-
sundara, Jaya-sundara, with the biruda Krish-
rasarvatvi, Bhuvanasundara, and Jinasundara,
author of Dyaklidhakalpa.

51. Munisundara, (viruda Kalsara-
vatvi), born Sa. 1436; vrtta 1443; vchakap-
ada 1466; sripada 1478; died 1503 Krtika
sudi 1; composed Upadhyaratnakara, San-
karam tisavahinidantatvita, a Gauravali, etc.

52. Ratnaschhara, (biruda Balsara-
vatvi), born Sa. 1457 (kvachii 1452); vrtta 1463;
punjaptapa 1483; vchakapada 1483; sripada 1502;
died 1617 Punsha vadi 6; composed Srddhagratikramaparva, Srddhavahikvrtti and Aca-
arahapradita.

In Sa. 1508 the Luukaka or Lumphakamat
was founded by the Lekhaka Luukaka, and
from this manda the Veshadhara took their
rise Sa. 1533.

53. Lakshmisanaga, born Sa. 1461
Bhadravad 2; dikshita 1470; pannyapada 1496;
vchakapada 1501; sripada 1508; gachchana-
yakapada 1517.

54. Sumatisadhv.
55. Hemavimala.

Sa. 1562 the Ktukamatam separated from
the Tristuttikamatam, founder of the Grijasta
Ktukaka; Sa. 1570 the Vrsmakamat from the
Luukakamatam, influenced by the Veshadhara

Vij；and S. 1572 from the Nagaupuri satapaga
under the influence of Upadhyaya Pirva-
chandra (or Pasischandra); the matam, called
after him.

56. Anandavimala, born Sa. 1547 at
lladurga; vrtta 1550, sripada 1570; died 1596,
Chaitra sudi 7, at Ahammadavada.

57. Vijayadana, born Sa. 1553 at
Janism; diksha 1562; sripada 1587; died 1622
Vaisakha sudi 12, at Vatapall.

58. Hiravijaya, who converted the
emperor Akbar, (cf. Vharatara-Pattapilia, sub 61),
born Sa. 1583 Marga2 sudi 9, at Pralhadana-
pura; dikshita 1596 Krtika vadi 2, at Patana;
vchakapada 1608 Mgha sudi 5, at Naradapura,
sripada 1610 at Sirohi; died 1652 Bhadr
sudi 11, at Umanagara.

59. Vidajasena, born Sa. 1604 at
Naradapura; diksha 1613; received from the
demperor Akbar the biruda Kalsaravatvi; died
1671 Jyeshta vadi 11, at Stambhatartha.

60. Vijayadevachch, born Sa. 1634; diksha
1643; pannyapada 1655; sripada 1666; received
from the emperor Jhághir the biruda
Mahapat, died S. 1713 Ashadha sudi 11, at
Umanagara. His appointed successor, who
died before him, was Vijayasimha, born
Sa. 1644 at Mequat; diksha 1654; vchakap-
da 1673; sripada 1682; died 1709 Ashadha
sudi 2.

61. Vijayaprabha, born Sa. 1677 at
Manoharapura in Kachh; diksha 1685; panny-
apada 1701; sripada 1710 at Gandharaband-
dira; appointed S. 1732 at Nagora Vijaya-
ratna, his successor.

Here ends the MS.

Berlin, March, 1882.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STUPA OF JAGGAYYAPETTA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

The subjoined three inscriptions, which are
almost identical, were found by Dr. Burgess
during his late explorations at the Stupa near
Jaggayyapetta, a town in the Krishnâ district
(Talukâ Nandigâma) of the Madras Presidency.
Dr. Burgess sent to me an excellent paper

46 According to others, Jâmâgâra is the 50th,
Kulamâyâna the 51st and Some sundara the 52nd pâta-
dhara.

47 In colophons of MSS. and otherwise called Jaya-
chandra. At this time lived also the well known (blyy) Ka-
Kâmâkara (Munisundara’s Gavva, p. 424), prob-
ably the author of the Jainni-version of the Sûtâdâna
impression of No. II, which unfortunately is
mutilated and incomplete, and an eye-copy of
No. I. The latter, I think, contains a few
mistakes, due to the abraded state of the
original, viz., ovamasia (l. 2) and ovamati
(l. 3.) for aves², apânô (l. 3 and 6) for ép²,

46. vdtvâriakâ, see Weber, Ind. Stud. vol. XV, p. 188.
47. Sa. 1466 according to the Bombay MSS.
48. Sa. 1486 according to the Berlin MS.
and hatasukhyā (l. 6.) for his. There is also a curious sign for tu in bādaukhaśa (l. 4.), where a stroke, probably intended to indicate the lengthening of the u, has been attached to the top of the i. Not one of these points is, however, of any importance for the correct interpretation of the document, as No. II. gives the correct forms. I have, therefore, not corrected them in the Devānāgarī transcript. As regards the transcript of No. II., the letters placed between brackets are indistinct in the original. Owing to the state of the original some of the anusvāras are doubtful.

The characters of the two inscriptions are decidedly of the Andhra type which prevails in the inscriptions from Amaraṅati and those from the Western Caves. But it seems to me that they represent a late development of that most ancient among the Southern alphabets. To this conclusion point the notches in the lower horizontal lines of the letters va, ma, and la, and the shape of the letters na and ha. All these peculiarities are highly characteristic of the later Southern alphabets, and occur in many Chalukya inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. I am, however, not prepared to assign so late a date to these inscriptions, because it happens not unfruitfully in Indian epigraphy, that forms and characteristics which are constant in late inscriptions, are found sporadically in older documents. All I mean to say is—that on epigraphical grounds I would place these documents after the inscriptions of Gotamiputra II. Sivariṣaṇa Sātakāṇi. In the case of No. II. the mason has done his best to show off his skill in making the letters ornamental and their form artistic. The language is perhaps a little more closely allied to those of the literary Pāli than that of the other Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions of the South and West. But the forms apago (l. 3. and 6) for Pāli attana, the occurrence of the dual bādakā (l. 4.) which the literary Prakrits do not admit, the irregular euphonic change in nāka or naka (l. 2. 4.) for ndga, as well as the irregular construction of the pass. perf. part., which is taken in the sense of the active and governs the accusative khaṃbha, deserve to be noted.

The chief importance of the inscriptions which record the erection and dedication of some pillars near the Stūpa by a pious Baudhā manufacturer or artisan lies in the date which is given according to the regnal year of a king of the Ikhāku, i.e. Ikṣvāku or solar race of Rājputs. He is called Mādhāripuṭa, i.e., the son of the queen of the Mādhara (in Sanskrit Māṭhara) family. The same epithet belongs to an Andhra king whose existence Pandit Bhagyānnālī first made known. One is sorely tempted to identify the two individuals. But a careful consideration of the circumstances makes such a view, I fear, untenable. For the Andhra Mādhāripuṭa, who, as Pandit Bhagyānnālī has shown, ruled between Vāsiṭhipuṭa (Pāḷumāyī) and Gotamipuṭa II. (Yaṇasiri Sātakanṭi) is called in the Kāhēri inscription, Sirisena (on the facsimile Sakhase) and on the coins Sivalaṅka, which latter word, I presume, is a title or a biruda. The monarch mentioned in the Jaggayayeta, inscriptions, on the other hand, bears the name Purishaḍata, i.e. Purushadatta, “given by Purusha or Vishaṭu” or “he whom Purusha may give.” The words Sirivira (Sirvira) which are compounded with Purishaḍata, contain, I think, a honorific title, similar to Vedangī, Hākuras, Siriyāṅa or Yaṇasiri and Sirisena. For if Sirivirâpurishaḍata were translated by “the illustrious Viraṣhāpurishaḍata,” it would be necessary to assume the existence of a deity, called Virapuṣāra, which hitherto is not known. But whether my explanation of the compound Sirivirâpurishaḍata be right or wrong, it seems to me impossible that the individual, denoted by it, can be the same person as Mādhāripuṭa Sirisena Sivalaṅka. I do not even think it safe to assert positively that king Purishaḍata belonged to the Andhra dynasty; though the list of the Parāgas mentions one whose name is variously given as Pravalaṇa, Purīkasena, Purindrasena and Purisabhiṣkara, and somewhat resembles our Mādhāripuṭa’s in its first portion. For the Andhras appear to have belonged to the Sātavāhana race, while Purishaḍata calls himself an Ikṣvāku. All I venture to say for the present is—that probably some time after
Gotamiputra II. Sīrīyāṅa Sātakaṇṭi, a king of northern Rājpūt descent, called Purisadatta, ruled over the Krishnā districts. His rule may have fallen in the 3rd century A.D., and before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi.

Translation.

Success! On the tenth day of the eighth fortnight of the rainy season, in the twentieth year of the king Purisadatta [Purushadatta], the glorious hero [Sīrīyāṅa] of the Ikhaṅk [Ikṣvaṅk] (and) son of the queen of the Mādhara [Māthara] race—the manufacturer Sudattha [Śiddhārtha] who dwells in the village of Mahākāḍūrā (and is) the son of the manufacturer Nākachanda [Nāgachandra] who dwells in the village of Nādatūra in the province (rāstra) Kauṅkaka of having associated (with himself) his mother Nāgilāni [Nāgilāni] and his wife Samudani [Samudrāni] and his son Mū拉萨 [Mūḷasāri] and his daughter Nāka-budhanīka [Nāgabuddhanīkā] and his brother Buddhīnaka and the wife of the latter Kaunīka [Karṇikā or Kanyakā] and (their) two sons Nagasīrī [Nāgāsīrī] and Chandāsīrī [Chandraśīrī] and (their) daughter Sidha-budhanīka [Śiddhābhudhanīkā], erected, thus, together with the multitude of his blood-relations, friends and connexions, in the village of Valagiri* near the eastern gate (of the great Chaitya No. I.) of divine Buddha, five, (5, Ayaka-pillars,* ) which were dedicated*

* The Mādharas or Mātharas are a Brahmīnical race mentioned in the gana to Pālinī and elsewhere. It is, of course, to be understood that the king was not a Brahmīni but a Rājpūtī using the gana of his father’s gana as his family name.

2 Assam or Assam translated by ‘manufacturer’ corresponds to an untraced Sanskrit word deśayam, literally the possessor of a workshop. Perhaps it might be rendered by ‘artisan.’

3 Valagiri, ‘the hill of Vāla,’ is apparently the name of the hill on which the ruins of the stūpa are situated.

4 I am unable to say at present what is meant by the epithet ayaka or as No. I seems to read, ayakā. It is possible to connect it either with ḍṛyaka ‘venerable’ or with ṣrīv ‘iron, metal.’ But I think it is more likely that the word has some technical meaning. I would suggest ‘lofty’ or ‘frontal’: they were pillars about 16 feet high erected on the east front of the stūpa, exactly as represented on the Amāśāvati slabs bearing representations of stūpas. (See next note.)—J.E.

5 Sansmitsutet, which has been taken as an equivalent of simantakāta ‘dedicated by all’ (the persons named), may also stand for svayamkātā, ‘attached or placed to the left (of the eastern gate).’ I have no information regarding the position of the pillars and do not know if the latter translation is really admissible.
by all (the persons named above,—to be) his meritorious gift—for the good and the welfare of all living beings.

P. S.—After sending the above article to the press, I received from Dr. Burgess an excellent impression of a third version of Siddhârtha's inscription, which was also found in the Dhamaboda near Jâgayyapeta. The execution of this third copy is highly artistic, and its preservation in general very good. The remarks made on the alphabet of the first two apply to this copy also. It may, however, be noted that in naddâtra (l. 2) and kâttinâ (l. 3), the long å has been marked by attaching a horizontal stroke to the top of the å, just as in No. II. The document offers only a few variants which have any importance for the interpretation. The most important are: 1. the form of the name of the place where the stôpa stood, which is given as Velagiri (l. 5) instead of Valagiri; 2. the reading savaniýute (l. 6) for savaniyute in Nos. I and II. If this

varia lectio is not due to a mistake of the mason, it makes the translation, proposed in the note, savaniyukta, placed to the left (of the eastern gate) the more probable one.

Transcript of the third version.

1. सिति ्रजस्वतिरपुस्तस्मृति ्विरुपितकम्संभव्रेण ्वेषानवभि ्विद्वस ्वेधि ्वि
2. काळेन जनतिः अविनस्तिः नाकंतंदा पुसी गापर महालकुर्जः अवगसीनि
3. सिथों विविधो वार्ता नागिंत्रिनिमुतो कानु धारिनी च सुमुदानास दलकर च मृता ्विद्वसरी
4. बालिकां च नाजुकुन्मलकां भुक्षा च विधिनकां तत्त धारिनी च कालिक च दलिक च नागसिरिवंद
5. निरी बालिका कं रिखानितकं एवं नालसिरिवंद सह गापर वेलगिरिप भगवती
6. दुरास्ठ महाविविधारुर्यात्कालाम् || स्वेष निबुन्ते अव्यो दयजम सससतानखि हि-
7. तस्मात्य भवित्विति ||

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMIR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.


(Continued from p. 232.)

NO. 2.—FOLKTALE. 1

Gwâshârârâ and Westarâ. 2

Ages ago, when the world was young and the mountains had just reared their heads to the heavens, Westarâ was the highest peak in all Kashmir. Far away in the west Nangâ Parbat stood where it stands now, but its snowy cap only reached to Westarâ's shoulder, while Harâ Mukh looked but a dwarf beside the giant king. But if Westarâ was the tallest, Gwâshârâ was the most beautiful of mountains. Away in the north-east she glinted and glittered with her sea-green emerald glaciers, and Westarâ gazed and gazed at her loneliness till he fell in love with the beautiful Gwâshârâ; but her heart was full of envy, and she thought of nothing but how she might humble the pride of the mighty king that reared his head so high above the rest of the world. At last the fire of love grew so hot in Westarâ's heart that he put aside his pride and called aloud to Gwâshârâ, "Oh beautiful far away mountain, kiss me, or I die."

But Gwâshârâ answered craftily, "How can I kiss you, oh proud King, when you hold your head so high? Even if I could stand beside you my lips could not reach your lips, and behold how many miles of hill and dale lie between us."

But still Westarâ pleaded for a kiss, till Gwâshârâ smiled, and said: "Those above must stoop, Sir King. If you would have a kiss forget your pride, reach that long length of yours towards me, and I will bend to kiss you."

Then Westarâ, stretching one great limb over the vale of Kashmir, reached over hill and dale to Gwâshârâ's feet, but the glacial


1 Told by Pâñjît Nâdâ Boo at Khrû, 29th May 1881.— F. A. S.

2 All the mountains mentioned in this tale are prominent peaks in Kashmir, and belong to what Cunningham (Laddik, 1854, Ch. III.) calls the Pir Panjâr or Mid-Himalayan Range. Nangâ Parbat (26,626 ft.) is to the N. W., Harâ Mukh (16,906 ft.) to the N., Gwâshârâ or Kolohul (17,839 ft.) to the N. E. Westarâ is a long ridge running N. W. to S. E. between Khrû and Sodâr, right into the Kashmir Valley. Khrû is not far from Srinagar and S. E. of it.—R. C. T.
hearted queen held her flashing head higher than ever and laughed, saying: "Love humbles all."

And this is why Westravân lies for ever stretched out over hill and dale, till he rests his head on Gwâshbrâl's foot.²

No. 3.—Folktale.

How the Springs came to Kashmir.²

Long ago there lived a holy Rishi³ who used every day as an act of charity to give water to all the houses at Khrû. But as there were 1100 houses and only one small stream it was a work of difficulty, and one hot summer there was scarcely any water at all. So the Rishi prayed to the Great Mother,⁴ and she told him to go to a certain mây,⁵ and pick a certain flower that grew in a certain place, and taking it to the Lake at Gaṅgâbâl,⁶ throw it in. "Then return," said she, "and behind you as you walk will flow Gaṅgâ." But remember whatever happens do not look back."¹⁰

So the Rishi went to the mây, picked the flower, which he carried to Gaṅgâbâl in a cloth, and threw it into the water. Then he turned, and lo! behind him rose the sound of many waters following his footsteps.

But the demons⁰ who kept guard were angry, and clapped and beat him on the neck and shoulders, but he took no notice. So two hours passed by till his patience wore out, and at last, when a demon changing itself into

² The Westarvân ridge is the longest spur into the Valley of Kashmir. This and the remarkably clear tilt of the hills doubtless suggested this extremely fanciful and poetical legend.—F. A. S.

³ Bjørnson, writing about Norway (Life by the Fells and the Fjords, pp. 1-4), gives a similarly fanciful account of "how the mountain was clad" apparently straight from some old folklore. As a matter of fact Westarvân does not lay his head at Gwâshbrâl's feet or anywhere near there, though he would seem to do so from the Khrû side, where I presume the legend arose. An excellent account of a journey over the country between Khrû and Gwâshbrâl gives that lying between Westarvân and Gwâshbrâl, by the late Col. Cuppage, to be found at pages 205-221 Ince's Kashmir Handbook, 3rd Ed., 1876.—R. C. T.

⁴ Told by Pandit Nānâ Beo at Khrû.—F. A. S.

⁵ Râhîs, in the Purânî times the seven inspired sages to whom the Vedas were revealed; in the epic times they person of extraordinary piety or austerity, in modern times mythological personages supposed to have been sages who practised unexampled austerities and still possessed of extraordinary powers, and thus attained to supernatural powers.—R. C. T.

⁶ Mâhâbâl; this may be Durâgâ-devî, the wife of Skanda, the Great Goddess, or Mâtrî-Pîthvî, Mother Earth, or again, in modern times, any goddess through the māhârâs, the divine mothers, originally the manifestations of the energies of the deities; now they are local village deities worshipped all over India.—R. C. T.

⁷ Mây meaning "a mountain meadow." They abound in Kashmir, e.g. Gulmarg, Sonamarg, etc.; (b) connected with Sañk, Hindi, and Panj. mây, 'a road,' 'a hunting track.'—R. C. T.

a wap sting him behind the ear, he turned sharply round, saying: "Don't, Brother, don't." And lo! the Gaṅgâ turned too, and flowed back into the Lake.¹³ Then the Rishi prayed again to the Great Mother, but she was angry. At last after many days she said: "Gaṅgâ you cannot have, but take the cloth in which you carried the flower, and wherever you spread it out a spring of Gaṅgâ water will rise."

So as a penance for his disobedience the pious Rishi travelled all over Kashmir, and wherever water was scarce, he spread out his cloth, and lo! a spring appeared.

No. 4.—Superstition.

The Yech.

The Yech or Yâch¹⁴ is a sort of woodland demon or sprite which entices men away from the right road at night by calling in a human voice, "Oh brother, oh brother, you are going on the wrong path: come this way." If the unwary traveller follows this advice the Yech eats him.¹⁵

The original form of the Yech is that of an animal smaller than a cat, of a dark colour, with a white cap on its head. The feet are so small as to be almost invisible. When in this shape it has a peculiar cry described thus—

Chot, chot, châ-û-chot chot.

It has the power of assuming any shape. Very often when coolies are sleeping out at

³ Gaṅgâbâl. See ante, p. 231.—R. C. T.

⁴ Gaṅgâ, the sacred river, the Ganges; in common belief any stream held unusually sacred from any reason.—R. C. T.

¹° This kind of incident is common, see ante, Panjâb Folklore, the story of the White Horse.—R. C. T.

¹³ The demons guarding water are now known as Bûra, Yâch, Varuna, or the Ocean. Varuna's messengers are celebrated in the Vedic mythology, not in any way however as demons, but as the spies of the mighty God of Heaven, who numbers the winkings of all men's eyes.

¹⁵ His spâs descending from the sky glide all this world around.

"Their thousand eyes all scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound."—Mîr's Sânâkî Tânts.—R. C. T.

Bhâ is the word. Hind. brother, a common term of friendly salutation.—R. C. T.

¹⁴ i.e. to the Gaṅgâbâl.—R. C. T.

¹⁵ There is no doubt as to the origin of the modern Yech, called in the Kângvâ District and in the Panjâb generally Yâch. In classical times the Yâkesh, Paik, and Pà-i Yâkesh, together with the Gûkyakas, were attendant on Kûra, the god of wealth, and were guardians of his gardens and treasures. In ancient days they were variously described as inoffensive, harmless, supernatural beings, and as malignant imps who ate men. The general outline of the ancient belief in the Yâkesh has been wonderfully preserved to the present day.—R. C. T.

¹⁶ This is the tradition in Kângâ where the Yâkes has been much confounded with the Chauri, the malignant ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth.—Vid. Panjâb Folklore, ante, pâzint.—R. C. T.
night it is said to assume the face and figure of a friend, a father, brother, or relative, and waken the sleeper by shaking them on the shoulder, saying, "Brother, give me your kāngrā." If it is given by the unsuspecting, the Yech upsets all the burning coals over the victim, burning him dangerously. The proper thing to do is to say "Yes, brother, yes," and then in giving the kāngrā to upset the coals over the Yech, who will fly, shrieking out curses and abuse. It has a marvellous vocabulary of strange oaths.

The Yech cannot cross running water, and when pursued by one a man is safe if he can step across a stream. 17

The white cap which the Yech wears is shell-shaped, and is endowed with magical powers. If a man is brave enough to snatch one from a Yech's head, he becomes the man's faithful servant as long as the cap is in the man's possession, but the only place where it can be kept safely is under a mill-stone, or a fragment of a mill-stone. 18 By hook or crook the Yech will recover it if placed elsewhere. The Yech is immensely powerful, and at his human master's bidding will move whole mountains and towns, but he cannot lift the least fragment of a mill-stone, as if he does his fingers will be pinched.

The Yech's cap also renders the wearer invisible. Five out of the six men from whom I first heard of this demon had seen Yechs, and its existence is evidently an undoubted fact to nine out of every ten people in the Kashmir Valley. 19

The people are not much afraid of the Yech, and seem to think that it and its tricks are too well known to be dangerous, and that any one taken in by a Yech rather deserves his fate than otherwise for his gross ignorance. 20

At Sopūr I met a man whose great-grandfather, a mullah, had possession of a Yech's cap. He ordered all the gold, jewellery, etc., he wanted on a liberal scale, and then, having as he thought, enough for himself and his heirs for ever, in a moment of mistaken generosity he returned the cap to the Yech, when all his treasure disappeared. The result is that the Mullah's great-grandson trotted after my pony for 12 miles, and was rendered immensely pleased by two annas "bakhish." 21

---

THE COSMOGONIC HYMN, RIG-VEDA X, 129.

BY PROF. W. D. WHITNEY, OF NEW HAVEN.

(Extracted from the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.)

The prevailing belief of the Hindus of the Vedic period as to the origin of the world is that it was made by the gods. They have no detailed and generally accepted theory of the creation, and, in the absence of a supreme divinity in their Pantheon, and the lack of consistent system among their ideas of Kuvēra's treasures. In Kāngrā the Yekh can make money to disappear.—R.C.T.

21 In Kāngrā and apparently also in Kashmir there is a demon called Mahādēvaka (Māyēch or Great Yech), which is more powerful than a Yech, and can bring at pleasure immediately costly and valued things from a distance, especially delicacies, as green cloths, scarlets, etc. In Kashmir near Kārkarpur is a celebrated temple called Pāyēch, which has probably some connection with the Yekhas of classical times. The Mahādēvaka seems now to be confounded with the Yekhshē, who is a dreaded demon, and represents most probably the attendants on Durgā, the terrible: Yekhshē was however the name of Kuvēra's wife. In Kāngrā there is yet another demon Sindhibhir, with like powers to the Yekh, to whom all kinds of personal injuries are attributed. He has the power of removing women to a distance; the wanton ones sometimes take advantage of this, and after some escape will assert that Sindhibhir took them away into the jungles. Sindhibhir seems to have no direct classical origin, but his name Sindhibhir would mean river-warrior or river-demon, and he now probably represents the epic conception of Varuṇa who then sank to the level of a Nāga or Assura. Another derivation and the native one for him is Sindhibhir or Sindhibhir, the Whistling Demon. In the Hill dialect Sky or Skyā-Hindi Sky or Skyā, a whistle. He is said to be known by the peculiar whistling noise he makes, but his chief connection seems to the Kāngrā Hills and is not known in the Punjab generally. It is to be noted here that the Kashmir Musalmān believes in his Hindu neighbours' superstitions just as the Punjabi Musalmān does.—R.C.T.

17 The reference here is to the Yekhab as the guardian of the Kāngrā Valley every tract, cave, stream, or vale has its special demon of the Yekhab description to whom everything miscarries or unfortunate is attributed. This has given rise to a race of professional exorcists called chilā (lit., pupils), who affect a kind of frenzy, beating themselves with chains called sāngala (= Hind. sānghāli, a chain, fetter).—R.C.T.
beliefs, now one and now another of their gods is
credited with the production of heaven and earth,
of men and animals, and even of the other gods
themselves. Here and there, however, are found
signs of more advanced thought on these subjects,
beginnings of the speculations which rise to greater
and greater importance in the Brāhmaṇas, the
Upaniṣadait, and the philosophical systems.
The most interesting of these, and the most noted, is
a hymn in the tenth or supplementary book of the
Rig-Veda, evidently to be reckoned among
the most modern constituents of that great collection.
It has been repeatedly translated, or more or less
loosely paraphrased, and accompanied with laudatory
comments, often of a greatly exaggerated
character. Hence a simple version and brief
exposition may seem not superfluous.

The point of view of the author of the hymn is
given most plainly in the two concluding verses,
which, in the metre of the original, run thus:

6. Who truly knoweth? Who can here proclaim it?
    Whence hither born, whence cometh this creation?
    Hitherward are the gods from its creating;
    Who knoweth, then, from whence it came to being?

7. This creation—from whence it came to being,
    Whether it made itself, or whether not—
    Who is its overseer in highest heaven,
    He surely knoweth: or if he does not know?

One or two points here are questionable. In 6c,
we have the instrumental instead of the more
regular ablative; hence Ludwig translates: “the
gods have arrived hither by the sending of this
one” (the pronoun, namely, may be masculine as
well as neuter; it is not feminine, referring directly
to viṣeṣānti, ‘creation’). But the denial of prior
existence to the gods, which is the main point,
comes from either interpretation. Again, in 7b,
the subject and meaning of the verb dad̐he are
unclear; it must be either ‘it set (or made) itself,’
or ‘he set (or made) it for himself,’ i.e. the
“overseer” of the next line. I have thought the
former more acceptable; but whether the middle
can have so pregnantly reflexive a sense admits of
doubt.

To the apprehension of the poet, as is seen, the
gods themselves are only a part of the present
order of things, and their existence to be accounted
for along with the rest, while no competent
knowledge of its origination is to be expected
from them. He rejects the old faith and its simple
solution of the problem; to be sure, he has not so
cast it out of his mind as to deny the existence of
a general manager of the universe, located in the
old heaven, but even his power to satisfy our
curiosity is questioned. The rest of the hymn is
the poet’s own solution, which, after all, he is not
afraid to venture to put forth, drawn from the
depths of his consciousness.

In the first verse and a half, then, he attempts
to depict the chaos negatively, by telling what
was not then in existence. And he commits the
rhetorical fault of beginning with a denial so
absolute that what follows in the way of detail can
only dilute it and weaken its force. Thus 1.
“Not the non-existent existed, nor did the existent
exist, at that time?” i.e. in that indefinable past
which preceded the present order of things there
was neither existence nor non-existence. Surely,
then, there can be nothing more to say about it;
yet he goes on: “not the room of air existed, nor
the firmament that is beyond.” Then follows in
the second line a series of questions (not entirely
clear, since kim may either mean ‘what’ or be
more interrogative particle): “what enveloped?
where? in whose protection? what was the ocean,
the abyss profound?” The next verse proceeds:
2. “Not death existed, nor what is immortal, then”
a very unnecessary amplification; since if there
was, as already declared, neither existence nor
even non-existence, there evidently could occur no
cessation of existence, nor could there be anything
that prolonged an existence without cessation.
Finally, “there was no distinction of night from
day,” and so the negative description ends with
a mere denial of the existence of light—a con-
ception that is further enlarged upon in the fourth
verse.

Now comes something positive; and it appears
that there was in existence, after all, a certain
indefinite It, or That, or This (for tād might mean
any one of the three; probably “It” is our best
rendering): “Breathed, without wind, by inner
power, It only: than It, truly, nothing whatever
else existed besides.” Of course, if there is a tād,
the attribute of existence cannot be denied it; and
the poet by this time is content merely to assert
that nothing except this existed (ātā: the verb is
the same with that used at the beginning of the first
verse). He deludes himself with the belief
that by first denying absolutely everything, and
then denying all but an indefinite something, he
has bridged over the abyss between non-existence
and existence, and given a start to the development
of the universe. And he anthropomorphizes his
“It” by making it breathe, as if a living being;
though he adds, by way of saving clause, that such
breathing occasioned no perceptible motion of air.

The third verse is in good part a repetition of
the second, in slightly different terms. It reads
thus: 3. “Darkness existed, hidden by darkness,
at the beginning; an undistinguished sea was
this all; the void that was covered with emptiness
—that alone was born by the might of fervor.”
The first half-verse presents a familiar and widely-
spread conception; an unillumined ocean is one
of the most naturally suggested figures for the Chaos; but its inconsistency with the first verse is manifest. "A void covered (literally, as a vessel is covered with its lid) with emptiness" is a not particularly unsuccessful attempt to express the inconceivable; about as good as the old popular definition of Chaos, "a great pile of nothing, and nowhere to put it." Whether "fervor" (tapas), in the last quarter-verse, means physical heat or devotional ardor, penance, according to the later prevalent meaning of the word, admits of a question; but it is doubtless to be understood in the latter sense. For no such physical element as heat plays any part in the Hindu cosmogonies, while penance, the practice of religious austerities, is a constant factor in their theories. In the stories of their Brāhmaṇas, it is told times innumerable how the Creator, desiring to accomplish or attain something, performed penance (tapo 'tapyata), and so succeeded. It is a grossly anthropomorphic trait; yet hardly more so than that with which the next verse begins: 4. "Desire arose in the beginning upon It, which was the first seed of mind (thought, intention)." That is, since desire precedes and leads to action in man, it must have done so in the creation likewise; so 'kīmaya, 'he felt desire,' is the introduction to most of the acts of Prajāpati, the Creator, in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads. The remaining line of the verse is obscure: "The sages (or poets) by devotion, found the lie of the existent in the nonexistent, seeking it in the heart." The verb here is in the same tense with those used in describing the processes of creation above; and so the verse seems to project, without any preparation, certain wise persons into the midst of the nonentity or its development; if something later, within our period, were intended, the tense should be the aorist. And whereas sat and asat, 'existence and non-existence,' are brought together, it is a mere jugglery of words, an affectation of profundity.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF ŚĀMKARĀCHĀRYA.

With reference to Mr. Pathak's paper (ante, p. 174) on the date of Śankarāchārya, I had sent a footnote—which however was too late to be printed with the paper—pointing out that, whilst Prof. Weber (Hist. Ind. Lit. p. 51, note) places the great philosophical reformer in the 8th century, it is to be noted that Prof. Telle (Outlines of the Hist. of Anc. Religions, p. 140) had, in 1877, given A.D. 788 as the date of the birth of Śaṅkara. If he died in S. 742 or A.D. 820-21, he could only have been 32 years of age: an exceedingly short life for the work ascribed to him; may it not be that the one date or other is in error, or else that they do not relate to his birth and death, but to the commencement and end of his active career?

EDITOR.

ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT.

BY PROF. WHITNEY.

In this paper, the subject was presented substantially as below.

The question of the transliteration of Sanskrit is not merely a part of the vast and difficult one of representing alphabetic sounds in general by Roman letters; it has a quite specific and practical aspect: namely, how are the native Indian char-
acters best to be turned into European ones, in view of the very great use made of the latter by Sanskrit scholars and by philologists generally. Not only are Sanskrit words and forms constantly needing to be quoted in philological works, where the intricacy of the devanāgarī alphabet and the difficulty of setting it along with our ordinary types make transliteration necessary; whole volumes, and of every class, are published in the transliterated form, even such texts as the Rig-Veda (Aufrechter), the Taśtrīya-Samsātarī (Weber), the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (Aufrechter), etc. There is nothing illegitimate about this; the language is written in India, to no small extent, in whatever alphabet the writers are accustomed to employ for other purposes; and there is no reason why we may not allow ourselves to do the same.

The systems of transliteration employed are in detail very various, almost every leading scholar and periodical having a peculiar one, more or less different from every other. Respecting only a small minority of letters is there entire agreement: these are a, i, u, य, र, य, प, न, m, त, त, द, द; although also r, ṛ, b, h, are used nearly universally. It is true that this variety causes little practical difficulty, since he who employs one system is but slightly embarrassed to understand any of the rest; and hence scholars need not be strongly urged to abandon methods long employed by them and take up new ones; yet it is evidently desirable that usage should at any rate be made to tend gradually toward unity. The points of discordance are of every kind and degree: in some cases, choice is a matter of indifference, and must be arbitrarily made, merely for the sake of unity; but there are also signs current whose use is decided to be reprobated, and, if possible, put down.

In reference to the vowels, in the first place, the leading question is, how long quantity shall be marked. The usual English (and hence also Indian) method has long been to write an acute accent over the long vowel; thus, ā. This is wholly to be disapproved; both because there is no adaptedness in such a mark to such a purpose, and because it thus becomes impossible to accentuate a vowel at all. Continental usage is divided between the macron and the circumflex accent; thus ā or â. The choice between these two is comparatively indifferent; yet the former (â) must be allowed to be on the whole preferable, for the reasons that the macron was devised for this particular purpose and has no other, and that it is more easily combined with the accent-marks (a consideration of prime importance): there is, in fact, a degree of incongruity in writing two accent-marks, a circumflex and an acute or grave, over the same letter. Grassmann's device, of using the macron for simple long and the circumflex for long acute, is ingenious, and obviates a certain difficulty as regards type; but it is hardly worthy of general adoption, since it involves an inconsistency, and also leaves the case of a long circumflex (savātra) unprovided for. For these reasons, after employing the circumflex-sign for thirty years, I have myself recently adopted the macron instead.

The question of representation of the r-vowel is of quite another kind. Two signs divide between them general usage: namely, ṛ and rī (and to the former of these Lepsius's sign, with little circle instead of dot beneath the ṛ, may be regarded as practically equivalent, being theoretically preferable). Here the choice is not a matter of indifference, but involves an obviously important principle: not to give unnecessarily to a single element a double sign involving a false utterance. All who understand Sanskrit phonetics know that the sound represented is a pure r-sound, and that rī is a later Hindu mispronunciation; there is no reason, theoretical or practical, why we should adopt and perpetuate the error. Simple ṛ, with marks of quantity and of accent to be added as in the case of the other short vowel signs, is the only acceptable representative. It follows, of course, that ī, and not ṛī, and ā fortiori not that monstrous absurdity īṛ, should be written for the ṛ-vowel.

The representation of the diphthongs has its minor difficulties. For the gūṇa-diphthongs, there is almost universal acceptance of the signs e, o, with the corresponding pronunciation; and this pronunciation has been so long the custom in India, and hence also without exception in Europe, that no scruple need be felt as to admitting the e- and o-signs. Yet the value of those diphthongs was so evidently ai, as at the beginning, and even in earliest Sanskrit, that we cannot help wishing it were possible to introduce the corresponding written forms—as indeed has been done, though without further imitation, by one or two French scholars, the usages of their own language favoring the substitution. The heavier diphthongs are written either ai, au or āi, āu: the latter are more etymologically correct, but the former are easier, and sufficiently well suited to e, o; there is not much to choose between them. To make evident the diphthongal quantity, ā and ā are written by some; it is well enough, yet seems a needless trouble; Grassmann's ū and ū for the heavier diphthongs has found no imitation, and is not to be commended.

The designation of the acute (udatta) accent by our ordinary acute mark is universal; and nearly or quite so is likewise that of the circumflex
(swarita) by our so-called grave accent (thus, या). No more suitable sign than the latter could be devised, since the tone signified by it is in fact a downward slide forward.

Passing now to the consonants, the first question concerns the mode of writing the aspirate mutes. And here, the addition of an ल to the non-aspirate is well nigh universal; Bopp's added reversed apostrophe—as भौ etc.—is hardly any longer in use. In this there is nothing to be regretted; the element by which the aspirate differs from the non-aspirate may be sufficiently well signified by ल, nor does the distinction of surd and sonant in regard to it need to be insisted on. As to the mute-classes, the marking of the linguals (or by whatever other name we may call the मर्द्रकाय class) with a dot beneath—thus, भौ—is also nearly without exception, and unobjectionable. But the treatment of the palatalas is a harder question, and embarrassed moreover by the doubt concerning the precise phonetic value of the sounds at a given period. To me, न and न (with, of course, च and ज as aspirates) seem on the whole to be preferred; accented gutturals (as ष्ट g) are more burdensome, and also interfere with the clearness of the actual accent; nor should, on theoretical grounds, any diacritical mark be employed with so diverse values. This last reason is conclusive also against the common English use of च and जच—in which, moreover, is involved a needless waste of time and labor.

Of the nasals, न and म pass without question; and त, for the lingual, goes by constraint of analogy with भ, द; as regards the two others, considerations of convenience must determine. One of them will naturally be written द, because that sign is widely found already provided in fonts of type; and, in accordance with its general value, this is best assigned to the palatal nasal. For the remaining guttural is oftenest met with an द with short horizontal line above it—which line ought, by its length or otherwise, to be well distinguished from the macron.

In connection with the nasals may be considered the representation of the आनस्वर, difficult both on account of the variety of methods employed, and because, with the Hindu phonetists as well as with their modern successors, there has been question as to the phonetic value of the sound; whether and how far it was a nasalization of the vowel, or a nasal element following the vowel. Since, however, the Hindu texts in general use the same sign for all the different classes of cases, and whatever their theoretic estimate of the sound, there appears to be no good reason why we should not do the same thing with the same unanimity; writing, for example, हाँ, and allowing its न to be viewed as having either the one character or the other. For it would be as good as impossible to provide a complete set of vowel-signs, unaccented and accented, with a mark of nasality added. Whether न or म shall be used as basis, and what and where the diacritical mark applied, must be mainly a matter of arbitrary selection: I prefer a dot above rather than below, because the dot below is already in full use as lingual mark, and because the dot above seems like a reproduction of the corresponding देस्यकार sign; and further the adoption of the latter allows us to write न for a more independent आनस्वर, and अ for an म assimilated to a following consonant—a distinction which has a high practical convenience.

Of the semivowels, only the palatal and labial call for discussion. For the latter of these, too, न is so generally current as representative that it may almost pass for universal; a few Germans use न instead, but for no good and defensible reason. Historically best, to be sure, would be a ल in the English sense and having the English utterance. Yet the English sound is also originally represented by ल; and as we write both Latin vissus and French vis, recognizing the ल-sound as belonging to the earlier word and the ल-sound to the later, we may properly enough do the same in the Sanskrit. For the palatal semivowel are widely used both य and ज. The latter has much in its favor, being in all respects related to य as to न; and it is to the Germans the natural sign for the sound, as is य to the English and French. The choice of designation has to be made in connection with that for the sonant palatal mute; and there is, it may fairly be claimed, a gain of convenience and economy in adopting for the two sounds न and य, rather than in taking ष्ट and द, and so leaving य out of use altogether.

Among the sibilants we have only one fixed point, the dental श; in regard to the other two usage is very fluctuating, and the prevailing practice not altogether to be approved. It was apparently by some mishap that at the outset श came to be used by the English for the lingual instead of the palatal sibilant, the two being regarded as practically indistinguishable in utterance (for the definition of the lingual as श in शन, and the palatal as ल like as in session, though servilely copied from one grammar to another down to the latest, really means this, since the sounds in the two words are precisely the same); the impression was thus given that the lingual was the normal श-sound, and the error has been perpetuated in a great variety of ways. There is one wholly unobjectionable mode of correcting
it: namely, by letting the lingual point below the letter do for the sibilant what it does for the mutes and nasal, and so writing $\phi$. This Graesemann (as perhaps some before him) has done, and others are doing—myself, for example, after reluctantly writing $sh$ for a generation. The sign $sh$, or anything else involving the same implication, should be banished from general use. For the palatal sibilant, the customary English sign $\phi$ is very bad, as again using an accent mark to signify what is not accent, and embarrassing the designation of the real accent. On the continent is most widely employed the sign $\varphi$, which answers the purpose quite sufficiently well, although nothing very positive is to be said in its favor save that it includes a palatal letter as basis, and is found provided and ready for use in many fonts. In an alphabet of wider bearing, whatever sign stands for the $sh$-sound would be the most suitable representative of this sibilant. 3

Bopp's addition of a diacritical point to our $h$ as sign of the Sanskrit aspiration has, so far as observed, found no imitators, and is not to be commended. The character $h$ for vishaya is too firmly rooted in general usage to be displaced; nor is there pressing need for seeking a better representative for the sound.

To sum up briefly: the_thumb should be most strongly urged, as involving important principles, are the use of $\varphi$ and $\phi$ for the lingual vowel and the lingual sibilant respectively; of next consequence, for the sake of uniformity, is the adoption of the signs $e$, $j$, $y$, $\phi$ for the palatal sounds; the designation of long vowels, of the diphthongs, of the nasals, are minor matters, which will doubtless settle themselves by degrees in the right manner.

A remark or two may be added as to the division of words. As every one knows, there is in the manuscripts no division at all; the whole text is written solid, and prose and verse alike. The European rule is to make in devanagari writing or printing a separation between words, whenever it can be done without any alteration of the written form; and it is so reasonable and so universally practised, that no suggestion of a change appears called for. In transliterated text, now, the natural adaptation of this rule would evidently be, to separate wherever the transliterated form suffers no alteration: hence, for example, tāt savitārāvéryayam. To write tāt savitārāvéryayam because in devanagari the words would have to be so connected is certainly the height of unpractical bad logic—not to say of pedantry. The Boppian method of dividing also words whose final and initial vowels are fused into one sound, putting a single or double apostrophe before the second word, will naturally be followed only where the convenience of earliest beginners has to be consulted; but too anxiously to avoid it there seems to me to savour of the pedantic. Certainly its application in transliterated texts (e.g. tathādvedyā) is not only unobjectionable, but to be recommended; and it is even as good as imperative where the authoritative form of a word (as determined, for example, by a pada-text or by a commentary) is to be briefly signified. 4

ON THE RUDE TRIBES OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA,

By Prof. J. Avery, of Brunswick, Me.

The old province of Assam, which was coterminous with the valley of the Brahmaputra, is bordered on three sides by a rugged mountain tract, which has been, in most cases from time immemorial, the home of numerous savage tribes. The great diversity of speech among these tribes, and the primitive manners and customs which they have stubbornly retained in spite of Aryan civilization, present an interesting, but as yet little-worked, field for the linguist and anthropologist.

Beginning in the extreme east of the province, we find the settlements of the Khantis and Singphos, the most intelligent of the Hill tribes. The former are a branch of the Shān race, and came into Assam from Burma in the last century. The Singphos, who are allied to the rude tribes of northern Burma, reached their present abodes at about the same time.

Following the border-land northward, we come first to the Mishmis, whose villages extend from the Namlang, a branch of the Irawaddy, to the Dīgām, a tributary of the Brahmaputra, or approximately between 96°-97° 30’ E. long. and 27° 40’-28° 40’ N. lat. Next to the Mishmis, and between the Dīgām and Dībang rivers, is found an allied tribe calling themselves Midhis, but known to the Asamese as Crop-haired Mishmis. These two tribes are very savage, and are known only from the scanty accounts of a few venturesome travellers and occasional visits to the Asam markets.

West of the Dībang a line of tribes stretches along the foot-hills of the Himalayas as far as the confines of Bhutan. In order of location they are the Abars or Padam, Hill Miris, Daphlas, and Akas. As we approach Bhutan, the tribes show an increasing likeness to the Tibetans in features and customs. Returning to south-

---

1 A recent isolated case of the introduction of $\phi$ as a sign of the palatal sibilant is against every analogy, and

eastern Assam, we first enter the extensive territory of the Naga people, who are said to number not less than thirty tribes, and whose villages are found as far west as the Doyang river, or between 93° and 97° E. long. The Nagas are the most savage of all the mountain tribes, and their country has never been completely explored. Adjoining the Nagas on the west are the Mikirs and Kukis, the latter being immigrants from a large and powerful tribe lying farther south in Manipur and Kachar. The remaining border land is occupied by the Jaynias or Syntengs, the Khäsias, and the Garos. These tribes probably represent the true aborigines of Assam, and have preserved marked traces of affinity to a similar population in Central India. The rude tribes, whose location we have hastily traced, differ considerably in details of physical appearance and customs, but have certain characteristics in common, only one or two of which can be noted in this abstract. Physically they exhibit in a marked degree the type called Mongoloid—the oblique eyes, high cheek-bones, square jaws, scanty beard, and color varying from tawny yellow to dark brown. They live in long, narrow houses, one end of which is usually supported upon posts, so as to secure in their rough country a level floor with the least trouble. Many families and even a whole village sometimes crowd into one of these houses. Their skill in the arts is very limited, not all of the tribes being able to make iron implements or weave their own clothing. They practice the rude sort of agriculture known all over India as jhum. Each tribe is usually divided into clans, at the head of which are hereditary chiefs, whose authority is in some cases real, in others merely nominal. In the latter case the fear of private revenge is the only restraint to crime. The Abas are governed by a council of elders, who daily convene in the morang or town hall, and regulate the affairs of the community even to the details of daily labour. The religion of all the tribes except the Khamtis, who have embraced Buddhism, is at a rude, animistic stage, and consists chiefly in propitiating the mischievous spirits of their forests by offerings of fowls and other animals. Divination and magic are universally practiced. Traces of Aryan influence can be detected in some of their ideas of a future life. The languages of these tribes have never been carefully studied, and with exception of a grammar of Garo, a grammar and dictionary of Khäsia, and a few other missionary publications, are known only by brief vocabularies. Any classification is therefore provisional. The Khamtis is located with the Siamese in the Tai group; the Khäsia and Jayntia form a group by themselves at present; and the other languages, or dialects, as shall appear hereafter, not less than two score in number, are classed with the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. The prevailing type of all these languages is monosyllabic with a tendency to agglutination.

PUNA SANSKRIT MSS.

Professor Keilhorn has submitted to the Government of Bombay a proposal for the cataloguing of the valuable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in possession of the Dekhan College at Puna. These manuscripts have been mostly purchased for Government, since the inauguration in 1888 of Mr. Whitley Stokes's admirable scheme for searching out and purchasing or copying rare manuscripts. The result has been that since then the Dekhan College Library has obtained 3111 MSS., which, with about 550 received from the old Sanskrit College, makes a total of about 3660 MSS. “Considering that the Bodleian and the Berlin Libraries contain each about 1,500, and that even the Library of the India Office owns only about 300 manuscripts,” Dr. Keilhorn says he “cannot be wrong in stating that the Dekhan College possesses the largest collection of Sanskrit manuscripts which is generally accessible to scholars of all parts of the world. Nor is this collection inferior to any other in point of quality; as regards the literature of the Jaina it is admitted unrivalled; its palm-leaf and Bhdrapratra manuscripts are unique; and the daily increasing applications from European and native scholars prove that no important work can be published to-day either in Europe or in India without consulting the manuscripts of the Dekhan College.”

Such a collection is well deserving of a thoroughly good catalogue, and Prof. Keilhorn proposes “that a certain number of manuscripts should, from time to time and for a limited period, be sent to Europe through the India Office, and that scholars who might be willing to assist in the undertaking” should be invited to do so. “Certain branches of Sanskrit literature should be assigned to such scholars as are known to excel in them, and every scholar should be made individually responsible for his share of the work, and his own name should be given on the title-page of the part of the catalogue prepared by him.” Dr. Keilhorn places his own services at the disposal of Government to assist in the work, and expresses the hope that, within five or six years an excellent catalogue of all the manuscripts hitherto collected will be completed, and at very little expense.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET
AND NUMERALS.

MEMORANDUM BY PROF. G. BÜHLER,
PH.D., C.I.E.¹

The Southern Indian Alphabet, the oldest form
of which we possess in the Maurya and Andhra
(नानाधि and Nāsik Kāśī and Amaravati in-
scriptions), no doubt comes before us as a fully
developed system about 300 B.C., and is accompa-
nied both in certain Maurya and in certain Andhra
inscriptions, by an equally developed system
of numeral figures, which are clearly syllables.

As far as I can see, there can be no doubt that
this alphabet was an old institution in India
about 300 B.C., and that it owed its development
to the grammatical schools of the Brāhmāns.

The arguments proving its great age are—

1. The extensive territory over which it occurs,
from Kāṭhāvāḍa to Orissa and the Eastern
Coast, and from the Himaḷayas down to the
Saḥyādriśa.

2. The fact that it must have been generally
known among the higher classes (and even the
lower classes of this enormous territory); as
is shown—(a) By the circumstance that Asōkā
could hope to improve the morals of his subjects
by official placards; (b) by the exquisite
execution of the inscriptions, which excels (e.g.
on the Dehli and Allahabad pillars) all the best
work of the Roman and Greek stonemasons;
(c) by the fact that the stonemasons, a low
caste in India, used (as Cunningham has lately
discovered) the letters (e.g. at Buddha Gayā) to
mark the pillars, and that the order in which
they gave the letters reveals the existence of a
Bārā Khaḍḍa, or table of the alphabet, which
closely resembles that still in use in our indigenous
schools, and proves that the system of instruction
now followed was already elaborated 2000 years ago.

3. The fact that both the Maurya and the
Andhra alphabets are sister-alphabets derived from
a common source. It is wrong to say that the
Andhra is derived from the Maurya alphabet; a
comparison of the two alphabets, for example, in
Burgess’s tables, shows the contrary.

Take the ā and āha; in the Maurya alphabet we
have ś ā, ś  āha; in the Andhra ś  ā and ś  āha.

There cannot be any doubt that the āha was
developed from ā by the addition of a little hook
or curve added at the right of the ā, just as in
c  cha and  c cha,  p and  p ha. Now it is
utterly impossible to derive the ś of the Maurya
alphabet from the ś; but its connection with the
Andhra ś is very clear. Hence, I say, it is probable
that the latter sign is the older one, and

that the Maurya ś is not the parent of the
Andhra sign. It may either be itself a develop-
ment of the Andhra sign (by a change of the
curves into angles), or an older alphabet may have
had both the angular and curved signs. But, how-
ever that may be, the South Vindhyān Pāli
alphabet is not a daughter of the North Vindhyān
alphabet. The bearing of this point on the age
of the South Vindhyān alphabet is clear.

4. The fact that the Brāhmānical grammarians
have developed the Maurya and Andhra alphabets,
and brought them into the shape in which we first
find them. This point is proved by the following
circumstances:—

(a) Nobody but a native grammarian (who, in-
deed, wanted the distinctions for his school lore)
would have invented five or six separate signs to
indicate various shades of the nasal sounds. We
have in the Maurya inscriptions 1, 1, 1, 8, as
a numeral 8, and the same signs occur again in the
Andhra inscriptions. There is a clear tendency
to have separate signs for the nasal of each of the
five Vṛccas, or classes of the consonants as
arranged by the grammarians: gutturals, palatals,
linguals, dentals; and there is besides the 1, which
is used both as a conjunct nasal for all classes
and the curious nasal y sound at the end of
words, which corresponds to the French final n.

Now there is no other alphabet in the world
which has developed such a number of signs for
nasals; most alphabets have only two; some,
like the Greek, three. If the Indian alphabet
is derived from a Semitic source, these nasals
must be mostly an Indian invention. It is also
quite clear from the forms, that three at least
are only differentiation of one fundamental
form. Nobody has ever doubted that the 1
is derived from the 1; it seems to be also highly
probable that the 1 goes back to the same type,
for there is another rare form of the 1 in the
Andhra inscriptions 1, looking very much like
the Maurya u. The 1 arose out of this by the
introduction below of two bands 1, and the
addition of the top horizontal stroke, or we might
also say that the 1 was derived from the 1 in
its Andhra form, viz. 1, by prolonging verti-
cally the two ends of the lower horizontal line.

Now who would have fallen on such a cum-
brous system of nasals (which by the way in the
Prākrit inscriptions serves no useful purpose,
because at least 1 and 1 are used promiscu-
ously)? Certainly not a merchant, for a merchant
would only care for brevity, not for phonetic
accuracy, and as a matter of fact the mercha-

in their books never used all the signs of the alphabet, and certainly no vowel signs, till compelled to do so by the English Courts. Again no Pāṇḍīrā-speaking official or writer would dream of distinguishing between I and I; because to him the two letters were interchangeable and meant the same thing, as or m, according to the country to which he belonged, or according to the dialect which he spoke. But all these forms would be necessary to a Bṛāhmanical Grammariān who had in his fine polished school-language carefully to distinguish between *a, a, n, m, the awāndra *, and the awāndik *; and who according to his belief gained heaven, or went to another place—as he pronounced his sacred texts rightly, or wrongly. Hence I say the differentiation of the nasals shows the influence of the Bṛāhmanical grammatical schools.

(b) The same inference may be drawn from the existence of the three sibilants *l, n, and s* (Kālā and Pantaleon's coin): all three go back to one original form, which consists of two little semi-circles, and differ only in the arrangement of these elements. Now Semitic alphabets have two sibilants: whose interest was it to have three? Of course it was necessary for the Sanskrit grammarians and for nobody else. In Pāṇḍīrā only two sibilants exist, and they are used very promiscuously, according to dialects. A merchant would not be such a fool as to burden himself with such useless ballast.

(c) A similar inference may be drawn from the careful system of short and long vowels.

(d) Likewise from the invention of the la *l, which is peculiar to the Andhra inscription, because the sound occurs only south of the Vindhyā range.

But if it be granted that the Maurya and Andhra alphabets have been developed by Bṛāhmanas, does not that show that they must have been long in use before the time when we first find them?

This inference as to a very early cultivation of the art of writing in India, at a time indeed much anterior to 300 B.C., is strengthened by the consideration of the Northern (Baktro-Arjuna) alphabet, which was clearly worked up by the same class of people who fashioned the southern system of characters. Take, for example, the system of vowel notation, and the system of compound letters, which follow exactly the same principles as those of the Southern alphabet.

As regards the Indian numerals, my views are as follows:

1. The Indian numerals, consisting of separate signs for the units, the tens, the hundreds, and the thousands, are all syllables, which are pronounced as such, not signs for which the numerals were pronounced. The reading of these syllables has in general been given correctly by Bhagwanīdī, except for the signs +, =, ÷, ÷; the former three must be read 9, 4, and 7, and the last 8, (Fleet's discovery). As regards the reading of 9, 9 (9), 9 (9), it is doubtful as yet whether the pronunciation was phu, gu, ku, or phru, gru, kru. I now incline to the latter view (though I cannot find any distinct proof of it), because the 8 certainly appears in the hundreds. The proofs are:

(1) The most certain evidence for the ancient times is furnished by the Rājnāth and Sahasrān Edicts. In the former 200 is clearly 9, while in the latter is 9 used. It is impossible to see in the first sign anything else but the syllable sa (not sa), as the elongation of the right-hand stroke of the shows that something else than the simple sa is intended, and the natural explanation is that the second s is, which makes the vowel long, has been attached at the top instead of below, 9 instead of 9. A similar plan for the expression of long 9 is adopted in Dr. Burgess's new inscriptions of Purushadatta from the Sthapa at Jagayavatī. There 9 is several times written 9, and the stroke indicating the length of the vowel attached to the top of the t. The cause of this proceeding, as well as the uncouth appearance of the s in 9 (Sahasran), is the desire to distinguish by the form of the syllables, the cases where they have numeral values, from those where they have merely an etymological value as parts of numerals.

(2) The second proof is the fact that several syllables change their shapes according to the change of the letters in the various alphabets (Bhagwanīdī), always with this proviso, that mostly some slight difference is allowed to remain between the form of the syllables as numerals, and those used as parts of words. The change shows that the people pronounced the syllables as syllables, and the differences which frequently occur are due to the reason above given.

(3) The third proof is that a few signs show such variation as can be explained by phonetic changes, which in the language, too, are of frequent occurrence. The clearest case is that of the syllable for 100. In the Asoka edicts we have sa, and the same occurs in the Andhra, and a great many other inscriptions; but the Western Kshatrapas and others use 9, which is clearly 9. Now in all Indian languages there
occurs a wonderful confusion of the sibilants, and in ancient times "au" and "ou" are in Prākrit equivalents. The one occurs constantly for the other. If we therefore find ṣu and ṣu in the numerals for 100, the conclusion is that the people were in that case as careless as others, and pronounced indiscriminately su and Σu, because they were accustomed to do this in common life. The same was probably the case for the numeral syllable for five, where side by side with forms which clearly are Σu, others occur which must be read γα (χιτ)—Bhagavānī's tables.

(4) Fourthly, there are other cases where certain sects, or the Pandits of certain countries, have misread the ancient signs, and have substituted wrong syllables for them. The best cases are: (a) that of the numeral syllable for 10, which in the oldest forms is ιο κ in the south, and ϊα τ in the north. This has been rendered by ρ and ρ (τρι and τε).

(b) That of the numeral syllable for 100. The Nepalese have misread (as has sometimes been done by modern epigraphists also) the Χ = ζu, as Χ = ζ.

In these cases the important point, which shows that the people pronounced syllables, and not the numerals when reading the signs, is that they always made a new syllable of the old sign, not a mere unintelligible symbol. Had they pronounced ζατα for Χ they would have left it, and not have written a clear Χ for it.

(5) The fifth argument is that down to the present day the numeral syllables are called akharapalli, viz. 'letter table,' by the Jainas, and are known to represent syllables. Mallīnātha (c.e 1510 A.D.) speaks distinctly of such a syllable as a kābdā 'a word.'

II. The system of numeral syllables as we find it in the oldest inscriptions was settled by the Brāhmānical schools. The proof of this assertion lies in the use of the signs ις (ια) γα, θ (θ) ρθ, θ (θ) kh, which occur in Brāhmānical books, and speak alone. Nobody but a Brāhmān could have dreamt of making the Anuṣṭāṇa ५, the Jihedamālya θ, and Upadhīmālya θ, serve for numerals. The circumstance that the three strokes —, ==, are intended for u, a, u, (haraa, dihga, pluta) points to the grammatical schools being the originators of the system. The proof for the assertion that the strokes too have a vowel value lies in the manner in which they are used with the hundreds and thousands—100 being expressed by ॐ (ॐ), 200 ॐ and 300 ॐ; 1000 by ॐ (ॐ), 2000 by ॐ, and 3000 by ॐ. If the strokes had a mere numerical value, the marking would be wrong and unintelligible. We should then require for 200 ॐ, and for 300 ॐ. If we pronounce ρυ, ρυ, ρυ, the difficulty disappears. Hence, I conclude that wherever we find the strokes —, ==, these, too, are intended as symbols for a vowel, and for the vowel u, because in all grammars the vowel u is used to illustrate the three stages, short, long and treble (pluta). Patini's sūtra is 'u, a, a—haraa, dihga, pluta,' i.e. 'vowels having the duration of u, a, u are called long, short and pluta.' The origin and meaning of these marks seems to have been forgotten very early, and in the Buddha and Jaina books, eka, devi, tri, or sw, sti, or, om, na, or (the latter being the usual initial three syllables of books), are substituted.

III. Though I claim for the Brāhmān the oldest form of the Akharapalli, I do not claim for them its invention. We constantly find in India that something foreign imported into the country is made to assume native Indian forms, and disguised so cleverly that one would swear it was a native invention. As I believe that the Indian alphabets are foreign inventions introduced into India long before the historical times, I think it probable that the numerical system too came from a foreign country. I believe the Southern Indian alphabet came to India from Arabia or from the Persian Gulf, via Sūjīrā (Sophoich) or Bharoch, and that the Southern Indian numerals came by the same road. But I think that, in spite of the resemblances pointed out by Dēcē, the Hāmārātic and Maurya letters, we have not yet found the alphabet from which the Southern Indian characters are derived. I think that there is much less chance of making out anything about the numerals, and of saying from what other system they are immediately descended. But it is not at all clear that originally they may not have come from Egypt, but probably through some Arabian traders either from the Arabian Coast or from the Gulf.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. DIAMONDS AND PRECIOUS STONES.—Since my Economic Geology of India was published I have found in several old travels references to the localities where diamonds and other precious stones were found. Some of these I am unable to identify, but I think it possible
BOOK NOTICE.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES for Southern India, from the Sixth Century A.D., by Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service. (Printed by Authority); Madras: 1881.

These Tables, the author informs us, "are published in order to enable those who work on the inscriptions of Southern India readily to ascertain the date of any document, or record on stone." They give the years of the Kaliyuga, Cycle of Bṛhaspati and Christian Era, corresponding to each Śaka year from Ś. 500 to 1822 (A.D. 1900), the Kollam Ándu or Quilon era from A.D. 825, and the commencement of each Hijrā year from the epoch. With the already existing Tables of Warren, Jervis, Prinsep, Brown, Playfair, Gumpach, Westenfeld, Cowasjee Patell, &c., we should hardly have thought there was a call for another publication of the kind, unless to supply amplier details than any of these. And, if we mistake not, Indian scholars find it easier to use the well known constants for the mere conversion of the Hindu and Christian dates in years, than to refer to any such Tables. For the determination of the saṃvatśaṃkara date in the 60 year cycle, if a table is wanted, Brown's Cyclic Tables in his Carnatic Chronology (1863) are much more convenient from the column containing a complete cycle, whereas Mr. Sewell's contains only 38 years and without the numeral order of the cycle names. But even here some will prefer adding 11 to the Śaka year or 12 to the Kaliyuga and dividing by 60, when the remainder gives the expired year of the cycle, according to the Southern system, here employed, and reckoned from Prabhāra.

Mr. Sewell does not give the initial day of any of the Hindu years, nor any means by which to compute the corresponding month and day for any date, which ought to be an essential feature in any Tables of the sort.

For the Hijrā years he gives the European dates of commencement, but unfortunately he does not seem to have followed Prinsep's Tables, which he describes as "constituting the most critically accurate information yet published on the subject,"—for if we compare the dates for 1st Muḥarram with the corresponding ones in any trustworthy Table, we find these dates in the following cases wrongly given—page iii, after A. H. 19, we should have 'Jan. 2, 640' instead of "Dec. 31, 639:" so on p. ix read '259.' Dec. 9, 809'; on p. xii, '321.' Jan. 1, 933; and '338.' July 1, 949'; on p. xiv, '503.' July 31, 1199; and '530.' Oct. 11, 1135', p. xvii, '612.' May 2, 1215'; p. xiv, '625.' Dec. 12, 1227', p. xx, '632.' Nov. 4, 1283'; p. xxi, '698.' Oct. 9, 1289'; p. xxii, '743.' June 6, 1342'; p. xxxiv, '786.' June 20, 1471; and on p. xxxix, '1620.' March 1, 1611'. Between A.D. 1752 and 1862 (pp. xxxii-xxxv) there are 53 errors of the above sort, several of them amounting to several days, e.g. for the commencement of A.H. 1184 he gives "April 21, 1770," while the correct date was 27th April, and for A. H. 1200 he gives "Nov. 1, 1785" instead of Nov. 4; and on p. xxxv, read "1229. Feb. 7, 1875." These errors occur elsewhere only in Cowasjee Patell's Tables, and we must infer that Mr. Sewell simply copied this column from the Pārśi's book without verification or comparison with other and trustworthy tables.

A more serious error has been made by Mr. Sewell in the Kollam Ándu dates, which are one year in error throughout; thus Śaka 748 corresponds to the latter half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd year of the Kollam era, and should have been marked '1-2' and not '2-3' as he has it, and so Ś. 938 corresponds to 191-192, and not 192-193. The Kollam era began 25th August 825 A.D., that is in the Śaka year 747, and not in 824.

In the names of the years of Jupiter's cycle he has generally copied from Brown, but gives Bhaiya, Pramāḍhi, and Manmadha, instead of the proper forms Bhaiya, Pramāḍhi or Pramāḍi, and Manmadha; while he follows Brown in Viśha (Tamil), Viṅkī, Hēvānabhi, Sāvāri (Tamil), Viṅkāhiṅkī, Pramāḍi-

1 Dr. Burnell, S. I. Palæography, p. 73, is in error when he says "it began in September 824," but he gives the equation rightly enough as + 834. Cawasjee Patell's Tables are correct for this era except in the initial day.—V. B.
As these Tables are for the use of those working on documents and inscriptions, they ought to have contained some indication at least, such as Brown gives (Car. Chron. p. ii. iii. and 16-19), of the differences obtaining in different parts of the country in the use of this cycle. Thus, a document dated "S. 1719, Sukla samvatara," if referred to Mr. Sewell's Tables, might be supposed to be far wrong, either in the date or cyclic year; but on a reference to Brown's (p. 18) we find that the 3rd year (Sukla) of the cycle corresponded to S. 1720 in the northern mode of reckoning, and is found attached sometimes even to S. 1718; thus supporting the accuracy of the date within the limits usual in inscriptions, &c. Brown's Tables would have been all the more useful had he carried this additional column through the whole of his second Table; but Mr. Sewell's is still more defective in wanting it altogether; and this want is the more felt as the differences between the two modes of reckoning is not constant. About a.d. 850 they agreed, but the difference is now 12 years, and the rules for determining the cycle years in the different astronomical treatises are not generally known and vary slightly. That given by Prinsep from the Sūrya-Siddhānta (Us. Tab. p. 160) is absolutely intelligible, and Warren's rule (Kalasaśabdkalit, pp. 147, 211) is not always to be depended on; but the following formulae, not previously published, represent correctly the usual rules, and may be found useful:

Let $K$ represent the year of the Kaliyuga, $S$ that of the Saka era, and $n$ the integers only in the expression to which it is attached, then

$$\begin{align*}
\{K + 26 + \left(\frac{117K}{10000}\right)\} + 60, \\
\text{or} \quad \{S + \left(\frac{117S + 21934}{10000}\right)\} + 60.
\end{align*}$$

And the Jyotisthana rule, by

$$\begin{align*}
\{S + \left(\frac{22S + 4291}{1875}\right)\} + 60, \\
or, put $S = S - 825$, then the expression becomes
\end{align*}$$

$$\begin{align*}
\{S + \left(\frac{22S + 7}{1875}\right)\} + 60.
\end{align*}$$

These formulæ give generally the same results, the differences arising from the positions they assign to the year which they expunge once in about 80 years. Thus for $K = 4864$ or $S = 1885$, we have by the first formula:

$$\begin{align*}
(4864 + 26 + 57) + 60 = 4897, \\
\text{remainder} = 27 \text{ for the expired years of the cycle, so that the Kaliyuga year } + 84 \text{ or } S = 1885 \text{ corresponds to the 28th year or } \text{Jya} \text{a samvatara.}
\end{align*}$$

By the second rule (used in Bengal) we have:

$$\begin{align*}
(4864 + 26 + 56) + 60 = 4944, \\
\text{or only 26 years of the cycle expired, and } \text{Vijaya current.}
\end{align*}$$

And by the Jyotisthana rule:

$$\begin{align*}
(1885 + 22) + 60 = 1907, \\
\text{or } 28 \text{ cycles, and remainder 27— the same year as given by the first rule. But it is only at those points where expunged names occur that they differ, and then only by a single year, as between } S. 1680 \text{ and } 1693, \text{—after which the three rules give the same results for fully 70 years. This arises from the } \text{Jyotisthana} \text{ rule placing the expunged } \text{samvatara} \text{ about 4 years earlier than the first rule and 12 or 13 earlier than the second does.}
\end{align*}$$

A well arranged set of chronological tables for Indian dates, with easy methods for finding the month and day corresponding to any Hindu date, and with a table of eclipses from the period of the earliest inscriptions, is a desideratum that many scholars feel, but Mr. Sewell's Tables do not help in any way to supply the want.

India, was in general use for dates much before that period, though Varahamihira (a.d. 550) gives a rule, almost identical with that of the Jyotisthana cited below, for determining the year of the cycle. See Brhat-samhita, viii. 20, 21, in Journ. R. As. Soc. N.S. vol. V. p. 48; Annales de la Soc. de Phil., vol. III. pp. 295, 296. — The earliest known instance of the use of the cycle in inscriptions is S. Walter Elliot's copper-plate grant of the Rāhukaṇḍa king Ovindra III. (p. 125 above), which is dated in Saka 720 (a.d. 689). The Subhāru (or Svabhūna) āsavatāra.
A KÂDAMBÂ INSCRIPTION AT SIDDÂPUR.

BY K. B. PÂTHAK, B.A., BELGAUM.

SIDDÂPUR is a village two miles to the west of Vêṅkatâpur, on the road from Belgaum to Dáhrâvâd. In a ruined temple of Śiva at Siddâpur, there is a stone-tablet 3' 6" high by 1' 11" broad, containing a Kâdamba inscription. It records a grant to the god PrabhuLîgra by the people of the surrounding villages, in the time of the Yuvarâja Vijayâditya, who was associated in the government of Palasige Twelve thousand, with his brother Śivachitta. The name of the family seems to have been written indifferently, as Kâdamba, Kadamba or Kâdambâ. In the fourth line of the present inscription, we read Kâdamba. Lower down in the 16th line the word appears as Kâdamba. The inscription at Ujâkal, of the time of the Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla, and another at Budrasiîgi, near Rayara-Hubli, read Kâdamba.

A Jain priest says of his hero:

Kâdamba kule dîpa Tirumala Sâmaâtha s âdîhiyi page râyana ||

Another word in this inscription deserving of notice is ruâdra (l. 10): in Jaina Prâkrit the word was written रुर्द्र, and was pronounced rudda.1 The sign before र, which indicated that the following consonant was to be doubled in pronouncing the word, was in course of time mistaken for anumâdra. Hence the form ruâdra, and then ruâdra, which frequently occurs in Old Canarese literature:

...... Jaya jaya sadgna ruâdrâ ||

Rûnâdrâ râhuâdrâ ||

Ruâdra guñâbdhi vádînrâan enîpa deâvândra kiritiyâ tanujâ || Chândra kirtiâ yatîrândra charânjakke ruâdrâ bhaktiyâ|| eraguvânu ||

Gurudattacharrîta.

Transliteration.

(1.) Svasti samadhigata paîche mahâsadâ mahâmadala-sâva.

(2.) râñu Bânaâval puravâradhâvâram sa-samasta bhuvana saññ.

1 The Canarese words, pinâckha and vaññhi, may be quoted as additional illustrations of the rule according to which ruâdra is formed —

(रुद्र) is written रुद्र, whence we get रुद्र, "a bundle of feathers carried about by a Jain ascetic.

(पुरवार्द्धवर्म) becomes पुरवार्द्धवर्म, which is written पुरवार्द्धवर्म, whence we get पुरवार्द्धवर्म, "to bend, incline," and पुरवार्द्धवर्म, "a golden fringed armlet."

To give the reader some idea as to how the word रुद्र is spelt in the Gîthâ-Mâkhâ of the Kârântaka Jainse, I cite below a passage, the accuracy of which, however, I cannot guarantee; the original is written in Old-Canarese characters.

(3.) stûyamâna Hara dharâna prasâta Târâchâra Ka-

(4.) dâma vañnas mahâdâya mahâdhâra[r]a

(5.) yamâna mahâ pradâmâda mârtânda mârtânda karâté.

(6.) tîbra nimâ pratâpa vaśikri'ta sakâla mahimândâla-

(7.) nutuñga saînhalâmchhanañ vânara mahâdânajayam pramâti tû.

(8.) ryya nirgghûpañâna chaturâsîtî nagarâ
dhishhitâsha-

(9.) sâsvâmêla vañña dikshâ dikshita kulâ prasâta Hîma-

(10.) vadgirîndra ruîandra sîkharâ stañpita mahâsañcti prabhâ-

(11.) va tîyâ jaga jahnâ jahnânanâ charâñya saîsambâ Kâma

(12.) subhañê kanaka nikañôpa[ç]a samâgata vajra prâkaraña

(13.) lôkañê kalpadrumam samâkânti dhañâla múñtî Nârâya-

(14.) nà kirtiî mârtânda mahâñâlanâ lalâta pañta vairigâ-

(15.) rûnta subhañê râja sîkhasamâ Kâdamba

(16.) chûdâmañìtyâ-

(17.) kîla nâmâvali samâlañkritic appa årimmanmahâmâ-

(18.) nîlañêvâra śrî Śivachitta vira Per-
mâdiñâçarasaru nà-

(19.) mâyunyaârâja kamâruñ śrî Vijayâdityâdevâra-

(20.) sarùñ Shampagâdiya nevelêçinojirdu Palasige pannî-

(21.) cheññiñamunnâm Koñkañâ [oññwha]-

(22.) graha śiññhâ pratiçâ [nañin]àdu

(23.) dhyànya dhyànya dhyàrâna máññâ-

(24.) maññâshthàna japa sàma-

*i and i, e and ó, and o and ò are not distinguished in the original by any mark.

This should be kr; there are many other mistakes in the text, which I do not notice here.

* No saññh can be formed between nóândî and yuvâñjha.

* dhyà should be dâd.
(24.) dhi śīja saṁpunnar appa Hosavala prabhunukha-
(25.) Dāmodara bhaṭṭopādyāyān Anātha-
(26.) bhaṭṭopā-
(27.) dhyāyārājagāri nāūvi rūdrama mu-
(28.) khyā dihā-
(29.) va tālabi tōndurāruv aṁūrvvaru-
(30.) mirdu vīṭha dhā-
(31.) Ṛmmāneśitiśda Šākavarsāiū 1080
niyā saṁhūyān saṁkraśāti
(32.) vatsarada aśādāvāsāya sōmāvā-
(33.) radaṇḍu da-
(34.) kṣiṁiyana saṁkraśāti vyātśātata pu-
(35.) Ṛnya tithiyolū-
(36.) Ṛitturu mūvattara balīya bāja Hosaa-
(37.) valaḷa ēri
(38.) Pabhā' liŋga dēvarāngā bhūga nived-
(39.) yākka khaīḍa sputāta . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
(40.) yāḍha rakkānī aūvattokkalu ok-
(41.) ḍala[iii] ēnai gā-
(42.) ča če oṃdu hoṃi toṁtívaru okkallali chaitracke pā-
(43.) ālal chaittrakke pāga 1 aṁyā nālu-
(44.) vara ok-
(45.) lal chaittrakke pāga 1 pavitrakke
(46.) pága 1 avarallu
(47.) gātrakke pága 1 ugra muṁnuvaru
(48.) okkallali
(49.) [chait]trakke pága 1 pavitrakke
(50.) pága 1

**Translation.**

Hail, while the prosperous Śivachitta, who was a Mahāmāṇḍalāśeva, possessed of the five great sounds; the lord of the excellent city of Banāvāśī; who was a very brilliant sun, shining on the summit of the lordly mountain, which was the great prosperity of the family of Triśčana-Kaṭāmba sprung from Śiva and the earth, and extolled by the whole world; who had conquered the whole earth with his prowess fiercer than the rays of the sun; who possessed the signet of a majestic lion; who had, on his large banner, the device of a monkey; who possessed the sound of the musical instrument ānāraṭṭi; he who presided over eighty-four cities; he who was descended from a family consecrated by the performance of eighteen horse-sacrifices; the supremacy of whose great power was firmly established like the lofty peaks of the lordly Himālaya mountain; who was unsurpassed in the world in liberality; who was a fearless Rāma in bravery; who was the stone on which gold is rubbed, in respect of auspiciousness; who was an adamantine enclosure to those who took refuge with him; who was like the matchless tree which gave whatever was wished for; who was a very Nārāyaṇa whose form is white at saṁkraṇti, a very sun in fame, a diadem on the brows of petty kings, a handmill to his foes; the supreme lord of warriors and kings, and the crest-jewel of the Kāṇḍubas; adorned with all these titles the prosperous Mahāmāṇḍalāśeva Śivachitta Viṭara Permādi and the Yuvarāja prince Vi-
Jaṭātiva adorned with similar titles,—abiding in the vicinity of Saṁpagādi, and ruling over Paḷaśīge Twelve-thousand and Koṁkaṇa Nine-hundred, protecting the virtuous and punishing the wicked,—were reigning with the delight of pleasing conversation.

Hail the leading Brahmāna of Hosavājāl endowed with the characteristics of yama, niyama, ṛddhiyāya, dhāya, ḍhāraṇa, maunaṁnaṅkhaṇa, japa and āṁśa—and among whom were Dāmodara Bhāṭṭopādyāya and Ananta Bhāṭṭopādyāya, with Nāluvirudrana and others to the number of 500, performed this act of religion. To describe it; in the Śaka year 1080 being the Bahudhānya saṁvatāraṇa, on Monday the 30th of Āśāgha, being the auspicious day Vyaṭipāṭa, on the occasion of the sun's commencing his progress to the south for the aṅgabhōga and oblation of the god Śri Prabhulīṅga of Hosavājāl in the vicinity of Kittur Thirty, and for the purpose of repairing whatever might be broken or torn,—From a body of 60 tenants, (is to be collected) 1 set of earthen pots for oil; from the gardening tenants, (is to be collected) 1 pága for chaite; and 1 pága for paviṭra; from a body of 504 tenants, (is to be collected) 1 pága for chaite and 1 pága for paviṭra. From these (is also to be collected) 1 pága for gāṭha. From the 300 tenants Ugrā 1 pága (is to be collected) for chaite and 1 pága for paviṭra.

---

1. *Prabha.*
2. The correct expression is *khaṇḍa sputita jīvāḥdhā-
3. rakasī.*
4. The inscription at Budrāviri reads *dhyaḥ kalam,* and separates all these compounds by a vertical line.
5. *Aṅgabhōga* means washing the idol and anointing it with sandal-powder, &c. daily.
CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.
BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 196.)

XVII.
We will now resume our narrative of Chinghiz Khan’s more martial doings. In part IX. of these papers I described the death of Buirukh Khan of the Naimans as having taken place near lake Kizilbash in the year 1202. This is the story as told in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi. The Yuan-shi with which Rashidu’d-din and other authorities agree make him survive till 1206, which is more probable, and tell us how Chinghiz marched against him and his Naimans after the holding of the famous Kurultai whose administrative and legislative acts I have described. He is called Bu-lu-yu in the Manchu translation of the Yuan-shi and Polo by Mr. Douglas; De Maille calls him Pu-lu-yu-hun. Hyacinthe has followed Kienlang’s sophisticated text and corrupted the name into Boro. He was surprised, as we are told, while hunting in the mountains Oluda, a name corrupted in Kienlang’s text into Uru-ola, and was captured and doubtless put to death, although this is not expressly stated. His nephew Ki-chu-lei, i.e. Kushluk, who is called his son in the Yuan-shi-kei-ten, who was with him, was elected his chief by the Naimans. He fled with Tokhtu, the leader of the Merkit, to the Irish. The Huang-yuan calls Buirukh Bei ju, and tells us he was captured near the mountain Uluta, and on the river Sokhe—Rashidu’d-din says on the river Saja near the Ulugh-tagh mountain. He says that Buirukh was hunting there when Chinghiz ordered one of the famous hunts to be held in the neighbourhood. Buirukh and his party were enclosed by the hunters. He was killed with his followers while his family, herds and wealth fell into the Mongols’ hands. Abulghani says Buirukh was hunting the kik or wild hind when captured. Klaproth identifies the mountains mentioned in these notices with the Altai. D’Ohsson urges that the name still survives exactly as recorded by Rashidu’d-din in the Ulugh-Tagh or Great Mountain which is a continuation of the little Altai, west of lake Balkhash. This is however quite an impossible locality. It was not until some years after this that Chinghiz Khan’s generals found their way so far west as the Ulugh-Tagh range, and the locality where Buirukh was defeated was doubtless in some place not far from the Kizilbash lake, a view which is amply confirmed by the fact that his nephew Kushluk and Toktu, the leader of the Merkits who were with him, fled after the battle to the Irish; which is an immense distance from the basin of the Kizilbash lake by a short distance.

In the autumn of 1207 Chinghiz Khan had a second campaign in Si Hia or Tangut, the excuse for which was, that the King of Hia had failed to pay the promised tribute. In the Yuan-shi we are told he captured a stronghold whose name is written Huan-lo-hai by Douglas. De Maille calls it Ouluhai. The Huang-yuan Oolokhai. Hyacinthe following Kienlang’s text of the Yuan-shi calls it U-i-ra-ka. On this occasion, as on many others, the editors of that text seem to have been right, for Rashidu’d-din expressly calls the place Erika. The other forms of the name are probably Chinese corruptions due to the difficulty of representing the letter r in Chinese. Now in the vocabulary attached to Hyacinthe’s work we are told U-i-ra-ka meant in the language of Tangut “the passage through the wall,” from U-i in the midst of, ra wall, and ku passage. Wu-la-hai, according to Pauthier’s orthography I-la-hai, is mentioned in Chinese geographical works as one of the seven in or circumscriptions forming the later Government of Kansuh, which corresponded to the kingdom of Tangut. The name is also written U-liang-hai, and when the town is again mentioned in the Yuan-shi, namely, in 1209 it is expressly called “the Wuanglehai pass through the wall.”

1 Douglas, p. 54; Hyacinthe, p. 36; Klaproth, Journ. Asiat. ser. ii. tome ii. p. 129; De Maille, tome i.x. p. 41; Guin, p. 12.
2 Klaproth, loc. cit. Hyacinthe and Douglas, id.
4 In which a cordon of men enclosed a great space and gradually drew towards the centre.
5 Erdmann, p. 310.
7 Hyacinthe, pp. 40 and 379; D’Ohsson, p. 196 not.
8 Pauthier’s Marco Polo, pp. 296 and 297, notes.
9 Douglas, p. 58.
thus confirming its identification with Uj-ra-ka.
Rashidud'd-dln tells us it was called Eyirkai in the
language of Tangut and Eyirka in Mongol.10
Saanang Setzen calls it Irgihi.11 As we have seen
it gave its name to one of the lu or circuits of
Kan-su or Tangut, and there can be no
doubt it was the Egrigaia of Marco Polo
who calls it a province containing numerous
cities and villages and belonging to Tangut.
He says the people there were chiefly idolators,12
but there were also fine churches belonging to
the Nestorian Christians. He tells us also that
in this city they made great quantities of
camel's wool, finest in the world,
some of which were made from the wool of
white camels, and were deemed the best.13
Colonel Yule says that among the Buriats
and Chinese at Kiakhta snow-white camels without
albino character are still often seen. "Philo-
stratus tells us that the king of Taxila furnished
white camels to Apollonius."14

We have now reached a point where the
order of events and general chronology be-
comes confused; a confusion in the present
case, caused as I believe by the frailty of
the chronological cycle used by the Mongols.
The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi condenses into the year
of the hare 1207 what all the other authorities,
with more reason as I think, distribute between
this year of the hare and another year of the
hare 12 years later, namely 1219. I shall here
follow the story as told in the other authorities.
The Yuan-shi says that, after his attack on Hia
Chinghiz despatched an embassy to the Kir-
ghiz15 consisting of Alertan and Powa (read
Boru by Hyacinthe). The tribes Eternale
and Alertan (called Idranere and Aldar by
Hyacinthe) sent envoys in turn with famous
falcons.16 De Mailla calls the envoys of
Chinghiz Andan and Puula, and the tribes
which sent envoys Yetie Ynali and Alitier.17

In the Huang-yuan we read that in the
year 1207 Chinghiz sent Andan and Bunla
to the tribe of the Kiligisi and their chiefs
Olosi Inan and Atelina, who thereupon came
back with the envoys and brought a white
falcon as a present.18 Rashidud'd-dln calls the
envoys Altan and Bughra or Burah. Only one
of the names of the Kirghiz chieftains is legible
in the MSS. consulted by Erdmann and D'Ohs-
son, and this reads Urus Inal. I may say that
according to the readings in these MSS. the
two sections of the Kirghiz were respectively
called Jines an Bede or Jenin an Bede and
Bede Urun or Biti Afrun.19 The difficulty in
reading one name in Rashidud'd-dln's story
must have arisen early, for Abulghazi only
mentions one of the chiefs of the Kirghiz, and
calls him Urus Inal. He describes the falcon
sent as a present as being white with red
claw, beak and eyes,20 but red here ought
surely to be yellow, for these famous falcons
were no doubt gerfalcons. Let us now shortly
consider who these Kirghises were. For a long
time there was a profound confusion about the
connotation of the term Kirghiz, two very
distinct branches of the Turkish race having been
confounded under it—1, the so called Kirghiz
Kazaks of the Great, Middle and Little Hordes;
the Hakaz of the Chinese writers who live in
the plains north of the sea of Aral and between
the Volga and Sungaria, and who were for a
long time improperly called Kirghiz; and 2,
the Kirghiz proper, also called Burats, Rock
Kirghiz and Black Kirghiz. The latter have
been supposed by previous writers to have been
known in the West at least as early as the year
569, when we are told by the Byzantine authors
that Zemarchus, the envoy of the emperor,
was presented by the chief of the Turks with a
young Kergis slave girl. But this was clearly a
reference to a Cherkes or Circassian maiden, a
race whose attractions are still proverbial, and
not an ugly flat-faced typical Turanian. Carpini
calls the Circassians Kergis.21 For the earliest
notices of the Kirghiz we must turn to the
Chinese writers, who tell us the Ki-li-gi-si as
they call them submitted to China in the 7th
century. In the year 759 they became subject
to the Uighurs, whose power they, a century
later, overthrew. By this victory they became
for a while the masters of Central Asia, and
several of their embassies are mentioned by
the Chinese writers. After the fall of the

11 Op. cit., p. 563, etc.
12 i.e. Buddhists.
15 Ke-leh-kell-se is Mr. Douglas' transcript of the
name.
18 Abulghazi, p. 92 note 4; D'Ohsan, vol. I, p. 113
note; Erdmann, pp. 246 and 211.
20 D'Avesnes, p. 678.
Tang dynasty the Chinese virtually ceased to have intercourse with the country west of Mongolia, and we do not again meet with notices of the Kirghiz until the Mongol historians speak of them. In the Yuan-shi we are told the Ki-li-gi-si lived along the Yenissei.\textsuperscript{23} In a Chinese geographical work of the Yuan period laid under contribution by De Guignes and others we are told that the country of the Ki-li-gi-si was originally peopled by 40 men of the race of the Usu,\textsuperscript{24} who married 40 Chinese wives. It was 10,000 li from the Mongol capital Ta-tu. Their country was 1400 li in length and 700 in breadth. Through its midst ran the river Kian,\textsuperscript{25} which flowed towards the N.W. South-west was the river O-pu, i.e. the Obi, and north-east another river named Yu-siu, (i.e. the Iyus which joins the Chulym and then falls into the Obi). The Chinese Geography wrongly makes the Yusu join the Kian. The language of the Kirghiz was the same as that of the Uighurs; their customs differed from those of the neighbouring peoples.\textsuperscript{26} In some manuscript notes of Gaubil's quoted by Quatrêmère we are told that the Kie-kia-zi lived to north and north-west of the great sandy desert towards lake Baikal and on the bank of the Yenissei, the Selenga, the Obi, and the Irishi; that their king was styled Kahan, and that they used alphabetic characters like those of the Hoei-hu\textsuperscript{27} and a cycle of 12 years, each one named after an animal.\textsuperscript{28} These facts are confirmed by Visdelou and De Guignes from Chinese sources and also by Mirkhavend, who tells us when the Kuri and Kirghiz merchants went to Khubilai's court with presents the vizier named Senkah who was a Uighur acted as interpreter.\textsuperscript{29}

In the notice of the journey of Ch'ang Te to visit Khulagu Khan in 1259, a narrative known as the Si-shi-ki, we have this sentence: "It is reported that the Ke-i-li-ki-asu instead of horses use dogs" (for drawing sledges).\textsuperscript{30} Turning to the great Persian historian Rashidu'd-din we read that the country of the Kirghiz and that of the Kemkemchiiut were adjoining but distinct. Kemkemchiiut was the name of a considerable river. The country to which it gave its name was bounded on one side by Mongolistan, on another by the river Selenga, on the banks of which dwelt the Taijitu, on another side it bordered on the great river Angara, where ended the bounds of Abir u Sibir, and lastly, it touched the mountains where the Naimans dwelt. The land of Kemkemchiiut contained a great number of towns and nomade tribes. All the kings of the country, whatever their name, bore the title of Inal.\textsuperscript{31} The river Kemkemchiiut of this notice is no doubt the Kham-khan-bo of Visdelou's notice as stated by Quatrêmère, the tributary of the Yenissei called the Kemchik, which is called Khem in D'Anville's map, and Ulu Kem, i.e. the Great Kem, in Pallas's map. A place at the outfall of the Kemchik into the Yenissei is still called Kem-kem-chek Bom, Bom merely meaning the cliff of a high mountain overhanging a river.\textsuperscript{32} In another of his works Klaproth says the pillars marking the frontier between the Russian and Manchu empires were placed at the place called Kem Kemchik Bom.\textsuperscript{33} When the Russians first conquered Siberia, the Kirghiz were still living on the Upper Yenissei, the Iyus and the Abakan. In the year 1606 they acknowledged the Russian supremacy in conjunction with the Barabinski, and were at this time divided in allegiance between the Russians and the Kalmuks. Pressed by their neighbours they moved hence, and eventually, at the beginning of the 18th century, had altogether left Siberia. They are now found in the mountains of Chinese Turkestan and about lake Issikul, etc. and wander from the neighbourhood of Kashgar to the Upper Irish, being among the most unsophisticated of the Turkish races. Traces of their occupancy are still found in their old country, thus a lake Kirgis is found south of the Altai and further away, a river which the Manchus call Chalikissabira.\textsuperscript{34} To return to

\textsuperscript{23} Palladius, note 498 to the Yuan-ch'uo-pi-shi.
\textsuperscript{24} Kirghiz is made a son of Oghus Khan by the Muhammadan.
\textsuperscript{25} i.e. the Yenissei.
\textsuperscript{26} De Guignes, tome II, p. 1x; Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{27} i.e. the Uighurs.
\textsuperscript{28} Quatrêmère, op. cit. p. 412, note.
\textsuperscript{29} Id., p. 413.
\textsuperscript{30} Breitseidel, Notices of Mod. Travellers, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{31} Quatrêmère's Rashidu'd-din, p. 411 note; Erdmann, Temudechins, etc., p. 246; D'Osson, vol. I, p. 105 note.
\textsuperscript{32} Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, pp. 231 and 232.
\textsuperscript{33} Memoires relatifs a l'Asie, tome I, p. 21; D'Osson, vol. I, p. 104 note.
\textsuperscript{34} Quatrêmère, op. cit., p. 413, note; Erdmann, Temudechins, note 9.
our narrative. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi says when Jochi the son of Chinghiz arrived among the Kirghiz, Yedi-inal and others yielded and presented him with a white falcon, a white net and black sables. As we have seen the various authorities except the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi date the submission of the Kirghiz in the year 1207. The Yuan-shi tells us that in the spring of the next year Chinghiz Khan made another attack upon Si Hia or Tangut, and when the extreme heat came on he retired to Lungting. The Huang-yuan also mentions this, and in a note Palladius tells us Lungting is a general phrase for the Khan's own country. All the authorities except the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi now describe a campaign by Chinghiz against the two Chiefs, the Merkit Tokhtu and the Naiman Kushluk, who, we have seen, had fled to the river Irtish. That authority dates the campaign four years earlier, namely, in the year 1204. We shall as to this date side with the majority of the authorities, and turn to the details of the campaign itself. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi says that Chinghiz Khan having spent the winter at the Golden Hills, i.e. the Altai, set out the following spring over the Arali chain. Meanwhile his two opponents had set their army in order at the very source of the Erdish Bakhdurma, i.e. no doubt on the tributary of the Black Irtish still called the Bukharmi. There a battle followed in which Tokhtu fell under Chinghiz Khan's arrows. His children being unable to carry off his body cut off his head and took it with them; his routed soldiers fled, and more than half of them were drowned in crossing the Irtish, the rest dispersed. According to the Yuan-shi news reached Chinghiz that Tokhtu and Kushluk were preparing for war, while he was at his summer quarters in 1208, and when winter came on he marched against them. The Uirats submitted to his advanced guard, and volunteered to guide the army. The enemy was found encamped on the Ardashi gol, i.e. the river Irtish. A great fight ensued in which Tokhtu the Merkit chief was killed. The Yuan-shi-lei-pien says Tokhtu was killed by Chinghiz with his own hand. The Huang-yuan makes out that it was the Uirat chief Khudukhua Beki who acted as the Mongols' guide on this occasion, having submitted to Chinghiz Khan's advance guard without fighting. Rashidu'd-din adds nothing to this account. As a reward for Khudukhua Beki's submission Chinghiz Khan gave his daughter Checheigian in marriage to that chief's son Inalchi, while he gave another daughter named Alakhai to the chief of the Ongut. The Yuan-shi says Alakhai's husband was Boiaokhi, the son of Alakhshidigitkhi (i.e. the Ongut chief) who followed Chinghiz Khan in his Western expedition. She is said to have been wise and to have governed the empire during her husband's absence, all reports being taken to her, and in another passage of the same work she is styled "the Ruler of the empire," but as Palladius says this seems to be a mistake. Chinghiz left his brother Ocheq in as his vicegerent in Mongolia when he went westwards, and it is probable that Alakhai's authority was limited to her husband's own people the Ongut. Rashidu'd-din calls Khudukhua's son abovenamed Turalji, and says Alakhai Beki was married to Jingui or Shengui the son of the Ongut chief, who is no doubt to be identified with the Boiaokhi of the Yuan-shi. Rashid says that when Chinghiz offered his daughter to Alakush the latter said he was an old man, but that he had a nephew Shengui, the son of his brother, who had been Padishah whom he suggested as a more likely match for her. He sent for his nephew. When he reached the place called Kaiduk the amirs of his father and brother went to him, said Alakush intended to kill him, and bade him wait there till they went and killed his uncle. This having been done, Shengui went to the court of Chinghiz, and married his daughter Alakhai, who was younger than her brother Ogatai and older than Tulni. Rashid says this happened after Chinghiz's campaign in China. The prowess and success of the great conqueror were having...
their natural result, and attracting to his banners princes who either had their own quarrels to revenge or had some good reason or other to place themselves under theegis of a rising power. We now read that the chief of the famous race of the Uighurs made his submission. The Uighurs had a distinguished history. They once lived in Mongolia about Karakorum which seems to have been their capital, and the country in its neighbourhood was apparently known as Uighur.*1 In the 9th century their power was broken by the Kirghiz, and they were forced to emigrate and moved to Bishbalik** in the Eastern Tienshan. The modern Urgut, which according to Bretschneider is a Kalmuk name and first appears in the Chinese annals in 1717, is probably situated on the site of their capital; another of their towns, namely Karakhoja, still retains the name it bore in the 13th century. The power of these Uighurs was greatly curtailed after their migration, and like the Karluks they became subject in the early part of the 12th century to the empire of Kara Khitai, of which I shall have more to say presently. At the time we are now writing about, their chief was named Barujuk, or as the Chinese give his name in full, Bar-ju a-r-té di-gin, and like the other rulers of the Uighurs, he was styled Idikut. We are told in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi that he sent Atgilak and others as envoys to Chinghiz with these words. Having heard of your Glory, oh King, we were overjoyed, as if we had seen the sun rising when the clouds are dispersed on the water after the ice has melted. If I am worthy of your favour I would wish to be your fifth son, and to serve you zealously. Chinghiz answered,—Come, and I will give you my daughter, and make you my fifth son.***

In the text of the Yuan-shi we are merely told that in the spring of 1209 the Uighur ruler submitted to Chinghiz,** but in the special biography of the Uighur chief we read how he heard that Chinghiz was contemplating an expedition against So-fang, (i. e. the Northern Regions of China,) he ordered the officers of the Khitans who were in his country to be slain and then sent to Chinghiz with his submission. The latter thereupon sent envoys to him, which greatly delighted him, and he sent another embassy to the Mongol chief with the answer following: ‘Your servant has heard of your Majesty. I hate the Khitai and for a long time I have entertained the desire to submit to your power. Now that the message of your Highness has reached me, I am happy to have an opportunity of accomplishing my desire, and I shall rejoice to hear that all nations have acknowledged your Majesty's supremacy.’****

After Toktu the Merkit chief had been slain, his four sons fled with their father’s head. Their names are given from the Su-khun hien-lu by Klaproth as Khuda, Chirawen,*** Majar, and Tossagan.**** The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi only names two of them whom it calls Khuntu and Chilaun.** Of the other two Tossagan is doubtless the Tuseh of Rasidu’d-din. Majar I cannot identify with any of the six sons as given by the Persian historian.*** Perhaps he is the Jiyukh of that author who tells us that Tuseh, Chilaun and Jiyukh fell in the fight with Chinghiz while Khudu was put to death when fleeing. Majar is named by Abulghazi.**** I may say also that Khudu is elsewhere called the brother and not the son of Tokta.******** Continute our story: we are told in the Yuan-shi that Bar-ju a-r-té di-gin attacked and killed the four brothers on the river Ts'an or Ch'er.** In the biography of Subutai in the same work the river is called Shen.*** The Huang-yuan calls the envoys sent by Chinghiz to the Idikut, Anliuen and Nutabai. The Idikut was delighted and sent in return Begusi and Alinti mur (Alun Timur) to say—Our subject kingdom hearing of your famous name, 0 Emperor, discontinued its ancient alliance with the Khitan, and was on the point of sending envoys to express our sincere submission before thee, and to show our good will towards thee, when suddenly the great envoy honoured our subject kingdom. We were unspeakably glad as when the sunshine disperses the clouds or the rain when it melts

---

*1 Wei w'ur as the Chihui wrote it. Bretschneider, Notices, &c., p. 120.
*2 i.e. the fire towns.
*4Hyaushte, p. 41; Douglas, p. 57.
*5 Bretschneider, Notices &c., pp. 122 and 123.
*6 i.e. Chilaun.
*9 See Erdmann, Temudechina, p. 187.
*11 Bretschneider, pp. 122-123.
*12 Id., p. 39 note 64.
the snow. My subjects and I will be thy servants and children, and we will exhaust in thy service our hounds and horses.

The sons of Tokhtu, after their defeat on the Irtysh, went southwards to try and escape to the Uighur country. They sent messengers to the Idikut, who put them to death, and then fought with the Merkit princes on the river Tsen. The Idikut sent his officers Asilangiquani, Bolodigia, Inan Khaiya and Chanech to inform Chinghiz of this battle, who was greatly pleased, and in turn sent Anlabuin and Darban to him. The Idikut thereupon sent him precious gifts and local products. ⁶⁰ This account is usual is very like that given by Rashidu’d-din, who furnishes us however with one or two more details. According to him the deputy of the Karakhitai, who was killed by the Idikut, was called Shavagum or Shinkem. Abulghazi calls him the darugh shining, who had rendered himself odious by his exactions. He was put to death in the town of Kara-Khojo. The Idikut’s first envoy who reported his revolt from the Gurkhan of Kara Khaitai he calls Khatalmish Khia, Omar Ughul and Tatari. He tells us that the Merkit princes, who were defeated and killed by him, were Jilan, Jiyukh and Khultukhon and Khudu the brother of Tokhtu, the envoy whom these princes sent on to the Idikut to ask his aid, after their defeat on the Irtysh he calls Turgan. After killing the latter Rashidu’d-din makes the Uighur chief attack them on the Jem Muran. He calls the envoys of Chinghiz, Alp Utug and Durbai, the ambassadors sent by the Idikut in return he calls Bagush Ais Aighujhi and Alain Timur Khtakhi. The message they conveyed is reported by him almost exactly as in the Huang-yuan. Erdmann seems in some way to have misunderstood his text, for he tells us that when these envoys went from the Idikut, others, namely, Arslan Uga, Bulad Tegin, Jaruch Uga, and Inal Kia Sungji were despatched by the sons of Tokhtu with their submission. ⁶¹

There can be no doubt that the statement in the Yuan-shi that Tokhtu’s four sons were killed by the Idikut is a mistake, as to two of them at least, the mention of the river Shen or T’en at this time seems also to be a mistake. The fact is that finding they were not welcome among the Uighurs the Merkit leaders fled westwards. The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi says Khudn and Chilaun went to the Kanis and Kincha, i.e. the Kankalis and Kipchaks, that is to the country west of lake Balkhash, where we shall hear of them again. I may add that Rashidu’d-din explains idikut as meaning Lord of the country. ⁶² Abulghazi says it means happy, rich, powerful (deuleti-lik)⁶³ According to the Yuan-shi the same year in which the Uighur chief sent in his submission, i.e., in 1269, Chinghiz marched once more against Hia or Tangut. Ling an tsuen (called Legan by Douglas), the ruler of Hia, sent his son Ching to oppose him, but he was defeated, and the Tangutan General Kao ling kong was made prisoner. The Mongols then captured Uriankhai (the Wuleanghai pass through the great wall of Douglas and the U la hai of De Mailla). There the Imperial tutor Sebe or Sepeshe (De Mailla calls him Sipisse) was made prisoner. They then fell upon and took the fortress of Imin or Emmu, i.e. the Barbarian’s gate. There Wei ming ling kong was made prisoner. The Mongols now crossed the Yellow river and laid siege to Ch'un Sing, now called Ning hia, the capital of Tangut, and probably the Calatia of Marco Polo already named. Finding the place too strong to take by assault, Chinghiz tried to turn the waters of the river into the town, but the artificial banks he had made for the purpose burst and flooded his own camp. Hyacinthe makes the Tangutans break the dykes, which obliged him to raise the siege. He thereupon sent an envoy into the town to offer terms. These were accepted, and the king agreed to give one of his daughters in marriage to the Mongol chief. ⁶⁴ In the Yuan-shi-lei-pien we are told that in this campaign Chinghiz Khan forced several posts near the great wall west of Ninghia, took the town of Ling-chau, ⁶⁵ and was determined to attack the capital of Hia, when the king Ligantsuen submitted and gave him a princess in marriage, whereupon the Mongols made

⁶¹ Erdmann, Temudechina, pp. 312-314; D’Ohsson, vol. 1., p. 109-110; Abulghazi, pp. 93 and 94.
⁶⁵ Douglas, p. 58; Hyacinthe, pp. 41 and 42; De Mailla, tome 12., pp. 42 and 43; D’Ohsson vol. 11., pp. 105 and 106, notes.
⁶⁶ In M. Biot’s Dictionary of Chinese Names this is named as an arrondissement to the south-east of Ning hia, Op. cit. p. 105.
peace with him, and withdrew." In the Huang-yuan this campaign is dated in the autumn of 1210, and the only town named as captured by the Mongols is called Bei-van-miao. The ruler of his is called Shidurkhu. This is the name by which he is known to Western writers, and taken together with the habitual correspondence in details between the Huang-yuan and Rashid’s narrative makes it not improbable that the former is a translation of or derived from the narrative of the great Persian historian. Rashid adds nothing to these accounts. He calls the captured town Erecis, otherwise read Erelaka and Arlekhi, i.e. the Uiraka previously named. On his return from this campaign Chinghiz Khan was met at his camp by the Idikut of the Uighurs and the chief of the Karluks. It seems that he had not been contented with the submissive attitude of the former, but had sent him a yarugh or order to go to him in person with a present of some rare object from his Treasury. The Yuan-chao-pi-shi states that he took with him gold and silver and precious stones and rich stuffs, and went to do homage to Chinghiz, who gave him his daughter Alchaltun in marriage. The Yuan-shi tells us that Chinghiz was encamped on the river K’ie-lu-lien, i.e. the Kerulon, in the spring of 1211, when the Idikut arrived at his camp, and requested permission to present some horses and dogs to his sons. Chinghiz was pleased with him, and gave him his daughter, Ye-li-andus, and received him as a son. Rashidu’-d-din calls this princess Altun-bigui. It seems she was only betrothed and died before the marriage could be consummated.In another place Erdmann, apparently on the authority of Rashidu’-d-din, makes Altalan or Altalukhan, as he also calls her, marry Javer Sajan, the son of Thajju Gurkan, the chief of Olkholond, who was the brother of Chinghiz Khan’s mother. Nor is the Idikut named as the wife of any of his daughters in the tabulated account of Chinghiz Khan’s family given by Rashidu’-d-din, but there seems to be some confusion in the MSS. of Rashid about the marriage of Altalan." The princess who married the Idikut was perhaps one of his natural daughters, or perhaps again merely a princess of his house. The Idikut’s descendants reigned for a long time over the Uighurs as subordinates to the Mongol Khakans and to the rulers of the Chagatai khan. When the Idikut of the Uighurs went to Chinghiz Khan’s camp to pay his devotions in person, there also went another feudatory of the ruler of Karakhitai, namely, Arslan Khan of the Karluks. The Karluks were the Western neighbours of the Uighurs of Bishbalik. Their name, according to Rashidu’-d-din, means in Turkish “inhabitants of the snow,” and they doubtless derived it from living in the mountain district of the western Tian shan. They filled a notable role in Asiatic history in the 10th and 11th century, and were then doubtless the most powerful community in Central Asia. They are generally referred to by the Chinese writers as the Lion Hoei-hu, i.e. the Lion Uighurs. This points to their having been a section of the Uighurs, a view confirmed by the name they bear in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, where they are called Vein Kharlu, i.e. the Uighur Karluks. Rashidu’-d-din also expressly calls them a branch of the Uighurs. Their conversion to Muhammadanism in the beginning of the 10th century created a marked distinction between them and their Eastern neighbours the Uighurs properly so called, who remained Buddhists. Their chiefs occur frequently in the history of the 10th century as invading Mavemu-nehr, their dynasty being sometimes known as that of the Khan of Turkestan. Gregorieff referred to them as the Kara Khanis from Kara Khan who was the first of them to be converted to Muhammadanism. He also identified the Kara Khanida and their subjects with the Karluks of the days of Chinghiz Khan. The Karluks apparently dominated over Kashgar and the surrounding country and also over Almalik and Kaisalik and the country about lake Issikul, being feudally subject to the Chief of Kara Khitai. They had their capital, according to Rashidu’-d-din, at Almalik. At the time we

---

are writing about their Chief was called Arslan.\(^{81}\)

The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi tells us that Chinghiz Khân ordered Khubilai\(^{82}\) to wage war against the Kharlunt. Thereupon their Chief submitted and went in person to him. He gave him a daughter in marriage.\(^{83}\) The Yuan-shi tells us merely that A-si-lan, Chief of the Ha-la-lu, submitted with all his followers. He was made a prince in possession (tsi\(\text{\textsuperscript{mu}}\) \text{\textsuperscript{yu}}-\text{\textsuperscript{nu}}), and was entrusted with the government of his people.\(^{84}\) The \text{\textsuperscript{H}uang-yuan} agrees with the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi that this submission took place after Chinghiz Khân had sent Khubilai Noyan against the Karluk.\(^{85}\) In this Rashid\text{\textsuperscript{u}}-\text{\textsuperscript{d}l\text{\textsuperscript{n}}} also agrees, adding that Khubilai belonged to the tribe of the Berulas. He adds that Chinghiz gave Arslan a princess of his house in marriage and also the title of Sart.\(^{86}\) "that is," says Rashid, "the Tajik," for said the Mongol Chief, "we cannot give him the title of Khan."\(^{87}\) Sartol was the name applied by the Mongols to the Muhammadans. They are always so called in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.\(^{88}\) Sananag Setzen uses the form Sartaghol in a similar way, thus he applies it to the empire of the Khuzarzm Shahs which he also calls "the five districts of the Sura Sartaghol." He also calls Chagatai the Khan of Sartaghol.\(^{89}\) Sananag Setzen has an account of the subjection of the Karluk which is quite at issue with the other notices, he says Arslan Khakan of the Kharlighed was a very haughty man and a great boaster. He is said to have remarked—They say of this Chief and Bogda called Temujin that he has vanquished people here and there, and subdued them, but he has not ventured to come against me. "A hero is born in a house, but dies in a field," says the proverb. Chinghiz marched against Arslan in the Gai mouse year, i.e., 1204. A battle ensued at Sara Kegul (\text{\textsuperscript{?}} corruption of Issikul). Makhi Noyan of the Jelairs, Siki Khutuk of the Tartars, Chambar Darkhan of the Sultes (i.e., Suldus), Setzen Buki who commanded 10,000 of the Khoras or Kurulas and Jamuka of the Wajirads (i.e., Chamukha of the Jajirads) led the Mongol army. Arslan was killed and his people subdued.\(^{90}\) It would be curious to know whence Sananag Setzen derived this account. As we have seen, one of the chief towns of the Karluk was probably Kayalik. Kayalik, as Colonel Yule and others have urged, was situated not far from the modern Kopal, and it is curious to find that in a kurgan or tumulus at Kopal a Tartar in 1857 found a gold ring and some precious stones, the ring bore the inscription Arslan.\(^{91}\)

I ought to add that although the authorities state that Arslan married Chinghiz Khân's daughter I cannot avoid thinking that it was rather some princess of his house, or perhaps one of his natural daughters. He is certainly not named as the husband of any of the five daughters Chinghiz Khân had by his wife Burtse Fajin.\(^{92}\) The Yuan-shi in chapter CIX containing a table of the princesses says Arslan married a Mongol princess.\(^{93}\) It is possible that he has been confused with his grandson Arslan who did marry a daughter of Juchic, Chinghiz Khân's eldest son.\(^{94}\)

**FOLKLORE FROM KASHMIR.**

**COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.**

**WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &C.**

(Continued from p. 261.)

**No. 5.—Folk-Tale.**

Fatteh Khan, the Valiant Weaver.\(^1\)

Once upon a time there lived a little weaver, with a big head and thin legs, by name Fatteh

\(^{81}\) Erdmann, \textit{Vollstaendige Uebersicht}, etc. p. 70; Te-mudschin, etc. p. 246.
\(^{82}\) That is Khubilai Noyan mentioned on a previous occasion.
\(^{84}\) Id. note 490 by Palladin; Douglas, p. 89; Hyscinthe, p. 45.
\(^{85}\) Not Seriaki as D'Osson has misread the word.
\(^{86}\) Bretschneider, \textit{op. cit.}, note 275.

Khân: but because he was so small and weak and ridiculous, the people called him Fattu, little Fattu the weaver.\(^2\)

But for all his small size Fattu was brave,\(^3\)

\(^1\) Told by a Muhammadan at Soydur whose great-grandfather, great-grandfather and father had been mullahs.
\(^2\) Compare with the common English story of "The Valiant Little Tailor," in which the hero kills seven fics at one blow.—F. A. S.
\(^3\) In common practice every full Hindu and Muslim name has two diminutives ending in \(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\) and \(\text{\textsuperscript{u}}\). Persons of no social standing, but of respectability, are addressed by the one ending in \(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\); the poor and insignificant by that in \(\text{\textsuperscript{u}}\), e.g., Shiv Râm or Shiv Dyâl or Shiv
very brave, and would talk for hours of the heroic acts he would have done if Fate had only given him opportunity. Fate however was not kind, and so Fattu remained little Fattu the weaver, laughed at by all for his boasting.

Now one day as Fattu was weaving cloth a mosquito settled on his left hand just as he was throwing the shuttle with his right hand. By chance the shuttle sliding swiftly through the warp came into his hand just where the mosquito had settled and squashed it. At this Fattu became desperately excited. “That is what I always said,” exclaimed he, “if I only had the chance I’d show my mettle. Now, how many people could have done that, I’d like to know? Killing a mosquito is easy and throwing a shuttle is easy, but to do both at one time is a very different affair. It is easy to shoot a man, oh very easy: he is a good mark, something to see: besides bows and cross-bows are made for shooting, but to shoot a mosquito with a shuttle is quite a different pair of boots.”

The more he thought about it the more elated he became over his own skill and bravery, till he came to the conclusion that he would no longer be called Fattu. Now that he had shown his spirit he would be called in full Fattu Khan: Fattu Khan and nothing else.

When he announced this determination to the neighbours they laughed loudly, and though some did call him Fattu Khan, it was with such sniggering and giggling and sly jesting that he went home in a rage. But he found his wife worse than his friends, for she, tired of her little husband’s whims, sharply bid him hold his tongue and not make a fool of himself. On this, beside himself with pride and mortification, he seized her by the hair and beat her unmercifully, and then resolving to stay no longer where he was so slighted, he bid her make him some bread for his journey, and set about packing his bundle. “I will go into the world,” said he to himself. “The man who can shoot a mosquito with a shuttle ought not to hide his light under a bushel.” So off he set with his bundle, his shuttle, and a huge loaf of bread tied up in a kerchief.

Now as he journeyed he came to a city where a dreadful elephant came daily to make a meal of some of the inhabitants. Many mighty warriors had gone out against it, but none had returned. Hearing this the valiant little man said to himself—“Now is my chance: to a man who has killed a mosquito with one blow of a shuttle, an elephant is mere child’s play.”

So he went to the king, and announced that he was ready single-handed to slay the elephant. The king naturally thought he was mad, but when he persisted in his offer, he told him he was free to try his luck.

So at the hour when the elephant usually appeared Fattu Khan went out to meet it armed with his shuttle. “It is a weapon I understand,” said he valiantly to those who urged him to take a spear or a bow, “and it has done work in its time, I assure you.”

It was a fine sight to see Fattu strutting out to kill the elephant, whilst the townspeople gathered in crowds on the walls: but alas for the valiant little weaver! No sooner did he see the elephant charging down on him, than all his courage oozed away. He forgot he was Fattu Khan, dropped his bundle, his bread and his shuttle, and bolted away as hard as Fattu’s little legs could carry him.

Now it so happened that Fattu’s wife had made the bread sweet and had put spices into it, as she wanted to hide the taste of the poison she had used with it: for she was a wicked revengeful woman, and wished to get rid of her tiresome whimsical little husband.

The elephant as he charged past smelt the spices, and catching up the bread with his trunk gobbled it down without stopping a moment. Poor Fattu scuttled away ever so fast, but the elephant soon overtook him. Then the little weaver in sheer desperation tried to double, and in doing so ran full tilt against the great beast. As luck would have it, just at that
moment the poison took effect, and the elephant fell to the ground.

Now when the spectators who thronged the city walls saw the monster fall, they could scarcely believe their eyes, but they were more astonished still when they ran up and found little Fattu sitting quietly on the elephant's dead body, and mopping his face with his handkerchief—"I just gave him a push," said he modestly, "and he fell down. Elephants are big brutes, but they have no strength to speak of."

The good folk were amazed at the light way in which Fattu spoke, and as they had been too far off to see distinctly what had happened, they believed what he said, and went and told the king that the little weaver was a fearful weaver, and just knocked the elephant over like a minepin. Then the king said to himself "None of my warriers and wrestlers, no, not even the heroes of old could have done this. I must secure this little man for my service."

So he asked Fattu Khan why he was wandering about the world.

"For pleasure, or for service, or for conquest," answered the little man, laying such stress on the last word, and looking so fierce that the king in a great hurry made him Commander-in-Chief of his whole army, for fear he should take service elsewhere.

Now some time after this a terribly savage tiger came ravaging the country. No one could kill it, and at last the city folk petitioned the king to send Fattu Khan against it. So Fattu Khan went out in armour with sword and shield and ever so many cavalry and infantry behind him, for he was Commander-in-Chief now, and had quite forgotten all about weaving-looms and shuttles. But before he went he made the king promise that as a reward he would give him his daughter in marriage.

Fattu went out as gay as a lark, for he said to himself—"If I knocked over the elephant with one blow, the tiger won't have a chance against me. I really am invincible!" But alas for the valiant little weaver! No sooner did he see the tiger lashing its tail and charging down on him than he bolted away as hard as he could for the nearest tree and scrambled into the branches. There he sat like a monkey, while the tiger glowered at him from below. Now when the army saw their Commander-in-Chief bolt like a rabbit, they bolted away too, and came and told the king how the little hero had fled up a tree and was there still, while the tiger kept watch below. "There let him stay," said the king, secretly relieved.

All this time Fattu sat cowering in the tree while the tiger below sharpened his teeth and curled his whiskers and lashed his tail, and looked so fierce that Fattu very nearly tumbled down with fright at the sight. So one day, two days, three days, six days, seven days past: on the seventh the tiger was fiercer and more hungry than ever. As for poor little Fattu, he was nearly starving, and so hungry that hunger made him brave, and he determined to try and slip past while the tiger took his midday snooze. So he crept stealthily down till his foot was within a yard of the ground, when suddenly the tiger jumped up with a roar. Fattu shrieked with fear, and, making a tremendous effort, swung himself into a branch, and cocked his legs over it to keep them out of reach, for the tiger's red panting mouth and white gleaming teeth were within half an inch of his toes. In doing so his dagger tumbled out of its sheath and fell right into the tiger's mouth which was wide open, went down its throat and into its stomach, so that it died. Fattu could scarcely believe his good luck, but after prodding the body with a branch, and finding it didn't move, he thought it really must be dead and ventured down. Then he cut off the head, wrapped it up in a kerchief, and went straight to the king.

"You and your army are all a nice lot of cowards," said he wrathfully. "Here have I been fighting that tiger for seven days and seven nights without bite or sup, while you've been snoozing at home. However, I forgive you: one can't expect every one to be brave."

So Fattu Khan married the king's daughter and was a greater hero than ever.

Now, after a time a neighbouring prince, who bore a grudge against the king, came with a huge army, and encamped outside the city, swearing to put every man, woman and child within it to the sword.

Hearing this all the inhabitants cried out,

---

3 fakhsháns, the word used is Persian—bhr or jodhd would be the word one would expect.—R. C. T.
with one accord, "Fatteh Khan, Fatteh Khan, to the rescue!" So the king ordered Fatteh Khan to destroy the invading army, promising him half the kingdom as a reward.

Now Fatteh Khan with all his boasting was not a fool, and he said to himself: "This is altogether a different affair. A man may kill a mosquito, an elephant, and a tiger, and yet be killed by another man. What is one against a thousand? Under the circumstances I'd rather be Fattu the weaver than Fatteh Khan the hero."

So in the night he bid his wife rise, pack up her golden dishes, and follow him. "I've plenty of golden dishes at home," said he, "but these you have we'll want for the journey."

Then he crept outside the city followed by his wife with the bundle, and began to steal through the enemy's camp.

Just as they were in the middle a cockchafer flew into Fattu's face. "Run, run," cried he to his wife in a terrible fright, and set off as hard as he could, never stopping till he had reached his room and bolted the door. The poor woman set off to run too, dropping her bundle of golden dishes with a clang. This roused the enemy, who, fancying they were attacked, flew to arms, but being half asleep and the night being pitch-dark, they could not distinguish friend from foe, and fell on each other with such fierceness that before morning there was not one left alive.

Great were the rejoicings at Fatteh Khan's victory, as the reward of which he received half the kingdom.

After this he refused to fight any more, saying truly "that kings did not fight for themselves, but paid others to fight for them." So he lived in peace, and when he died every one said that he was the greatest hero that had ever lived.

**No. 6.—FolkTale.**

**Prince Bahram-i-Ghor and the Fairy Shâhpasand.**

Once on a time there lived a king, who had one son, the Prince Bahram-i-Ghor, as beautiful as the sun. One day the Prince went out shooting, and hunted to the north and the south and the east, but found no game. Then he hunted towards the west, and suddenly out of a thicket flashed a golden deer. Gold were its hoofs and horns and legs, and gold its body. The Prince, astonished at the sight, bade his retainers form a large circle, and so gradually enclose the beautiful strange creature, saying: "Remember, I hold him accountable for its escape or capture towards whom the beast may run."

Closer and closer drew the circle, when

---

1 I give the name as it came to me; it should, however, probably be Babram Gor, in which case the tale should be referred to the celebrated Sassanian monarch Bahramger, the hunter of the wild-ass (por). Bahram is the Greek Varanas, the name Bahrám-i-Ghor would, however, point to an Iranian, or rather Pathen origin. 

In India there have been three prominent Bahrams. First and greatest Akbar's uncle and general Bahram Khan Terkman, the Khan Khanan, who spent part of his time in the Himalayas after his defeat by Akbar at Khwâb in 1559, and before the reconciliation in 1560. He would hardly, however, have ever been called Bahram of Ghor. Next there was the Ghaznavide Bahram of Lâhor (A.D. 1118-1122) set up by the Seljuks in opposition to Arslân and finally defeated, in revenge for his murder of Saifuddin Ghor, by Ala'uddin Ghor, who then finally destroyed Ghaznavi. He died of a broken heart en route to India in 1132. His pedigree is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Era</th>
<th>R. 1893-94</th>
<th>R. 1894-95</th>
<th>R. 1895-96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahmûd of Ghazni, ob. 1030</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>ex. 1053-51</td>
<td>ex. 1053-42</td>
<td>ex. 1053-42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu 'r-rashîd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandâb Abu'l-hassan Farnékhâl</td>
<td>ex. 1058-95</td>
<td>ex. 1058-95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitram</td>
<td>ex. 1038-92</td>
<td>ex. 1049-51</td>
<td>ex. 1052-95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massud II</td>
<td>ex. 1049</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massud III</td>
<td>ex. 1095-1118</td>
<td>ex. 1095-1118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arslân</td>
<td>ex. 1119-121</td>
<td>ex. 1119-121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahram</td>
<td>ex. 1119-121</td>
<td>ex. 1119-121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Rukan'd-din Râzû Begâm Mu'inn'ud-din Firoz | R. 1235 | R. 1236-37 | R. 1229-41 |

There was nothing in this last prince's history to make him a popular figure. I fancy Bahramger the Sassanian is meant, but local tales do not always fasten on the most prominent popular heroes and perhaps one of the other Bahrâms is meant. Bairâm is a common false spelling of this name. Lastly, this tale may be a folklore version of the tale of Bahramger and the Fairy Hassan Bâno, of which I find that two versions in Panjâb were published at Lâhor in 1889 under the title of Qâyân'i-Bahrâmger, Panj. Gazette, Suppl. pp. 532-3. Aug. 10th, 1884. — R. C. T.
suddenly the deer fled towards where the Prince stood, and he, pursuing it, caught it by one golden horn. Then the creature found human voice, and cried “Let me go, O Prince! and I will give you treasures.”

But the Prince Bahram-i-Ghor laughed, saying, “I have gold and jewels enough, but I have no golden deer.”

“Aye,” returned the deer, “but I will give you more than gold and riches.”

“What is that?” laughed the Prince. “Many things,” pleaded the deer, “for one thing I will give you such a ride as mortals never had.”

“Done,” said the gay Prince, and vaulted on the golden deer’s back. Then, like a bird from the thicket, the golden deer rose through the air, and for seven days and seven nights it carried the Prince over all the world, over the hills and above the rivers and fields and towers. On the seventh day it touched the earth again, and instantly vanished from sight.

Prince Bahram-i-Ghor rubbed his eyes. He had never seen such a strange country before. Everything was new and unfamiliar. He wandered about looking for the trace of a house or footstep, when out of the ground popped a wee old man.

“How did you come here, my son?” asked he politely.

Then Bahram-i-Ghor told him of the golden deer and of his ride, and how he was now quite lost and bewildered and knew not what road to take. Then the little old man said, “Do not fear; this is demon-land, but no one will hurt you while I am by, for I am the demon Jasdrul, whose life you saved in the shape of the golden deer.”

Then the demon Jasdrul took Prince Bahram-i-Ghor to his house and gave him a hundred keys, saying—“These are the keys of my hundred palaces and gardens. Amuse yourself by looking at them. You may find something worth having.”

So, to amuse himself, Prince Bahram-i-Ghor opened one garden and palace every day, and in one he found gold and in another silver, in a third jewels, in a fourth rich stuffs, and so on through everything the heart could desire till he came to the hundredth palace.

When he opened the door of the garden which was surrounded by a high wall, he saw a miserable hovel full of poisonous things, herbs and stones and snakes and insects. So he shut the hovel door sharp, and turned to look at the garden. It was seven miles square, seven miles this way and that way and every way, and full of fruit trees, flowers, fountains, summer houses and streams.

He wandered seven miles this way and seven that, till he was so tired, that he lay down in a marble summer-house to rest on a golden bed spread with shawls, which he found there. Now while he slept the Princess Shāhpasand, the fairy, came to take the air, fairy-like in the shape of a pigeon, and came flying over the garden and caught sight of the sleeping Prince. He looked so handsome and beautiful and splendid that she sank to the earth at once, resuming her natural shape, as fairies always do when they touch the earth, and gave the Prince a kiss.

He woke up in a hurry, when the Princess Shāhpasand kneeling gracefully before him said, “Dear Prince! I have been looking for you everywhere.”

The Prince no sooner set eyes on Princess Shāhpasand than he fell desperately in love with her, so that they agreed to get married without delay. But the Prince was doubtful as to what the demon Jasdrul might say, and he felt bound to ask his consent. This to the Prince’s surprise and delight he gave readily, rubbing his hands with glee, and saying, “I thought you would find her somehow. Now you will be happy. Remain here, and never think of going back to your own country any more.”

So the Prince Bahram-i-Ghor and the fairy,

Jaundarau, metal demon. All these appear to me to be fanciful. I offer the following as a solution: Rawal and Rāwl-Rāo or Rāi, chief, in proper names, e.g. Harjas Rāi and Harjas Rawal. Rāi may here be for Rāi; we then get the name Jas or Jasud Rāi or Rāo. Now Jasud Rāi is a very popular hero in legends and tales (vide my Hindu Folk-songs from the Panjāb, J. A. S. B. for 1882), and possibly Jasud (or Jasud Rāi) stands for Jasud Rāi. The latter name is a corruption of Dāṣāratha, the name of the father of Rāma Chandra. — R. C. T.

Shāhpasand means king’s delight, and is probably merely a fancy name. — R. C. T.
Princess Shāhpadand were married and lived ever so happily for ever so long a time.

At last, however, Prince Bahram-i-Ghor began to think longingly of his home, his father the king, his mother the queen, his favourite horse and his hound. Then he began to speak of them every evening to the Princess, and sighed and sighed and sighed, till he grew quite pale.

Now the demon Jasdrāl used to sit every night in a little room below that of the Prince and Princess, and listen to what they said: when he heard the Prince talking of his own country he sighed too, for he was a kind-hearted demon and loved the Prince.

At last he asked the Prince one day why he was so pale and sighed so often. Then the Prince answered,—"Oh good demon! Let me go back to see my father and mother, my horse, and my hound, for I am weary. Let me and the Princess go, or I will surely take poison and die."

The demon refused at first, but when the Prince persisted, he said,—"Be it so, but you will repent and come back to me. Take this hair. When you are in trouble burn it, and I will come to your assistance."

Then very regretfully the demon said goodbye, and instantly Prince Bahram-i-Ghor and the Princess Shāhpadand found themselves outside his native town. But everything was changed; his father and mother were both dead and a usurper had seized the throne, and put a price on Bahram-i-Ghor's head should he ever return. Luckily no one recognized him, as he, too, had changed much, except an old huntsman. But even he would have nothing to do with the Prince, saying, "It is more than my life's worth."

At last when the Prince begged and prayed, the huntsman consented to let the Prince and Princess live in his house.

"My mother is blind, and will never see you," said he, "and you can help me to hunt as I used to help you before."

So the Prince Bahram-i-Ghor and the Princess Shāhpadand went to live in the huntsman's house in a garret just under the wooden roof, and no one knew they were there.

Now one day, when the Prince had gone out to hunt as servant to the huntsman, the Princess Shāhpadand washed her beautiful golden hair, which hung round her like a shower of gold-thread, and when she had washed it she combed it, setting the window ajar to let the breeze come in and dry her hair.

Now just then the Kotwāl of the town happened to pass by, and casting his eyes upwards saw the beautiful Princess Shāhpadand with her shower of golden hair. He was so overcome at the sight that he fell off his horse into the gutter. His servants picked him up, and took him back to the Kotwāl, where he raved of the beautiful fairy in the huntsman's cottage. This set all the courtiers and officials wondering if he were not bewitched. At last it came to the King's ears, and he immediately sent down some soldiers to enquire.

"No one lives here," said the huntsman's old mother crossly, "no beautiful lady, nor ugly lady, nor any one at all but myself and my son. However, go to the garret, and see if you like."

Princess Shāhpadand hearing this bolted the door, and seizing a knife cut a hole in the wooden roof, and flew out in the shape of a pigeon. So when the soldiers burst open the door they found no one there. Only as the Princess flew past the blind old crone she called out loudly, "I go to my father's house in the Emerald Mountain."

When the Prince returned, and found his beautiful Princess had fled, he was half distracted, but hearing the old woman's story of the mysterious voice, which said, "I go to my father's house in the Emerald Mountain," he became more tranquil. But, considering after a time that he had no notion where the Emerald Mountain was, he fell into a sad state. He cast himself on the ground, and sobbed and sighed. He refused to eat his dinner or to speak any word, but "O my dearest Princess! O my dearest Princess!"

---

This argues a double-storied house in the hills, or rather describes the ordinary hill village house consisting of a room and a loft under a sloping roof of shingles or slate according to the neighbourhood. A Shikārī's hut in the plains would be a flat-roofed mud hut of a single room. —R. C. T.

Kotwāl, the chief police officer of a native city; always a person of high standing and authority. See former stories. Kotwāl, the Kotwāl's Office, the city police station, a place held in great awe by all natives. —R. C. T.

Koh-i-Zamrud; but I do not know that any particular region is meant. There is a celebrated Green Mount in the Winter Palace at Peking, the legendary fame of which may have reached Kashmir. See Pyle's Marco Polo, vol 1, pp. 325-330. —R. C. T.
At last he remembered the demon Jasdrul's hair, and instantly taking it out he threw it into the fire, and lo! there was his old friend, who asked him what he wanted.

"Show me the way to the Emerald Mountain," said the Prince, "that I may find my dearest Princess."

Then the demon shook his head, saying—

"You will never reach the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me and forget all that has passed."

The Prince answered, "I have but one life, and that is gone if I lose my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

So the demon Jasdrul very unwillingly carried the Prince back with him to demon-land, and giving him a magic wand, bade him travel over the country till he came to the demon Nanak Chand's house.

"You will meet with many dangers on the way," said the kind-hearted demon, "but, as no one can harm you so long as you bear the wand, do not part with it day or night. More I cannot do for you, but Nanak Chand, who is my elder brother, will tell you further."

So Prince Bahram-Ghor set out to travel through demon-land, and met many dreadful things, but came to no harm because of the magic wand.

When he arrived at the demon Nanak Chand's house the latter had just awakened from his sleep, which according to the habit of demons had lasted twelve whole years, and he was consequently desperately hungry. When he saw the young Prince his mouth watered, and he said to himself, "Here is a dainty morsel."

But on seeing the wand which the Prince carried he restrained his appetite, and asked politely what was wanted. Then the Prince told him the whole story, at which demon Nanak Chand shook his head, saying—"You will never return from the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me and forget all that has passed."

But the Prince said, "I have but one life, and that is gone if I lose my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

So demon Nanak Chand bid the Prince travel through demon-land till he came to the demon Safed's house, saying—"Take this surma (antimony), and when in need, put it on your eyes. Then whatever you look at will be near or far as you desire it. More I cannot do for you, but the demon Safed, who is my elder brother, will tell you further."

The Prince accordingly journeyed on through many dangers and difficulties till he came to the house of the demon Safed, to whom he told his story, showing the surma and the magic wand. At this the demon Safed shook his head, saying, "You will never return from the Emerald Mountain alive, my son, so be guided by me and forget what has passed."

Still the Prince answered as before, "I have but one life, and that is gone without my dearest Princess. As I must die, let me die seeking her."

Then the demon nodded his head, saying—"You are a brave youth, so take this yeck's cap. Whenever you put it on, you will be invisible. Then journey to the North, and by and bye you will see the Emerald Mountain. Then just put the surma on your eyes, for it is an enchanted hill, and the further you climb up the higher it grows." This surma makes what is near far and what is far near. Then term of twelve years as applied to demons, yogis, and saints.—R. C. T.

Safed 'white' comes oddly after such a thorough going Hindi name as Nanak Chand. If we take it to mean merely the "White Demon," it may be a modern rendering for Dhaula—Sanak, dhavala, White, which was, according to Monier Williams, one of the names of the Dikkaras or Elephants supporting the eight quarters of the world. The Dikkaras are constantly confounded with the Dik-pata (or Dik-phans) or gods of the quarters in modern mythology. The demonic nature of the Dikkaras is shown in the synonym Din-daga for them. This demon Safed may therefore be the modern representative of the classical Dhavala, the Demon Elephant of the quarter.—R. C. T.

For an explanation of the Yeck or Yeck see ante, vol. XI. p. 260.—R. C. T.

This is evidently an idea derived from the common phenomenon of ridge rising beyond ridge, each in turn deceiving the climber into the belief that he has reached the top.—F. A. S.
put on your invisible cap, enter the Emerald City, and find the Princess, if you can!"

Prince Bahram-i-Ghor set out joyfully to the North, and when he saw the Emerald Mountain he rubbed the *sarma* on his eyes, and lo! what he desired was near, and what he desired not was far. Then putting on the invisible cap, and entering the Emerald City, where houses, trees, dishes, furniture, pots and pans were all of emerald, he began to search for his dear Princess, but without success.

The fact is the Princess was locked up inside seven prisons, for her father, who doated on her, was determined she should never fly away again. When she had disappeared he had wept bitterly, but when she returned he was dreadfully angry with her for giving him such a fright, and when she told him how she was married he locked her up at once, saying, "If your husband comes to you, well and good, but you shall never go to him."

So inside seven prisons the poor Princess passed her days weeping and sighing. Now every day a woman servant brought the Princess her dinner in this manner. First she unlocked the outer door, and entered the outer prison, locking the door behind her. Then she unlocked the second door, and entered the second prison, locking the door behind her, and so on, till she came to the seventh prison, where the Princess Shahpasand sat. Here she left the dinner, returning as she had come.

Now the Prince, who was roaming about the city in his invisible cap, poking into all sorts of holes and corners, noticed this woman servant every evening at the same hour with a tray of sweets on her head going in a certain direction. Being curious he followed her, and when she opened the outer door he slipped in behind her. She, of course, could not see him, so she went on through all the seven prisons, the Prince following close behind. When they reached the seventh prison and the Prince saw his dear Princess, he could hardly restrain himself from calling to her.

However, remembering he was invisible, he waited till the Princess began to eat, and while she ate he ate from the other side of the dish. The Princess at first could not believe her eyes when she saw the *pidas* disappearing in handfuls, and thought she must be dreaming, but when more than half the dishful had gone, she called out—"Who eats in the same dish with me?"

Then Prince Bahram-i-Ghor just lifted the cap a wee bit from his forehead, so that he was not quite visible, but showed like a figure by dawn-light. The Princess immediately called him by name, but wept thinking he was a ghost. Then the Prince removed the *yech* cap entirely, and the Princess wept with joy. When the King of the Emerald Mountain heard how the Princess's husband had found his way through dangers and difficulties to his dear Princess, the old man was ever so much delighted, for he said, "Now that her husband has come to her, my daughter will never want to go to him."

So he made the Prince his heir, and they all lived happily ever after in the Emerald Kingdom.\(^{12}\)

---

**A PANJAB LEGEND.**

*BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.*

The Story of Lonad, wife of Šālivāhana.

According to Panjab legends the great Šālivāhana, called locally Sahilwan or Sālbāhan, the king of the Sākas or Skythians and from whose accession is dated the Sāka era, a.d. 78, was Rājā of Siālkot in the Northern Panjab. He had three wives and two sons, which last are the great heroes of Panjab stories. Their names were Rājā Rasīlū, the hero and conqueror of the Rākshasas, and Pūran Bhagat, the saint. This Pūran Bhagat suffered, much after the manner of Joseph from Potiphar's wife, from the importunities of Lonad, his stepmother, who was the cause of all his woes, as related in many a legend. I cannot here go into the probabilities of the stories of Šālivāhana,

\(^{12}\) Told by Hālib, a Musalmān coolly, in Kashmīr. The tale is a favorite and well-known one. It is impossible to say whether it is of Hindu or Musalmān origin. It looks like a Hindū tale fastened on to Musalmān heroes. It may, however, have its origin in local versions of the tale of the Old Man of the Mountain and the Assassins. Widely varying legends regarding these were current in the middle ages both in Asia and Europe: vide, The Romana of Baudrui de Sebourg, in which, however, the Mountain is called the Red Mountain, where dwelt the lovely Ivolina. This tale and the stories about the Old Man of the Mountain have a certain family likeness which is worth observing. See Yule's Marco Polo, vol. I, pp. cxliv—li and 132-46.—R. C. T.
Rasălā and Pūran, but hope to do so when editing the series of legends called "The Adventures of Rājā Rasālā." The unwritten tale I give here was picked up accidentally, and relates the birth of Lonā and how she came to be Śālivāhana's wife. Her later doings are duly recorded in a lithographed poem in Panjābī in the Persian character called "The Story of Pūran Bhagat."

The Story of Lonā.

Some madan* escaped one day from a Rishi, and he knew that if it fell on the ground a man would be born from it, so he put it into a flower and threw the flower into a river in which a Chamellā Rājpūt princess was bathing. She took up the flower and smelt it, and so became pregnant. Ten months afterwards a girl was born and the princess through fear hid her in a box and threw the box into the river. A Chamāmār happened to be washing a skin by the river side, and saw the box floating by. In it he found a beautiful little girl, and took her home, but being a Chamāmār, he brought her up by hand on cow's milk, and when she was old enough he gave her a house to herself.

One day Rājā Sālahān got very thirsty out hunting, and happened on the Chamāmār's house, who directed him to the girl's house for water as he could not give himself owing to his low-caste. The girl sent out the water in a lotā covered over with a kerchief exquisitely worked by her own hand. The Rājā wanted to know who had made so beautiful a kerchief, and the people said that the beautiful Hindu girl Lonā had made it. After this the Rājā managed to see her and demanded her in marriage. But the Chamāmār refused to give her up unless the Rājā married her from his house. This the Rājā agreed to, and took the girl away as Queen to his own palace.

As regards the story of the miraculous birth from the madan the sweeper caste of the Panjāb (Chūhrā, Bhangī, Mehtar, Lālbegī, etc.) tell the following extraordinary tale about the birth of Lāl Beg, their very obscure deity or object of worship. The Birth of Lāl Beg.

One day Śiva (Mahaśe) got very drunk, and some madan escaped from him. Another god* assumed the form of a man, and took it in his hand and put some into Anjanā's ears, and so Hanumān was born. He then rubbed his hand on a red stone (lāl bāta) and Lāl Beg sprang forth. Then he rubbed it on a sarkandā reed (saccharum procerum), whence came Sarkandāth; then on some cow dung (gōbar), whence came Gobarnāth, and lastly he washed his hands in a river where a fish swallowed some of the madan and brought forth Machhandarnāth.

In a country like the Panjāb, intersected by enormous rivers, the disposal of inconvenient children by exposure on the river banks, or by floating them down stream, cannot be very uncommon, and I have no doubt that many legends of river waifs exist. This Lonā is made out to be a riverside foundling, and in the Panjābī recension of the very old Sīndi story of Sassi and Panūnī by Hāshim Shāh, in a well known poem, the heroine Sassi is made to be just such another waif. Háshim Shāh's tale varies considerably from that told by the Sīndi poets.

---

1 One of these tales is given as a note to "Folklore from Kashmir," N. 9.

2 This name has the ordinary modern fem. termination, e.g., Tulśā, Gullāhā, Tētā, Kālā, Hīntā, etc. It would be quite legitimate, according to prevailing custom, to derive it from the existing word lōkā, to trouble, make angry (ṁ reh = reh, anger); or from rau, a marshy field by a river, which would make the same Raunē or Lonā mean the marsh or river foundling, for which some see story. Sources of such names have been invented and exist in the Panjāb.

3 Madan, properly the same as Kāma or Kāmīdeo, the god of love and procreation, is used to mean the male procreating principle, sama vīraḥ. Mysterious birth from madan as here, is not uncommonly ascribed by the lower orders to their heroes, saints or objects of worship.

4 Doubtless for Chandell Rājpūt, for an account of whom see Elliot, Races of the N. W. P., Beames's Ed. vol. I., p. 71-76

5 Natives always reckon pregnancy as ten lunar months, i.e. 280 (properly 285) days.

* The Pūran Bhagat says that Lonā was a Chumīr (Chammār) by caste. This legend, a la the Hindus, was probably invented to give her a better descent.

* This ensured her being treated as a Rāni, because had the Rājā taken her off and married her in his own palace she would have been a mere inferior wife or concubine.

* It is almost impossible, owing to the suspicions of the sweepers when their beliefs are enquired into, and to the absence of written records, to find out much about him. I begin to think for several reasons that the name should be Lāl Bhek (bhikshu) or the Red Monk.

* Paramacivar, but seemingly should be Vāyu.

* Hanumān's was the son of Lālān by Vāyu.

* (7) Sikandār, but perhaps merely the god of the reed.

19 (9) Gobardhān, Goseīn from a false analogy. The same blunder has been made in Bengal—Ind. Asia., vol. VIII, p. 141, vol. IX, p. 333.

20 Perhaps the preceptor of Gorakhnāth.

The Story of Sassi.\textsuperscript{15}

\textit{Ådamjám was king of the city of Bhambor,\textsuperscript{16} and was great and good and generous. To him was born in the city of Bhambor a daughter Sassi, and he called the astrologers to foretell her fate. And these said "she will die in a lone and sandy desert and bring disgrace and shame to her father's house." Now although her father and her mother loved her much, nevertheless, when they heard she would bring shame on them, they made a plan to put her into a wooden chest, and throw her into the river, thinking thereby to rid themselves of the evil name in store for them. So having gotten a wooden chest, they put Sassi into it, and threw it into the river.

Now one Åttå, a washerman, was washing clothes by the river bank not far from the place where Sassi was thrown into the river. Seeing the chest floating down the river he jumped in, and brought the chest with Sassi in it, and taking Sassi home to his own house he cherished her until she became of full age. And to him came the young washermen, and demanded her in marriage, whereupon he went to Sassi, and said "Choose whom you will, but she would have none of them, saying "I am a king's daughter." When they heard this the washermen went to Ådamjám the king, and told him that Åttå the washerman had a daughter worthy of marrying him. The king thereupon sent for Sassi, but when he saw what was written on the paper, which had been in the wooden chest, he was greatly ashamed, and sent Sassi back to her foster-father the washerman."\textsuperscript{17}

The tale of Sassi and Punnúh has occupied a good deal of attention, and has been translated into verse as "Suswee and Punhoo" by Sir F. Goldsmid from the Sindh version. The name varies as Sassi and Punnúh, Saswi and Punhú and as Sassi and Pannúh. Punnúh was a Beloch prince, son of Ari (Hot 'Ali according to Háshím Sháh) king of Kech or Kecham in Makrán, which place has been variously identified as Kach, Kíraj, Kich, and Kej.\textsuperscript{18}


\begin{center}
SAKKI.-MAINÁ.-KEPKION.
\end{center}

\begin{center}
BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE,
\end{center}

Liddell and Scott in their Greek Lexicon, (5th Ed., 1864,) s. v. \textit{kepkion}, \textit{q.} quoting \textit{Àelian, De Animalium Naturâ, xvi, 3}, say that it is an unknown bird.

McCrindle, \textit{Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arr-\'an}, following Schwanbeck, at p. 160, (\textit{Ind. Ant.} vol. VI, p. 345) translates the passage from \textit{Àelian} referred to by Liddell and Scott, as being copied from Megasthenes, thus: "There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is partly coloured and is uttered to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom and such a longing to wander at will in the society of its mate that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians, who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood and in the city called Kuropolis, and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the kerkìon. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as water ouzeals (\textit{à k\textgreek{e}y\textgreek{a}lo}))."

Taking Boukephala to have been built on the banks of the Hydaspe or Jhilm, its neighbourhood would be the present Râwal Pîndj and Jhilam Districts of the Panjâb. This talking bird then, which Anglo-Indians recognize at once as the \textit{mainâ}, was called kerkìon, or something that corresponded to it, about Râwal Pîndj and Jhilam in Grasco-Indian times.


\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{15} Sassi means the moon: Sanak. \textit{Sâtín.} Hart-Davies, \textit{Sind Ballads}, calls her Sasi (Suswee), and following the Sindh poets derives the name as Satti, \textit{mex uku}, "heard in the world or famous." This is of course sheer nonsense. See Elliot, \textit{Hist. of India}, vol. I, p. 382.
\textsuperscript{16} Bhambar is Bhambarâwâ, the old Greek Barbarika.
\textsuperscript{17} See Roman India Journal, vol. IV, No. 33, p. 22.
\end{footnotesize}
Now the ordinary modern Panjâbi word for the common Mainâ (acridotheres tristis), or the Mainâ of the plains as distinguished from the Mainâ proper, or talking Mainâ of the hills (gracula religiosa or musica), is shârak, sârik, shârâk, or sârik.

Fallon, *New Hindustani Dictionary*, following the muzzhls, (i. e. v. shârak), says it is Persian, and that the Hindi word is sârik and wrongly that the Sanskrit word is sârikâ. S. v. mainâ he gives mainâ sârik as the name of the ordinary or plains Mainâ. Johnson, *Persian and Arabic Dictionary*, s. v. shârâk, says it means "a species of talking bird (? mainâ), a grackle, a nightingale." But I altogether doubt if the Panjâbi and Hindi sârik, shârâk or sârik is of Persian origin, as we have in Sanskrit, sâri, sâri, sârikâ, salâkâ, sârikâ, and sâlikâ, for the *gracula religiosa* or Mainâ. The words with I take to mean mainly streaked or spotted with yellow, as the hill Mainâ is.

Sâri, sâri and sârikâ are also used for another bird, a thrush, the *turdus salica*. Sârikâ would mean 'dark' coloured, and is used not only for the black Mainâ of the hills, but also for yet another bird well known in the Himalayas as a sweet singer at the present day, the shâm, shâmâ, syâm or syâmâ, (turdus macrorurus) or Indian nightingale. Its Sanskrit names, all obviously meaning black or dark, were sârikâ syâmâ and kâlikâ,—an important word in this connection. The shâm is not, however, the mainâ, nor is it now mixed up with it, and it is never taught to talk.

There is still another well known bird mixed up with the above, viz., the koil, koyal, koalâ, liyâ or kokâ, in Sanskrit kâkila, the Indian cuckoo (*cuculus Indicus*), for it has the name of syâmâ or syâmâ, or shâmâ in modern times and in the Sanskrit days it was called syâmâ (mas.) and kârishpa, black. It is to be observed here that kisî and kishî (Kishn, Kishna) is a common name now used for the black or hill Mainâ. This confusion is not so unaccountable as it would appear, for the koil, the mainâ and the shâm, all being black and all song birds, would be called indifferently from their colour sârikâ, syâmâ, kâlikâ and kârishpa, while the remarkable yellow patches on the genuine hill or talking Mainâ would give it the name of sârikâ.

Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, gives the following as the names of the different kinds of mainâ:

1. Mainâ, kisî, kishî; black mainâ, — *gracula religiosa*.
3. Mainâ sârik; common mainâ, *acridotheres tristis*.
4. Ágâ mainâ; superior talking mainâ (? *turdus salica*).
5. Abhaq mainâ, abhâ, soro; pied-starling, *sturnopastor contra*.
7. Pâhâri mainâ; Naipâl hill mainâ, *eulabea intermedia*.
8. Teli mainâ; common starling, *sturnus vulgaris*.

I would add guârâ, guâtar, guhâta* Panjâbi names for the common Mainâ, *acridotheres tristis*, and gursâl* as the equivalent in Hindi.*

The shârâk, or Mainâ under consideration, is not now the talking Mainâ, but I think it is clearly the representative of the sârikâ or talking Mainâ of the ancients, and I do not think it is doing violence to philological principles to connect the Sanskrit sârikâ, sârikâ, and kâlikâ with the Greek *kephaion*. Kephan, too, is feminine, and I would observe that all the words, ancient and modern, for Mainâ, with mainâ itself, are feminine also.

Elran says he believes that the name *kephaion* came from the habit the bird bad of wagging its tail. Now oddly enough karâkâ is used in Kullu, and sometimes in Kangra, for to

---

1. For *gracula*, which in Latin is a jay or jackdaw. The scientific name for the mainâ proper is *gracula religiosa or musica*.
2. The mother of Sâriputra "the right hand attendant of Buddha" was called Sârikâ from this bird. She was famous for the strength of her eyes. Her husband's name was Tishya. — *Asiat. Rev.* vol. XX, p. 48.— *Ed*.
3. The first words a mainâ is usually taught are "Eum Nâm" and "Kâlikâ-Kishna," and from this the muzzhls characteristically derive the word kisî!
quake, shake, move (= the Hindi hīlād), but not, as far as I know, for the causative (hīlānā), e. g. such an expression as puchh (or pinchh) karakād, to wag the tail, would not be used.

All the words in modern Hindi and Panjabi of this form are connected with a sense of "to make a noise." Thus:

Hindi. (1) a crackling, rattle, crunch, karaṅ karar, kuruṅ, karmar; to crackle, grate, crunch, creep, kirkārānā, karmar, karkārānā; to gnash the teeth, karkārānā. (2) a cackle, crack, kruṅ; to cackle, crack, kur, kurānā. (3) to clatter, kurakud. (4) a crash, thunder-clap, karaṅkā, karaṅ; successive crashes, karaṅkā; to crash, thunder, karaṅkā. (5) a shriek, shout, cry, kilkārī; the great grey-babbler, malocircus Malcolm.—kilkād.

Panjabi. (1) and (2) a crunch, crackle, creak; cluck, cackle; kalkāl, karkar, kur, kurānā; to crunch, crackle, creak; cluck, cackle, kruṅkā, kuruṅkā, kurkūnā, kurkurkūnā. (3) a chatterer, karaṅkānā. (4) a crash, thunder-clap, karaṅkā, karaṅkā; successive crashes, karaṅkā; to crash, thunder, karaṅkā. (5) to shriek, kurānā; a shriek, kurād.

All the above words should be referred apparently to the old roots kri, to make a sound, kal, to sound, kur, to make a noise in general.

Now though there is nothing to support Elian's derivation of sepkov from wagging or moving the tail, yet those who have watched the noisy and quarrelsome habits of the Mainā in general might easily imagine such a word as sepkov representing some name meaning noisy, quarrelsome, chattering. But as no such word seems ever to have existed I think we have no choice but to fall back on śīrkā as the origin of sepkov.

MISCELLANEA.

Mr. Carllyle's Archæological Report.

Mr. Carllyle, in General Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India Reports, vol. XII. p. 178, remarks that the birth-place of Kanakamuni Buddha is placed in my translation of Fah-hian (p. 84) "less than one yōjana north" of Na-pi-ka—the town where Kralkuchchhanda Buddha was born, while Rémusat (as rendered by Laidlay) says it was "less than one yōjana to the south." Both General Cunningham (Anc. Geog. p. 419) and Mr. Carllyle have here committed themselves to Laidlay's error, and use it in establishing the position of Kapilavastu;—for, if the reader consult Rémusat's own version (p. 193), he will find that he distinctly says 'one yōjana to the north'—in perfect accordance with my rendering.

I observe a similar error both in Mr. Carllyle's Report (p. 187) and in General Cunningham's Ancient Geography (p. 429) with respect to the bearing of the Arrow well (Śārakūpā) Fah-hian, as I have translated him (Trav. Buddh. Pilg. p. 86), says the arrow went in a south-east direction, and so Rémusat has also translated it, Fo-kow-ki, p. 198; but Mr. Laidlay, by error, has got 'south-west' in his version of Rémusat. This mistake has been accepted by both writers, and on it important conclusions have been based.

At p. 195, Mr. Carllyle says the Lumbini garden was situated near the bank of the River of Oil, but, in fact, this was a small stream flowing through the garden. And, at p. 210, he speaks of this garden being called pardāi-moksha—a mistake of Klapproth's, but accepted by Cunningham (Anc. Geog. p. 417); the Chinese writer says that it was called the garden 'of deliverance' (pratimoksha) because Māya was there delivered of her child.

S. BEAL.

Śūrpaṅaka (ante, p. 236)

The following references to Śūrpaṅaka are found in Jaina books—

Ganadharaśrādhakata, composed by Jinadattaśri (+ Sam 1211), v. 36—

Kunjuna-visāc Sopārakase sugurvaesa jena |
kahiya subhikshham avighgham |
vหio sangho guna-mahagghho |
(Commentary: Kunkūnavibhāyē Sopārakase sugurva i.e. Vajra-uptadeśato yena i.e. Vajraśenena) kathavāyē "subhikshham" avighgham vihitāh |
sangho gunair mahāghrayaḥ ||

Prabhavakārītra I, v. 185—

Vajraśenā cha Sopārakase |
nāma pattanam atyagatā |
Jinadattaśrīśastri atre-
śvarīty akhyā chatuṣṣaṅga ||

* Perhaps onomatopoetic. Conf. Sank. hīlād, a cry of joy.
Among the references to Sūpārā and Pūrṇa maitrāyaniputra, I overlooked those in the Kanjur or Tibetan collection, as analyzed in the Asiatic Researches, vol. XX. Pūrṇa is in Tibetan Gang-po, and Sūpāraka is apparently dGe-vahi-pha-rol-bgro (p. 426)—"excellent virtue."

1. In the 2nd volume of the Duta, a history of this Gang-po or Pūrṇa (p. 61).

2. In the 4th volume of the Kon-tsegs is a tract called Pūrṇa pariprēchechka, "the question of Pūrṇa," a sātra pronounced by Śākya at the request of Pūrṇa (p. 409).

3. In the 3rd volume of the Mdo, Gang-po is represented as superintending the erection of a fine house for Buddha at the 'Excellent-virtue' city; Buddha visits it, leaves his footprint there, and preaches to the Nāgardjas of the sea (pp. 426, 427). This corresponds pretty well with the legend already given.

4. In the 7th volume he appears as one of the interlocutors in the Saddharma Pundarika (p. 438).

5. He is represented in the same work, 15th volume, as invested with power and directed by Buddha, while at Śrāvasti, in a conversation with Śāriputra on prāmāṇḍa (p. 452).

6. The 29th volume of the Mdo contains a Pūrṇa mukha-svaddha sātaka or "hundred stories of Pūrṇa," but as this Pūrṇa is called a Brāhmaṇ (p. 481), he may be the same as the Gang-po mentioned in the 11th volume of the Duta, where there is a history of Sman-chhen the son of Gang-po of the town of Par maksha in a hilly country (p. 90), and perhaps the same as the Brāhmaṇ Pūrṇa mentioned in the Anādavatara (S. Hardy, Man. of Budh. p. 347).

It is possible of course that there may be even more than two Pūrṇas referred to in these passages, but the 1st and 3rd certainly refer to Pūrṇa maitrāyaniputra.


J. R.

COBILY MASH (p. 196).

In the Indian Antiquary (vol. VIII, p. 321) appeared a note by Mr. Donald Ferguson on the origin of "Cobily-Mash," the terms by which the dried bonito exported from the Mādīves is commonly known. Mr. Ferguson considers Mr. A. Gray mistaken in following Pyrrad, and referring the word to the Sinhalese, kala mas 'black fish,' but would, on the authority of Mahā Mudaliyar L. de Zoysa, derive it from the Sinhalese, kebāi mas, "piece fish" (Sin. kebella 'piece').

Nonnullum dormitum Homerus.—My learned friend the Mahā Mudaliyar is almost certainly at fault in his ingenious derivation. "Cobolly," or "Combolly masse" as old Pyrrad writes it, and as it is generally called to this day, is, I take it, merely a corrupted form of kala bili mas, the exact Mādīdivian term for the 'black fish' or bonito, the baldeg of the Sinhalese—kala means 'black' in Mādīve and Sinhalese alike, and bili may reasonably be the Sin. baldeg in Mādīve dress. Cf. M. dika, S. dahaya, 'ten'; M. kuni, S. kuna, 'dirt.'

H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S.

ON REFORMED BUDDHISM IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

By PRES. W. A. P. MARTIN.

Buddhism has always exhibited a remarkable facility of adaptation to the characters and circumstances of the people among whom it has been propagated. Hence the great difference in the aspects of the same religion in Tibet and Tartary, China and Japan, Ceylon and Burma. It might therefore be expected that Buddhism would undergo considerable modifications whenever it was brought into contact with Christianity. This is...
notably the case in Japan; and the modifications referred to have perhaps shown themselves earlier in that country on account of the lively susceptible character of the people. In illustration of this, the speaker gave an account of a visit which he had made in company with Mr. Nishima, a native Christian pastor, to a Buddhist College in Kioto, the ancient capital.

The buildings suggest reform by their external appearance, being in the best style of European architecture, and in strong contrast with the famous Hungkon temple, to which they are attached. They were erected, it is said, at a cost of 360,000 yen, or $300,000. The organization is not yet complete, but provision is made for the various departments of instruction usually found in western universities. In the department of Natural Philosophy, he was shown a large collection of apparatus mostly imported for the purpose of teaching experimental physics; and in the department of theology he saw a class of forty candidates for the priesthood taking notes of a lecture that was being delivered by a venerable looking Bonze.

The name of the sect to which this establishment belongs is Shinsin, or the 'new doctrine,' and a tract which the speaker received from one of the professors indicates how justly it may claim that designation; explaining that the adherents of the Shinsin have abandoned the practice of compulsory celibacy, renounced ascetic rites, and rejected the worship of all Buddhas or other deities, except Amida, the Unlimited or Eternal. This document further states that the soul is in a state of salvation the moment it exercises faith in the love of Amida: all of which are Christian dogmas under pagan names.

In China such reformed sects are numerous; but they have not in any case approached so near to the adoption of Christian dogmas, and are distinguished from the current Buddhism of that empire chiefly by an attitude of protest against certain forms of popular idolatry.\(^1\)

---

THE SUTRA IN FORTY-TWO CHAPTERS, TRANSLATED FROM THE TIBETAN,

BY W. W. ROCKHILL, OF BALTIMORE, MD.

This brief Sutra, one of the canonical works of Buddhism, has been already twice translated from the Tibetan—by A. Schiefner (1851) and L. Feer (1878); and also once from the Chinese, by Mr. S. Beal (J. R. A. S. vol. XIX, 1862). Mr. Rockhill has been led to make a translation into English from the Tibetan version also, by the fact that it contains in a concise form the most important points of Buddhist dogma and morals. The text used by him is the lithographed one published in 1868 by M. Feer from a copy in four languages (Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, and Manchu) brought to France by the Abbé Huc.

The introduction (placed in the original text at the end of the work), giving the usual history of the importation of Buddhism into China, is as follows:

"In the 24th year of Liu Tou Wang (the emperor Chao of the Chow) the year of the wood-tiger (1029 B. C.) the 4th month, the 8th day, a body of light coming from the southwest appeared in the king's palace. The king and his ministers, having seen it, questioned the wise men, who answered by the following prophecy: 'It is a sign that a mighty Lord will appear in that quarter (of the world), and that after a thousand years his doctrine will reach this land.'"

"After that, in the 53rd year of Mu Wang (949 B. C.) in the year of the water-ape, the second month, the 15th day, the Master (Sâkyamuni) showed the way to enter into Nirâdaha."

"After 1013 years (from the luminous apparition), in the reign Yung-ping, (65 A. D.), the eighth of Hân Ming-thi, in the first month, in the night of the 15th day, the king had a dream. A being of more than eight cubits in height, of the colour of gold, (whose body) emitted light like the sun, descended into the palace. 'My doctrine,' he said, 'will spread itself gradually over this country.' The following day, (the king) having questioned his ministers (about this dream), the minister Hphu yi (Fu yi) answered him thus: 'Long ago, in the time of Liu Tou Wang, there was a prophecy made in answer (to a question); this dream of the king's agrees with it.'"

"Then the king looked over the old records, and was made happy by finding this prophecy of the time of Liu Tou Wang. The king sent eighteen men, among whom was the minister Wang Taun, into the west, to try to discover the teaching of the Buddha."

"They arrived at the kingdom of Yue-chi, where two men of India of the family of Kaśyapa the Arhat Matangiya and the Pandrah Gobharana (helped them) to put on a white horse the fundamental works, the Sâtras in 42 chapters and other Sâtras, both of the Great and the Little Vehicle, and also a vase full of relics of the Master. (After that) they started back by the road by which they had come. At the end of the 12th month they arrived at the fortress of Lo-yang.

"In six years from that time, the Arhat and the Pandit had converted the unbelievers of the Black Plain (i.e. China)."

---

\(^1\) Extracted from the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October 1880.
"After that, the Arhat and the Panjît rising into the air spoke these verses to the king:

'The foxes' whelps are not of the lion's race;
A burning lamp is not like the sun and moon;
A little pond is not like the whole ocean;
Every mountain has not the majesty of Meru;
The cloud of the Law covers the whole world;
The rain of the Law moisteneth the seeds (in the hearts) of all mankind;
By showing wonders and miracles
(The Law) teaches mankind in all quarters of the world.'

'Having spoken thus, they returned to India by means of their magical powers.

'This is the origin and history of this Sūtra. Originally it did not exist in Tibetan; but having been put in the Chinese Bhagavat-pron. Kanjur it was translated into the Manchurian language by order of the High one guarded by heaven (Kienlung), and translated also into the language of Bod (i.e. Tibet) by Dakhben Subhagāraśrayadhvaja and Dakh-benu Dhyanaśrayadhvaja. It was translated into the language of Sog (i.e. Mongolian) by the learned professor Pratīnārdayasya. The patron of the doctrine of the Victorious (i.e. Jina, the Buddha), Hing lin, wishing to make known the Law, gave one hundred ounces of silver to have it engraved and printed in the four languages.

'May the seeds of virtue given to those who have become exceeding holy help the doctrine of the Victorious to be widely diffused for many years to come; may there not be in (all) the quarters of the earth either sickness, or famine, or tumult, or quarrelling. May all living beings speedily arrive at that wisdom which has no superior.'

RUBBING THE NOSE ON THE GROUND—AN INDIAN OATH.

In an article in the April number of the Calcutta Review for the current year, entitled "Some Hindu Songs and Catcheles from the Villages in Northern India" I translated the following lines into English verse as follows:—

Allā, Allā karat haín,
Jo zāt uki hai pāk!
Binā prem rjhe nahtā,
Jo ghus-jaaro sab nāk.

They call Hīm God, the ever good,
That is by nature so,
That counts a worship love alone,
And not the outward show.

And in a footnote I added: "See, though you rub away your whole nose. The allusion is to the Muhammadan method of praying by touching the ground with the face. The point is: without love, he is not pleased, however excessive the outward form may be."

The song from which the above was taken is a Hindū not a Musalman song, and lately I came across a custom which has made me think that my idea of the verse was not correct. In reading a MS. account in Urdu and Panjâbî of the adventures of Râjâ Rasâlî the great (?) Scythian hero of the Panjâb, I found the following: "Râjâ Rasâlî won Râjâ Sarkâp's head at a game of chaupar, but having mercy on him he said, 'If you will draw a line on the ground with your nose that you will give me your daughter Kōkīlān to wife, I will not take your head.'" The expression used was Urdu "ndk se khatt khaincho," but it is in common use in Hindī, thus: "ndk kane laṭk khainch," and in Panjâbī, "ndk kane lik pāh," 'draw a line with your nose.' In the Sikh days it was a common form of oath, the penalty being death, and at the present day I understand it is still used in the Panjâb Himalayas as a particularly binding oath by the people among themselves. I do not know its origin, and should be glad of further information regarding it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A TWICE-TOLD TALE ABOUT ĀTAK.

I have before remarked on the habit the natives have of fastening any well-known tale, or verse, or saying, on remarkable characters of recent times, though the tale or saying itself may be really of a remote date. Here is a remarkable instance of it.

Ātak (Attock) on the Indus, or, as the natives always call it, the Ātak River, has, as its name signifies, been a stoppage to the armies of India from all times. The River Indus is there both swift, broad, and dangerous, and as a ford the passage at Ātak is a deep one. Again the Hindus have at times regarded the crossing of the Ātak much in the same manner as they regard the crossing of the Kālidān, as involving loss of caste. Hence the reaching of Peshāwar has ever been popularly regarded as an exceptionally great feat on the part of a general.

Now in A.D. 1585 Râjâ Mān Singh, the celebrated Kachhwâhâ Râjâ-pāt general of Akbar and brother-in-law to his successor Jehangir, led an army across the Ātak to Peshâwar. The usual difficulties arose, and it is generally supposed, that he quieted the religious scruples of his Hindū forces by the promulgation of the following verse:—

Sabhā bhām Gopāl kī,
Td mēn ātak kahā?
Jd ke man mēn ātak hai,
Sō ātak rahād.

All the earth is God's,
Where then shall be a stoppage?
Where the stoppage is in the mind,
There will the stoppage remain.

The play on the word Ātak being obvious.

1 Extracted from the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October 1889.
There is also in the Panjab a Panjabi version of this verse generally current, and it is said that Mān Singh’s mother induced her son to cross the river by sending it him, when he wrote to her of his difficulties and intentions of giving up the expedition to Peshawar—

Sahib bhūm Gopaḍ kī,
Bich atak naḥi koe.
Jin aṭak kar mano, 
Aṭak rahegā soe.
All the earth is God’s:
There is no stopping in it.
Who acknowledges a stopping
Will be stopped.

As far as one can make out this verse should be attributed to Akbar’s expedition towards Peshawar. At any rate it is as old as his time, and may be much older. However, it is also now commonly attributed to Ranjit Singh, who is said in his expedition to Peshawar in A.D. 1823 to have induced his troops to ford the dangerous river at Atak by going into it with his horse and standing in the middle and repeating the above verse. The people say that this was a miracle, i.e., that the river was unfordable until Ranjit Singh went into it and repeated the verse, after which it became fordable and has remained so ever since!

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.
(Continued from p. 271.)

9. KHRĪM.—Some little time ago Mrs. Steel wrote to me from Kashmir that “Khṛīm is the name of a water-wraith, which lives in mountain tarns and lakes, and drags down its victims, chiefly sheep, ponies and cows grazing on the banks, by means of long ropes or arms, which it flings out like a lasso. It is difficult to exorcise, and resists the incantations of pṛṣa and saints.” I have never been able to satisfactorily trace this word Khṛīm. In classical times Khaṣrīma was the name of a Dāitya (or Dānava), who was the son of Viprachitī and Sīṇhikā. There is the usual muddle of genealogies to be found in this case. Sīṇhikā was the daughter of Kaśyapa, but Viprachitī, her husband, was the son of Kaśyapa by Denu! However, Viprachitī was chief of the Dānavas and a mighty demon and opponent of the gods. Sīṇhikā is also the name of a Rākṣasēśa who used “to seize the shadow of the object he wished to devour and so drag the prey into his jaws.” This legend is something like that of the Khorīm. See M. Williams, Sansk. Dict., s. v. Khaṣrīma, Viprachitī, Sīṇhikā; Dowson, Dict. Hin. Myth. s. v. Sīṇhikā. Khara in Sansk. means any dāitya or demon.

10. JHAMPĀNī = CHHAPĀNī.—In the Maṛhī (Murree) Hills the jhampānīs or bearers of ladies’ doṭs or jhampāṣu call themselves usually chhaphānīs. The change from jhampānī to chhaphānī is philologically interesting. I take the process to be this: jhampānī = chhampānī = chhapanī = chhaphānī. The change from the soft to the hard cognate consonant requires no remark, and the dropping of the nasal when the first of a nexus, is not uncommon in Panjabi, though the opposite process is the usual one: e.g., akhe = akhē, the eye; pakhi = paṅkhī, a hand-fan; nāgā = nāṅgā, naked, etc.; and on the other hand theīth = theīth, purity of language: baiṛt = bairt, a couplet, and so on. Of the change of p (ṛ ph) to f we have in the neighbourhood the Paphindī or Pafindī Mountain; phir, again, is usually fir, and so on. In an alliterative Panjabi poem (Pērān Bhagat) I find fe, pher (fer) kīṭ, ghusāe hē Pērān.

11. KHIMDĀR—KHIMDATGHĀR.—One day the word khimdār was used to me by a low-caste illiterate in Amballā for the familiar khimdatgār, corrupted usually by the English into kilmagār, and thence into kit or khit. Khimdār may however be a relic of old days when the kheemīdr (from khema a tent) was an important personage in the camp of a native noble, as he had charge of it.

12. CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH WORDS.—In the Kāngrā District in the earlier days of our occupation, generally, and even now in outlying villages, occasionally, the words “Commissioner” and “Deputy Commissioner” undergo an extraordinary corruption. “Commissioner” becomes Bakīnār through Kāmisār-Kabīnār, showing a change of m to b and transposition of the consonants. Conf. the ordinary word ‘Nakha’ for Lakhnau (Lucknow). “Deputy Commissioner” becomes Liphī Bakīnār, Liplī for the ordinary Dīptī = Deputy, showing change of d to l. Lastly, in the same District the English word madam, through ma’m, becomes, not nēm as usual, but nēm and nēnd, a lady, and from this word nēm is formed in the regular way a diminutive nēmmīn, an English child. The change of initial l to n is not unknown to Panjabi, as nēnd = lend, to take, etc. but I know of no other instance of the initial m becoming n. Compare with this word nēmmīn, the word dofūtā, now in common use for a “two-foot rule,” and thence for any measure or ruler through the English word foot (fut).

13. RALI kā MELI.—In the Kāŋgrā District, the Rali is a small earthen painted image of Śiva or Pārvati. I should be glad of a derivation for it. The Rali kā meli or Rali fair is a long business, and occupies most of Chet (March—April) up to the Sankrāntī of Baisākh (April). Its cele-
bration is entirely confined to young girls, and is in vogue all over the Kānpārā District. It is celebrated thus. All the little girls of the place turn out of their houses one morning in March, and take small baskets of dād grass and flowers to a certain fixed spot, where they throw them all into a heap. Round this heap they stand in a circle and sing. This goes on every day for 10 days, until the heap of grass and flowers reaches a respectable size. They then cut in the jangals two branches having three prongs at one end, and place them, prongs downwards, over the flower heap so as to make two tripods or pyramids. On the single uppermost points of these branches they get a Chitrārā or painted-image-maker to construct two clay images, one to represent Śiva and the other Pārvatī. All the girls join in collecting the clay for these, and all help as much as they can in the construction of the images themselves, this being a "good work." The girls then divide themselves into two parties; one for Śiva and one for Pārvatī, and set to work to marry the images in the usual way, leaving out no part of the ceremonies, not even the bāndi or procession. After the marriage they have a feast, which is paid for jointly by contributions solicited from their parents.

After this at the next Sankrānti (Baisākха) they all go together to the river-side, and throw the rituals into it at any point where there happens to be a deep pool and weep over the place, as though they were performing funeral obsequies. The boys of the neighbourhood frequently worry them by diving for the rituals and rescuing them and waving them about, while the girls are crying over them. The object of this fair is to secure a good husband. These fairs are held on a small scale in all the principal places in Kānpārā, but the chief ones are at Kānpārā itself, where the Bāngānā is the river used for the disposal of the rituals, and at Charī, a village 10 miles from Kāṃpārā and 6 miles from Dharmālāl on the R. Gājī. The largest fair is held there.

Chitrārā is an interesting word, showing insertion of r after a consonant, which is not uncommon in Panjābī. Conf. čhāndā = čhānd. cold : pẖūndā = pẖūnd, a guest; bẖēdr = bẖērd, a son, etc. Chitrārā comes from čhitṛ, a picture, and its usual forms are čhiterā, čhīṭā, čhitrār, and its usual meaning is a painter.

R. C. Temple.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January opens with an excellent article by Sir William Muir on the Apology of Al Kindy the Christian, written at the court of Abdallah al Māmūn of Baghdiād (A.D. 814-833). The identity of the author is somewhat doubtful, but "there seems no ground whatever for doubting that he was in reality what he professes naturally and consistently throughout the Apology to be, a scion of the noble Kinda tribe, belonging further to a branch which had clung unwaveringly to their ancestral faith." In it the author "casts aside the prophetic claims of Muhammad, censures some of his actions in the strongest language, reprobrates the ordinances of Islam, especially those relating to women, and condemns Jehad with scathing denunciation. It is difficult to conceive how such plain-speaking was tolerated even at the court of Al Māmūn." But we learn from Al Birūnī (A.D. 1000) that it not only was published, but was actually in circulation, in a Muhammadan country a century and a half after the time at which it first appeared.

Mr. L. Rice contributes a short paper on the poet Pampa or Hampa founded on his Ādi Purāṇa and Vikramāditya Vijaya or Pampa Bhārata. He is said to have been born in S. 824, and to have written his two great Kannada poems in S. 893, under the patronage of a Chalukya prince Arikēsari the king of Jēja, of which the capital was Puligērā (Lakshmēsvara). This Arikēsari is said to have protected Vijayāditya, who took refuge with him against the Sakala Chakravarti named Gujiga or Gajiga, who attacked him; he is the seventh in descent from Yuddhamalla, and third from Baddiga, who "seized Bhima." Here Mr. Rice falls into an anachronism in supposing this may be Bhima the Chalukya spoken of in the Rudradeva inscription of S. 1084, whereas, if there is any truth in the chronology he produces, Baddiga must have lived 250 years before the Bhima whom Rudradeva denounced in the 12th century. The dynastic list is not supported by any inscriptions yet brought to light.

Mr. Charles Rogers of Amritsar has an excellent note on a coin of Shamsu'd-Dinnā Bahid-Din Mahmūd Shāh, dated 718 A.H. This Shamsu'd-Din Shāh is hitherto quite unknown, but may have been Asadu'd-din, son of the grand uncle of Kutbu'd-din, or perhaps Gulām Bacha Shāhūn Beg styled Wāfā Beg, governor of Dihī in 717-18 A.D.

Mr. W. Simpson follows with a note (illustrated) on "A Sculptured Tapp on an old stone at Dras, Ladak." This stone is referred to by Cunningham (Ladak, pp. 381-82). Prof. S. Beal contributes a "Note on Plate xxviii., fig. 1, of Mr. Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship," in proof that the
Vajji or Vajjians of Vesali are the same as the Yue-chi of the Chinese. This identification is founded on a comparison of the term used in the Chinese (Beal's *Dhammapada*, p. 165) for the Vajjī (Sansk. Vṛjī) spoken of in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (Rāhula Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 1). Why Mr. Beal has spelt the word "Vaggī" we cannot understand, unless it be from a misconception of Max Müller's new system. If so he ought to write "Lākkhāva" also. M. Léon Feer in his "Sātra of 42 Articles" had also suggested the identity of the Vṛjī with the Yue-chi.

Prof. B. Jālg gives an interesting review "On the present state of Mongolian Researches." Prof. Monier Williams gives the *Sanskrit Ode* addressed to the Berlin Congress of Orientalists by "the Lady Panḍīt Ramabhāti," with a translation. We hardly see why the pages of the Asiatic Society's Journal should be cumbered with matter of this sort.

Mr. T. King'smill's paper on "The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the adjacent countries in the Second Century B.C." is full of information drawn from the original Chinese of Sze-ma Ts'ien's (b.c. 168) *Shi-ki*, and shows what a rich field of knowledge respecting the early condition of Central Asia may yet be opened up in Chinese Literature.

The last article is philological—"Suggestions on the formation of the Semitic Tenses—a comparative and critical study," by G. Bertin.

The April part opens with a paper "On Tartar and Turk," by Dr. S. W. Koelle, of the Church Missionary Society, in which he shows that Tartar (not Tatar) is a regularly formed Tartar word signifying 'wanderer, nomad,' and was in use from the very earliest times among themselves. Turk or Turk is a verbal noun derived from some verb which it does not fix upon, and is also applied to a wanderer, or vagabond. Thus in poetical language the sun is called "the Turk of China" (i.e. the east), "the Turk of the sky," &c. The latter part of the paper notices the race in the light of their name as embodied in the politico-religious Nomadian of Islam.

The second paper is a "Notice of the Scholars who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the Languages of Africa," by R. N. Cust, but the subject is far too large to be handled with any effect in 16 pages, and much of the paper consists of mere lists of languages, and writers who have compiled grammars, vocabularies, &c.

The "Grammatical Sketch of the Hausa Language," by Rev. J. F. Schön, is an exceedingly well arranged and able paper. The resemblance between certain Hausa and Hebrew words (pp. 181-184) is probably due to Arabic influences.

Mr. A. Lillie's short paper on "Buddhist Saint Worship" is shallow to a degree, and the two plates that illustrate it are most unsatisfactory, as may be seen at once by comparing them with the photographs in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxxi, fig. 1, and pl. lxxii. The author cannot have seen a Tirtha, and has not informed himself what they really are, or he would not have enquired if they are places like Stonehenge; nor does he know Buddha's image from a Nāga's, or he would not have taken that behind the throne and reliqu-casket on Fergusson's plate lxxiii for Buddha.

Mr. H. W. Freeland gives renderings of two short Arabic poems, and Mr. H. C. Kay follows with a good historical and epigraphical paper on the gates of Al Kāhirah (Cairo).

Mr. Edwin Arnold's contribution on "How the Mahābhārata begins," is light and sketchy, and M. H. Sauvain's paper on Arab metrology (in French) is a translation of the tract of Ed Dahaby, a modern authority.

The July Part opens with a paper by Prof. Monier Williams on "The Vaishnava religion with special reference to the Śiṣṇu-patī of the modern sect called Śrāvṇi-Nārāyana." The greater portion of the article is devoted to Vaishnavism and its sects generally; then follows a very brief sketch of the life of Śrāvṇi-Nārāyana, which accords in the main facts with that given in the *Indica* *Antiquity*, vol. I, pp. 331-336, but with less detail. The Śiṣṇu-patī, translated in the Appendix to Briggs's *Cities of Gujarāṭ*, is promised in a future part. Sir W. Muir adds a note on his paper on the Apology of Al Kindī, in which he gives information forwarded by Prof. Ignatius Guidri of Rome, regarding a MS. of the work in the Propaganda Library, and Zotenberg's account of the Paris MSS., from which it appears that there are two distinct families of MSS.: the Arabic proper, handed down by the Nestorians, is perhaps the original form of it; and the Karahunji or Arabic in Syriac character handed down with certain modifications in their own favour by the Jacobite church.

Mr. W. Simpson contributes a careful paper on "The Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan," and a note on "The Identification of the sculptured Tope at Śānchi" (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1)—in the latter of which he shows that the Nīmchas and Chaugas, on the borders of Kafiristan, wear similar leggings to those depicted in the sculpture. Both papers are illustrated.

Sir E. Clive Bayley has a scholarly paper—the first of a series—"On the genealogy of Modern Numerals," in which he brings to bear on their
Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by some points in the History of Indian Buddhism (the Hibbert Lectures, 1881), by T. W. Rhys Davids. Williams and Norgate, 1881

It is difficult to conceive, at first sight, how the study of the facts revealed to us by the history of Buddhism can illustrate the development of religious thought, unless Buddhism be allowed to be a particular link in the connected chain of religious beliefs. This, as we understand it, Mr. Davids does not allow, but rather aims to exclude and isolate Buddhism as a system of belief indigenous to India, or rather to “the Valley of the Ganges.”

If it originated there, and was purely the result of local inspirations, we cannot fairly regard it as influencing, or as being influenced by, the growth of the religious idea in man. But perhaps this is not Mr. Davids’ view of the case, and we have been misled by some of the detached statements in the volume before us. We may state our own opinion, however, (to prevent misunderstanding,) that Buddhism must take its place in the world’s history as a distinct advance in connection with previous stages of man’s religious development which began with the beginning and will go on to the end of human history. Perhaps Mr. Davids holds the same opinion, for on p. 12 of his book we find the statement that “aback all these (documents) there stretches the long vista of unknown centuries, which must form the background of the picture in which Buddhism should be presented to our minds”; if, during the unknown centuries referred to, the growth of the religious element in man’s history had been progressing, and was taken up and advanced by Buddhism, and, thus advanced, handed down for further development to succeeding generations, so that the whole history of religion is a connected one—in this case we can understand the importance of the task undertaken by Mr. Davids in tracing the exact measure of increase contributed by Buddhism to the growth of this “universal phenomenon,” but not otherwise.

Mr. Davids takes the starting point of the Buddhist belief to be that curious attitude of mind which is now designated Animism. Animism, according to Tiele, is not itself a religion, but a sort of primitive philosophy, which not only controls religion, but rules the whole life of the natural man. It is in fact the belief in an outside world of “spiritism.” This belief was greatly qualified at the time the Vedas were written; afterwards arose the theory of “the previous existence of souls,” and finally in Buddhism the denial of all soul. This denial of soul, as we take it, is a denial of an individual “self,” and, regarded from a moral standpoint, this denial of “self” is a distinct advance in the growth of religious idea in man. Again, Mr. Rhys Davids tells us that it was a feeling of world-weariness that led to the actual construction of the Buddhist system, and he seems to confine the excess, at least of this sentiment, to climatic influence peculiar to the “Valley of the Ganges”—and hence the isolation of Buddhism. But as a matter of fact the founder of Buddhism was a native of the Mountain region of Kapilavatthu. He was brought up among a vigorous, athletic race, who were evidently not of purely Indian extraction, and there is no sign in his early history of “world-weariness” as the result of bodily lassitude or caste oppression. It seems to us that the “raison d’être” of Buddhism is to be found not so much in any individual characteristic of its founders, as in some race tradition respecting the vanity of earthly things compared with higher and spiritual ones. And this tradition, like a small seed, took root and grew up in the heart and life of one prepared to receive it. What happened afterwards, when the Buddha laboured among the less vigorous people of Magadha, is of a different kind, and no doubt the Buddhism of Central India may have taken much of its character from the condition of the people amongst whom it was matured. But when it spread Northward we find that the “pessimism” of Buddha’s doctrine is only the expression of the old longing of the human mind for higher and better things hereafter. Certainly the Indo-Scythas and the Parthians and the free races of Mongolia never felt the enervating influences of “climate” or the oppression of “caste”—and they adopted Bud-
dhism almost without any effort of propagandism. They accepted it because it provided an answer (however imperfect) to the question that had always been going up from the great heart of man—"Whence comes the evil of the world and what its cure?"

We cannot follow Mr. Davids throughout his book. He writes pertinently and well. The divisions of his six Lectures include a consideration of "the place of Buddhism in the development of religious thought," to which we have briefly referred; secondly, "the Pāli Piṭakas," a subject which in his hands is sure to be thoroughly and reliably treated; thirdly, "the Buddhist theory of Karma," which he traces to the pre-Aryan races of India, but which appears to us to be but a modification of the world-wide idea of an irresistible "fate;" fourthly, "Buddhist lives of the Buddha," in the course of which lecture he states that he is convinced there was no connection between the East and West leading to "borrowing" or the adaptation of ideas, known in the East, by Western writers. This is a subject still to be sifted; we will only remark that supposing the Jewish mind was influenced by the development of religious thought in India, this would be only a repetition of what had taken place after the captivity in Chaldaea, and we cannot see why such a connection in later times should be thought so unlikely, or deprecated as fatal to the high and undoubted claims of the Christian advance in the spiritual life of man. The founder of the Christian religion was as far superior to the Buddha as the "real dawn" of day is to the "false dawn"—but yet in the latter case the one leads to the other as certainly as cause to effect—and why should not such a connection exist in the former case also?

The fifth lecture is engaged with a consideration of "Gotama's Order," a subject which is treated in a clever and satisfactory way. The sixth and last lecture is occupied by a consideration of the "later forms of Buddhism"—a field in which, we may say with all respect to Mr. Davids, he is not yet qualified to work. In fact the history of Northern Buddhism is a distinct study depending on special knowledge. We must wait until the difficulties of language are surmounted, and until the obstacles in the way of close intercourse with the people professing this form of Buddhism are got over, then something more may be known of the subject; as yet, it is too soon to give an opinion upon it.

**Tabel van Oud-en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten:**
Bijdrage tot de Palaeographie van Nederlands-Indië, door K. F. Holle. (Batavia en's Hage, 1882.)

The 50 pages of carefully compiled lithographed tables, which properly enough form the bulk of this excellent contribution to the palaeography of Dutch India, appear to have been prepared five years ago, while the introductory letterpress was only written towards the end of last year.

The tables have been prepared with considerable care, especially those for the alphabets of Java, Sumatra, and the Eastern Peninsula, and are beautifully lithographed,—the alphabets being arranged in 186 columns, each carried over three pages. The first twelve present the Asoka and other early and late Indian alphabets derived from Princep's Table as given by Thomas; then follow three Bhotiya alphabets, No. 13 being only a reproduction of the Tibetan alphabet (No. 20); columns 16 to 19 give varieties of the Nepalese and Lanja alphabets; 21 to 26 the Kāsmiri, two varieties of the Burman and Raffles's three eastern Pāli alphabets; after these come six alphabets of the Eastern Peninsula with No. 33, the Panjabi, and 44, Bengali. Nos. 35 and 36 are two copies of the same alphabet the Telugu—No. 36 being styled "Telinga." Nos. 38 to 100, 112 to 118, and 118 to 188 are Javan alphabets copied from Inscriptions dating from Śaka 762 to 1318, manuscripts, &c., Nos. 110 to 142 and 170, 189, 197, and 198 give us others from Bali, Sumatra, Celebes, Bima, Borneo, and the Philippines. Nos. 143 to 161 and 170-181 are extracted from Burnell's *S. I. Palaeography,* and give the early alphabets of Southern India. Some early Northern Indian alphabets are given in columns 171 to 178; and the Tamil of the 17th century with six Indo-Chinese alphabets from Dr. A. Bastian's paper (*J. R. As. Soc.,* N. S., vol. III, p. 65). The forms of the numerals are collected on pp. 30-35, 48 and 49, and are deserving of attention.

From this analysis it will be recognised that Heer Holle's Tables are very complete for the alphabets of the south-east of Asia,—the only character of any importance he seems to have overlooked being the Sinhalese. The work will be very useful to Indian as well as to Dutch epigraphists.

**The Mackenzie Collection:** A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts, and other articles illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics, and Antiquities of the South of India; collected by the late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India. By the late H. H. Wilson, Esq., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c., &c., &c. To which is prefixed a brief outline of the life of Colonel Mackenzie and of the steps taken to catalogue his collection. 2nd Edition. Complete in One, Calcutta, 1828. Madras—Higginotham & Co., 1882.

Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection* was a valuable hand-book of information on Indian Literature and History fifty years ago; and it is still occasionally of use to a few scholars engaged in historical research, though much of the contents is now antiquated and superseded by more recent
investigations. The introduction, which is still the most valuable part of the work, contains an outline of all that was known at the time it was written (in 1828) of the history of the dynasties of Southern India; but that was before Prinsep or the Royal Asiatic Society had begun their Journal, in the fourth volume of which Sir Walter Elliot published his paper on South Indian Inscriptions—a paper which laid the basis of Chalukyan chronology and indicated how rich a field was to be found in the South for historical investigation,—a field which has been largely investigated since. The value of Wilson's introduction now lies mainly in indicating what was then known and by comparison what great advances have been made since.

As Wilson himself clearly perceived, the Sanskrit MSS. collected by Mackenzie and described in the Collection were of no special interest with the exception perhaps of the Mādhātmyas and Charitras. The vernacular works are of very unequal importance,—some of the local histories and biographies being still deserving of attention. The long appendix of 270 pages in the 2nd volume of the original work, and occupying pp. 383-621 of this reprint, consists chiefly of lists of the local tracts, copies of inscriptions, MSS. translations, plans and drawings, coins, images, antiquities, &c., collected by Mackenzie and deposited at the India Office. Hence it will be seen that the work can be of use only to a very limited number of students; and any reprint of it to be serviceable would require to be carefully edited with numerous references to the multitude of papers bearing on the same subjects that have appeared during the fifty-four years that have elapsed since it was published.

Messrs. Higginbotham of Madras have issued the original work, however, reprinted verbatim, with only the addition of a short notice of Col. Mackenzie's life, "complete in one" (volume). So little care has been taken in editing it that the errata which Dr. Wilson himself indicated have not all been corrected, and some of them have been corrected, e.g., "Agnisword" (p. 129) for Agnisword, "Kotewara" (p. 133) for Kotewara, "Terrewaram" (p. 211) for Terrewaram, "Dandakwali" (p. 237) for Dandakwali, and "Dondakavili" and "Dondakavelli" (p. 504) within two lines, "Mallayera" (p. 225) for Mallayera; and such manifest ones as were not noticed in the first edition are still left, such as "Brahmade" (p. 129) for Brahmade, "Timra pani" (p. 229) for Tamraparni, &c.; and these have been added, such as "Arabic" (p. 75) for 'Arabic,' "Abulficel Tabulae" (p. 622) for 'Abulficel Tabulae,' &c.

This reprint might, however, be still serviceable to local officers interested in the history and legendary lore of the districts, by calling their attention to the large number of local tracts connected with the villages and early chiefs and kings that are almost everywhere to be found: Col. Mackenzie's collection included 483 in Telugu alone, arranged in 64 volumes, besides more than a hundred loose translations. These 'histories' are so generally legendary that little store has been set by them, but the whole have been too much discredited on account of the character of the majority, and while careful search would be rewarded by the discovery of histories and biographies substantially historical, many of the legendary ones would be worth publication for the side lights they throw on the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the people. It is to be regretted that, neither in the original nor the reprint, does the index include references either to the introduction, extending to 91 pages in the reprint, or to the vast mass of these tracts collected by Col. Mackenzie; no addition was more required in a reprint than this, as they are the most interesting parts of the book: in fact the index extends only to 301 pages (92-392), while 320 pages, or fully half the volume, is without any references in the index.

The "List of Drawings" (p. 581) so summarily passed over by Wilson in a single page, was deserving of a more careful analysis. It was from the IXth volume of these that Dr. Ferguson drew so many of the interesting plates that illustrate the second part of his Tree and Serpent Worship, and which has since been analysed in detail by A. W. Franks, Esq. Similar analyses of some of the others might also be useful.


The Salâmāna and Abd al Jâmî was translated not very long since by Mr. Fitzgerald, and now Mr. Griffiths' presents us with a version of about three-fourths of his Yusuf and Zulaikha in good lively English verse. Its only predecessor in English appears to be the Analysis and Specimens of the Joseph and Zulaihka by S. R., published by Williams and Norgate ten years ago, and apparently founded on the version of Rosenzweig (Wien, 1824) in German blank verse.

The author Nûru'd-dîn Abû't-Rahmân was born at Jâm, a small town of Khurâsân in A.D. 1414, and studied at Herât and Samarkand where he greatly distinguished himself by his abilities.
Invited to Herát by Sulšán Abu Sa’íd, the uncle of Timur, he lived there in the company of the nobles and learned men of his time, and wrote many volumes of poetry, grammar, and theology still held in high esteem. He died in 1492.

Like the other poems of the *Haft Awarz*, the *Yunus and Zulaikha* is a mythical poem intended to represent under an allegorical guise the human soul in love with the highest beauty and goodness—of which Joseph is the Oriental ideal.

Mr. Griffiths has used rhymed heroics in the introductory cantos, and a lighter freer measure in the rest of the poem, which is vigorous and reads easily. He has omitted the 6th and 7th cantos on Muhammad’s journey to heaven, also other two—a prayer for a blessing on him, and a fulsome eulogy on Sulšán Husain, and the last eight cantos of which only two really seem to deserve a careful rendering—which few could give better than Mr. Griffiths. The present version stops at the restoration of youth and sight to Zulaikha, when—

"The beauty returned that was ruined and dead,
And her cheek gained the splendour which long had fled.
Again shone the waters which sad years had dried,
And the rose-bud of youth bloomed again in its pride.
The musk was restored and the camphor withdrawn,
And the black night followed the grey of the dawn.
The cypress rose stately and tall as of old:
The pure silver was free from all wrinkle and fold:
From each musky tress fell the traces of white:
To the black narcissus came beauty and light.
The halo of youth round her age was seen:
For the forty-years’ dame stood a girl of eighteen;
Yes, fairer and brighter in loveliness stood
Than in days of her ripening maidenhood."


This *is* the thirty-fifth volume of Trübner's *Oriental Series* which already embraces a mass of information on the religion, mythology and literary of India, China, Japan, Assyria, Arabia and Persia, that is not to be equalled in any similar collection.

The present volume supplies us with fifty tales of lengths varying from one to nearly sixty pages, extracted by F. A. von Schiefner from the *Kah-gyur* or "Translation of Commandments," that huge collection of versions from Sanskrit Buddha works made in Tibet chiefly in the ninth century A. D. These tales are of the ordinary folklore class, such as we find in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, but with a Buddhist colouring, many of them betraying a very low idea of the fidelity of women.

In an introduction of sixty-five pages, Mr. Ralston has condensed a large amount of very interesting information on the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, the life and labours of Alex. Csoma Körös in Tibetan literature, the contents of the *Kah-gyur*, Baron Schilling de Canstadt’s acquisition of the *Kah-gyur* in Eastern Siberia, Professor von Schiefner’s works, and a very full comparison of the tales included in the volume with the folklore of other nations—evincing great knowledge of this interesting branch of literature. The volume has also a good index—an apparatus indispensable to the student, but which is too often left out in such works.


This volume, included in Trübner's *Oriental Series*, is a pretty well-known book, having appeared thirty years ago in an 'edition de luxe,' and therefore hardly needs commendation now. The author's known scholarship is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the translation, and the extraordinary popularity of the original—due to its intrinsic merits, ought to make this version of the most famous work of the immortal Sa’di a welcome volume to many. Mr. Eastwick's version is the fourth that has appeared in English during the present century, the first being Gladwin's excellent one founded on the *Rosarium Politicum* of G. Gentius (Amsterdam, 1651), but in parts somewhat too free (see Ross's *Gulistan*, p. 37), this was followed by Dowmolin's translation (Calcutta, 1807), and those of Ross (London, 1823), and Lee (London, 1827)—neither of them of very great merit, though Ross's has a very valuable essay prefixed to it on the works and character of Sa’idi. M. Semele, in 1828, published the Persian text of the *Gulistan*, and in 1834 a translation into French—far surpassing in excellence any previous version into any western tongue. But these translations were into prose, and Mr. Eastwick's is the first and only attempt yet made to render the poetical portions into English verse; and though the requirements of strict accuracy have occasionally rendered his lines stiff and artificial, yet the majority of his
verses are fluent and well-turned, giving a life and charm to the translation that could not be preserved in any prose rendering however spirited:

"A garden where the murmuring rill was heard;
While from the trees sang each melodious bird;
That, with the many-coloured tulip bright,—
These, with their various fruits the eye delight.
The whispering breeze beneath the branches' shade,
Of bending flowers a motley carpet made."


Of the many valuable works already included in Trübner's Oriental Series for the study of the Religions of the East this promises to be a most important one, both from its matter and form. The author is a scholar, living among Muslims, and personally deeply interested in their religion and literature, and his aim in this work is to gather up all that is valuable in the results of the labours of various writers on Islam and to arrange them in a form suitable for reference. With the usual European divisions into chapter and verse he has conjoined the divisions of the Arabic original indicating the sipāra, sārat, rughā of the sipāra, rughā of the sārat, &c., with the numbers of the verses as used in India, which differ occasionally from those usually employed.

In the notes and comments he has collected a most valuable body of information extracted from the best Muslim commentators in addition to Sale's notes drawn from Baidhāwi, Jalālūd-dīn, and Al Zamakhshari. He has also made full use of the best English writers on Islam.

Sale's Preliminary Discourse is a most masterly composition—a storehouse of valuable information, embracing all the learning on the subject available in his day (1680-1736), and presenting, on the whole, a reliable account of the peculiar doctrines, rites, and customs, and institutions of Islam; but modern research has brought to light much to add to, or modify some of its statements, and Mr. Wherry, whilst wisely retaining the discourse in its original form, has added numerous notes to the text in which he corrects or amplifies it on the authorities of M. Caussin de Perceval, Muir, Lane, Sprenger, Burchhardt, &c., and from personal research.

The system of transliteration adopted is by no means a good one—using accents to mark the long vowels; but a worse fault is that Mr. Wherry is not consistent with himself in employing his system, as may be seen by his transliteration of the Fātiḥah (p. 288); he seems to use indifferently 'Wahhābi' and 'Wahhābī,' 'Mutallib' and 'Mutallibī,' &c. There is a want of accuracy in this and in some of the author's own notes.

While showing clearly the inconsistencies in the Qurān, the author endeavours to bring out distinctly its actual teachings, or what the doctrines of the book really are.

If completed with care in the style in which the work has been begun, this book will supersede other English editions, and will be a model work on the Qurān, and a repertory of information on Islam such as no student will care to be without.


This volume of the Oriental Series stands by itself and is not easily described. The author tells us it was begun in India a quarter of a century ago for the instruction of peasants, and the materials it has finally been condensed from, have been collected in India, Russia, and the libraries of the Continent and England. "The Proverbs selected in this book," he tells us, "though limited to those serving to illustrate moral and religious subjects, show how widely scattered nations under similar circumstances have come to similar conclusions; many of these resemblances arise from the identity of human nature, or are a portion of the spiritual heritage which men brought away with them from the cradle of the human race, and improved on by subsequent communication; by showing the acute observation and sharp moral sensibility of the masses, they prove God has not left himself without witness in the human breast: they, therefore, form a basis for those who are labouring to bridge over the gulf between Eastern and Western thought."

A book of Proverbs alone, however carefully arranged, is rather tiresome reading; but Mr. Long, by arranging them in small groups as illustrations of short moral, religious and other reflections, has not only written a valuable book, full of interesting matter of very varied sorts,—but for the thoughtful reader it is quite 'a feast of good things' which can be thoroughly enjoyed.

We need only add that the proverbs are from many sources, ancient and modern—Sanskrit, Urdu, Bengali, Canarese, Telugu, Tāmil, Malabar, Bālī, Sinhalese, Marāṭha, Gujarātī, Panjāb, Afghan, Persian, Kurd, Syrian, Hebrew, Arab, Turkish, Greek, Russian, Estonian, Finnish, Polish, Servian, German, Italian, Spanish, Basque, Breton, Galic (? pp. 27-28), Welsh, English, African, Japanese, Chinese and Malay,—though by far the larger number are Eastern.
VALABHĪ GRANTS.

BY Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 283.)

No. XVII.—A Grant of Śīlāditya II, dated Śaṃvat 352.

The subjoined grant of Śīlāditya II, a photograph of which was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, is written on two plates measuring 12½ inches by 13¾. The seal has been lost, but the preservation of the document is in other respects perfect. The characters differ to a certain extent from those of the other grants of the Valabhis. For side by side with the stiff, antiquated letters used for inscriptions, they show a number of forms which have been taken from the literary alphabet used between 400–600 A.D. The most remarkable instances of this kind are—1, the use of a sign, looking like the Valabhi na /src/j for kā, especially in compound letters; see e.g. Pl. I. 14, l. 29; 2, the use of the sign  for the same letter Pl. II. 1. 6, in the word ratiñdiñkārena; 3, the use of the ordinary  for va, Pl. II. 1. 15 in the word chakravadi; 4, the use of  for ra, e.g. Pl. II. 1. 3, ruchira; 5, the use of  or  for n in compound letters, and nī, e.g. Pl. II. l. 14, 15; 6, the use of a horizontal stroke above a letter, in order to indicate the absence of a vowel, Pl. I. 14 and II. 19.

These peculiarities furnish an important contribution to the history of Indian epigraphy, and confirm what I asserted in my article on the Kāvi plate of Jayabhata and the Umetā Śāsana of Dadda II, and what has since been clearly demonstrated by Professor Max Müller’s discovery of old MSS. in Japan, viz. that neither the ancient Gurijanas nor the princes and inhabitants used in common life and for literary purposes the clumsy characters which appear on the copper-plates and stone inscriptions. A variety of alphabets existed at the same time, the use of which probably varied according to the occupation and the education of the writers. Then, as was the case until lately, the learned Brahmans, the merchants who followed the orthodox faith, the Baudhās, the Jainas and the professional writers (kārkuns), had each their own peculiar alphabet or variety of letters, derived from the various schools (lekhaśādil) to which they went. I will now add that this state of things certainly existed in times of the Andhra king Pulumāyi, and may even go back to the times of Aśokā.

It is important to repeat these fundamental principles of Indian epigraphy again and again, because some Sanskritists, especially those who possess a superficial knowledge of inscriptions only, will even now base important chronological conclusions on the occurrence of what they are pleased to call late or later forms of single letters in ancient inscriptions.

But to return to our grant, it shows also very peculiar forms for ṛa and ṛā, which, as the and  have been attached to the top of the ṛa, look very much like ga and  Pl. I. l. 4, a Pl. I. l. 13, etc. Several times a letter, resembling ya  occurs for va, which possibly may be something more than a mere mistake. The letter  invariably shows a loop in its long drawn tail and a curve to the right at the top. The letters Ḯha, va and  are frequently not to be distinguished from each other.

As we already possess grants of Śīlāditya II, dated Śaṃvat 348 and 356, the present document, which is dated on the first day of the bright half of Bhādrapada 352, adds no fresh information to our knowledge of the history of Valabhi. The object of the grant is to record the gift of a field consisting of two pieces of land to Magepadatta . . . ( ), son of Kīkka (Kikāhā), a Brahman of the Gārgya-gotra, who studied the Yejurastra. The donor lived at Valabhi, but was a native of Ananda pura, i.e. probably of Vāḍnagar. If the latter identification is correct, we have here another instance of the occurrence of the Nāgar Brahmanas in Valabhi. The field was in the village of Dhumā, which was in Surāśṭrā or Sorath, and belonged to a town, the name of which is not quite plain. The Dātaka was a rājaputra, Dhravasena, to judge from his name, a member of the royal family. I may mention here that a new Rāthor grant, which will be published hereafter, clearly shows that Dātaka does not mean ‘executive officer,’ as I have usually translated it. It means, as is often the case, ‘messenger’ or ‘deputy,’ i.e. the person entrusted with the execution of the grant.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS.

BY E. HULTSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

It is with some reluctance that I criticise the method of publication of Sanskrit inscriptions employed by so able an antiquarian as Genl. Cun-

ningham. Before entering further on the subject, it will be best to furnish the reader with the materials. The two following inscriptions, taken from

---

L. 17, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 18, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 19, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 20, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 21, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 22, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 23, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 24, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 25, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 26, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 27, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 28, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 29, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 30, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 31, read “भारतीयायिता”.

---

L. 28, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 29, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 30, read “भारतीयायिता”.
L. 31, read “भारतीयायिता”.

---
Adoration to the Siddhas!

1. In the year one hundred and six of the prosperous reign of the race of the illustrious and most excellent kings who belonged to the line of Gupta and were oceans of (all) virtues.

2. On the fifth day of the dark half of the auspicious month of Karttika, a man possessed of self-command and tranquillity of soul caused this far-visible and large-proportioned Jina-statue called 'Pārśva, the chief of the Jinas, the conqueror of his foes,' to be erected at the mouth of the cave.

3. He was a pupil of the ascetic Ācharya Gosārman who was the ornament of the (spiritual) line of Ācharya Bhadra and descended from the Ārya-kula, and the son of Āsvapati by Padmavati (?), a warrior.

4. Who himself unconquerable by his foes took pride in slaying his enemies. He was famed on earth by his own name, viz. that of Saṅghala, and entered on the path of ascetics according to the regulations (of the Śastras) called by the name of Saṅkarā.

5. That wise man who was born in the best country of the north resembling (in blessedness) the land of the Uttarākura, gave away the merit gained by this (work) for the destruction of the crowd of foes, viz. of the results of deeds (in former births).
General Cunningham's reading,

(iib. p. 103).

[1] Aum! namah Sivaya!
Chandella-vaisa Kumudendu visala Kirthti khyato vabhuvu nirpa sanghatanatgi padmah.

[2] Vidyadharo narapatih ramalai nica sojatas tato Vijaya Vaha nriponpendrah [1] tasmad dharmaparah Sri maha-


[7] Sri Vatsa Rajajhatoyna nunaate natra kirtha Brahmanda mujjalam kirthi marohayitumatmah


Corrected transcript of the copy,

(plate xxxiii, No. 3.)

[1] O[m] om namah Sivaya ||
Chandellavasakumudenduviriilakirtiti khyato bmbhuvu nirpasanghanatanubhirpadmah ||

[2] Vidyadharo narapatih kamalaniivaiso janas tato Vijayaapalaniripo nripendrah || 1 || tasmad dharmaparah srilma-

[3] n Kirthitvarmanaripohavat || yasa kirthisudhasubhrabhi trilokyam* saudhatam agat || 2 ||
agadahin nutanah Vishnuum avirbhutam avaya

[4] yam nripabhidhatah samakhsha shriasthari-ryama amjarjay || 3 || raudumadhya gatachandra-

[5] nbhasya yasa nahan Yudhishthi Yada Siva Rama-

[6] *ndrah | ete prasannamn* kharatmanidhau nivishat tadadgupapracaranatnamaye sarire || 4 ||
tadayamatyantrindro Ramanipurvinirgata-

[7] shah | Vatsarajjeti vihiyatah srilman Mahidhar-

[8] bhajah || 5 || khyato bmbhuvu kla mantripadaikamatre Vachaspatisa-

[9] dha iha mansatusparshabhyam | yoyan sama-

[10] stam api maqalam asu satro aghidhia Kirthtigiri-


[12] shri-Vatsarajaghatoyna nunan tenatra kirtha| vrahmaqdham ujvalam kirthim *rohayitum-atmam-

[13]nah || 7 ||
samvat 1154 chaitra [ba] di 2 ravan

L 3. *sunshubhvaro* ; avibbhatam.—L 4. *sam-kryush* *r*.—L 5. *prasanam* *peratnatiis* tichish-

vayattat; *tadaymatyav* ; *nirratah*.—L 6. Vachaspatisa vah.—L 7. *samasyay api* ; vyavatta.—

Date, chaithra 2 di 2 ravan.—The two akeharas

Various readings of the copy.

marked by * which represent shri and ms in the

facsimile, are so curiously shaped in consequence

of their having been misread (si and chu) that they

cannot be transliterated.

Translation.

2. From him sprang the virtuous and illustrious king Kirthivarman who made the three

worlds appear like a palace (sudha) resplendent with the white-wash (sudha) of his fame.

3. When royal fortune, torn from the

ocean of kings (his enemies), reached him who resembled a new incarnation of Vishnu,

(lack the club),* she left off her

inscription in the reign of Skanda Gupta. As however

the inscription is dated in 148, it possibly falls in the

interval between Skanda Gupta and Budhagupta (146-165

of the Gupta era).

Read trilokyam.—Throughout this transcript s

standing for s and v for h have not been corrected by me.

The siangs seems to be misread for ba. Still it may

be right and so or su left out in the original.

* Attribute of Vishnu.
inconstancy (just as the goddess Śrī produced from the churning of the ocean became the faithful wife of divine Viṣṇu).

4. Standing amongst kings he resembled the moon who is surrounded by the stars; for sooth, Yuḍhiṣṭhīrā, Sādāśiva, and Rāmaḥandra had entered his body which seemed to be composed of the gem-like accomplishments of all of them, and to be an ocean of pearl-like gracious faces.¹

5. His chief counsel and minister was a native of Rāmapur, celebrated by the name of Vaṭsarāja, the illustrious son of Mahīḍhara.

6. He was called (a second) Vāchaspati in his office as sole minister² who, having wrested quickly from the enemy’s hands this whole province here by his policy and his noble valour, built this fort of Kṛṣṇigiri.

7. This is the flight of steps of the illustrious Vaṭsarāja which he forsooth caused to be constructed in order to spread his brilliant fame over the world.

Saṅvat 1154, on Sunday the 2nd day of the dark half of Chaitra.*

I need not dwell at length on General Cunningham’s two transcripts. It will be seen at a glance that they contain words which are not met with in the dictionaries, that in many instances the spelling of genuine Sanskrit words is inaccurate and the division of the words wrong, and that grammar and metre have been disregarded.

The question then arises—how far these misreadings have influenced the two so-called facsimiles?

Those accustomed to decipher inscriptions, know that interpretation and criticism have to proceed hand in hand, i.e. it is of no use to transcribe an inscription before understanding it. Even in a well-written Sanskrit inscription the intelligent copyist will almost certainly overlook and misread some vowel signs, anusvāras, and repahas, if he do not attend to the context, to grammar, and to metre. With regard to doubtful aksharas, it is not sufficient to transcribe them by what they most resemble, whereas after a careful consideration of the context the most doubtful groups of the original will generally appear in a new light and easily dissolve themselves into distinct elements. But the greatest attention and care cannot guard against misreadings, nor clear up all doubtful ones. For this reason it has been a good rule with the Indian Antiquary to add mechanical copies of the originals even with the readings of the most eminent Sanskrit scholars and palaeographists; and it would be a great boon to scholars if General Cunningham and others who copy or translate such inscriptions would give photographs or mechanical facsimiles rather than eye-copies. The two lists of ‘various readings’ given above will show how far this demand is well-founded. It seems highly probable that most of the omissions of the 18 vowel signs, 3 anusvāras³ and repahas and most of the 21 missshapen aksharas are not the fault of the engravers of the originals, but of the copyist of the facsimiles.

I may be allowed to point also to the last line of the mutilated inscription of Chandragupta which is contained in the same volume of the Reports for further examples. The first word of that line is Kūṭesa in the transcript (p. 51), Kūṭesa in the facsimile (plate XIX), whilst the original must surely read kṛṣṇa, and guhālata (‘cave-creeper’) in the transcript and the facsimile is misread for guhām etām (‘this cave’); Rājā Śivaprasād has found the correct reading in the original as his translation (p. 32) shows. But how is it to be explained that in the same line the facsimile reads only kṛṣṇa, while the transcript has the right reading, bhaktyā? Is the latter a conjecture of General Cunningham’s or of Rājā Śivaprasād’s, or has ḷha simply been left out in the eye-copy?

General Cunningham will be entitled to the warmest thanks of all Sanskritists if the second volume of his Corpus Inscriptionum should be accompanied by reliable photographs of the originals.

To sum up—So long as General Cunningham does not adopt the practice of giving photolithographs or other mechanical copies of the originals, his publications will be useless for the Sanskritist and the historian, and the

18th March 1697 A.D., and Chaitra sud 2, on Wednesday 1st April. In Sat. 1155 the same dates would fall on Sundays, viz., 7 March and 21 March, 1698, A.D.—En I.A.

* Besides, 2 vowel signs and 1 anusvāra are found in wrong places.

* i.e. his face was always gracious.

* Mantripadakamandalam seems to be a karmadhāraya: mantripadana tadd ekaḥ evadrastra cha.

* General Cunningham says (p. 162) the 2nd of Chaitra fell on a Tuesday in Sat. 1154, and suggests that we should read sud 2, but Chaitra vadi 2 fell on Wednesday.
We derive much indirect information on this subject from the contemporary testimony of Tavernier, that adventurous traveller and experienced trader in "precious stones," who was in India during part of the reigns of Shah Jahân and Aurangzeb. He is said to have been born in 1605 A.D. and to have died, at Moscow, in 1689. He tells us in his preface, "si la première éducation est comme une seconde naissance, je puis dire que je suis venu au monde avec le désir de voyager"—and further, "ainsi j'ai vu avec loisir dans mes six voyages et par différents chemins toute la Turquie, toute la Perse, et toutes les Indes." His memoirs were only written out from his notes, by others, after his return to Europe, so that it is often difficult to fix the precise date to which he refers for any special incident. He was in England in the time of James 1st, and we find him, after many wanderings, at Agra in 1641 A.D. and again in 1665 A.D.

The following passages contain his leading remarks on the English coinages in India:—

"Figure 1 and 2 is the money which the English coin in their Fort St. George or else at Madraspatan, upon the coast of Coromandel. They call them Pagods, as those of the Kings and Rajas of the country are called. They are of the same weight, the same goodness and pass for the same value. Formerly the English never coined any silver or copper money; . . . . .

But since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous port of Bombay, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong Fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin ["estain" pewter?] But that money will not go at Surat, nor in any part of the Great Mogul's dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian Kings; only it passes among the English in their Fort, and some 2 or 3 leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast."

As regards the first part of this quotation, it would seem that the Portuguese and Dutch had already introduced a system of imitating the native currencies to meet the facilities of commerce, in which practice we naturally followed them. As a general rule, the nations of the Peninsula were more inclined to accept the adjudication of the money-changer, than to give credence to any royal stamp: in short, they preferred the tests of scales and the cupel to the impressed authentication of the Officers of the King's Mint. Ferishtah has preserved a curious record of how, on the conquest of the Dekhan, the Muhammadans were much put out by the pertinacious local habit of passing their new money through the crucible and its immediate conversion into pagodas, &c. The motive for this was supposed to have been due to the religious zeal of the Hindus, who desired to perpetuate the sacred emblems of their creed in supersession of the pious legends of Islâm, but it seems more reasonable to suppose that these measures were simply prompted by a desire to secure certainty of value in the form usually accepted by the masses and sanctioned by the ancient guilds of the crafts of goldsmiths and Sarrâfs.

"The Portugals," in the time of Tavernier, had got beyond mere local issues, and coined l'un de ses voyages.—*Nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, S. V.

1 Tavernier, pp. 6, 141. The pagodas of the Hollanders were "better gold by 1 or 2 per cent." than those of the English.

fine gold, with European devices, for the dependencies of Goa, but they also had "Silver Pardos" [Patacas] and a great quantity of small copper and tin money, not much unlike that of the kings already mentioned."

We can complete the details of the latter portion of the passage contributed by Tavernier from our home annals, and can produce specimens from our own Mints, which will probably explain why the money we first coined at Bombay did not find acceptance outside of our own domains.

Charles the II. came to the throne in A.D. 1660. His marriage contract with Catherine, the sister of Alphonso VI. of Portugal, was arranged late in 1661, and completed in about May 1662. Under its terms he obtained the cession of the Island of Bombay, which was made over to the East India Company on the 27th March 1668, and finally passed into their possession on the 23rd of September of that year, with its then revenue of £2,833 per annum, and the King's garrison of two companies of Foot, and who volunteered into the "Company's Service, and thus formed its first military establishment at Bombay." In 1671, Bombay, rising in importance, a Mint was ordered, and the building of 2 ships and 2 brigantines commenced upon."

"In 1676 (28th Charles II.) by the King's letters patent dated 5th October, a Mint was authorised at Bombay to coin Rupees, Pice and Bud-grooks," which should be current not only "in the Island, but in all the dependencies of the Company in the East Indies."

Of course, it is somewhat venturesome to speculate on International trade exchanges upon such limited materials as the available coins afford. But it would seem that they essentially confirm and explain Tavernier's statement of the non-currency of the earlier Bombay issues outside the Island, a fact, indeed, which is virtually admitted by the King's letters

---

5 These were known by the name of St. Thomas. Tavernier gives an engraving of a specimen—Obverse, the arms of the King in a shield, with G. A. at the sides, and REGNUM INDIAE in the margin. Reverse, Figure of a man, with date 1660.Margin Sr. THOM.

6 Tavernier, p. 13.

7 The grant bears date in 1668. "Bombay was to be held [by the Company] of the king in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold, on the 30th of September in each year." Mill's History, vol. i. p. 97. See also, Hume, Hist. England, vol. vii, pp. 349, 378.

8 Patent of 1676. They, moreover, appear to support the inference of the 2s. 3d. rate of exchange per Rupee, which our own countrymen clearly looked upon as a quasi normal tariff. I shall have occasion to revert to the question of English money as estimated against Indian metallic values, but this much may be stated here, that the old Company, in the first instance, clearly underrated the value of the local rupee, as may be seen by comparing the weight of No. 1, or the Company's Coin of the 7th year of their Charter of 1668, = A.D. 1675, with the increased weights given to the subsequent issues Nos. 3, 4, bearing the Royal Arms.

9 I have selected the eight subjoined examples of Anglo-Indian money issued during the reign of Charles II, and added a single specimen of the Bombay Rupees of James II of 1687, which reverts to the arms of the East India Company.

CHARLES II.

No. 1. Silver, Weight 177.8 grains. Date Anno-septimo 7th year,—British Museum.

Obverse.

Centre. MON: BOMBAY ANGLIC REGIMS A. 7°

Margin.—A: DEO: PAX: ET INCREMENTVM:

Reverse.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the East India Company. Above, two rosettes at the sides, in the middle two lions and two fleur de lis quartered. Below, two ships and a brig.

Margin.—IND: ORI: HON: SOC: ANG:

No. 2. Silver, Weight 167.8 grains. Date A.D. 1677. B.M.

Obverse.

Centre. THE BURPEE OF BOMBAY above one, below two, rosettes.

---


9 Chronological Table of European and British connection with India, compiled by Capt. H. B. Henderson. This admirable resume was first published in Prinsep's Useful Tables, as an appendix to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv, for 1835, page 153.

10 Bruce's Annals, pp. 326, 392.

11 Jahangir's Rupees of Ahmedabad weigh 176 and 175 grains; Marsden, p. 167. Shih Jahan's Surat Rupee is 176 grains; Marsden, p. 359.

Margin.—1677. By authority of Charles the second.

Reverse.

Centre.—The Royal Arms of England, in a shield, viz. three lions, the Scottish lion, the Irish harp, and the three fleur de lis of France. Above the shield a crown.

Margin.—King of great Britain, France, and Ireland.

No. 3. Silver, weight 183·2 grains. Date A.D. 1678. Edge milled. B. M. Similar types and legends to No. 2.

No. 4. Silver, weight 198·2 grains, dated A.D. 1678. Edge plain, B. M. Similar types and legends to No. 2.

No. 5. Copper (pice) weight ? A.D. (16)99 12

Margin.—As in the Silver coins? Traces of increase?

Reverse.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the East India Company. Above, dotted stars, in place of rosettes at the sides, in the middle, two fleurs de lis, and two compartments filled in with dots. Below—three ships.

Margin.—Illegible traces of the letters so?:

No. 6. A farthing of Charles II. date 1674 A.D. B. M.

Obverse. CAROLVS

Reverse. CAROLO

Re-struck with the die for the silver Rupees, No. 2 above.

No. 7.—Lead. A.D. 1768 ? B. M. Types and legends as in the Silver Rupees.

No. 8.—Fanam.

Obverse.

Centre.—Two linked C's, X (the monogram of Charles the second), with 2 or 3 dots, at the sides.

Reverse.

Centre.—The ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (Vishnu?)

James II.

No. 9.—Silver, weight ? Date, A.D. 1687. 12

Obverse. F A X

Centre. D E O

Margin.—Bombaiensis Moneta: 1687.

Reverse.

Centre.—Shield, with the arms of the East India Company. Above, two rosettes and two dots at the sides, in the middle two lions and two fleur de lis quartered. Below—three ships and three small stars.

Note on the Indian Exchanges.

A controversy has lately been raised as to the exchange value of the Rupee of the Dehli Mughals, as compared with the English money of the period—and, perhaps these quasi-English coins may aid in determining the question. One of the arguments advanced for the reduction of the par value of the Rupee, to less than two shillings, has been based upon the returns given by Foreign writers, in French livres. The selection of this test, however, does not appear to have been fortunate, inasmuch as the English Translator of Tavernier, in 1677, 14 in his Table of Values, gives the Rupee of Gold as £1·11·6, and the Rupee of Silver as two shillings and three pence. In the same way, the English Editor of Bernier's Work15 estimates the Rupee at 29 pence, and so converts the sum of six corors of Rupees into 7½ millions of English pounds. 16 Harris, in 1764, in recapitulating the authorities collected by Ramusio, goes beyond this and fixes the Rupee at 2·6d. Thus, in giving the totals of Arrangzeb's Revenues at 1207,18,76,840 dâms, or Rupees 30,17,96,864,

12 The system of milling was first introduced into the English Mint by Blondeau, in April 1662, and the first milled shilling was struck in 1666. Ruding, xxxiv, 12; Hawkins, pp. 213-218.
14 Ruding, Pl. V, p. 244; Plate vi, Suppt. figs. 16, 17; Pembroke, iv, T. 15; Leake, p. 376.
15 Ruding, Pl. xv, fig. 12.
18 In the Appendix to vol. IV of this edition, p. 175, Bernier adds "some particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book," and therein defines the Rupee as "equivalent to 29 or 30 pence." Bernier himself seems to have said at p. 53, vol. III, "I have said elsewhere that a Roupie is almost equivalent to half a crown."
he estimates these sums in English money at £37,724,615.14

The next series of definitions of exchange rates consist, for the most part, of the contemporary testimony of Englishmen, who probably carried British shillings to India, and there practically ascertained what they would go for. The first on the list is the eccentric Thomas Coryate, who defines the Mughal Revenues in 1615, as “40 millions of crowns of six shillings each.” We need not here attempt to reconcile these totals, as in another place he allows us to infer that he places the rupee at 2s. in defining a lacks at £10,000 sterling.”15

Terry in 1616 speaks of the rupees as “of divers values, the meanest being worth 2 shillings, and the best about 2 shillings and nine pence”16, an estimate which is accepted by De Laet in “Rapias . . . quam committer valent duos solidos et “noxen denarios Angl. interdum etiam tantum duos.”17 Finally Sir Thomas Herbert, in his “Some years of Travaille, begunne in 1626,”18 tells us “a Mahomodi is 12 pence, a rupee 2 shillings and three pence.”

But with all this, we must remember that our King’s shilling was only a token, not a measure of value. Twelve pence in silver instead of being equal to one-twentieth (1/20) of the standard pound, had been very extensively reduced at this date, as will be seen from the accompanying Tables of English Silver Coins. But this difficulty of relative values may possibly be disposed of by the parallel definitions, in gold, which are so often to be met with.19

On the other hand, the true measure of value in India was dependent upon, so to say, three different standards: (1) the copper, which had not yet lost 33 1/2 its early status as an arbiter of values—seeing that the revenues of the State were still estimated in dâmas; (2) the silver, which was fast taking the place of the lower metal; and (3) the gold, which in the increase of the material riches of the land, was beginning to have a fixed and recognised ratio as against silver.

And here it will be necessary to advert, briefly, to the English Monetary System. William the Norman brought over with him the method of dividing the Saxon pound of 5,400 grains into 20 shillings, and the shillings into 12 pence. This pound was called the moneyer’s pound,20 and constituted the Mint standard, “until the reign of Henry VIII, in A.D. 1528, when the Troy pound was made the Mint weight in room of the moneyer’s pound or the Tower pound, which was 4 less, or 5,400 grains.”21

In process of time the 240 pennies of the old standard came to be 792 pence of 7-2727 grains each, in lieu of William the Conqueror’s full 22-5 grains, and the 20 nominal shillings (or 21 of the pound Troy), expanded into 62 in 18th Charles the II, 1665, and into 60 in 1816 with parallel reductions in value in each case.

The subjoined Tables exhibit—No. I the absolute variations; No. II the working results. No. III the relative values of Gold and Silver in the English system. It has not been attempted to reconcile minor discrepancies: but the authority for No. I is distinctly avowed, and the materials for No. II are grounded on the actual weights of extant coins, which Mr. E. Hawkins, as head of the Medal Room in the British Museum had so many opportunities of verifying, while the data for No. III are sufficiently defined in the standard work of Rading.

Table I.—“Shewing at one view how many pounds, shillings, and pence, have been coined out of a pound of silver at different times in England.”

Preliminary Note.

Whatever the division of money may have been in England in the Anglo-Saxon times, there is no doubt that it has been the same ever since the reign of William the Conqueror as at present [1805], viz. 12 pennies in a shilling, which never was a real coin till the year 1504, and 20 shillings in a pound, which though not a real coin, was a real pound, containing 12 ounces of standard silver, till the reign of Edward I, from which period the weight of the nominal pound has gradually been diminished, till it is now about one-third of what it origin-

17 De Imperio Magni Mogolici, sive India Vera.
18 Bat. 1631; Calcutta Review, October 1870, Revenue Resources, pp. 19-22.
19 London, 1634, p. 41.
20 Persian Travels, London, 1676; Sir T. Herbert, p. 41.
21 Rading, vol. I, p. 38. The Tower pound consisted of 12 oz., each ounce of 20 dwt., each dwt. of 24 grains, the whole was lighter than the Troy pound by 1/2 of an ounce.
22 Kelly’s Universal Cumbist, p. xvi.
ally was. The depreciation which money has suffered in respect to the value of necessary food and other useful commodities, is the effect of the increase of bullion in Europe, by the importation from America, and the increase of taxes, which in very many articles now constitute the greatest part of the price."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before A. D. 1300, a pound of oz.dwt.</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Alloy</th>
<th>£ s d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard Silver contained</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. D. 1300—13 Edward I.</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1344—13 Henry III.</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1346—4 Edward IV.</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1353—18 Henry VIII.</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1354—31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 2 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1355—36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 2 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1346—37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8 2 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1349—3 Edward VI.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551—5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551 end of 5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553—1 Mary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559—2 Elizabeth</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601—43</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 3 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—These rates of English money are taken "by Mr. Folkes from the indentures made with the Masters of the Mint, and consequently may be depended on as authentic."—Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. IV, Appendix II, London, 1805.

Table II.—Of the weights of the different denominations of Silver Coins [including alloy].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>William I.</th>
<th>A. D. 1066</th>
<th>Silver penny</th>
<th>Shilling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward I.</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>224 grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; III.</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1346</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV.</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward V.</td>
<td>1464</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry VII.</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>144 grains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward VI.</td>
<td>1549</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Such continued to be the weights of the several coins until the 56th George III. (1816), when at the great recoinage the following weights were established."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>405</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>4035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English Gold.

The first gold coin struck, after the Norman

Conquest, was the "gold pennie" of the 41st year of Henry III, it weighed two sterlings or silverpence, and passed for 20 pence. "In the 49th year of the reign it was raised from its original value to 24 pence." We may disregard the intermediate changes and come to the sovrigns of 20 shillings each, first minted by Henry VII, and subsequently fixed under the name of units by James I, at 22 carats fine (i. e. ¾ fine gold, ¼ alloy) and 33¼ pieces to the pound troy. Under Charles II, (1665), a new coinage of guineas, at 44⅔ to the pound troy, was issued. This coin varied in its current price from 20 shillings up to 30, until the year 1717, when it was fixed authoritatively at 21 shillings. Sovereigns of 20 shillings were finally introduced in 1816, 46⅔ pieces going to the troy pound; thus each coin contained 4 dwt. 17-001 grains, or 113-001 grains of pure gold.

For the purposes of comparison of exchange computations and exhibiting the persistent fall in the value of silver, I quote the subjoined abstract of a Table prepared by Ruding of the relative values of the higher metals.

The fractions which are, at times, of considerable importance, have been omitted in this summary.

Table III.—Of the relative value of Gold and Silver.

| Henry I. 5   | 1.5—181 to 9 |
| Henry III. 14 | 1 to 10      |
| Edward I. 6  | 1 to 10      |
| Edward III. 18 | 11.2—181 to 12 |
| Henry IV. 13  | 1 to 11      |
| Henry IV. 14  | 1 to 11      |
| Henry V. 18   | 1 to 11      |
| Edward VI. 3  | 1 to 10      |
| William & Mary | 1 to 15    |
| George I. 3   | 1 to 15      |
| Charles II. 15 | 1 to 14    |

32 Ounces and dwt. 33 Excluding fractions.
34 A rise of 5 per cent. 35 The whole rise from James I, 1, that is, a space of 115 years was = 30⅔ per cent.
Indian Silver.

The origin of the Indian rupee may be traced up to very early times, in the Aryan Sataraksha, or Satakravaya, the even one hundred rati weight, which formed the basis of the standard gold and silver pieces of the early Pathan kings of Delhi (A. D. 1228), each of which weighed 100 ratis or 175 grains, and were conventionally termed Tanka. Muhammad bin Tughlak, in A. D. 1324, reverted to the local weight of Manu, the kara or swarna of 80 ratis or 140 grains for his silver standard, and raised the weight of his gold pieces to 200 grains, which seems to imply some readjustment of the relative values of the two metals. Some uncertainty in the Mint arrangements continued until Shir Shāh reformed the Indian coinages and introduced a new silver piece, now definitively called a rupee, of 178 grains. Akbar followed the same standard, in weight, but claims to have improved the fineness of the metal. And we have extant rupees of Shāh Jahān weighing 178 grains, and numerous specimens of 177.5 grains. To judge by the assay of his gold coinage, these rupees must have ranged at a better average than those of his predecessors. Tavernier has a curious notice of the copper money current in India, in his day, which is worth preserving:

"The Indians have also a sort of small copper money, which they call Pecha, which is worth about 2¼ of our liards, a liard being the 4th part of a sous. There is also ¼ pepcha, 2 pecchas, and 4 pecchas.

"According to the custom of the province where you travel, you have for a Roupy of silver more or less of these pecchas.

"In my last travels, a Roupy went at Surat for 49 pecchas. But the time was, when it was worth 50, and another time when it went but for 46. At Agra and Goharanhat, the roupy is valued at 56 and 56 pecchas, and the reason is because the nearer you go to the copper mines, the more pecchas you have for the roupy." (p. 22.)

Indian Gold.

Cowries, too, were subject to similar laws of distance from the Maldives. Near the sea, they were rated at 80 to the pice, at Agra, they went for 50 to 55 per pice (pp. 2, 8, 22). So with the bitter almonds, which made up the small change of the Western coast, whose tariff was regulated by the productiveness of the trees in the deserts of Laristan.

The value of gold, in Asia, seems to have been largely affected by geographical surroundings, proximity to sites of production, facilities of transport, and other casual laws of supply and demand. The Southern Peninsula of India had, as it appears, gold mines of its own, and Ocean commerce brought it bountiful supplies. In the North, the Bactrian Greeks were satisfied with currencies of silver and copper, whereas the Indo-Skythians coined gold in large quantities, and not only obtained directly extensive supplies of Roman gold coin, but imitated and possibly re-struck many of the Imperial dinarii. The kingdom of Kanouj continued, in modified types, an extensive issue of that metal, which lasted until the Muhammadan conquest by Muhammad bin Sām, who indeed reproduced, in altered terms, the local devices.

Mahmūd of Ghazi’s mints very early utilised Central Asian gold, and the plunder of India, from time to time, contributed fresh stores of precious metal for the moneyer’s purpose.

The Pathan Kings of Delhi, as we have seen, coined both gold and silver in equal weights, both being as pure as they could make them, but relative values had clearly to be readjusted as altered circumstances demanded. At first the scale appears to have been 1 to 8. In Akbar’s time it was 1 to 9.5 in Aurangzeb’s reign 1 to 14. And at this rate of 1 to 14 our own East India Company, in 1766, coined gold as 149-72 fine, to the rupee containing 175-92 of pure silver. The proportion was not, however, found sufficient to secure the currency of the experimental gold Muhar, and in consequence, in 1769, a new Regulation was passed raising

35 Pathus, Kings of Delhi, p. 406.
36 Prinsep’s Essays, London, 1858, p. 43. Akbar’s Gold Muhar of 18090 grains is pure gold; so is the average return at p. 50.
38 Prinsep’s Essays, U. T. pp. 43, 50.
39 Marco Polo gives the varying rates, in different localities, as gold to silver, 1: 5: 1: 6; and 1: 8.
41 Pathus Kings of Delhi, pp. 292, 434.
42 Tavernier, pp. 30, 104; Journal, R. A. S. vol. II, N. S., 1866, pp. 100, 163.
43 I omit the alloy in both cases.
the gold muhar up to 190:086 fine, as against 16 rupees of the old standard of A.D. 1766."

It may be mentioned in connection with these later details of the East India Company's mintages and exchange rates, that Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, p. 8, estimates the Rupee at 8 to the £ sterling (i.e. 2s. 6d. per Rupee), and practically illustrates its effect, in citing the sale, in October 1811, of 40 lakhs of Rupees to the Bank of England for £495,527 sterling.

In conclusion, I may say that I have had no motive in collecting these statistics beyond the aim of placing the question of exchanges in its true light, and a desire to extend these new data to those who, past or present, seek to amend my first inferences by unsound arguments.

But, on the other hand, as regards the future, it is as well that Political or other Associations seeking to restore Silver to its old mission, in India or elsewhere, should recognise the fact that, in the former case, things are changed from the compensating all-round trade in goods and metals of the old East India Company to the leech-like heavy charges of the present Home Government, which draws indiscriminately, for its own wants Bills in Rupees, on its hapless dependency, in season and out of season, whether the balance of trade or metallic exchange is for or against them.

---

**BRAHUI SONG, No. II.**

*BY THE REV. GEO. SHIRT, M.R.A.S.*

*(See ante p. 131.)*

1. Khâlpa rabâbê ustnâ kababê
2. Dûštī nâ thâsê yâr nâ malâsê
3. Pur ka khâwâhê dir nâ dawâhê
5. Tambû nû lokâ nû jîza nokâto
6. Barenâ Bahîrân Chunakâ, korun zahirân

_Translation._

1. Don't play, O Minstrel; thy heart is roast meat.
2. In thy hand is a cup; thy friend is thirsty.
3. Fill up the water bag; thy water is medicine.
4. Thy camel is swift; thy bridle is a flower.
5. Thy tent is on a baggage camel; it is lawful (to meet) at the new moon.
6. We come from Bahîr; O child! We are blind to see thee.

**DITTY.**

1. Kasar Kachhinâ sere mähinâ
2. Mâre Mahmandnâ Zebra sù ka ki nan kân

_Translation._

1. The way to Kâchh is a serâ of fish.
2. Mahomed has a son; Zebra! be quick that we may go.
3. The way to Thâko is (like) a beggar's wallet.

---

**FOLKLORE FROM KASHMIR.**

*COLLECTED BY Maj. F. A. STEEL.*


No. 7.—**_FOLKTALE._

_The Tiger and the Farmer's Wife._

One day a farmer went to his field to plough with his bullocks. He had just yoked them when a tiger walked up to him, and said, "Adalâm 'alaikum," good morning."
“What you say is curious,” answered the farmer, whose courage, now that he saw it was a question of gobbling bullocks and not men, had returned, “because the Lord sent me here to plough my field, and for that I must have bullocks. Are you sure you are not making a mistake?”

“I fancy I know best what the Lord told me,” growled the tiger, showing his teeth, “so be quick and give me those bullocks.”

But the farmer begged and prayed till at last he promised that if the tiger would spare the bullocks, he would go back to his house and fetch him a fine young milch cow instead.

To this the tiger agreed; so taking his oxen with him the farmer returned to his house. His wife, who was a very clever woman, seeing him return so early, called out—

“What, Lazybones, back again from the fields, and my work but just begun.”

Then the farmer explained to her about his meeting with the tiger, and how to save the bullocks he had promised to give the milch cow. At this—the wife began to cry, saying—

“A likely story, saving your bullocks at the expense of my cow! Where will the children get milk, and how can I cook without any butter ghá?”

“All very fine, wife,” said the farmer, “but can we make bread without any corn? And how can you have corn without bullocks to plough the field? It is better to do without milk than without bread, so make haste and untie the cow.”

“You great gaby,” wept the wife, “if you had an ounce of sense in your brains, you’d think of some plan to get out of the scrape.”

“Think yourself,” cried the husband in a rage.

“Very well,” replied the wife, “only if I think, you must obey; so go back to the tiger, and tell him the cow wouldn’t come along with you, but that your wife is bringing it.”

The farmer accordingly went back to the tiger, and found him sharpening his teeth and claws for very hunger; when he heard he had to wait yet a little longer for his food, he began lashing his tail and curling his whiskers in a way the farmer did not like.

Now, no sooner had the farmer left the house than his wife, going to the stable, saddled the pony. Then she put on the farmer’s best clothes, tied the pagri very high, and set off man-fashion, to the field where the tiger was. She rode up swaggering and bold, till she came to the corner, when she called out in a loud voice,—

“Now, by the grace of God, may I find a tiger in this field, for I have not tasted tiger’s flesh since the day before yesterday, when, as luck would have it, I killed three.”

Hearing this the tiger became so much frightened that he turned tail and fled into the jungal; going away full tilt till he met his own jackal, who called out,—

“My lord! my lord! whither away so fast?”

“Run! run!” cried the tiger, “there’s the very devil of a horseman in yonder field, who thinks nothing of eating three tigers.”

At this the jackal laughed, saying, “that was no horseman: that was only the farmer’s wife.”

“Are you sure?” asked the tiger pausing.

“Quite sure, my lord,” replied the jackal, “did not you see her pigtail? Come! don’t give up your breakfast for a woman!”

“But you may be mistaken,” persisted the cowardly tiger. It was the very devil of a horseman to look at.”

“Who’s afraid?” replied the brave jackal, “let’s go together.”

“But you may intend to betray me, and run away,” said the still suspicious tiger.

“In that case, let’s tie our tails together, and then I can’t,” replied the determined jackal, who did not want to be done out of his bones.

So they tied their tails together in a very fast knot, and set off gaily.

Now the farmer and his wife were still in the field laughing over the trick she had played the tiger, when her husband caught sight of the pair coming back so bravely with their tails of the head and finely braided; the braids are then gathered together, and being mixed with coarse woollen thread are worked into a very long plait terminated by a thick tassel, which reaches almost down to the ankles. It is highly suggestive of the Chinese pig tail, but it is far more graceful. Ince, Kashmir Handbook, 1876, p. 36.

—R. C. T.
tied together. He called out, "We are lost! we are lost!"

"Not at all, you gaby," answered his wife, and walked towards the tiger and the jackal. When she got within hail she called out,

"Now this is what I call kind, Mr. Jackal, to bring me such a nice fat tiger, but considering how many tigers there are in your father's house, I think you might have brought me two: one will hardly be a mouthful."

Hearing this the tiger became wild with fright and quite forgetting the jackal and the knot in their tails, he bolted away as hard as he could, dragging the jackal bumpity-bump-bump over all the stones. In vain the poor jackal howled and shrieked to the tiger to stop; the noise behind him only frightened the beast more, and away he went over hill and dale, till he was nearly dead with fatigue, and the poor jackal quite dead with bruises.

Moral.—Don't trust cowards.

SOME REMARKS ON GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S NEW METHOD OF FIXING THE INITIAL POINT OF THE GUPTA ERA.

BY G. THIBAUT, PH.D., PRINCIPAL BENARES COLLEGE.

General Cunningham has lately given—in the appendix and the preface of the 10th volume of the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India—a detailed exposition of a new method devised by him for the purpose of fixing the initial date of the Gupta era. Some remarks regarding this method had already been made by him in the 9th vol. of the Reports. His method is based on a series of four copperplate inscriptions of king Hastin and his son Pancshobha, the petty chiefs of Uchahara, each of which furnishes a double date, one noting the year of the Gupta era and the other the current year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. Details about these inscriptions and their dates are to be found in the Archaeological Reports and need not be given here; a short re-statement of the nature of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter however will not be out of place.

This cycle is founded on the circumstance of Jupiter performing a complete revolution, roughly speaking, in twelve years (accurately in 4,332 days 14h. etc.), so that one year of Jupiter is the time in which the planet passes through 360°. The names of the single constituent years of the cycle are derived from the nakshatras in which in the course of each year Jupiter's heliacal rising and setting takes place. As, however, it was manifestly intended to employ this nomenclature for civil purposes also, it became necessary to make some arrangement in order to establish a clearer agreement between solar and śrāvvastya reckoning. For this purpose it was necessary to establish a period which comprised an integral number of solar and likewise of Jupiter's years. The Indian astronomers of the Siddhānta Period, whose knowledge of the mean motions of the planets was on the whole very accurate, had of course no difficulty in handling this problem. As Jupiter passes in one solar year very nearly through one sign plus the eighty-fifth part of a sign, eighty-five solar years are very nearly equal to eighty-six of Jupiter's years, and consequently in order to utilize the names of the twelve-year cycle for civil reckoning, the provision was made that in the regular recurring series of the 12 Jupiter names each 86th name was to be expunged. For two of Jupiter's years terminate within the limits of each 85th solar year, and the 86th solar year must therefore receive the name of the 87th of Jupiter's years.

These are briefly the principles according to which astronomers like the author of the Sārga Siddhānta and Varaha Mihira would have calculated the periods of Jupiter's years to be expunged, and according to the same principles Pandit Bāpu Deva Sastrī, the distinguished Mathematician and Astronomer of the Benares college, has computed for General Cunningham's use a table of the Jovian twelve year cycle extending from B.C. 8 to A.D. 2098, in which all the expunged years are marked. The dates were also computed by General Cunningham himself. Comparing this list then the dates of the four copperplate inscriptions of Rājā Hastin and his son Pancshobha, which are dated in the Gupta era, and at the same time mention the name of the current Jovian year, and noticing that in the series of 54 years between the date of the first inscription (G. 156) and that of the last (G. 209) no name of the Jovian cycle is omitted (as appears from the table on page 117 of the appendix), Gen. Cunningham proceeded to examine which of the different unbroken series of 54 years that are to be found in his table can, with the most probability, be identified with the series marked by the first and fourth of the mentioned four copperplate inscriptions. Availing himself of the various indications found elsewhere, which may assist one in settling the question, he finally decides in favour of A.D. 167, as most probably being the initial year of the Gupta era, so that the date of the first inscription—Gupta 156—would coincide
with 322 A. D., and the date of the fourth inscription—Gupta 209—with A. D. 375.

Into the details of this latter part of Gen. Cunningham’s investigation we need not enter here, as the purpose of this paper merely is to inquire into the validity of the principles on which Gen. Cunningham has drawn up his table of the twelve-year Jupiter cycle with the expunged years. That table is of course quite correct for the present time, in fact for all the centuries consequent on the rise of modern Hindu astronomy as the oldest extant document of which we may perhaps consider the Sārṣyā Siddhānta or else the Laghu-Āryabhaṭa-siddhānta. As soon as the Hindus had acquired the very correct knowledge of the mean motions of Jupiter and the sun which is embodied in the Siddhāntas, the eighty-five years period followed as a necessary consequence. But the task devolving on us is to inquire at what time the Hindus did acquire that knowledge and at what time in consequence they first became able to construct the 85 years cycle. Among European scholars of the present day there prevails no doubt that the modern Hindu system of astronomy is an adaptation of Greek doctrines. On the reasons for this belief we need not dwell here, it may suffice to refer to the notes of Burgess and Whitney’s translation of the Sārṣyā Siddhānta and Biot’s Études sur l’Astronomie Indienne. The exact time of the formation of the new system is not yet well known, and various opinions, differing more or less, have been propounded concerning this point. The circumstance which in a consideration of this question has primarily to be taken into account is avowedly the fact of the star ζ Picium being taken as marking the beginning of the sphere. This star coincided in position with the vernal equinox not far from the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, it looks as if the Hindu measurements of the position of the Nakṣatras had been made somewhat earlier, about 490 (cf. Whitney to Sārṣyā Siddh. VIII. 9, p. 355). The date of the Laghu-Ārya Siddhānta is known to be 499 A. D. The date of probably the earliest Siddhāntas—viz. the Pauṣiṣṭa and the Romaka—is not known; they are most likely somewhat anterior to Āryabhaṭa, but it is altogether uncertain by how much Professor Kern (in the preface to his edition of Varaha Mihira, Brīhat-samhīta p. 50) “roughly” dates the beginning of the Siddhānta period at 250 A. D., that point of time being half way between the date he assumes for Garga and the ascertained time of Varaha-Mihira. But this is—as Prof. K. himself admits—altogether hypothetical, and con-

considering that the systems of the Pauṣiṣṭa and Romaka Siddhāntas, so far as they are known to us, agree in all essential features with the system represented by Āryabhaṭa and the Sārṣyā Siddhānta, and for all we know to the contrary acknowledged the same initial point of the sphere, it would appear advisable to date them considerably later than 250, so that the period intervening between them and Āryabhaṭa might be shortened. On the whole it would, considering our present knowledge of the matter, be decidedly unsafe to maintain that the modern system of Hindu astronomy, with its fairly accurate knowledge of the planetary revolutions, had well established itself on Indian soil before, let us say, 400 A. D.

Before the modern system was established the Jovian cycle could not be regulated on the principle of each 86th name being expunged, and reasonings about the initial year of the Gupta era based on a table of this cycle in which the expunged years are marked for a period beginning with 8 B. C. lose therefore their validity. All we can say is that the expunction of Jovian years in the first centuries of the Christian era ought to have been arranged in the manner shown in Gen. Cunningham’s table, or would have been managed so if the true planetary motions had then been known. Orthodox Hindus of course will take an altogether different view of the matter. The Sārṣyā Siddhānta was, according to its own statement, revealed considerably more than two millions of years ago, and few Pāṇḍits would hesitate, adopting the principles of the S. S., to draw up a table of the Jovian cycle with every 86th year properly expunged back to the beginning of the Mahāyug or the Kalpa if wanted. European scholars however will naturally take a different view of the matter. It may moreover be remarked, that even if the beginning of the Siddhānta period could be shown to reach one or two centuries higher up than the time stated above (which is by no means likely), it would be rather hazardous to assume that the novel doctrines contained in the Siddhāntas immediately effected a total reform of the Civil Calendar all over India. I should rather feel inclined to believe that a considerable time elapsed before the new knowledge of the Jyautishas succeeded in getting itself applied to the purposes of daily life and taking the place of the older methods on which previously the almanack had been calculated.

We have now to consider a passage from Garga referring to the Jupiter-cycle which is quoted by Gen. Cunningham, Appendix p. 114.

"We there read: Utpala also quotes Garga to

always dated in the years of the Jovian cycle, but it has no expunged year."—Ed.
the effect that as each period of 170 solar years is equal to 172 Jovian years, the names of Āsvayuja and Chaitra must each be once omitted. The amount of this correction shows that the 12-year cycle of Jupiter was intimately connected with the 60-year cycle in which one name was omitted after every 85th year. Garga’s words are:

Yugāni dvādasābdāñi tatra tāñi Vrihaspati,
Tatra Savana Saurābhyyām Sāvonobōdo nirudhāyate;
Evañi Āsvayujām cha eva Chaitram cha eva Vṛihspati,
Samvatsaro nasāyate saptalyabda saxedhike.  

This Brihaspati cycle consists of twelve years:

\[ \star \star \star \star \star \star \]

"Thus both Āsvayuja and Chaitra of Brihaspati are expounded in a period of 170 years."

If the above passage quoted from Garga by Upala, the commentator of Varahamihira’s Brihatasamhitā, could be taken as it stands and could be translated as it has been by General Cunningham, everything maintained above would fall to the ground. For whatever the real age of the Garga Samhitā may be, it is certainly considerably older than the Siddhántas. Prof. Kern (preface to Brihat Samhitā p. 39) places it approximately in the first century before Christ, and I see no particular objection to this assumption. It would thus appear that even before the Christian era two Jovian years in 170, i.e., one Jovian year in about 85\(^{3}\) were omitted, and consequently no objection could be raised to Gen. Cunningham carrying his table back to the year 8 A.C.

Having for a considerable time been engaged in collecting materials tending to throw light on the early history of Indian astronomy and chronology, and being acquainted with the hitherto known parts of the Garga Samhitā, I was at once struck by the above passage from Garga as being hardly reconcilable with what is known from other sources about the doctrines of this authority. Of this the most important point is that Garga taught the doctrine of the quinquennial cycle comprising 60 solar, 61 Sāvana and 62 lunar months, the length of the whole cycle amounting to 1830 Sāvana days, so that one solar year would consist of 366 Sāvana days. This doctrine is clearly and explicitly stated in the fragments of Garga preserved in the commentary on the Jyotisha-Vedānga, and printed in the edition of the latter work by Prof. Weber (pp. 40-43). The Jyotisha-Vedānga itself maintains the same doctrine (cf. my contributions to the explanation of the Jyotisha-Vedānga, Journal. As. Soc. of Bengal for 1877). As far as our present knowledge goes, this doctrine, grossly erroneous as it is, generally prevailed in India before the influence of Greek astronomy began to make itself felt, and seems to have been immediately succeeded by the infinitely more perfect system of the Siddhántas (a circumstance, by the way, which would furnish another proof of the doctrine of the Siddhánta system not being of native Indian growth; were such proofs still needed at present).

Now, as we have seen above, the 85 years period of omission depends altogether on the accurate knowledge of the length of the solar year, combined with an equally accurate acquaintance with the length of Jupiter’s revolution.

But as Garga did not possess the former knowledge (what his opinion of the length of Jupiter’s revolution was we do not know) it is impossible to believe that he should have hit on the right period of omission of Jupiter-years unless we have recourse to the quite improbable hypothesis of the error of his mistake regarding the length of the solar year being neutralized by an exactly counterbalancing mistake with regard to the length of Jupiter’s revolution. The passage as given by Gen. Cunningham thus—apart from its very inaccurate form—is suspicious on a priori considerations, and I therefore proceeded to ascertain its genuine form by recourse to the manuscripts. The only MS. of Bhaṭṭotpala’s commentary of which I could avail myself (one belonging to the Benares College and very incorrect, as are all MSS. of Bhaṭṭotpala I have seen) gives the passage in a form only slightly different from the one given by Gen. Cunningham.

I thereupon turned to the available manuscripts of the Garga Samhitā itself [the complete MS. found by Dr. Bühler and belonging to the Bombay Government (A), and two fragments (B and C)—belonging to the Benares College, both containing the Brihaspati-chātra], and there I found a very different text.

A. reads:

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{corr\textsuperscript{2}} that I prefer not to alter it.} \]

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{Correctly the amount is 22 years in 1575, or one on an average in 85 \textsuperscript{1/2} years.}} \]
B. and C. contain some different readings of no importance; they agree with it in the last half śloka. The passage is in all three manuscripts evidently corrupt; but there can be no doubt that the last half śloka says nothing about a period of 170 years. Perhaps we may have to read ॐ शर्म श्रम instead of शर्म, and then I would propose, although with considerable hesitation, the following explanation of the whole passage:—As Garga estimated the solar year at 366 days, while the Sāvāna year comprised 360 days, sixty-one Sāvāna years would be, according to him, equal to sixty solar years. Now Garga, whose knowledge of the periods of the planets cannot in any case have been very accurate, may have supposed Jupiter to pass through one-twelfth of the zodiac in one Sāvāna year (the true time being 361 days), and consequently 61 of Jupiter’s years also would be equal to 60 solar years. That he imagined some such connection between Jupiter and the Sāvāna and solar years has, it appears, necessarily to be assumed, as it otherwise would be impossible to account for the circumstance of both these years and their mutual relation being mentioned in the chapter on Jupiter’s course. Which years have to be expunged, according to Garga, I dare not conjecture, as the corrupt state of the passage quoted would render any hypothesis altogether unsafe. For our purpose it suffices to have shown that the authority of Garga cannot be invoked in aid of the principles on which General Cunningham has computed his table. It is not easy to guess what was the cause of the changed form in which the passage from Garga appears in Bhāṭotpāla’s text; possibly the desire to establish an agreement between an old revered authority and the more advanced knowledge of a later period. That the mistakes made by early Hindu writers on Astronomy often greatly perplexed later and better-informed authors is a well-known circumstance.

SINHALESE FAMILY NAMES.

The subject of “Sinhalese Family Names” is a complicated one, connected, as it is, with native titles, honorifics, caste, and names, both in the maritime and Kandyan Provinces. I shall, for the present, confine myself to a few names in the low country. These may be divided into four classes:

1st. Rice names or names conferred on a child on the rice-giving festival. In the pre-European times, these names were, no doubt, identical with those now current in the Kandyan country, but after the settlement of Europeans rice names were gradually supplanted by Christian names.

2nd. Genam or house or family names. These names generally have their origin in the situation of the house or the place of residence of a man, the trade or profession in which he was engaged, and a variety of other circumstances. The fol-

MISCELLANEA.

A few remarks on the clue which the four copper-plate inscriptions may furnish to inquirers into the initial date of the Gupta era are likewise to be found in a very interesting paper by Dr. H. Oldenberg, “On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins” published in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. X, pp. 213-227. Without entering into a criticism of the opinions advanced there, I only remark that inquiries as to what year really was a Vaiśākha, Chaitra etc., year, do not appear to me calculated to furnish really useful results.

The important point is, if possible, to find out what chronological or astronomical system the authors of the inscriptions followed, and what deductions they were likely to make from the principles they had embraced. Observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers, and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahāśākha, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter’s actual position.

The above remarks may, in addition to their more immediate purpose, be of use as showing by a special example the peculiar difficulties with which scholars attempting to solve problems of Indian chronology have to grapple. With more special reference to the early centuries of the Christian era it may be asserted that no safe ground will be reached before we are more accurately informed concerning the time at which and the manner in which the modern Hindu astronomy, based on Greek science, displaced the cruder doctrines which had prevailed at an earlier period. Any assistance rendered in questions of this kind by Panjita is a doubtful boon, as the advantage we may derive from their learning in Hindu astronomy is as a rule greatly lessened, if not altogether counterbalanced, by the mistakes to which their want of critical spirit and historical method gives rise.
lowing are a few of the family names in the
low country—Kapuge (Kapuwa’s house), Lin-
damulage (house near the well), Kandadage,
(house on the top of hill), Wahala-tantirige
(house of the musician of the palace), Kotugodage
(house of Kotugada), Kalunga (of the Kalunga
country), Kannangarage (house of the black
town), Umumulage (house of Umumulla), Epli-
tabadage (house of the silversmith of Elpitiya),
and so forth.

3rd. European surnames, used by the Sinha-
lese. D’Abrew, Fernando, Mendis, Silva, Zoysa,
Perreira, Lívera, D’Olivera, Dias, Fernando, Ta-
brew, Dabre), etc.

4th. Patabendinam or titular names. In an-
cient times these names were conferred by the
Sinhalese kings on their subjects for distinguished
services, merit, learning, gallantry or exploits in
war, loyalty, etc., and were equivalent to titles of
nobility in a European country. When a man
was presented to the sovereign to be invested with
one of these titles, it was inscribed on a piece
of beaten gold or embroidered silk, and tied by
the royal hands on the forehead of the recipient.
Hence the derivation of the term Patabendi
from pata (a piece of thin metal plate, or silk) and
bendi (tied). The following are a few of the titles
thus conferred by the kings—“Wijasekara Mudiy-
yanse,” “Jayatilaka Mudiyyanse,” “Panditaratna
Mudiyyanse,” etc. etc. An interesting account of
the ceremonies observed in conferring these titles
will be found in Knox’s History of Ceylon. No
one had a right to use these titular names except
the descendants of the titled persons.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, and even the Eng-
lish, following the custom of the Kandyans kings,
conferred these titular names on native public
servants on their appointment to important offices
under Government or when ranks were conferred
on them.

Of late, and especially since the abolition of
compulsory labour, the practice of conferring
these names has become obsolete, and in the
present day people assume these names not only
when they are appointed to high offices but also
when persons are appointed to petty offices, such
as Arachchi, Kangani, Vidane, &c., also when
persons are admitted to practice as notaries public,
and sometimes without any excuse whatever.
Many of these names are mere high-sounding
Sanskrit names and have little or no meaning.
For instance “Wijayasekara” (victorious crest),
“Amarasinha” (immortal lion), “Wijayasinha
(victorious lion), “Gunaratna” (victorious gem),
“Gunawardana” (virtue increasing), “Rajapaksa”

1 From Ceylon Observer.

An extraordinary little tract entitled, “The
Akhund of Swat, a Muhammadan Saint, and
Dilawar Khan, the Converted Afghan Brigand,”
1876, by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, contains a
good deal of information about the late Akhund,
’Abd-ul-Ghafur, which may be fairly taken as
correct.

At page 5 Mr. Hughes says that the Akhund’s
followers are disposed to attribute miracles to him,
and that two at least of these miracles are likely
to be transmitted to posterity. The first miracle
is related as follows:—

“A few years ago, in consequence of the
increased number of worshippers, instructions
were given to a carpenter to enlarge the Akhund’s
mosque. A large beam was procured for the roof,
but when brought into the mosque and measured,
it was too short by nearly a yard. The Akhund
ordered instructions for it to be left on the
ground for the night. When the carpenter
measured the beam the morning he found it
two yards longer than was required. The beam
had elongated itself some three yards during the
night under the influence of the miracle-working
Akhund. We have never yet met with any one
who was present on the occasion, but the scepti-
cal reader may, if he wishes, visit Said (the
Akhund’s residence) and behold the very beam
projecting a yard at each end.”

Now I have noticed in reading and hearing the
miracles and marvellous tales regarding saints,
heroes, and religious leaders in the Panjab, that
something like the same stories are told of all of
them—that there is in fact a family likeness in
the legends of the various Panjábi saints. For
instance, Sakkhi Sarwar, the Musalmán saint of
Derá Gházi Khán, and Bálmíg, valmí(k)i) and Lál
Beg, the saints (or objects of worship) of the
sweepers, are all said to have restored to life a
horse that was killed and eaten in pretty much
the same way. Sakkhi Sarwar and an obscure
saint in the Ráwal Píndi District, called Barri
Sultán, both drew milk from bulls when their cows
were exhausted, and lately in reading R. B. Shaw’s

I found the tract in a Dék Bungalow at Tret in the
Ráwal Píndi District.
High Tertiary, Yarkand, and Kashgar, 1871, I noticed that the tales he gives as ascribed to Alexander the Great bear a strong resemblance to those heard in the Panjab ascribed to local heroes. I think if a large collection of tales—especially of miracles—were made, it would be found that the Oriental superstitious imagination has not been so fertile as one would at first imagine, and that the various tales radiate from a few central stories which are probably very old.

This tale about the Akhūnd is another instance of this. It is also told with a few variations regarding the purist Sikh leader, the Kukhā, Rām Singh, a man much younger than the Akhūnd, who in 1876 was 86 years old, and so was born in 1790, whereas Rām Singh was not born till 1815, or 25 years later. Rām Singh was a carpenter (bhārdā) by trade, just as the Akhūnd was a herdsman (Gūjar) by caste, and in 1861 on a Sunday he is said to have miraculously lengthened a beam he was putting up in a poor man's house in Firozpur city in order to save his employer’s expense. The difference in the tale regarding the Akhūnd and in that regarding Rām Singh is, that the subsequent success of the latter as a Sikh Guru or religious leader is popularly attributed to this miracle, whereas the success of the Akhūnd as a Musalman religious leader was achieved long before any miracle was invented to add to his glory. But the fact of the same tale being told about a Musalman and a Sikh hero in places so widely separated as the Peshawar Frontier and the Firozpur District leads one to suppose that it is really an old tale revived to suit modern requirements, and it would be of value to find out if it is traceable to earlier times.

At page 7 of his tract Mr. Hughes illustrates the Akhūnd’s method of dispensing justice by the following tale:

“... A man of the village of Pubbi was convicted of immorality. The Courts of Government were ignored, and the case was submitted to the Akhūnd. A fathāwā was issued, the culprit was seized, his face blackened, and seated on a donkey he was paraded round the village amid the shouts of the people and the beating of drums.”

This method of punishment is so well-known and was so universal in India before the advent of British rule, that it is scarcely necessary for me to do more than add that in this fathāwā the Akhūnd merely followed the custom of the country.

R. C. Temple.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. L, 1881. The parts of this volume have appeared somewhat irregularly, and the title, opusx, &c., for the volume are not issued even with the first part of vol. LI.

The first part opens with “Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand” by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in which he brings together a good deal of traditional and other information, partly drawn from General Cunningham’s Archaeological Reports, vols. II and IX, and from inscriptions published elsewhere. An important feature in this paper is the list of inscriptions published and unpublished, which Mr. Smith has compiled with evident care. Not a few of the unpublished ones ought to be made accessible at least in facsimile, with as little delay as possible, for they are evidently in danger of being lost or destroyed. Thus we find that the inscription mentioned in General Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, vol. II, p. 447, but which was “never published or translated,” is “not now to be found.” Of three Jaina statues mentioned in the same (pp. 435 and 448) bearing inscriptions dated Sanvat 1211, 1215, and 1220, the locality is “not now known.” Another (ib. p. 448) dated Sanat 1224 is no longer known; and of the Dahi copperplate (ib. 455 and 448) “neither original nor copy is forthcoming nor translation.” Here are six inscriptions of one dynasty already lost within a few years, and a seventh, in the hands of a private person, is as likely as not to be lost also, like most others that have been so kept hitherto, including apparently the Dahi one mentioned above.

Mr. Smith’s table of the Chandel dynasty is as follows:—

A.D. 831? Nānaka, traditional date of the overthrow of the Pārāhār at Mahābāra.
910? Harsha.
930? Yāsavarmā; 954 temple at Khajurāho built; 978 assisted at the battle of Lamghān.
999 Gaṇḍādēva; 1008 assisted Jayapāla of Lahor against Mūmūd; 1021 conquered Kanaūj; 1023 surrendered Kālanjar to Mūmūd of Ghazni.
1025? Vidyādharadeva.
1035? Viṣayaḍādēva.
1045? Kirtīvarmādēva 1, or Dēvavarmā, or Bhūmipāla.
1100? Sallakṣhanavarmanādēva.

1110 ? Jayavarmádèva or Kirttivarmádèva II.
1120 ? Práthivarmádèva.
1130 ? Madansvarmádèva: Inscriptions dated Sam. 1188, 1190, 1211, 1215, 1220, and 915 of Chedi era.
1165 ? Parmárdidéva, known as Parmálida or Parmadara: Inscriptions of 1167, 1182; 1182 Mahoba captured by Práthivrāja of Dehli.

Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle describes a find of 38 early Muhammadan coins of Bengal, made at Gauhati in Assam in November 1880, of which 14 only were secured. It is accompanied by four plates on which 24 coins are figured. This is a valuable supplement to Mr. Thomas's papers on the same subject.

C. J. Rodgers follows with an important paper "On the Coins of the Sikhs" with much historical information interspersed, and 74 coins figured.


Mr. H. G. Keene's paper "On the Revenues of the Mughul Empire" is in correction of Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Thomas's modes of estimation, in which he argues that the estimates of Abûl Fazîl and Nizâmu'd-dîn agree and amount to very nearly ten kors, and that the maddi takah is an imaginary integer of copper accounts, whereas 64 are equal to one rupee. At a later page (147) Mr. E. Thomas adds a note in reply to Mr. Rodgers's remarks on the same subject, and in defence of his own views (See ante, p. 315).

Rishi Kia Bhaṭṭāchāryā Śâstri has a paper "On the Identity of Upello and Upalava." Upalava is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vīrātaparva) which Nilakanṭha says is in the kingdom of Vīrāṭa (Matyadēsa). In the Dīg-vijaya Parvādh of the Sabhāparva, Daśārṇa is mentioned in connection with Mātya and Mañḍava; and other references in Manu and Kullākabhaṭṭa, and in the Mahābhārata, lead him to fix on the district between Mathurā and Dehli as Matyadēsa, and on Upello on the Dehli and Agra road as Upalava.

Mr. C. J. Lyall gives "Further translations from the Hamâsh," in continuation of his translations of old Arabian poetry in the Journal in 1877. These appear to be excellent, and will interest Arabic scholars.

By far the most interesting paper in the volume is General Cunningham's "Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver, and Copper," in which he describes and figures a portion of a very important find made near Takht-i-Kuwait on the Oxus in 1877. The coins range over about 300 years from the time of Darius to that of Antiochus the Great and Euthydemos of Baktria. The statuettes, ornaments, &c. are supposed to be of like age.

The longest paper is by Bâbu Sarat Chandradâs of Darjiling, "On the Religion, History, &c. of Tibet." These contributions are interesting, but it is to be regretted they have not been more carefully edited, for though the author writes English with considerable accuracy, he sometimes makes omissions which render the sense obscure, and jumbles together Tibetan and Sanskrit names. Had the editor called his attention to this, and got him to give the equivalents in Sanskrit of the Tibetan names, as Ceoma Kôsâ has done in his admirable analysis, it would have greatly enhanced the value of these papers. They consist of—1. The Bon (Pon) Religion (19 pages, 6½ being original Tibetan); 2. Dispute between a Buddhist and Bonpo priest for the possession of Mount Kailâsa and Lake Mânasa (5½ pp.); 3 (Part 1). Early history of Tibet.—(1) Monarchy, 416 B.C. to 617 A.D., (2) Monarchy 600-730 A.D.; (3) Tsirool-de-tsang 730-833 to 886 A.D., (4) Ralplchan, &c. 846-893 A.D. (233 pp.), and (Part 2) Tibet in the Middle Ages (16½ pp.); 4. Rise and Progress of Buddhism in Tibet (14 pp.); 5. Lives of the Tasi Lamas, which consist first of four Indian incarnations, viz. (1) Subhâti the Sthavira, (2) Mâñjuśrî Kirtti, (3) Leg-dan Kyad,—whose Indian name the author has omitted, and (4) Abhayakarâ Gupta; secondly of six Tibetan incarnations—(5) Khug-pal-has-tai, (6) Sakya Paññita Kunghâ-gyal-tshan (i.e. Anandadhvaja) A.D. 1182-1252; (7) Yu-tsun-dorp A.D. 1248-1376; (8) Kha-dub-gleg-pal-ssaññi, A.D. 1385-1439; (5) Sonam-chho-kyi-Lalipo, A.D. 1439-1505; (9) Gyal-wa-Tun-dub, A.D. 1505-1570; and the Grand Lamas—(10) Gedun-dub, the founder of the monastery of Tashi-lumpo (A.D. 1447, A.D. 1391-1478; (11) Pan-chhen Lo-ssaññi-Chho-kyi-gyal-tshan, the first Pan-chhen Rin-po-che, A.D. 1599-1662; (12) Lo-ssaññi Ye-se-pal-ssaññ-po.
A.D. 1662-1737; and (13) Pan-chhen Lo-saṅ Phaldan-Yeṣe, A.D. 1737-1779, who died on a visit to Pekin, of which an account is given. 6. Life and legend of Lo-saṅ-tṣagpa, the great Buddhist reformer of Tibet A.D. 1378-1441, and 7. Rise and progress of Buddhism in Mongolia (8 pp. of Tibetan text) with translation,—(in all 141 pages). The paper is accompanied by plates representing the lamas, &c., but the 2nd called ‘Rigdan Tagpa’ is not referred to in the text, and it can hardly be meant for Marjūnārī Kirtti, whose Tibetan name is not given. The only other paper in No. 1 of 1882 is a short memoir of Maulānā Minhājú’d-din Abū 'Umārī-‘Usmān, the author of the Tabākīt-i Naṣīrī.

Part II of the Journal contains several Geographical, Meteorological, and numerous Natural History papers; but the Index and Contents of this part is very late in being published. No part of this division of the volume for 1882 has yet reached us.

The American Oriental Society has issued the 1st part of the 21st volume of its Journal containing five papers read between October 25th and October 28th 1880, which are of the usual high character that distinguishes the published papers of this Society. The 1st by Mr. A. Hjalmar Edgren is “On the Verbal Roots of the Sanskrit Language and of the Sanskrit Grammarians,” in which the author separates the authenticated from the unauthenticated radicals of Sanskrit, and classifies the former;—meaning by “authenticated” root forms such as have been actually found in any form in Hindu literature as well as in Pāṇini’s Dhātupadā and explained by native commentators.

The object of Dr. Edgren’s paper is to distinguish the authenticated roots and root-forms in Sanskrit from the unauthenticated, to make a general classification of the former, and to attempt a determination of the character and value of the latter. The author refers first to the familiar fact that a majority of the roots given by the Hindu Grammarians have never been met with in use, and to the suggestions made in explanation of it. The importance of the matter to Indo-European etymology makes desirable a more systematic inquiry. Of the more than two thousand roots catalogued by the grammarians, 974 have been authenticated by being found in use in the literature; and there are besides over 30 Vedic roots which the catalogues do not contain. A considerable number of the former, however, are only duplicates, of slightly different form; if these are subtracted, the number is reduced to 879. Taking from this number, again, evident denominatives, there are left 832; and by further deduction of essentially duplicate and derivative forms, we arrive at the number of 788 radicals, which are either entirely distinct roots, or secondary formations by accretion, or vowel-change and transposition, outside the ordinary grammatical processes—and even this number may be further considerably reduced, if we are strict in detecting and casting out such secondary formations.

Of the 832 which remain after taking away graphical variations and denominatives only 549 occur in both the Rig-Veda and the later literature; 62 are found in the Rig-Veda alone (11 having later derivatives); of the remaining 221, about 30 have derivatives in that Veda, and a considerable part of the rest occur in the other Vedas or in the Brāhmaṇas—not a few only there. Of course, the absence of any root in a single work is no proof of its absence from the language of the period. Yet there are sufficient reasons for believing that a considerable part of the roots here in question are of later origin.

An important characteristic of the authenticated roots is their productiveness, by combination with prepositional prefixes and by formation of derivatives; very few of them remain barren and isolated in the dictionary.

Of the other great class of radical forms, the unauthenticated, there are 1119. Allowing, as before, for slight variations of form in roots of identical meaning, the number will be reduced to rather less than 1000. It is to be noted, however, that meanings wholly diverse and incompatible are freely attributed to these roots, just as to the authenticated roots similar unauthenticated senses are assigned. Of these meanings, as virtually increasing the number of roots, no account is here made. The character of the class is discussed under the following heads: 1. The disproportion between the two classes. While Westergaard and other early scholars might hope that the unauthenticated roots would yet be found in parts of the literature then unexplored, all hope of such a result is now long past. 2. The different relation which the classes sustain to the material of the vocabulary: only a small proportion of the unauthenticated (less than 150) even seem to have any connection with derivative nominal bases.

3. The different relation between authenticated radicals of kindred form and meaning on the one hand, and unauthenticated ones of the same kind on the other; and the artificial aspect of the latter. Nearly four-fifths of the second class can be arranged in groups, numbering from two to twenty and more, of identical meaning and of analogous but obviously not historically related form. For example: kev, khev, gev, glev, pen, plev, mev, melv, ốez; meh, peb; mep, lep, are all defined
by sevane, 'serve, honor'; and there are groups of identical finals with almost every consonant in the alphabet as initial. Under this head are considered some length the causes which may be conjectured to have led to the fabrication of such groups. 4. The discrepancy between the number of the two classes represented in cognate languages.—Fick finds evidence for regarding about 450 of the authenticated radicals as belonging to the Indo-European period; of the others, only 80, and many of these on very unsatisfactory grounds.

While the general conclusion from the facts and arguments presented is that the vast majority of the unauthenticated roots are pure figments of the grammarians, the probability still remains that a certain percentage of them are real, and either stowed away in some unexplored part of the literature or never recorded there.

The paper embraces an alphabetical list of the authenticated roots, stating under each whether it occurs in the Rig-Veda alone, in the later literature alone, or in both, also whether it is combined with prepositions, and whether derivatives are made from it. To this list is added an index of the same roots arranged alphabetically according to their finals.

The second article is "On the Accentuation of the Vocative Case in the Rig and Atharva Vedas" by Dr. W. Haskell.

The third paper is also by Dr. Edgren, and is "On the Relation in the Rig Veda between the palatal and labial vowels (i, a, u, á) and their corresponding semi-vowels (y, v)."

Dr. Edgren points out the difference between the Vedic dialect and the classical Sanskrit in regard to the treatment and occurrence before dissimilar vowels of i, u or y, v: the semi-vowels being alone found (by conversion or otherwise) in the classical language, but the two vowels being of very frequent occurrence, as proved by metrical evidence, in the Veda. A careful examination of the whole field shows beyond doubt that, whatever share arbitrary usage and corruption of the texts may have in the varied occurrence of vowels or semi-vowels, it is in the main of organic nature, and gives additional support to the theory that the semi-vowels in question are only later developments of the more primitive vowels i and u, and that we meet in the Rig-Veda with a transitional state. Dr. Edgren tries to demonstrate by an exhaustive statistical account of all cases in the Rig-Veda in which i, a, u, á or y, v occur before vowels, that the more primitive sounds have been retained as a rule, or prevailingly, wherever they occurred at the end of a word or stem, and thus helped to preserve the individuality of the word; and, on the other hand, that the semi-vowels are found to prevail in all combinations the original independence and significance of which were dimmed and forgotten (as in derivative and especially inflectional suffixes, and in radical elements). The whole subject is considered under three heads: 1. The treatment of final i, á, u, á, of words or themes before dissimilar vowels; 2. The occurrence of i or y, u or v in formative elements; and 3. Their occurrence in the radical part of the word.

1. In the collocation of words in sentences, i and u are retained almost without exception. In 1294 verses chosen from all the Mandhas, i and u occur together 291 times, y and v only 6 times. In praṇā, sūtra, sādha. An examination of a number of other passages confirmed the fact that only a few such less independent words as prepositions have begun to show a tendency to convert into a semi-vowel the final i or u before a dissimilar vowel. In compounds the case is nearly the same. Final i and u occur altogether in 553 instances, but their corresponding semi-vowels only 52 times, and it is especially the prepositions ati, ahū which convert their vowels. Two words (gṛaye, gṛitey) occur not less than 39 times of the 52, but at least the former of them (gṛaye) is of doubtful formation. In noun-stems ending in i, a, u or á, the i (i) is retained in 392 instances, but consonantized in 240 instances, and the u (á) is retained 283 times, but consonantized 241 times (chiefly, or 110 times, in the two forms mādheva, māsasi). If each stem alone be considered, the difference in the occurrence of vowel or semi-vowel is much more marked, the vowel (i or u) being found then about twice as often as the semi-vowel. In both cases, the final long vowel is preserved more tenaciously than the short: the u-stems, indeed, never consonantizing á before a vowel-ending; and further, thematic i (i) is found to occur mostly after a long, and y after a short syllable. In verb-roots the final i- and u-vowels are generally combined with the following vowel through the medium of gyan-strengthening or the insertion of a semi-vowel, less frequently by conversion of the final. The vowel i is retained in 51 instances, the vowel u never.

2. Of the formative elements, the derivative suffixes are taken up first; and of them the suffix -ia (-ya) is by far the most frequent. The form -ia occurs 2033 times, and -ya 1628 times. There are 47 words which are found in different passages with both form, -ia and -ya, but as a rule even these show very prevalingly one of the forms (in two-thirds of the cases it is -ia), and the exceptionally used termination is in one half
of the instances a ḍraṇg legateum. In connection with these statistics are considered certain attendant phenomena helping to prove that the occurrence of -ia or -ya is not arbitrary, but depends on the organism of the word. Thus ia is found with very few exceptions wherever the suffix has the circumflex. Further, a long syllable is followed in 189 simple words (in 41 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by -ia, and in only 37 simple words (all without the circumflex) by -ya. A short syllable is followed in 85 simple words (in 45 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by -ia, and in 98 simple words (in 12 of which the suffix has the circumflex) by -ya.

Finally, in regard to their derivation, words clearly derived from a theme in -a (as gauti from gaut) take almost invariably the suffix-form -ia. Of 110 such derivatives, there are only 8 absolute exceptions to the rule. Next in order, all the other formative suffixes containing an i or y or u or v are considered, and it is shown that the concurrent phenomena of a preceding long or short syllable and a subsequent vowel or semi-vowel respectively is clearly traceable everywhere, more absolutely so in regard to u, v than in regard to i, y. In declensional endings the vowel i is found altogether 128 times, and the semi-vowel y nearly 4890 times. Even here the preservative influence of a preceding long syllable seems traceable, the vowel occurring in 123 instances (out of 128) after a long syllable. In verb-inflection, the semi-vowels are found almost exclusively, the exceptions being -ia as a class-sign five times, as a tense-sign once, in optatives 95 times; u (a) in a class-sign six times, in a personal ending 12 times, and in various forms of the root dhau (perhaps as a class-sign) 14 times.

Finally, the occurrence of the vowels or semi-vowels in question in roots or in the radical part of words is considered; and it was shown that the semi-vowels are found with comparatively few exceptions (chiefly tua- and siar) in the great mass of such words. The exceptions are -i in verb-roots 27 times, in nominal roots 29 times, in more uncertain combinations 71 times; v once doubtfully in the verb-root suad, in nomininals several hundred times, owing to the frequency of the form tua-, in more uncertain combinations 244 times, mainly in the word siar (233 times) and its compounds.

The fourth article, by Prof. S. Wells Williams, of Yale College, refers to the "Notices of Fu-sang and other countries lying east of China, given in the Antiquarian Researches of Ma twan-lin," of which we extract the following résumé from the Proceedings:

Ma-Twan-lin flourished in the troubled times which witnessed the conquest of his native land by the Mongols under Kublai Khan; and he was busy writing his Antiquarian Researches while Marco Polo was travelling about the country (A.D. 1275 to 1295) in the service of the Grand Khan. The date of the deaths of these two men was about the year 1324. Ma Twan-lin's work is arranged in twenty-five books, the last one named "Researches into the Four Frontiers." Out of its 250 sections, only nine describe the maritime countries on the east. The account of Japan is too long to translate and would add nothing to clear up the question as to the identification of Fu-sang. The other eight are translated from the original text, in the order in which they stand, since this order has a bearing upon the position of Fu-sang. They are the following:

Sect. XVI.—Hia-i. The land of the Crab Barbarians or Foreigners.

Sect. XVII.—Fu-sang. The kingdom of Fu-sang.

Sect. XVIII.—Nū Kwōh. The kingdom of Women.

Sect. XIX.—Wān Shān. The kingdom of Pictured Bodies.

Sect. XX.—Ta Han. The kingdom of Great Han.

Sect. XXI.—Chū Jū Kwōh. The kingdom of Dwarfs.


Sect. XXIII.—Liū-kīu. The kingdom of Luchew.

The first of the eight is known to refer to the island of Yezo, and the Chinese still call the region by that name. The next country, Fu-sang, is not described by Ma Twan-lin himself; he merely quotes the narrative of the Shaman or Buddhist priest Hwui-shin, who returned from Fu-sang in A.D. 499. This man reported that it lay twenty thousand li (about 7,000 miles) east of China, and was famous for its fu-sang trees, whence it derived its name. The people made paper from the bark of this tree, and also spun thread of which they manufactured cloth and brocaded for dresses. They knew how to write, and had an established government. Hwui-shin’s account contains several other particulars, which were first made use of by the learned orientalist De Guignes in 1761 to prove that the land thus described was Mexico. This view has been criticised by Klaproth, supported by Neumann, and in China made the subject of papers by Bretschneider and Sampson, who opposed the view of De Guignes. All their arguments were reviewed by Leland in a small volume published in 1875, in which he upheld the original opinion of De Guignes. His conclusion has since
found an advocate in the French sinologue Marquis d’Hervey de St. Denis, who had met with some additional information in a Chinese history. Prof. Williams summarizes the arguments which make it difficult to regard Mexico as the country spoken of, and mentions two especially, which are derived from Hwui-shin’s report itself. One is the manufacture of kin or brocade from the bark of the fu-sang tree (Broussonetia papyrifera); this fabric, called nishiki, is woven of silk and paper, and is still worn by the Japanese. He exhibited a specimen of this peculiar cloth which was obtained in 1854 at Hakodate in Yesso; its iridescence is very remarkable; and no such fabric is known to have ever been woven in any other land. The other proof against Fu-sang being Mexico is the statement that the colours of the king’s robes varied with the ten cyclic years which denote the dual action of the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, water. This reference shows that at the time the people of Fu-sang knew and adopted the sexagenary cycle for computing time and periods; while no such scheme is known to have existed among any people on the American continent. The probability was strong, therefore, that Fu-sang referred to the island of South America, a part of which once belonged to Japan under the name of Karafuto; this conclusion is supported by the old name Fu-shi koku, or kingdom of Fu-sang, which the Japanese employ for their own kingdom even to this day.

The 18th in the list is the kingdom of Women, a country only reported on the authority of the same priest Hwui-shin. It seems to refer to one of the Kurile Islands; and a legend of the same nature is alluded to by Col. Yule, in his Cathay and the Way Thither, as current in Ma Twan-lin’s time.

The notice of the 19th, called the land of Pictured Bodies, is not directly ascribed to Hwui-shin, but to the histories of the same period; it cannot be decided whether tattooing or marking the body with coloured clay like the North American Indians, is meant. This land would naturally be looked for also among the Kurile Islands, as it is placed 2,000 miles north-east of Japan.

The 20th in the list is mentioned by several Chinese authors, and their various accounts of Tu Han only prove that they had no definite idea of its position.

In the next section three separate kingdoms are mentioned: namely, the land of Dwarfs, the Black Teeth Kingdom, and the Naked People’s Land. The notices are all probably hearsay reports of places in the Indian Archipelago.

The 22nd section speaks of a land of Giants, and from the reference in it to Sin-lo, or Eastern Corea, one would look for it in the Islands between that country and Japan. A small Japanese cyclopaedia was shown to the Society, in which a naked giant was represented as holding a richly dressed dwarf standing on his extended palm.

The last of these eastern kingdoms described is Lewchew, but the description confuses the Pescadores and Madji-oo-ain groups with their more easterly and civilized kingdom.

The conclusion to be derived from all these various notices of the lands situated east of China is that Ma Twan-lin had no definite knowledge of any of them from personal observation, and gathered his accounts from the most credible sources at his command, supposing that they were all easily reached by Chinese and Japanese vessels.

The fifth and last paper (99 pages) is by Mr. E. D. Perry on “Indra in the Rig-Veda.” The object of this paper is to give as distinct an account of the god Indra as possible, as he appears in the light shed upon him by the hymns of the Rig-Veda; more especially to determine with accuracy the position held by him in the Vedic pantheon, and his original significance, his Naturbedeutung, i.e. the powers of Nature which lie behind and are symbolized by this striking personification. The preliminary part of the work is of course a searching examination of the hymns themselves, and a conscientious interpretation of all passages in any way bearing upon the subject. Great care is taken to avoid two dangers; on the one hand, that of over-hasty combination and comparison with seeming parallels in extra-Indian mythology; and, on the other, that of following too closely what may be called the ritualistic tendency, which puts these ancient hymns (which breathe out the freshness of nature, and display the Indian people in the vigour of youth) on the same level with the religious monstruosities of a cunning, subtle, ingenious and yet frivolous priesthood of a later age, and attempts to explain obscure points in the text by not less imperfectly understood details of the later ceremonial.¹

The Rig-Veda is the only source from which materials have been thus far drawn. The Brahmanas show so decided an advance beyond Vedic ideas that great confusion would have followed any attempt to combine them. The same reason has often proved disastrous to Alfred Hillebrandt, who is represented in this field by two books, Uber die Gottheit Aditi (Breslau, 1870), and Farawa und Mitra (1877).
prevails with regard to the Yajus. The Sāman contains only 60 or 70 verses not found in the Rik, and these offer nothing of value. A preliminary examination of the Atharvaaa shows that the results to be obtained from it would not differ materially from those furnished by the Rik, and its discussion has been postponed until later.

The essay is divided into four parts, as follows:

I. The primitive conceptions of the Indians regarding Indra, and the powers of nature which are represented under this personification; II. The accounts of Indra's parentage, and the narratives and legends of his birth; III. The functions of Indra in the supernatural and the natural, the physical and the moral world; IV. The conception of Indra as a divine person, and the descriptions of him resulting from this conception.

I. The opinion has prevailed among scholars that Indra was, both in his origin and subsequent development, a sky-god. Roth, in his first published essay on the subject of Indian religion (in Zeller's Theol. Jahrbuch, 1846) calls him the god of the bright clear vault of heaven; Lassen in his Indische Alterthumskundc, takes substantially the same view, differing from Roth only in regard to the etymology of the name. Wuttke failed completely to grasp the true nature of Indra, and saw him only from the standpoint of the later Brahmanic descriptions. Benfey, Müller, Grassmann, and others, call him a sky-god (Grassmann, the god of the bright firmament; others, the god of the rain-sky). Ludwig cautiously names him "the god of the sky, under whose protection and guidance stand on the one hand the sun and stars, on the other the phenomena of the thunder-storm;" and adds that this deity seems to unite in his one person the characteristics of several older deities. Bergaigne, viewing only the ethical side of Indra's nature, maintains that he is less intimately connected with natural phenomena than any other of the Indian deities. It is here attempted to be proved that, for the Vedic period at least Indra is to be regarded, not as a sky-god, but as belonging to a region the conception of which was purely and exclusively Indian—the region of the air, a middle ground between heaven and earth; and that he was above all the personification of the thunder-storm, of the storm in its entire magnificence and grandeur; in which respect he is distinguished from the other storm gods, who represent particular features of that phenomenon.

The most probable derivation of the word Indra is that proposed by Roth: namely, from the root $\text{Indra}$ or $\text{Ir} $, from which the word is formed with the suffix $\text{Indra}$, $\text{Indra}$ being as in Greek $\text{Indra}$, meaning the chief of the deities of the middle region, i.e., the air, between heaven and earth.

Ludwig mentions a Slavonic word, $\text{Indra}$, 'a thunder-storm,' as the only representative of Indra in Indo-European language.

II. The passages in which reference is made to the circumstances of Indra's birth are numerous, much less so those which afford any clue to the subject of his parentage. They are best divided into four groups: viz., 1. physical accounts, i.e., such as display most prominently the original element of the mythus, the immediate impression made by the observation of natural phenomena, in which details that mightiest of phenomena, the thunder-storm, are described, often with striking fidelity; 2. anthropomorphic accounts, in which Indra's original significance in nature gives place to his humanized form and character, and in which, accordingly, his birth is represented as occurring in accordance with human experience; 3. accounts which mention Indra's parentage, but omit to name or characterize sufficiently his parents; and 4. accounts of his origin which are plainly the results of conscious speculation on the part of the priestly. Dyaus or heaven seems to have been thought of as Indra's father, whenever any one particular deity is meant, and as his mother, Prithvi or earth. Later views made him a child of Aditi; but the opinion, advanced by Hillebrandt, that this is to be accepted for the Vedic period too, is quite untenable. In several passages Indra is called $\text{Indra}$, "Son of Might;" accordingly, the name Savata, applied to his mother in two passages, seems merely equivalent to 'the mighty one,' and gives us no real clue. In the puzzling verse x. 101. 12 we find Indra styled "Son of Nish[ti] gri," but the word $\text{Nish[ti] gri}$ is met with nowhere else, and no data are at hand to explain it. Sâya[na], of course, explains it; he makes it equivalent to Aditi.

III. The subject of Indra's functions in the universe is extremely copious, and embraces several questions of equal importance and difficulty. In the various manifestations of his power we find a ground on which he stands in common with other divinities. The most prominent of these manifestations is the battle which he has to fight in the air against the demons who steal the rain and light, and withhold them from mortals; the most gracious act of his goodness the restoration of these blessings to suffering men. His activity in this field brings him into an especially close connection with Trito, concerning whom it is endeavoured to prove that he is an older deity who originally performed the functions of the later Indra, and sank gradually into insignificance before the rising of his deity and the chief solar deity of India!
is praised in grateful language, and gives occasions for associating with him Pishan and the two Aśvins, the divinities of benevolence par excellence among the Indians.

IV. The extraordinary popularity which this robust deity (who in the warlike epic period becomes the supreme unchallenged ruler of the gods) enjoyed among the Indian Aryan was the cause of his being celebrated in the most extravagant language. His personal appearance, his weapons, horses, chariot, his enormous appetite, and still more prodigious thirst, are all described with the minuteness and exaggeration characteristic then, as now, of eastern poetry.

The Proceedings appended to the volume give abstracts of several other papers, and among them that of Prof. Whitney's paper on the Transliteration of Sanskrit, reproduced ante p. 263.

The XIIth volume, published before the preceding, contains Prof. Whitney's Index Verborum to the published of the Atharva-Veda,—a volume that will be specially welcome to Vedic students.


Here is a book the simplest examination of which shows better than any ex professo dissertation whatever could do, to what degree of precision the art of analysing and describing a group of languages has been carried, of following or divining the progressive alterations in them and establishing their affiliation. Twenty years ago, supposing even that the materials on which it is founded had been accessible, the idea of writing on the same plan would not have occurred to any one. The accomplished grammarian who had succeeded in grasping the subject as clearly, would have been obliged in the exposition and at the risk of being understood by only a very few readers, to stop at each step to plan or clear his way, to establish or recall principles, to make digressions and impede his progress with a whole array of general theories. Dr. Hoernle has found the ground better prepared. He has been able to reduce his impedimenta to the strictly necessary, and comprise in 400 pages the historical and comparative grammar of all the modern Aryan idioms of India. His book, which embraces the same geographical and linguistic area as Mr. Beam's, is, in several respects, materially more complete, at the same time the teaching is carried deeper. This is a result which does infinite honour to Dr. Hoernle, but it is also a happy sign of the actual state of linguistic study, that such a result is attainable, without presuming too much on the public.

In order to confine himself within such narrow limits, Dr. Hoernle has necessarily been obliged to compress the lines. The volume has but scant margin and the pages bristle with initials, abbreviations, grammatical terms, designations of languages and dialects, names of authors, titles of Hindu and European works, known or unknown, published or in manuscript, and many contractions—the multitude of which would be troublesome in any other book less intended for patient minute study. By way of compensation, economy is never practised at the cost of essential or really important matters. The examples, and they are innumerable, from the simple form to the developed citation, are all given in Dēvanāgari characters, and from the beginning to the end accompanied by the translation. Although generally sparing of comments, the author does not hesitate to engage in long discussions on particularly obscure or questionable points. But what he has, above all, avoided is to economize in facts. In this respect his book is of astonishing richness. In no other work do we find for all the periods of the history of these languages, the inventory of their grammatical mechanism so complete, from the smallest phonetic peculiarities to the characteristic processes of their syntax.
Thus Dr. Hoernle's grammar, with its highly doctrinal character, is at the same time as much a book of practical instruction as an essentially comparative work could be; and that not only for the Hindi dialect, which forms the groundwork of the exposition, but also for the other varieties of which it treats less directly.

What in reality has enabled Dr. Hoernle to fulfil without accident this plan with such great conciseness is the ingenious and consequently rigorous arrangement of his book, where everything comes in at its proper place, so that the commentary is for the most part contained in the statement itself. His grammar is not in fact the attempt of a beginner. Long before writing it, he had to some extent traced the plan in articles, much criticised at the time of their publication, in the Asiatic Journal of Bengal.1 Later he had shown his ability in a Grammar of the Garwari dialect,2 and, at different times, he had discussed the objections raised to some of his theories.3 This was not less necessary than that long preparation in Banarás itself, the centre and in some measure epitome of the whole of India, to bring out a work so perfectly thought out as that which occupies us, where to the smallest detail, all is foreseen and measured beforehand, and which, although brought out little by little in a Grammar of Eastern Hindi, was certainly constructed entire in the mind of the author before the first line of it was written.

In five sections, subdivided into twelve chapters and a greater number of sub-chapters and 570 paragraphs, Dr. Hoernle treats successively of the alphabets4 and of the phonetics; of suffixes and roots;5 of the flexion of the noun substantive, adjective, noun of number, and pronoun; of the flexion of the verb in all its forms, derived and compound; and lastly, of the indeclinables. A sixth section is reserved for specimens of Eastern Hindi as it is spoken in the environs of Banarás.

It is of this dialect, in fact, the Bhōjpūri, that Dr. Hoernle treats in the first place. He gives a complete grammar of it, perfectly sufficient for the practical acquisition of the language. Following each paragraph and under the title 'affinities,' he then analyses the conformities or divergences which present themselves in comparison with this type in the other dialects of Āryan origin. In the east the different forms of Bangāli and Oriyā, in the north the Himālayan of Garhwal, of Kumaon and of Nepāl; in the west the various forms of western Hindi and further the dialects spoken in Gujarāt, in Sindh and in the Panjab; lastly in the south the Marāṭhi with its subdivisions. The comparative part is methodically distributed throughout the book. The historical portion is arranged in like manner at the end of each paragraph under the title of Derivation and Origin. Dr. Hoernle examines there what the facts are in the archaic forms of the various idioms, when these are accessible in written or traditional works; since with the help of the Prakrits, of the Pāli, and of the language of the more ancient inscriptions, he traces each of them to the Sanskrit, which, in a general way, may be regarded as the common source of them. This part of the book, which is the most interesting from a general linguistic point of view, is one of the most original in it. It is that also which will raise perhaps the most objections. Undoubtedly no one will blame Dr. Hoernle's tendency to explain everything by the Sanskrit. That is a tendency which has been traced in advance; each step forward in the philology of these languages having constantly reduced the number of facts which appeared to demand a different explanation. But it cannot be concealed that some among Dr. Hoernle's derivations are fanciful. No one will be disposed, for example, to recognise in the element ka, which analysis proves or establishes in so many suffixes of derivation or flexion, the representative of the Sanskrit krita. It is necessary, however, to add that Dr. Hoernle has himself taken care, in more than one place, to express reservation; but the positions taken, apparently the most rash, depended on analogies so numerous, on an experience so perfect in all the particulars of this linguistic domain, that a contradiction of which he had not himself recognised and described the possibility would rarely have the chance of being well-founded. As for myself, at least, who have especially to learn from this book, I cannot allow myself to criticise it.

A work thus arranged, supposes a classification and a genealogy of all the languages. This is in fact what he gives us in the introduction. Dr. Hoernle divides these idioms into four principal groups. Eastern group: the Eastern Hindi, Bangāli, and Oriyā; Western group: the Western Hindi, Gujarātī, Sindhi, and Panjabī; Northern group: the Āryan languages of the Himālaya; still more useful if he had replaced the early Alphabets (Maurya, Gupta, Valabhi), a little out of place here, by a more complete series of modern varieties and of the intermediate forms of the medieval ages.

1 For the years 1872, 1873 under the title of Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍān Languages.
4 Dr. Hoernle would have made his Table of Alphabets...
Southern group or Marāṭhī. The Hindi is thus divided between the eastern and western groups, its two branches having more affinity with the Bangāli on the one side, and the Gujarāṭī and Panjābī on the other, than they have to each other. The literary works which have reached us show that each of these groups, now broken up into numerous dialects, formed about the twelfth or thirteenth century only one language. In examining the principal characters of these four languages we perceive that the northern group approaches the western, whilst that of the south is in closer relation with the eastern, and that consequently, at an earlier date of which the Aśoka inscriptions have left us some memento, the four groups were reduced to two, which correspond to the Prākṛta, Sauraseni and Māgadhī—not to the varieties of these names which grammarians speak of (these are literary languages and more or less artificial), but to their common dialects or Apabhramśas; here again it is necessary to understand not the Apabhramśas of the grammarians which are themselves more or less artificial, but the true Apabhramśas which have perished, unless the Pāli has preserved for us the form of one of them. As for the Mahārāṣṭrī, it is a variety of the Sauraseni, that is to say, of the western group; it has nothing but the name in common with the actual Marāṭhī, for which one often finds it pass, and its character on the contrary assigned to the eastern or Māgadhī group. Alongside of these Āryan languages, spoken by Āryans, a certain number of patois have grown up among the non-Āryan populations. These are the dialects termed Pāisāchī, which perished early, and of which the Pāisāchī of the grammarians has preserved us only certain features. These two languages, the vulgar Sauraseni and vulgar Māgadhī, have both come from the west, the more eastern, the Māgadhī having preceded the other, seeing that it has left traces all along the route to the valley of Kabul and even beyond. The other and later, the Sauraseni, has not advanced further towards the east and south than the actual limits of eastern Hindi and Marāṭhī. In their course, they were only different dialects of one language, which, raised to the state of a literary language, is represented by the Sanskrit.

Such, in substance, according to Dr. Hoernle, is the history of the Āryan languages of India. On several points, as for example on that which relates to the respective position of the Mahārāṣṭrī and the Marāṭhī, it is quite new. The whole is charming for, at first sight, it appears simpler and better united than any that has yet appeared. Is it however free from all objection? Without entering into an examination which would carry me too far, and which, to be complete, would encroach on ground where I do not feel myself competent, I ought to say that the conclusions of Dr. Hoernle appear very strong, considering the nature of his data. By the preceding summary alone one may see how many essential terms have disappeared from the series, instead of which he has only suggested approximations, which he himself suspets, and which he inserts as if confident of them. At the commencement Dr. Hoernle goes on solid ground: he has to deal with languages actually spoken; but when he goes back into the past (and that is one objection which, in passing, bears sometimes on his derivations) he deals only with literary languages, or, worse still, with languages which have served as a medium for religious movements. Because the oldest Vaishnava kīrtans are neither in Bangāli nor Hindi but in an idiom which partakes of both, because the western Hindi, Gujarāṭī and Panjābī, are mingled, so to speak, in the poem of Chand, does it follow that there were then only two languages spoken from the mountains of Afghanistan to the Doab, and from the Doab to the Assam Hills? Do even the Aśoka inscriptions really authorise the conclusion that a single idiom reigned at that epoch from the sources of the Jamnā to the mouths of the Ganges? To answer these and other like questions negatively does not upset Dr. Hoernle's historic theory, but it lessens to some extent the rigour, precision and simplicity of it. Besides, do we not know how delicate the classification of dialects is, even when dealing with dialects actually existing? Dr. Hoernle finds for example that the Marāṭhī agrees with the eastern group in four points and with the western group in eight; but the proposition is reversed if we consider the true characteristics, according to him, of the two groups. Marāṭhī then agrees in four points with the Eastern and in only two with the Western group. This is enough to rank it among the Eastern languages, and as Mahārāṣṭrī is ranked among the Western, no relation is allowed between them. Is it necessary to add that there is always something arbitrary and consequently haphazard in this kind

* The name according to Dr. Hoernle is to be regarded as qualitative—the language of the great kingdom.
* The same view indeed, supported by other arguments, have been presented by Dr. Hoernle in the preface to his beautiful edition of Chandā: The Prākrit-Lekhīnakam, or Chandā's Grammar of the Ancient (Araha) Prā"
of calculation? M. Garrez, on the contrary, admits a very close relation between the Mahārāṣṭrī and the Marāṭhī, and his views in this respect, expressed some years ago, have been generally approved, on several occasions particularly by M. Weber. This only shows that there is still a great deal of uncertainty in all this, and that in rendering homage to the vast knowledge and ability with which Dr. Hoernle has constructed this linguistic history of India, it is necessary to temper here and there, with some doubt, the apparent rigour of his demonstrations.

An alphabetical index completes the volume, which facilitates reference. The correction of the press which (in a work like this) is peculiarly difficult, is irreproachable. At least I have only found quite an insignificant number of errors that have escaped the list; for example, p. 6, line 8, virāma in amṛita; p. 35, line 4, infra, dh instead of gh; in the following line, saṁhār ought to be marked with an asterisk; p. 126, line 22, ought to be read śrāfi.

This article was nearly finished when Dr. Hoernle's Grammar was honoured with the Volney prize by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. After such judgement mine is of no value. I am not less happy to congratulate the author on having obtained this high distinction for a work of which I think so highly.

A. Barth.


Mr. Floyer was for many years employed in the Indo-European Telegraph Service on the Coast of Persia and Mekran, and having availed himself of his leave to make excursions from Jask into West Mekran, the Persian Gulf, Bashakard, and through Southern Persia, he has given a most vividly written account of his different journeys in a volume of more than 500 pages, illustrated by a dozen sketches, &c., and a good map, and supplemented by meteorological, linguistic, geographical, botanical, and other appendices of interest. The author is evidently a good linguist, with a fair knowledge of natural history and an accurate observer.

The narrative of the journeys is excellently told, and abounds in amusing incident as well as valuable geographical and ethnographic information. The spelling of proper names is generally correct, though there are a few inconsistencies, as Sīlānt (p. 91) and Tālānt (246) for Tālūt, and three or four others. It is to be regretted that such a book should be issued without an index.

BUDDHA AND EARLY BUDDHISM, by Arthur Lillie (late Regent of Lucknow), with numerous illustrations drawn on wood by the Author. London: Trübner & Co.

Of the many works that have of late years appeared on Buddha and Buddhism, this volume by Mr. Lillie must hold a place by itself as one of the most remarkable jumble of inaccurate information, misunderstood quotations, misrepresented, unfounded assertions, and nonsense, that has issued from the press. If Mr. Ferguson remarks that a particular Buddhist Chaitya cave "resembles" to some extent an early Christian church—pointing out the differences, Mr. Lillie retails it in the form that it is Mr. F.'s "deliberate opinion that the various details of the early Christian basilica, nave, aisle, columns, semi-domed apse, cruciform ground-plan ( ), &c. were borrowed en bloc from the Buddhists" (p. 183). In St. Paul's plain statements (in Colossians, i3, 26) he says Paul "asserts that many years before our gospels were known, he was the minister of a gospel that had been already preached to every creature under heaven" (p. 218).—Buddhism of course! Need we say that a writer like this believes that Woden was Buddha; that Fu-sang of the Chinese is really America, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, and hence that the American aborigines—at least in Mexico—were Buddhists; that the Essenes were Buddhists; that the Therapeutics were Buddhists; and that the Templars, the Rosicrucians, Freemasons, &c., were all of Buddhist origin. The sculptures in the catacombs, too, are Buddhist! But the Buddhist books, according to Mr. Lillie, quite misrepresent Buddha;—he could not have made many converts openly—"his weapon was secrecy";—"the tomb and its c. overshadowing tree, the cave, the mountain, the desert, this was the apparatus that the reformer found ready at hand," and then he proceeds to jumble up the Triad Society, the rites of Freemasonry, Brahmanical ceremonies, Egyptian mysteries, Gnostic superstitions, and Buddhist ritual, in a way confusing enough to turn an ordinary brain.

As one goes on, however, the wonder at the author's misapprehension diminishes,—for when we come to his chapters on Judaism and Christianity, we find a display of the most gross ignorance of both. Truly 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing,' when it leads a man to writing books to display his ignorance. The woodcuts are not badly executed, only, like the letterpress, they sometimes misrepresent the originals; who ever saw Buddha with both his hands wrapped up, as on the frontispiece, or Prajñā Pāramiṭā represented as a Roman girl, as on p. 226?

A photograph of the subjoined copper-plate grant, found at Timānakā, near Bhau- 
nagar, was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, and received by him from Mr. Vajesankan-
kara Gaurisankar of Bhuanagar. The plates measure 10 1/4" by 7 1/8" and are thickened at the edges.

We learn from it that in Āśādha of Śaṁvata 1264, i.e., about the middle of 1207 A.D., the banks of the Śetrañjī river were under the sway of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II. of Aśhīlāpāṭaka, or that he was at least acknowledged as the paramount power in that part of Kāṭhiāvād. Like the grant of the usurper Jayatasaḥha of S. 1280, this one leaves out Bhīmadeva's usual epithets Abhināvasidhārāya and Sampatmachaḥrasavatī, the first of which he bears as early as his grants of S. 1256 and of S. 1263. Each of the two Birudas which Bhīmadeva receives in our grant, Lāṅkēvaranārāyaṇavatā and Rājaḷakshmīvayyavatara, occurs also in another grant. It also mentions the name of his prime minister, Chāchigadeva.

The grant was issued by the Meharā king Jagamalla at Timānakā. Its chief contents are as follows:—Jagamalla established two Līgas at the large town (mukāsthana) of Talajhā, which he named after his parents, and consecrated to them two pieces of land in Kāmbalaūli and Phulasara for the cultivation of which he appointed three husbandmen. The door-keeper Sākhāṣa made three donations, one to be paid to the temple at Talajhā and to the two holy places at Kāmbalaūli and Phulasara, another from his possession in Bālaka to Rāula Uchchadeva for the worship of the new gods, and the third to be paid at Timānakā. Further donations are registered from the merchants of Timānakā, and due to be paid by the same merchants, by the shops of Talajhā, Kāmbalaūli, and Phulasara, and by the Pājāmātya of the province of Timānakā. Rāula Uchchadeva and eight other trustees had to look after the temple and to administer its revenues under the control of a certain Sōbhāraka.

The language of the grant is as bad Sanskrit as that of Arjuna-deva's grant. Many nouns are found uninflected (plate I, l. 12 to 14; plate II, l. 2 f., 11), especially proper names (plate I, l. 8, 14 f.; plate II, l. 4 to 6). Once ḍramaṅkaḥ and ṛṣapaṅkaḫ occur instead of dramaṅka ekāḥ and ṛṣapaṅka ekāḥ (plate II, l. 2 f.). The vulgar form utra is always used for putra.

As regards the writing of the grant, several groups of consonants are very carelessly executed. It is worth mentioning that the old and the new signs for s are both used (plate I, l. 14 f.). Final t is twice written thus: (in etat, plate II, l. 7 and in yuvat, plate II, l. 14). Both letters of the word oṃ in the beginning of the grant have their archaic form-

---

Transcript.
Plate I.

[1] आ II संवं १२६५ वषं ले० आचार शुद्धि २ सोमे जोह श्रीमद्वाहिलग्नक ।
[2] समस्तरावलीसामथकंतमहानान्धितापरमेश्वरपरमेश्वराकुमारपति-।
[3] वरसतयुवविशेषकेन्द्रपहारपल्लकेन्द्रनारायायानात्तकालेकोशीलमयं-

1 The well-known Śetrañjī river which flows past Pali-

2 Published by Mr. H. R. Dhuva (Ind. Ant. vol. XI, p. 71 f.).

3 Chaul. Grants Nos. 3, l. 11.

4 Chaul. Grant No. 3, l. 11.

5 Chaul. Grants Nos. 1, 2, 15.


7 Professor Bühler informs me that the Meharas are the modern Mārs, whose chief seats are in Mervāḍ (Mair-

8 From the Jain chronicles, in Tālādhāvajasa (See Arch. Reports, W. India, vol. II, p. 15. Śatrasajja Māñṣ-

9 Now Kāmlo, W. of Tālajhā.

10 Now Pūlās, S. of Tālajhā.

11 This name lies on the Śetrañjī river in the S. E. of Kāthiāvād. The name is usually but inaccurately spelt Tālajā as in the Trigonometrical Survey Map, &c. According to Professor Bühler, the old name of the town, as found in the Jain chronicles, is Tālādhāvajā. (See Arch. Reports, W. India, vol. II, p. 15. Śatrasajja Māñṣ-

12 Śatrasajja Māñṣ-

13 Now Kāmlo, W. of Tālajhā.

14 As Professor Bühler informs me, Bīlākā, Bālaka, or Bhāl, is the name of the low line of land on the western shore of the Gulf of Cambay (Kambhād).


16 The name Śākhaḍā (l. 1, 2) is joined with the affix ka in order to become declinable (l. 1, 16).

17 Plate I, l. 1, 1 read शुद्धि—L. 3, deka. चाचिरपति ॥
Plate II.

1 [Plate II. L. 2, read चांदः]

2 चांदः looks like चः; the first two syllables of चांदः are doubtful.

3 L. 12, a dot stands over the ज of राजसागर.

4 Plate II. L. 2, read 

5 L. 3, read दुःखि.

6 L. 4, the first द is the same sound as द, and looks like द; the first two syllables of चांदः are doubtful.
Translation.

Oṃ. To-day, on Monday the 2nd day of the light half of Āśādhā of the common (laukika) year Saṁvat 1264; while in famous Aṇaḥi-lapāṭaka the illustrious Bhīmādeva, the self-elected husband of royal fortune, an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa the lord of Lāṅkā,18 who has acquired great majesty (in consequence of) a boon granted to him by) the husband of Uṃ, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, the king of great kings, who is adorned by the whole line of kings (his ancestors), is reigning prosperously and vigorously, and) while (Bhīmādeva’s) prime minister Rāṇaka Śrī-Chāchigadeva, who lives devoted to his lotus-feet, is conducting all the business of the seal relating to the drawing up of documents, &c., at this period the following document (containing) an edict is written here at Timbāṇaka with the consent of the Meharā king Śrī-Jagamalla in the affairs (?) of the door-keeper (pratīṭha) Sākhaḍā for (the attainment of) spiritual merit.

The Meharā king Śrī-Jagamalla caused the two idols Śrī-Chaṇḍarāśvarā and Prāthivideviśvarā to be erected in the large town of Talājha for the spiritual merit of (his father) Chaṇḍarā (who was) the son of the great man (brihatpuruṣa) the Meharā king Āna, and (for the spiritual merit) of his mother the Seṭhāhe queen Prāthividevi. Then, for the expenses of the personal allowance of these two deities, of the offerings of food (required for their) worship, of (the festival on) the day of the full moon, in Chaitra, the Paviti (festival), and the festival of lamps, of the rams (to be sacrificed to the two) Lingas,22 and of the repairs of the temple, and for the annual white-washing, he gave 55—fifty-five—Pāṭhas23 of cultivated and fallow land in the village of Kāmbalaūlī in the eastern direction towards Śunāvadri, and gave 55—fifty-five—Pāṭhas of land alike to the above-mentioned in the village of Phulasa near the village of Kuṇḍhavalli, both (together) 110—one hundred and ten—Pāṭhas. From these (110 pāṭhas) 10—ten—Pāṭhas are to be given to the gardener. And for (his) spiritual merit he gave the following 3—three—men to be cultivators (of the land granted by himself): Saṃsāriyaū the son of the husbandman . . . . and the Paṃchakula Chāṇḍapa the son of the Chālyā, and Chālyā the son of the Kolika7 Ḫārā.

The door-keeper Sākhaḍā also gave from his own pocket29 one hundred Drāmas to be paid yearly in the large town of Talājha and the two other places29 to the gods for (his) spiritual merit. For the worship, etc. of these gods he gave to Rāula Uchhadeva together with his sons and grandsons dra. 1—one Drāma—(to be paid) yearly from each Pādra (?), (which he possessed) in Bāḷaka. And he gave rd. 1—one Rūpaka—(to be paid) daily at the Talapada rent office31 in Timbāṇaka.

This place of worship has to be taken care of29 as long as moon and sun endure by the following eight trustees together with Rāula Uchhadeva: Thakkura Dāhaḍa the son of the Brāhmaṇa Sahadeva (who is) a native of the large town of Talājha, Thakkura Chājha the son of Chājha, Sīlātri the son of Vālaṭa, Kānhaḍa the son of Vādiṭa, Ālaḍa the son of Gogā, Solā the son of Chāhaḍa, Sōme śvara the son of the trader (vyavahārin) Āchā, and Dharaṇīya the son of Vāladāra. These (trustees) have to arrange together all business (concerning the grant). If in the course of time any bad man plunders this place of worship, then these trustees, together with Rāula Uchhadeva, have to protect it by the use of their authority and at the risk of their life. If any one among these does not raise his voice (against an intruder upon the holy

18 i.e. of Bāma—Vishnu.
19 See note 12 on the grant of Arjuna Deva.
20 Comp. line 12 ff. of the grant of Arjuna Deva.
21 This translation of lingorāna is only conjectural.
22 According to Wilson’s Glossary, one pāṭha is equal to 240 square feet.
23 Vahamāna ‘bearing’ and arekaḥmāna ‘not bearing’ (granīt)?
24 The name of the Kutumbika has either been left out originally or scratched out afterwards.
25 See note 12 on the grant of Arjuna Deva.
26 This seems to be the modern Koll which elsewhere appears as Kolaka; it may also be Kailika, ‘a weaver.’
27 Vāstul seems to stand for bhashkar.
28 Vīś, Kāmilo and Phūlāsār.
30 Comp. Chaul. Grant Nos. 6, II, 9, and II, II, 3, where the word is written सरावीया.
31 The substantivādīrā is probably derived from the Gujarāti adjective śaraṇa.
place), the Meharā king Jagamalla will gain the spiritual merit which that man has acquired in three births.

And the merchant (śresthīta) Valahala and all the other merchants23 of Tīmbānaka gave to these gods rū. 1—one Rūpaka—yearly on each shop for the spiritual merit of the Meharā king Śri-Jagamalla. From (this) donation these same trustees have to pay to this god an allowance similar to (that enjoyed by the temples of) Śri-Vardhamānēsvāra, Suīsareśvāra, Sohīnēsvāra, and Śīteśvāra24 (which are situated) behind (the temple of) the two gods Śri-Chāṇḍaresvāra and Pṛithivideviśvāra.

And every merchant in Tīmbānaka has to give to the gods one Drama yearly.

This has been written by the assistant25 Pūnapāka.

As long as sun and moon will rise, as long as mount Meru will stand, as long as the earth will be encircled by the ocean, so long may (this) edict be valid.

And each of the shops in Tālājhā and the two other places has to give one Drama yearly.

And the superintendent (?) of the worship to be performed in the province of Tīmbānaka has to give one Drama yearly.

Many kings have enjoyed the earth, like Sagara. Whose is the earth his is the produce.

Let there be prosperity. This has been engraved by Sau6 Åla đa. Sobhārāka the son of Å Chāṇḍapa26 is the only authority among the trustees.77

FOLKLORE FROM KASHMIR.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.


(Concluded from p. 331.)

No. 8.—FOLKTALE.

The Bear’s Bargain.1

Once upon a time a very old woodman with his very old wife lived in a hut close to the Lambardā2 orchard, so that the boughs of the fruit trees hung over the cottage yard, and if any of the ripe fruit fell into it, the old couple were allowed to eat it.

Now one day the old woman cooked some khipīrī,3 and the khipīrī smelt so good that the old man wanted to eat his dinner at once.

"Not till you’ve brought me a load of wood," said the old woman shaking her head, "after that we shall see."

So the old man set off to the forest and began to hack and to hew with such a will, that he soon had quite a large bundle, and already seemed to smell the khipīrī. Just then a bear happened to pass by. Now, as a rule, bears are good enough fellows, but dreadfully inquisitive; so after saying "As salam 'alaikum"4 the bear asked the woodman what he was doing with such a very big bundle of wood.

"Oh, it is for my wife," said the woodman. "The fact is," he added confidentially, smacking his lips, "she has made such a khipīrī, and if I bring a large bundle of wood, she is sure to give me a large share of it. Oh, you should just smell it or taste it."

At this the bear's mouth began to water.

"Would she give me any if I brought a load of wood?" asked he.

"Perhaps if you brought a very big one," answered the woodman.

23 Mahējana means in Hindi 'a banker, a merchant.'
24 Perhaps these four temples and the temple of Chāṇḍaresvāra and Pṛithivideviśvāra form together the Paścānathā mentioned by Dr. Burgess in his Archaeological Report, vol. II, (1874-75) p. 147.
25 Pārṣad means assistant secretary. The same name occurs also in the 9th line of Arjunadeva's grant.
26 The same name is borne by a different person, plate I, 1, 15.
27 This seems to imply that Sobhārāka was the officer who had to control the Goshthikas.
1 Told by a Kashmiri boy amid roars of laughter round the camp fire at the Tar Sar Lake.—F.A.S. The Tar Sar is one of several lakes in Liderwat below Jālī Marg to the N.E. of Srinagar on the road between Gwāshbrā (Kolahoi) and Westarain. See note No. 2, ante, p. 239. The other lakes are the Sonā Sar, Hāda Sar, Chāṇḍā Sar, and Mār Sa Sar, lake or tank (pool) is not unfrequently seen in place names in the Panjar, e.g. Amrītbar, the Ambrosial Lake; Muskara, the Lake of Salvation, etc. Like the previous tales told by Habib, this one, has a Musulman cast.—R. C. T.
1 Lambardā: lambar is a common corruption of lambardā, literally a man with a number, one who is registered, a man of rank, ordinarily a village headman. He is an English institution, connected principally with the collection of revenue. Fallon, New Hind. Dict. calls him "the registered representative of a coparcenary community, who is responsible for the Government revenue." Shortly, however, he is the village headman, and now-a-days is as much an institution in Northern Indian Native States as in the British Territory.—R. C. T.
4 See preceding tale, p. 319.—R. C. T.
"If I brought six mans?" answer said the crafty woodman, "let us say ten."

"Ten mans is an awful lot," sighed the bear.

"There's saffron in the khichri," said the woodman.

The bear licked his lips. "Very well, go home and tell your wife to keep me some of the khichri. I'll be with you in a trice."

Away went the woodman gleefully to his old wife, and told her how the bear had promised him ten mans of wood for a dish of khichri.

She agreed with him that he had made a good bargain, and so they sat down to dinner with the khichri in a brass pot between them.

"Remember to leave some for the bear," said the woodman to his wife, speaking with his mouth crammed full.

"Certainly, certainly," said she, helping herself to another mouthful.

Then after a time she said, speaking with her mouth full—"My dear, remember the bear."

"Certainly, certainly," said he, taking another handful.

So it went on, till there was not even a grain of rice left in the pot.

"What's to be done now," said the woodman, "it's all your fault for eating too much."

"I like that," answered his wife, "why you ate twice what I did, men always eat more than women."

"No, they don't."

"Yes, they do."

"Well, it's of no use quarrelling about it," said the woodman, "the khichri's gone and the bear won't give us wood."

"Let us look up everything there is to eat in the house, and go and hide ourselves in the garret," said the wife, "then the bear may think we have gone out. He'll rampage a little, no doubt, but ten to one he'll leave the wood, because it will be too much to take it away."

So they locked up all the food there was in the house and hid themselves in the garret.

The bear all this time had been toiling and moiling away at his bundle of wood, which took him much longer to collect than he expected. However, he arrived at last at the woodman's hut, threw down the wood with a crash, and called out—"Here, good folk, is your wood: now give me my khichri."

But no one answered.

"Perhaps they have gone out," thought the bear, "and I shall find the khichri left for me inside."

So he lifted the latch and went in, but never a grain of khichri or anything to eat did he find, though he poked about everywhere. Only the empty khichri pot, which smelled nice, was there. That was all. The bear flew into a great rage, and would have taken his bundle of wood away again, but that it was so heavy.

"I'll take this at any rate," said he, seizing the khichri-pot, "for I'll not go empty-handed."

But as he left the house he caught sight of the Lambardi's fruit-trees hanging over the edge of the yard. His mouth watered at the sight of some golden pears, the first ripe ones of the season, so he clambered over the wall and up the tree, gathered the biggest and ripest he could find, and was just going to eat it, when he thought—"If I take these ripe pears home I shall be able to sell them for ever so much to the other bears. I can eat the unripe ones just as well. They are not really bad, though somewhat sour."

So he went on gathering, eating the green unripe ones, and putting the golden ripe ones into the khichri pot to take home with him, till the pot was quite full. Now all the while the woodman's wife had been watching the bear through a crevice and holding her breath for fear he might find her out, and she held her breath so long, that, being asthmatic and having a cold in her head, she suddenly gave the most tremendous sneeze you ever heard. The bear thought somebody had fired a gun at him, dropped the khichri-pot, and fled to the forest. As luck would have it, the pot fell into the cottage yard, so the woodman and his wife got the khichri, the pot, the wood, and the Lambardi's pears, but the bear got nothing but a stomach-ache from eating unripe fruit.

---

3 The mans, Anglice 'maund' is 40 sers or roughly 80 lbs., so 6 mans would be 48 cwt., and 10 mans which the bear eventually brings would be something over 74 cwt. The exaggeration is made palpable thus: an ordinary camel-load is 4 mans or less than 3 cwt., but camels, if strong, will carry up to 7 mans or 5 cwt. A strong hillman accustomed to the work will carry about 30 sers or 60 lbs. on his back. I have known them carry up 11 mans and more, about 100 lbs.—R. C. T.
NO. 9.—FOLKTALE.

The Two Brothers.¹

Once upon a time there was a king, who had two young sons, that sat in school and learnt what kings' sons ought to know. But while they were still learning, their mother the queen died, and their father the king shortly after married again. Now the new step-mother behaved as step-mothers usually do, and began by degrees to ill-use the poor boys. First she only gave them barley-meal cakes to eat, and then she took to making even these without salt.¹ Then the meal was full of weevils and bad, and so on, till at last she took to beating them, and when they cried she told the king they were peevish and sullen, so he beat them again.

At length the lads agreed that it was high time to seek for some remedy.

"Let us go into the world," said the younger one, "and earn our own living."

"Yes," answered the elder, "let us go at once, and never again eat bread under this roof."

"Not so, brother," replied the younger, who was a youth wise beyond his years, "never leave home with an empty stomach."²

So they ate their bread, bad as it was, and both mounting on one pony set out to seek their fortune.

Now, after they had journeyed some way into the country, they dismantled under a tree, and sat down to rest. By chance a mainá¹ and a parrot were resting on the branches, and quarrelled as to who should have the best place.

"I like your pertinence," said the mainá¹, "pushing and striving to get to the top branch. Why! I am so important a bird, that if any man were to eat me he would become a minister."

"Make room for your better," replied the parrot calmly, "if any man eats me he will become a king."

Hearing these words the brothers instantly drew out their cross-bows and aimed at the same time and the two birds fell dead. But the brothers were so fond of each other that neither would allow he had shot the parrot; even when the birds were cooked and ready to eat the lads were still disputing as to which bird they should eat, till the younger brother said, "we are only wasting time, you are the eldest and must take your right, for it was your fate to be born first."

So the elder brother ate the parrot and the younger the mainá¹, and then they mounted their pony and rode away. They had gone but a short way, however, when the elder brother missed the whip, and saying he had left it under the tree proposed to go back and find it.

"Not so," said the younger prince, "you are king, I am only the minister: it is my place to go and fetch the whip."

¹ The mainá is the Indian starling, *gracula religiosa*, the hill variety of which are good talkers. Parrots and mainá¹ are kept by Natives for their talking powers, and they will not usually suffer them to be killed. They are frequently taught to say "Bhem, Bhem" (the name of God), and then assume a semi-sacred character. The allusion here is very obscure, but I have a verse to the same effect:

Jo nar totá mórkar khāse per ko keth.
Kuchh senāl man na dhare, woh hogh rējā jeth.
Jo mainá¹ ko mār kēṭ, man man raakte ḍhēr,
Kuchh chintā man na kare, woh sadā rahegā wāsr.

Who kills a parrot and eats him under the tree, Should have no doubt in his mind, he will be a great king.

Who kills and eats a mainá¹, let him be patient. Let him not be troubled in his mind, he will be minister for life.

R. C. T.

² Such ideas of primogeniture rights are not altogether opposed to the ideas of the Hindu castes. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti, and among the Thkar of Lahaul, and there is something very like it in Secerā and among the Kāli families of Kāngrā proper. The eldest son has special rights of inheritance all over Kāngrā proper. These rights exist in the mountains side by side with polyandry and the ordinary *pattadakal* (per capita) and *chandāl* (per stripe) systems of inheritance of the Panjāb. See Tupper's *Panjāb Customary Law*, vol. II., pp. 182-92, quoting Lyall's *Settlement Report of the Kāngrā District*.—R. C. T.
"Be it so," said the elder, "but take the pony, for then you will return the more quickly. I meanwhile will go on foot to the town: meet me there."

The younger brother accordingly rode back to the tree, but the snake-demon to whom it belonged had returned to his home in the interval. No sooner had the prince arrived there than the serpent flew at him and killed him. So there the poor prince lay dead at the foot of the tree.

Meanwhile the elder prince arriving at the town found it in a state of great commotion. The king had recently died, and though all the inhabitants had marched past the sacred elephant in file, the animal had not elected any one amongst them to the vacant throne by bowing down before and saluting the lucky individual as he passed. For in this manner were kings elected in that country. So the people were much puzzled what to do, and orders had been issued by the Council that any stranger entering the gates was forthwith to be taken before the elephant to see if the particular animal preferred an alien to a citizen. No sooner, therefore, had the elder prince entered the gates than he was seized by the guards and dragged without much ceremony, for there had been so many disappointments, before the sacred elephant. But this time there was no mistake, and the instant the animal caught sight of the prince it went down on its knees, and began saluting with its trunk in ever such a hurry. So the prince was acknowledged as the rightful king, and there were great rejoicings all over the city.

All this time the younger prince lay dead under the tree, and the king, his brother, after waiting and searching for him in vain, gave him up for lost and appointed another minister. But it so happened that a wise man and his wife came to the tree to fetch water from the fountain which flowed from its roots, for they being wise folk were not afraid of the serpent. Now the wise woman saw the dead lad, and thought she had never seen any one so handsome in her life. She therefore took pity on the lad, and said to her husband—

"You talk much of your wisdom and power, show it me by bringing this dead lad to life."

At first the wise man refused, saying it was beyond his power, but when his wife mocked at him, and called him a humbug, he got angry, and said—

"You shall see, that though I cannot myself bring the boy to life, I have power to make others do the deed."

Then he bid his wife fill her lota* at the fountain, and lo! all the water in the spring ran into the little lota and the fountain was dry. She was much astonished, but the wise man said—

"Bring the lota with you, and come home, you shall see what you shall see."

Now all the serpents that lived in the spring were dreadfully uncomfortable when it dried up, for serpents are thirsty creatures. They bore it for three days, but after that they went in a body to the wise man, and said—

"Tell us what you want, but give us back our spring."

Then the wise man promised to do so if they would restore the prince to life. This they gladly did, and then the wise man emptied the lota, and all the water flowed back to the spring, and the serpents drank and were happy.

The prince on coming to himself fancied he had fallen asleep, and fearing lest his brother should be angry at the delay seized the whip, mounted the pony which all this time had been quietly grazing beside him, and rode off. But in his hurry he took the wrong road, and so it happened that he arrived at quite a different city to the one of which his brother had been made king.

and swung his trunk to and fro, this was taken as a sign that he acknowledged his royalty. He was never ridden except occasionally by the Raja himself. There are two common sayings still in use which commemorate these ideas, "go to Mahārājā dahi dhūrī gaj par saavir. He is indeed King, for he rides the White Elephant." And "Mahārājā dhūrī gajpati ki dharī, ki dharī, 1 claim the protection of the Great King, the Lord of the White Elephant." Aelian Hist. Anim. III. 45, quoting Megasthenes, mentions the white elephant; see M'Crie. phil. Journ. 1891, p. 333, and footnote—R. C. T.

---

* Small brass pot used for drinking purposes all over India. — R. C. T.
It was late in the evening when he arrived, and having no money in his pocket he was at a loss how to get anything to eat. At last he saw a good-natured looking old woman herding goats, and said to her—

"Mother, give me something to eat, and you may have this pony too, for it is yours."

The old woman agreed, and the prince went to live in her house. After a few days he noticed that this old woman was sad, and so he asked her what was the matter.

"The matter is this, my son. In this kingdom there lives a demon," which every day devours one cake, one goat, and one young man, and in consideration of receiving this meal daily he leaves the other inhabitants in peace.

Therefore every day this meal has to be prepared, and it falls to the lot of every inhabitant to prepare it in turn on pain of death. It is my turn to-day. The cake I can make, the goat I have, but where is the young man?"

"But why does not someone kill this demon?" asked the young man.

"Many have tried, and the king has promised half his kingdom and his daughter in marriage to the victor, but all have failed," answered the old woman, weeping bitterly.

"Don't cry, mother," said the prince, "you have been kind to me. Now will I repay your kindness by making part of the demon's dinner."

At first the old woman would not hear of such a thing, but the prince cheered her up, saying, "Don't fear for me, Goody, only make the cake as big as you can, and give me the finest and fattest goat you have."

Accordingly in the evening the prince leading the goat and carrying the cake, the biggest ever seen, went to the tree where the demon came every evening to receive and devour his accustomed dinner. The prince tied the goat to a tree and laid the cake on the ground, but he himself stepped outside the trench, which was dug about the tree, and waited. Very soon the demon appeared, a most frightful monster. Now, as a rule, he generally ate up the young man first, just to slake his appetite, but that evening, seeing the biggest cake and the primest and fattest goat he had ever set eyes on, he could not resist gobbling them up, and just as he was finishing the last mouthful and was looking about for his man's flesh, the prince sprang at him sword in hand. They fought terribly, but at last the prince killed the demon, who, owing to his dinner, was not nearly so active as usual. He then, cut off the demon's head, tied it up in his handkerchief to take as a trophy, and being tired and weary with the combat he lay down and fell fast asleep.

Now every morning a scavenger came to the demon's tree to clear away the remains of last night's feast, for the demon was mighty particular, and could not bear the smell of old bones. Now when the scavenger saw no bones in the usual place he was much astonished, and began to search for them, and there fast asleep he found the prince with the demon's head by his side.

"Ho! ho!" said the scavenger, "now's my chance!"

So he quietly lifted up the prince, put him into a clay-pit close by, and covered him all over with clay. Then he took the demon's head, and went to the king, and claimed half the kingdom and the princess as the reward for slaying the demon.

The king thought something was wrong, but being bound by his promise gave up half his kingdom, making an excuse about his daughter, who, he said, was not desirous of marriage for a year or two longer.

Now it so happened that some potters came to get clay that day from the clay pit, and they were mightily astonished to find a handsome young man still breathing, but insensible, hidden under the clay. They took him home, and gave him to the women, who soon brought him round. He was grateful for their kindness, and hearing from their gossip how the strange scavenger had stept in and defrauded him, he agreed, having nothing better to do, to stop with the potters and learn their trade. This he did so quickly and so cleverly, that the potters soon became famous for the beautiful patterns and excellent workmanship of their

---

* Rakhsana, modern rakhasa; vide tale quoted from Bôjá Rasâli at the end of this one.—R. C. T.

10 Cj. the Sansk. aja-gara, goat-eater, for a big snake or python.—R. C. T.

11 Compare the tale of St. George and the Dragon.—R. C. T.

13 The whole story of this fight with the Rakhsana is more or less a counterpart of a story from the "Adventures of Bôjá Rasâli," given at the end of this tale.
wares; so much so that the story of the young potter found in a clay pit became noised abroad. Nevertheless the young prince, knowing that he had no proof to bring forward in support of it, kept the history of his former life and conquest of the demon to himself, never breathing a word of it to anyone. However, when the rumour of the wonderful young potter found in a clay pit and his still more wonderful cleverness reached the Scavenger king's ears, his bad conscience told him at once who it was, and he determined in some way or other to get rid of the young man.

Now just at that time the fleet of merchant vessels12 which annually came to the city bringing merchandise and spices were detained in harbour by calms and contrary winds. So long were they detained that the merchants feared the delay would prevent their returning within the year. This was a serious matter, so that auguries were consulted and the answer given was that until a human sacrifice13 was made, the vessels would be detained in port. When this answer was reported to the Scavenger King he saw his opportunity, and said to his courtiers—"Be it so. But don't let us sacrifice a citizen. Give the merchants that good-for-nothing potter lad, who comes no one knows whence, and has no relatives."

The courtiers praised the kindness of the Scavenger King, and the prince was handed over to the merchants, who took him on board their ships and prepared to kill him. But he begged and prayed them to wait till evening on the chance of a breeze coming up, but none came. Then the prince took a knife and cut his little finger, and as the first drop of blood flowed forth the sails of the first ship filled with a strong wind, and she glided swiftly over the bar. With the second drop the second ship did likewise, till the whole fleet were sailing before the breeze. The merchants were enchanted, and thinking that in the prince they had a very valuable cargo indeed, they took great care of him, and treated him well.

At length they arrived at another city, which happened to be the very one where the prince's brother was king, and while the merchants went to the bazír they left the prince to watch over the vessels. Now, weary of waiting and watching, the prince, to amuse himself, began to make a model of his father's palace out of the clay on the shore beside him, and growing interested in his work, he modelled and modelled away till he made the most beautiful thing you ever saw. There was the garden, the king on his throne and the courtiers sitting around. There were too the king's sons learning in school and even the very pigeons fluttering round the tower.

When it was finished the prince looked at it, sighing till the tears came into his eyes. Just at that moment the minister's daughter surrounded by her women passed that way. She was wonderstruck at the beautiful model, but still more so at the handsome young man who sat sighing beside it. She went straight home, locked all the doors, and refused to eat, and when her father sent to know what was the matter, she said—"I will neither eat nor drink till you marry me to the young man on the sea-shore, who sits sighing beside a king's palace made of clay."

At first the minister was very angry, but seeing his daughter was determined, and that she would starve herself to death if he did not give way, he consented at last to the marriage. However he privately told the merchants to throw the young man overboard after a day or two and hen to bring his daughter back.

Accordingly a few days after the prince and the minister's daughter had sailed, the merchants pushed the young man overboard, as he was sitting near the prow. It so happened that from the minister's daughter's window in the stern a rope was hanging, and as the prince drifted past he clung to it and climbed up into her cabin. She hid him in her box, where he lay concealed safely. Every day when they

12 This is the part of the tale that seems doubtful as genuine Kashmiri Folklore. It is hard to see how the mountaineers got hold of a sea tale such as this now becomes, except from books.—R. C. T.
brought her food she refused to eat, saying "Leave it with me. Perhaps I may be hungry by and by." Then she shared the meal with her husband.  

The merchants, thinking they had managed the affair very well, took the minister's daughter and her box back to her father, who was very much pleased, and rewarded them handsomely. She too was quite content, and letting her husband out of the box dressed him up as a woman-servant, so that he lived quite securely in the palace. Now the prince had of course told his wife his whole story, and she in return told him how the king of that country had been elected and how she was convinced he was none other than her husband's brother.

Now every day a bouquet was sent to the king from the minister's garden, and one day in the evening, when the prince in his disguise was walking about the flower-beds, he saw the gardener's daughter making up the bouquet, and said to her,—"I will teach you a new fashion."

Then he took the flowers, and tied them together as his father's gardener used to do.

The next morning when the king saw the bouquet, he turned pale, and said to the gardener, who trembled all over with fright—"Who made that bouquet?"

"I did, sire," said the gardener.

"You lie, knave," cried the king, "but go, bring me to-morrow just such another bouquet. If not, your head shall be the forfeit."

Then the gardener's daughter came weeping to the disguised prince, and telling him all, said—"Of your goodness make me yet another bouquet, or my father's head will be cut off."

This the prince willingly did, for he was certain now that the king was his brother, but in the bouquet he put a piece of paper with his name on it.

Now when the king saw the paper, he said to the gardener—"Only tell me the truth and I will forgive you."

Then the gardener confessed that one of the women servants in the minister's palace had made it for his daughter.

The king was much astonished, but bid the gardener's daughter take him with her when she went into the minister's garden to cut flowers. Now the moment the disguised prince saw the king he recognised him, and when the king asked him where he had learnt to tie flowers in that fashion, he replied by telling the history of the brothers as far as meeting with the mainá and parrot. Then he stopped, saying he was tired that day, but would continue the next. The king was on pins and needles of excitement, but was obliged to wait.

The next day the prince told about his conquest of the demon and delivery by the potters. Then he said he was tired, and the king was obliged to wait yet another day, and so on for seven days, till the prince came to his being saved by the minister's daughter, and being disguised as a woman. Then the king fell on his brother's neck and they rejoiced greatly.

And when the minister was told of his daughter's having made such a good marriage, he was so pleased that he voluntarily resigned his office in favour of his son-in-law. So what the mainá and the parrot said came true, and the one brother became king and the other minister.

The first thing the king did was to send ambassadors to the court of the king who owned the country where the demon was killed, telling him the truth of the story, and how his brother being minister did not want half the kingdom. At this the king of that place was so delighted that he begged the minister Prince to accept his daughter as a bride. But the prince said, "No, I am married already, but give her to my brother."

So there were great rejoicings, but the Scavenger King was put to death, as he very well deserved.

Note.

Before relating that part of the "Adventures of Rájá Rájád," which so closely resembles the

with the king's daughter. The harbour-master, however, stops the ships and proceeds to enquire. Meanwhile the merchants hide all the pretty girls they have in boxes, leaving only the ugly ones out. The harbour-master happens to sit on the very box which contains the princess, and asks the owner if there are any more female slaves on board. He answers that he has not hidden any of them, but that the others have, and so lets the cat out of the bag.—R. C. T.
portion of the above tale concerning the killing of the Râkshasa demon or dragon, I will say a few words as to who he was and how his story came into my possession.

Râjâ Râsâlû of Sâlûkot in the Panjâb and his brother Pûran Bhagat may be called the two chief legendary heroes of Panjâb stories. They are popularly called the sons of Sâhilwân or Sâhlân, king of Sâlûkot, who is better known as the great Sâli vâ hâ na, king of the Sâkas or Skythians and the author of the Sâka era commencing from A. D. 78. I am not prepared now to go fully into the probabilities of this legend, but would remark that there is perhaps more truth in it than would at first appear, especially if we are to take Sâlibhâna to be of Takka or Takshaka descent, that is from the people whom Alexander the Great found at Takshila, identified by Cunningham with Shâhderi or Derâ Shâhân near Râwal Pîndi at the foot of the Hazâr Mountains, and not far from the Mayhi (Murree) Sanitarium.

Again, according to the local legends Râjâ Rasalû married the daughter of Râjâ Hodi, whose castle has been identified by some with the Aoros Rock on the Indus assaulted by Alexander, but my legends say variously that Hodi lived at what is now Ajnâlû in the Amritsar district and not far from Lâhor, or that he came from A fûk, but across the river Indus from the Atûk side.11

Rasalû was the hero and Pûran the saint of the two brothers, and their legends differ accordingly to a very great extent.

I have a lithographed version in Panjâbi verse in the alphabetical or pâtî style, of the story of Pûran Bhagat, and I believe there are several other versions in existence, lithographed or printed. Mine is in the Persian character. The story of Râjâ Rasalû has, however, I believe never been printed or indeed previously committed to writing, but some years ago Mr. Delmerick of the Panjâb Commission got a pâtêdîr (village accountant) of the Râwal Pîndi district to take down the tale as repeated and sung in those parts. He had also a translation of it made into Urdû at the same time. Both these MSS. he kindly placed at my disposal, and I had the former copied, and am translating it as fast as my scant leisure will permit. It consists of prose and verse, as is often the case in the genuine folk recitations of the Panjâb. The prose portion is in indifferent Urdû, and I fancy the pâtêdîr has tried to show off in it what learning he possessed. It is therefore of no linguistic value whatever, but the verses he could not mutilate, and they are of the highest philological value, being in the purest dialectic vernacular, the th Panjâbî, as the natives call it. The whole forms a genuine collection of folklore of more than usual interest, as it most probably records the traditions and tales of the most important non-Aryan race that inhabited Northern India in days of yore. The "Adventures of Râjâ Rasalû" are a series of more or less disconnected stories, of which the following is one:—

Râjâ Rasalû and the Râkshasas.

Then Râjâ Rasalû started again on his journeys, and came to Nâlû city,12 and there he saw an old woman making chupâtis, and while she was making them she kept on crying and laughing by turns. So the Râjâ said to her,—"Why do you weep and laugh, mother, while you are making the chupâtis?"

"Why do you ask?" she said, "what good will it be to you to know?"

"Tell me the truth," replied the Râjâ, "I daresay it will do both of us good."

So the old woman told her story, and said:

"I had seven sons, and six of them have been killed one by one by a Râkshasa, and to-day it is the turn of the seventh to go to him. He is the only one that remains, and that is why I laugh and sing and weep, for he too will be killed to-day. And I make the chupâtis, because by the order of the Râjâ of this city the victim of the day has to go to the Râkshasa with a basket of chupâtis and a buffalo, and he eats up the whole lot for his dinner."

Then answered Râjâ Rasalû—

Nâ ro, naîd bholeye; nā asdwâd nhâlakâ:
Tere bête dîwâr maîn sir desîn châ.13

11 Hunter, Imp. Gazetteer of India, vol. VIII, pp. 274-5; Tod, Rajâsthan, Madras Ed. vol. I, pp. 53, 53, 53; McCrindle's Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 111, or Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 237, footnote, quoting Grob's History of Greece, vol. VIII, pp. 437-8 footnotes. However, for an idea of the confusion in which the whole subject is still involved see Hunter vol. VIII, pp. 274-5, and all the authorities he quotes. Compare also his own contradictory accounts of Sâlibhâna and the Sâka era at pp. 273 and 276.

12 I am nearly certain that this is a point not far to the south of Atûk on the Indus on the old road between Feshâwar and the Salt Range where the river is very wide, now known as Bigh Nillâ. See Carefoot's Settlement Report of the Râwal Pîndi District, 1874, p. 16, sec. 55.
Weep not, single-minded mother; shed no tears:
I am going to give my head for your son.
Then the old woman said, "Ah, but who will really risk his life for another?"
"I give you my word of honour," replied Rājā Rasālū, "that I will give my life for your son."
And saying this he got down from off his horse, and sat by the old woman’s bed. Almost immedi-
ately afterwards the Kotwāl of the city came up, and the old woman said to Rājā Rasālū—
Nile ghorendāiyd Rājā, mākā dhāri19, sir pag, Oh jo dekh de dunde, jin khayā sārā jag.20
O Rājā with the dark-grey-horse, bearded in face and turban on head, you see him coming
who has ruined me.

Now the Kotwāl came attended by his usual guards, and Rājā Rasālū said to them— "Leave
off troubling this old woman.

But the Kotwāl said, "It is all very well, but if her son does not come with us at once, the Rākhshās will come into the city and make a fine disturbance, as he will lose the dinner daily appointed for him in consideration of his leaving the city in peace."

When Rājā Rasālū heard this, he said, "I will give myself in place of the old woman’s son." Whereat the Kotwāl’s guards laughed, saying: "This is only a traveller. What has he to do with it." And they began to threaten the old woman’s son. But Rājā Rasālū got on to his horse again, and started off for the Rākhshās’ lair with his basket of chupdīs and the buffalo. The buffalo led him by the straightest road, and as they neared the Rākhshās’ home they met one of them, who was a water-carrier by trade, going along the road with his bag full of water.21

When the water-carrying Rākhshās saw Rājā Rasālū coming along with a horse as well as with the buffalo and the basket of chupdīs he was much pleased to think that that day there would be a horse to eat over and above the usual meal. So he thought within himself that he

might just as well begin eating at once and put his hand into the basket, but Rājā Rasālū chopped it off with one blow of his sword, and the Rākhshās ran off to their friends as fast as he could. And as he was running along with all his might he met the Rākhshās, his sister, who asked him where he was running to. To which he replied, "Rājā Rasālū is coming after us full gallop, and look! he has cut off one of my arms."

When his sister heard this she joined him, and they both went off to the rest of the Rākhshās, saying that Rājā Rasālū had come upon them—
"Nasso bhajo, bhūyo; dekho koi gali! Jehri agg dhoṇkā, so sir te ān bali!
Sūkhanhāri sukā gae; hun layāndi charāhī jāi!
Jiθe sūnū suk kair mile, so jhatpāt karo upāi!
Fly, fly, brethren, wherever you see a way!
A mighty fire is blazing and will burn our heads!

Our fate has come; and now we shall be destroyed!

We must make immediate plans to save ourselves!"

When all the Rākhshās and Rākhshās heard this dreadful news they went to that Rākhshās who was well up in astrology, and asked him to look into his books and to see if Rājā Rasālū had been really born or not. And when they heard that he had been really born they got very frightened, and began to hide themselves in all directions.

Meanwhile great Rājā Rasālū went riding along and reached the Rākhshās’ home. And all the Rākhshās collected together and said to him,—
"Who are you? And why did you disturb our brother and sister on the road?"
Then said Rājā Rasālū—"I am Rājā Rasālū, son of Rājā Sahilwān, and the enemy of the Rākhshās."

But one of the Rākhshās answered him, "I have killed and eaten many Rākhshās like you."
Aiθā mārān gurjān,22 khaθ khaθ karān chāe:
Aiθā sitān wāθeθa, jiθe paθeθ āiθe.

look into his almanac and see if Rājā Rasālū was born or not." For reference as to the really human character of the Rākhshās, see Dusenw. Dict. of Hindi Mythology, e. v. p. 255; Garrett, Classical Dict. of India, e. v. p. 409, and Supplement, e. v. p. 113; Mui, Sanskrit Texts, vol. II, 429; Mcrindle’s Ancient India of Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 23, or Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 118, quoting Schwanbeck’s Megasthenes Indica, pp. 76 et seq.

"Gurjān, a mace, (7) for Pers. gurz: the gurjān is a heavy spiked ball of iron fastened to a short iron rod by a chain. Its object is to reach over the shield of the opponent."
I will so strike you with my mace, that you will be cut in pieces:
I will so throw and hurl it, that you will
be overthrown."

And then all the Râkshasas said to Râjâ Rasâlî, "The true proofs of Râjâ Rasâlî are these. His horse’s heel ropes will bind us, and his sword will cut us in pieces of their own accord."

Then Râjâ Rasâlî loosened the heel-ropes from his saddle, and let the sword drop from his hand, and lo! the heel-ropes began to bind the Râkshasas and the sword to cut them in pieces.

But the Râkshasas said—"There is yet another proof of Râjâ Rasâlî. Seven iron frying-pans must be put one behind the other and the Râjâ must pierce them with an arrow."

So they put seven iron frying-pans together one behind the other, and not only that but seven Râkshasas, who were own brothers, stood one behind the other behind the seven frying-pans. And Râjâ Rasâlî shot an arrow from his bow and pierced the seven frying-pans and the seven Râkshasas as well, and cut off their heads. And the Râkshasi their sister ran away from Râjâ Rasâlî and hid herself in a cave in the Gândgâri mountain. Râjâ Rasâlî followed her and had a statue made of himself clad in full armour, and placed it at the entrance of the cave. After this he returned to the Nâlî city and went into the garden of Râjâ Harirchand."

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES.

13. **Burgat = Brigade = Cantonment.** Lately a low-caste Musulmân Mochî (shoe-maker) used a curious expression in my Court which puzzled all present for a time. When pressed as to the truth of a statement he had made, he said "tamâm Burgat se phêchâd jâve, you may ask the whole Cantonment," meaning of Ambâlî. *Burgat* turned out to be brîgît (accent on first syllable), a common corruption of *Brigade*, and to be used for our *Cantonment* or *Station.* The usual vernacular corruption for this expression is *kaînî* or *kaînî,* from the English "camp," in recollection of times not very long gone by in the Panjâb when all Cantonments were literally camps. *Kaînî* has now become the vernacular official designation of a Cantonment, and is much used in place of the correct Chhâna; for instance, most vernacular petitions relating both to Judicial and Executive matters and nearly all robkârs and other vernacular official letters and documents are addressed to me as "Majistre kaînî Ambâlî" i.e., in Persian characters کُنِی مَکَارل. R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICE.


This account of the Civilization of Eastern Iran in ancient times commences with a carefully detailed description of the present appearance of the countries in which the *Avesta* originated and its doctrine was first promulgated, and then proceeds to examine the manners and customs of the ancient races who accepted that doctrine, so far

35 The word used is *sîkîn,* Arab. for a knife; pl. *sîkâh.* Here it evidently is used for a sword. It is a queer word to find here, and is not, I think, at all in use in the Panjâb, perhaps the pâjârfâri transcriber has used it to show his learning.

36 The word used is *tabq* which is a puzzle, though it evidently means the iron or copper disc used in India for frying. In Persian *têbā* /î/ *têbî* /i/; and perhaps *tabq* /î/ mean a frying pan. In Arabic جلاب tapâq and جلاب tabâq mean a frying pan: the pl. جلاب tapâq oddly enough means "one following another." I do not know that tabq is ever used in Pers. for frying pan. The ordinary words are for Musulmân tabdq and for Hindûs tabâh.

38 Properly the Gandgâri Hills to the north of the Bâwal Pînd District and N. E. of Atak. The footmarks of Râjâ Rasâlî where he stood looking for the Râkshas are still shown by the natives. I cannot say who this was exactly. It is not at all unlikely that he is meant for the renowned Harichandras, but he may be Râjâ Hodî. In another tale, although he does not actually appear to be Râjâ Hodî, he is stated to reside in "Ohendagari..." which I take to be Hodinagari spell in a learned (?) way. It might possibly be Ohind. McCrindle, p. 116 footnote; Hunter, vol. VIII, pp. 23, 29 s. v. Bââlîqat: Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India,* pp. 65-78. I may help enquiry by adding here that during these adventures Rasâlî seems to have lived at Mûrat near Bâwal Pînd in the Khairî Mûrat Hills; Râjâ Harirchand in the Chittar Pahar at Râj Throî; Râjî Sârkap (or Sirkaps) at Kôt Bithânar, near Atak, overlooking the river; Hodî at Ohind opposite Atak on the river. All these places are in the Bâwal Pînd District and other places connected with these legends in the same district are the Mûgardî Pass, Sang Jînû, Gandghar Hills, Bigh Nîlûb and (?) Dûmâl.
tifying the sixteen lands produced by Ahura Mazda and venerated by Angra Mainyu, as detailed in the first fargard of the "Vendidad." The old theory is that these lands are named in the order in which they received the Avesta religion, either by conversion or conquest; but a more recent hypothesis assumes that they are merely enumerated as the lands which had adopted the faith down to a certain date, and that this accounts for the irregular order in which they are mentioned. This is a plausible assertion, but one that hardly bears strict investigation.

An enumeration must be made in some particular order, and if the enumerator does not follow any chronological arrangement, he will most probably adopt the order of the positions in which the things enumerated happen to stand. In other words, a mere enumeration of a number of lands would be likely to mention them in the order in which they were mapped in his mind, and not in any irregular succession. But the growth of religion and conquest is much more irregular in its course, and, after extending some distance in one direction, it will often branch off in a new direction from some point in its earlier course, and two or more such branches may be extending at the same time, so that a chronological statement of their progress would lead to a seemingly irregular succession of names of places.

Thus, having placed Airyana Vaējō on the upper waters of the Zarafshān (which he identifies with the Dāsiya river, said to flow out of that mythic land) Dr. Geiger finds no more difficulty than others before him, in tracing the progress of the Avesta down that river into Sughdā, near Bukhārā, and thence in two branches across the Oxus (which he supposes to be the water of Ardvištra) into Mūrūr (Merv) and Bākhdī (Balḵ), from the latter into Nisāya (near Maimana), and from the former into Harāyū (the province of Herāt). Then by a fresh branch, through the mountain passes, from Bākhdī to Vaḵereta, which the Pahlavi writers identify with Kābul, and thence into Urvā, south of the Kunar river. In the meantime another branch left Mūrūr for Vehrknā, on the Gurān and Atrek rivers, near the south-east angle of the Caspian. Then Harakhwāī, on the Arghandāb, near Qandahār, was occupied from Vaḵereta; and this advance was pressed on into Haṣṭumend, on the lower Hīlmand in Scīstān. After the Vehrknā branch had extended to Raghā (near Tehrān), Chakhrā (which Geiger supposes to have been near Nishāpūr and Mashhad) may have been annexed to Harāyū; but, by placing the next land, Varena, in Tabaristān the author has raised an unnecessary hindrance to the acceptance of the theory he adopts, because, in that case, Varena ought to have been occupied from Vehrknā before the extension to Raghā. This difficulty would be overcome by identifying Varena with Gīlān (as suggested by Haug) which could be occupied in natural sequence from Raghā. Of the last two lands, Hapta Hind, in the extreme north-west of the Panjāb, might have been entered from either Vaḵereta or Urvā, and the plains of Ranghā (if on the Yaxarteś) could have been occupied at any period, early or late, from either of the first two lands mentioned in the "Vendidad."

It appears from these details, which are illustrated by a carefully-drawn map of the whole region described, that the apparent irregularities in the arrangement of the names of these lands are quite consistent with the assumption that they are mentioned in the order in which their inhabitants accepted the Avesta religion. And as half the names are readily identified with the names of places mentioned by Darius in his cuneiform inscriptions, or by Greek writers, and still in use, it seems most probable that the other half are also old names of lands still existing on the earth's surface, and are mythic only in so far as our present knowledge is insufficient to identify them with absolute certainty.

As an effect of the extension of the Avesta religion from east to west, the author shows that certain names of well-remembered mountains, seas, and rivers, were transferred to new localities; much in the same manner as emigrants from Europe to America have transferred many old-world names to their new homes. Thus, the Hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain,' which originally meant the lofty mountains to the east of the Pāmīr plateau, was a name transferred at an early date to the mountains south of the Caspian, hence called Alburz; and the sea Vouru-kasha, 'the wide-shored,' originally the Caspian and Aral, has become the Arabian Sea in the Bandahš, which book endeavours to adapt the old names and traditions of the Avesta to the geographical and scientific knowledge current in Sasanian times.

Not the least interesting and important part of the work is that which treats of the allusions to manners and customs found in the "Avesta," the habits of the people with regard to birth and education, marriage and death, their belief in a future state and spirit-world, their religion, superstitions, and moral condition, their ranks and occupations, their settlements, laws, and government, regarding all which matters the author has collected much useful information, interspersed with many original investigations, the result of his own special studies of the texts.

E. W. West.
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abara, wild tribe</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdallah of Sind</td>
<td>92, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al Raḥman bin Muslim</td>
<td>89, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Al Abī</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd al Raḥman Muslim of Khorāsān</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdūl Ghafr, Akhund of Swāt</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdūl Hasan Kutt Shāh</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdūl Hasan, Padishah</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdūl Rahman Samirī</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayadēva of Dhārā</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayadēvasūrī, Jaina author</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayasthā</td>
<td>242, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhyantarāśiddhi</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abjasamudbhava, — Brahmā, god</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ābu inscription</td>
<td>220f, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ābdūl Manṣūr ʿUmar bin Abd-Allah</td>
<td>90n, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdūl Muslim, 'Abd al Raḥman bin Muslim</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhrāya</td>
<td>129, 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĀchrīyarkaratarāśiddh</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿāchrīyarkaratarpārvēśagya</td>
<td>113, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqāmat, Sumanakāṭa</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhikrīkāṭa, office</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhikrīn, office</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhikr, betel</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĀḍīl Shāh</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīkāṭṭa, betel cutter</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿĀdityavarmā (W. Chalukya).66-68</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥār inscription</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African languages</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agnikōtra</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍhastapakhēśapāya</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhuvālia, name for Kalāl, 117, 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmād of Sind</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airāpata, Nāgā-rajā</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airyana Vaiṣṇo</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altāvādē, village</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajāmel</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajātaśatru, king</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajayapāla (Chaulukya)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajitaśāva, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akālavarsa I.—Krīṣṇa II. (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akālavarsa II.—Krīṣṇa IV. (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar 250, 296-7; convert to Jainism 256; his coinage</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhanda Pantulu</td>
<td>82, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhund of Swāt</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akharapalli</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akshāt</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alakhai, daughter of Chinghiz</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-būrānī</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al ḥakīm bin 'Awānāh al Kalībī</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali 'Āḍīl Shāh</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Idrīsī</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahābād</td>
<td>87,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alakātā Śtra of Ásva-ghoṣa</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali Mardan Khān</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Māmūn</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alor in Sindh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabeta, Hollo's Tables of</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>origin of the Indian 239,</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhalese</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altamsh, Sulṭān</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āma, king</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amāravati, and stūpa...96-98, 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amārachendra, author of Bālā-bhāratā</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amar bin Haṣ bin 'Uṣmān, Harzardar</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amāṭya, office</td>
<td>221, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambakragrāmā, village</td>
<td>157, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambārāshī</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambikā, goddess</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Oriental Society's Journal</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American puzzle</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amatra</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha Buddha</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghavarsa I. and II.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghavarsa III—Kārika III. (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)</td>
<td>109, 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amān bin Mūsā</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr ben 'Abd el-Aziz el-Karsh</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amr ben 'Abd el-Aziz ben Merwān, the Omaiyid</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr bin Muhammad</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Amr bin Musulim a'Bahālī.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anahilkapṭaka, Anahillapu-pāṭana, cap. of Gujarāt</td>
<td>72, 242n, 244, 253, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāleśvara, god</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anamaknū inscription</td>
<td>39f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandagiri's Śaṅkaravijaya</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandapura, in Gujarāt</td>
<td>101, 107, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandāśtri, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandavimala, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ananta</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anārśingh Jodhā—Narasimha</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anārādēśa</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson's Indian Reminiscences</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhras</td>
<td>199, 257-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angabhāga</td>
<td>274n, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André at Bēzāwāda</td>
<td>82, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjanya</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anmaknūda, Anmakunḍā, city</td>
<td>9, 12, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annavāta of Amarāvati</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant—the white</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anmakūnda, city</td>
<td>10, 11, 17, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aornos, rock</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparānta, Aparantaka—Western coast</td>
<td>24, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollonius of Tyana</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apology of al Kindi</td>
<td>298-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭa</td>
<td>48n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab of Sind, coins</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arahagutta</td>
<td>28-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranyakūṇḍa</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arasimha, author of Sukra-Saṇkārtana</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbuda, Mt.</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardhamsaadhān language</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arvīrātra, riv</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkeṣari, king</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariaṣṭa</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjunadēva (Chaulukya), grant of</td>
<td>241-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arṇorāja</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Abbreviations, as in former volumes.
INDEX.

'Araum.-Sarakúpa, 293
Arsalan, king, 280n
Áryá, goddess, 104
Áryabhata, 322
Áryakula family, 310
Áryá-Mahágíri, Jaina súri, 246
Áryarakhita, Jainas, 247, 252
Árya-Suhasin, Jaina súri, 246
Asaf Khán, 136
Asán, country, 266
Asaanga Bódhisattva, 49
Áśádhácharáya, Jaina, 246
Asrafi Khán, 137
ashtádeví, 103
Asian Societies, 293, 330f
Ásoka inscriptions, 335
dháma, 221
así, 86
Asuras, g, 234
Áśvaghośa Ayusmat, 48, 49
eśamédha, 67, 271
Áśvamitra, Jaina saint, 246
Ásvins, gods, 333
Áatak, on the Indus, 232 & n., tale of, 296
Átithi, 162
Atulanátha, god, 222
Aurangzeb, 34, 82
Avani inscription, 125
Avanti Ujjaini, 71, 222, 247
Avantisukumála, 246
Ávarasála Sañghárama, 95, 96, 238
dvesaní, artisan, 258n
Ávesta, 349
ayaka, 258
dyukdaka, office, 159

Báb Ús, 119, 120
Babylonian contract tablets, 239
Badaves or Gangaputas of Panjáhpur, 155
Bagasará, village in Gujarát, 101
Baghdád, engraved stone from, 223f
Bágdí beggars, 24
baháští, 117, 118
Bahrám Gor, 285n
Bahula, Jaina saint, 251
Bákhádi, Balkh, 350
"bakisár" 297
Baktro-Páli inscription at Sui-
bhára, 123f
Baláka district, 337, 339
balant chudd, 46
Baláqari, historian of Sind, 89
Balhará, 38, 93
ból, 114

Balissaha, Jaina saint, 251
báliya, 274
Ballála (Hoysala), 10
Ballíváve, cíty, 10
Bálsantáshi sect, 24
Baluchiast (Unexplored), by Foyer, 336
Báça, 252
Bánámáthi beggars, 24
Bánavási, city, 274
bangle-sellers, 45
" different kinds of, 46
Bánya kingdom, 90
Bánsá Ráni, 39, 43
Bañu-Dáud of Sind, 92
Bañu-Umar of Sind, 92, 93
Bappabhašáti, Jaina, 253
bávráddhi, 268
Bárákzai family, 122
Báqapáq, 291n
'Baremín, nickname, 119
bávrápadáya, reckon, 321f
Barth's Religions of India, 175
"Revue de l'Histoire des Religions", 240
Bashir bin Dádú, 90
Báshpa letters, 77
bástinado among the Mongols, 194
Baudhálas in Bhojásáda, 247
Bávéláva, god, 245
Báwá, name for Lakírfarosh, 117
Báwarí, Panjab tribe, 32, 41, 42
Bayley, Sir E. C., on numerals, 299,
300
Bear's bargain, 340
beggar's of Bombay, 22f, 44f, 141f,
172f
Béki—Mongol title, 137, 140
Belgutei, Mongol, 135
Bélár grant, 10
Bengal Asiatic Journal, 336
Bengal coins, 327
Bértin on the formation of the Semitic Tenses, 299
Bestiary, an Oriental, 86
betelnut, 24
Beviní uqíjí, 122-3
Bélawája, 82, 95, 237
bhanda, o., 29
Bhadrábhínu, Jaina Yugaspra-
dhana, 246
Bhadráchellam, legend of, 82
Bhadragupta, Jaina súri, 252
Bhagats, 38
Bhagat, name for Sáis, 117
Bhá—Sikh holy man, 118
bháttí, faith, devotion, 59, 63, 153
Bhakti, faith, devotion, 59, 63, 153
Bhakti, faith, devotion, 59, 63, 153
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brick, large</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brigade-burgat</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brijaspati, the 12-year cycle of 321ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>258-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha and Early Buddhism by A. Lillie</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist, Jain convert</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist, 116, 178; among the Uighurs, in China, 294-5; in Tibet, etc.</td>
<td>377f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism—Hibbert Lectures</td>
<td>300f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist caves in Afghanistan</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist shrine originally at Panjsharpar</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist saint worship, by A. Lillie</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buirak Khan, Mongol</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundelkhand, History of the brigades</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burgat-brigade</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bûrâ and Bûda</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese language</td>
<td>171f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burutu</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butter-men</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo gates</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calico printers</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camels—white</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canal song</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carileye’s Archaeol. Report</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpini</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châchiga-deva</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chagdo, king of Sindh</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaitra</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaitiya</td>
<td>207f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitayavāsin, sect</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakan the Tungsin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakhra, city</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaulukya, chaulyga</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaulukyas, Early, 60th; Eastern, 15th; Western, 60th, 111, 114, 124, 126, 126, 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châlukyas, West</td>
<td>10, 11, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channâr caste</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champakamalati of Kuntala</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channuka’s death</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châmuñjârâja (Chaul.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chândâlas</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandel inscriptions</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandella dynasty</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandoli caste</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandikâ</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandîsa, Siva</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrika, Jainasîri</td>
<td>247, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrabhâgî, riv.</td>
<td>152, 155, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragutta—Renukâ Amâ mat</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrabâhaya</td>
<td>84-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrasékharâ, Jainasîri</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrávâti, in Gujarât</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ang Te</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channa Bodhisatwa</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapalâ sect</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles II, coins of</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charm for headache</td>
<td>38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* acrovertisans, bit</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* acrovertisans, bit</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* toothache</td>
<td>38-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* charu</td>
<td>114, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* châtyâ</td>
<td>57, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturâna, Brahâma, g.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaturvedin, chaturvedya</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaudhri caste</td>
<td>118, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaulyga</td>
<td>102, 221, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaulukyas, 71, 73, 220, 241, 337</td>
<td>337f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châhuârîjârâvâra, god</td>
<td>339, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chêli</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherumân Perumâl</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chess—the knights’ tour</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>châtîya</td>
<td>285-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châjâja Singhâ</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatâpâni sharperians</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbâ, washerman caste</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittur, city</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chittur—an old shoe</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinghiz Khan &amp;c. 76f, 132f, 134-6, 189f, 275f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrakûta</td>
<td>21, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrapurâ, Chitrojâ Brahâmans</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrârâ</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chôjas, Chôjas</td>
<td>10, 11, 18, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chôjôdâya, king</td>
<td>11, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronological Tables by R. Sewell</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chronology of the Mongols</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>châdî—top-knot</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>châtî—tresses</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chûrâhas, Panjâb sweeper tribe</td>
<td>32, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clan names</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* cobly mash</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocoa-nut juice</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sellers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>code of Chinghiz Khan</td>
<td>192f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coinages of the East India</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coins of Arabs in Sind</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Arabs</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* of Bengal</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* of Kharbâci</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* of the Sikhs</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copperplates, Chaulukya</td>
<td>71, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râshtrâkûta</td>
<td>108, 109, 125, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copperplates, W. Chalukya</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valabhî</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copper pot sellers</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corruptions of English words</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmogonic Hymn of the Rigveda</td>
<td>261f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton-cleaners</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criers of Bombay</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow-language</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham (Gen.) on the Gupta era</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curry-stuff</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cust on African languages</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabhoi, Darbhâvatî, in Gujarât</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâdâ, honorific name</td>
<td>119, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daisius, Daïsika, month</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairusûn</td>
<td>78, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daityas</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dãitya, riv.</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakot Josîs</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daksha</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal lake, near Srinagar</td>
<td>230, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâlu-râi, King of Sindh</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâmâjî</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damana, Sûbâhâra</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damsârâpâya</td>
<td>274n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâmâtrâta âchârya</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dânapala</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dânâkâld</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dânâvas, giants</td>
<td>234, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daûjâhpâthaka, district</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danjâcât process ion</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandi sect</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandivâlî beggars</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandukâvalî beggars</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dângîlî beggars</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dantidurga (Râsh.)</td>
<td>109, 110, 111, 114, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dântigâ (? Pallava)</td>
<td>126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dantivarmâ I. (Râsh.)</td>
<td>109, 110, 111, 114-15, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daphlas, tribe</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbhâvatî, Dabhoi</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkhat clan</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daşâpura, town</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâsarâthî</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daśārâthî</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dates in figures 12, 71, 107, 221, 274, 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* in numerical symbols 258-9, 309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* in words 71, 112, 126, 159, 310</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dattātraya, god</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dādū bin Yazid bin Hatim</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davūr beggars</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davūds' Hibbert Lectures</td>
<td>300f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēgula</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Laet, author</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deogarh inscription</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deoli beggars</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēlu</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēśamandala of Dhanapāla</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēva, Jainā sama</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēdvāya</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvānanda, Jainā sama</td>
<td>247, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēnaputra</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvāryā of Vijayanagara</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvardhdiganjaksamārama</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēva Rāpaśri, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvasundara, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvasāri, Jainā sama</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvēndra, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammillma, father of Sudharman</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanītakāta, Dhanakāta</td>
<td>95f, 97, 237f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanapāla, author of the Dēśamandala</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēhanvādāpura or Dhanakāta</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharā, city</td>
<td>108, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharanikotā, town</td>
<td>97, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharāvaraha, Dhruva (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>109, 125, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharāvaraha, Mājanālīka of Chandrāvaśi</td>
<td>220, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma, a sage</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmahosha, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmahari</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmakirti, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmaprabhāsa, a Buddha</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhūtukiya of Pūrṇa</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīhaulakak, Dīholka in Gujārāt</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōkato</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīholka in Gujārāt</td>
<td>99, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīhra, Dhruva (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>109, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126, 156, 160, 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruva, Ś 65; and see Dhūra</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhūrā, vill</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diamonds and precious stones</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digambara Jainas</td>
<td>247, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīksita</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīlāwar, town in Sindh</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīlīwar Khān, Afghan brigand</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinna, Jainā sūri</td>
<td>247, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīt, wif of Kāsiyāya</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvārapati, office</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dohāi, mercy!</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōhalikā, village</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dombrā sect</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domma, king</td>
<td>10, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūrīvāla beggars</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dras, sculptured stone at</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīsākṣāthārata</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūpidos (Dūd-pū) or Shinjus.</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulchē Rām of Jesalmir</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbalkūpāshpatmastra Jainā</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbalkūpāshpa Jainā sūri</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgāprabodhāvyākhyā of</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jina-prabodha</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbalabha (Chaulukya), 71</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durvāsaś</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durvōdha</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dushābuddhi</td>
<td>84, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōtaka, office</td>
<td>72, 159, 305, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūvāsia</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvāsia</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East India Company's coinsages</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastwick's Gulistan</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eclipse, lunar</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edges of copperplates fashioned with rims</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; turned up into rims</td>
<td>66, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edgew of copperplates without rims</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgren on Verbal Sanskrit roots</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; on the relation of palatal and labial vowels</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekasāla—Worangal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eōri</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekāna of Paithān</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elāpātra Nāgarāja</td>
<td>50, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elāpātra, city or hill-fort</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?) Elura</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant, white</td>
<td>343n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emblems on seals of grants 68, 110, 126, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; on stone-tablets</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Eurowora, spectres</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erāpātra—Elāpātra</td>
<td>50, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchanges in the 17th century</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter-book</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falcons</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farīd façra in the Panjab</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farīdivož and Farīd Sēqh</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furū ma</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fāzī bin Māfīn</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firozpur canal</td>
<td>166-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish-curing at the Maldives</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyer's Unexplored Baluchistan</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore from Kashmir: 1. Ali Mardān Khān and the snakewoman</td>
<td>230f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ghāshbārāt and Westarwn</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the springs came to Kashmir</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Yech</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fattekh Khān, the valiant weaver</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Prince Bahram Gōr and the faery Shāhpand</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Tiger and the Farmer's wife</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The bear's bargain</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The two brothers</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore from the Panjāb—continued from vol. x</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sāsāi charms</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. The king with seven sons</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. The song of the canal</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Death and burial of poor Hensparrow</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. The Rat's welding</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. A Story of Heroes</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of Chandrāhāya</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of Lonān, the wife of Sālivāhana</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeland on two Arabic poems</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-sang, by Dr. Wells Williams</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gachhas, the 84 of the Jainas</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadag inscription</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gajendra</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gajma beggars</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāmudās</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṃuṇḍebe, queen (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>126-127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṇḍadeva, Chandel king</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṇḍjasār-Parvānrāhādara, 242, 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandgari hills</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandhada ṇudiy</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṇḍhēla or Gaṇḍhila, wandering caste</td>
<td>41, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandēra</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganges</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangābal lake</td>
<td>331 &amp; n. 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gang-po, Pūrṇa, q. v.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganiukā</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardabhilla</td>
<td>247, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Entry</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gargā, date of</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garść, people</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garudi jugglers</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gātra</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauḍian country</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauḍian Languages, Grammar of, by Dr. Hoernle</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama Indrabhūti</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautamarka, Nāga king</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautamārī or Gāḍāvārī river</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genam or family names</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genealogy of the Ghaṇavides</td>
<td>285n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghōsā bin ’Abād</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghoralā, ass</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girīda, -Siva</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūbānātha</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūhāla</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūkāra, k.</td>
<td>11, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goonetilleke on the American puzzle</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopāla beggar</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōpalpur near Pandharpur</td>
<td>153, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopānna (Rāmādā) Pēshkār of Kammamett</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōparāja</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōr, the potter</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōrakhnātha</td>
<td>34, 35, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorava</td>
<td>126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goshtika</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōtamiputra II. (Andhra)</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōtra-Bhanasālika</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhādvāja</td>
<td>16, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhārava</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōhittharā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamma</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhājāhāda</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōpālā</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elāpaṭyā</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangadharchōpālā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gārgya</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humādā</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmaya</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōka-lāchōpālā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōchābhūrā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōtīyā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānava</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandgalya</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūthalīyabhabhāra</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārashā</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribāja</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setha</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utkōtā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaijāvāya</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśāṣṭha</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvinda, king</td>
<td>10, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvinda I. (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>109, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvinda II. (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>109, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvinda III.</td>
<td>10, 109, 11, 125-127, 156-62; Gōvinda IV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvindāmbā, queen (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvinda, -Gōvinda III. (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>126-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grāmakātā, office</td>
<td>114, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar (Comp.) of the Gauḍian Languages, by Dr. Hoernle</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffiths’ Yāsauf and Zulaikha</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūgā, saint</td>
<td>33-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat inscription of Arjunanādeva</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujījiga, king</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gukja, Mongol, killed</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgānpode inscription</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūlīstā, by Eastwick</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua change</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūjaratana, Jaina author</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūjā inscription</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūjā, king</td>
<td>10, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūjā, village</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūptas</td>
<td>310, 321f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūpta era, initial point</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūpta (Śiv.), Jaina sūri</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurdeva</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurban, princess</td>
<td>76, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur-de-dara, shrine in the Panjāb</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjad, a mace</td>
<td>348n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjaras</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōsābhārī, Mt. in Kāshmir</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habīb ben el-Aswad family</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habīb bin Muhallab</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haetumend</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamadsh, translations from</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampa or Pampa, a poet</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansa, Jaina saint</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hara-Siva</td>
<td>113, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hara-berezaitsi</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harakhvān</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari-Vishnu</td>
<td>16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haribhadra, Jaina author</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haribhadrasūri, Jaina saint</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harichand, rāja</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harisptupras</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariṣṭātal temple inscription</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariva, Harshavadhana, k. 68, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harshagai, author of Vastupālīdarā</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haskell on accentuation of the Vocative</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasta, king</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastin, king</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa language</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headache—charm for</td>
<td>38-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmāchandrasūri, Jaina saint</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmāćpant</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmāvimala, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henotheism of the Veda</td>
<td>146f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēnamb—Gagapati, g.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herūya, co.</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hia, king of</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hībber Lectures, by T. W.</td>
<td>300f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhys. Davids</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijāj bin Yāsauf</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijāè—camucha</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himāvān, Mt.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindulaw, by V. N. Mandlik</td>
<td>50f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiranyagarbha—Brahma</td>
<td>63, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiravijaya, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hrishān bin 'Armuṇal'Tuğhabhi</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiwan Tasaq</td>
<td>95, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosi-hu alphabet</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoernle’s Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian languages</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hog</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holar beggar</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holle’s Tabel van Oud-en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific names in the Panjāb</td>
<td>117f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosarajal, village</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospitality, Mongol</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoyaśas</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humaŷun, village</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humcha, village</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hung-šon temple</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter’s Gazetteer</td>
<td>87-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurmus, town</td>
<td>242, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huvishka, king</td>
<td>123, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymn—Rigveda, x</td>
<td>261f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Khurdadbeh</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim I. of Bijapur</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice hawkers</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iddhatējās—Dhruva (Rāsh.)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikhāku, Iksakhāku, family</td>
<td>245, 257-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian alphabet, origin of</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; exchanges</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; silver and gold</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; oath—nose rubbing</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Religions, by A. Barth</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Chinese languages</td>
<td>177f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra in the Rigveda</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra I. (Rāsh.), 109; Indra II., 109, 110, 114; Indra III. &amp; IV. 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indradāna, Jaina sūri ... 247, 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indranīlādīr hill ... 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus, river ... 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indutilaka, Śiva ... 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions by Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E. ... 256f, 305f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by Dr. Cartellieri, Vienna ... 220f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by H.H. Druva 71f 96f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by J. F. Fleet, 9f, 66f, 108f, 124f, 156f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle ... 25f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by Dr. E. Hul-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzsch ... 241f, 309f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by Pandit Bhag-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avānālā Indrajit 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamba, at Siddhā-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur by K. B. Pāṭhak ... 273f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by E. Rehacek ... 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... by Dr. E.W. West 223f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Chandela ... 326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ísa, Śiva ... 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isāpāliita, Rishihāpāliita ... 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issathassa-pañha ... 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob’s Hindu Pantheism ... 116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagachchandra, Jaina saint ... 254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagaddēva (Śāntara) ... 10, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadēkamallā II, (W. Chāl.) ... 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadṛ德拉 I., Gōvinda III. ... 109, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rāś.) ... 109, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. (Rāsh.) ... 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jagoṇabbaṇḍaṇa, title ... 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagatunga I., Gōvinda III. ... 109, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rāsh.) ... 109, II. (Rāsh.) ... 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaggayaṇapeṭa stōpa inscript. ... 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiswāra caste ... 125, 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jākabbe, Jākaladevī, queen (Rāsh. and W. Chāl.) ... 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalālūdi, din Khārizmi ... 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamadagnī, &amp; Jāmadagnya ... 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jama’dar, hon. name ... 118-20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamāḷī ... 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambē, last Kevalin ... 246, 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāmi’s Yāsūn and Zulakkha ... 306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janaṇa ... 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jānakī ... 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasdrūl ... 286n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāt tribe ... 42, 165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jātakamālī ... 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhād ... 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāvada, Jaina ... 247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayadēva, Jaina sūri ... 247, 252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayānanda, Jaina sūri, 247, 252, 255</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayāng Khaṇ’s defeat ... 76, 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayanta, g ... 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimha Siddharāja (Chnsl.) ... 71,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayavarmanedā (Chadel) ... 327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayanta, g ... 287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jethi beggars ... 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhāmpāṇi ... 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhārā, a broom ... 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhālamālīta ... 241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihar ... 310</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jina ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinabhadra, Jaina sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaḥbhakti, Jaina sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaḥchandra, Jaina sūris ... 243-50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaḥamsa, sūri ... 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaḥarasa, sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇkasala, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇalabdhī, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīnadayā ... 68, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇalubha, Jaina sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇamāḷika, sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇapadma, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇapati, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇaprabodha, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇaratna, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇarāja, two Jaina sūris. 249, 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇasumudra, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇasankha, sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇasimha, sūri ... 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇavallabha, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇavardhika, sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇḍara ... 68, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇḍarabhaṇana ... 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇḍavaṇa, Jaina saint ... 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīna ... 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinaṇodaya, Jaina sūri ... 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihanū, Indra, g ... 17, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīnānādeva, Jīnāṇēvara, Maṇ-ṭhī poet ... 23, 59, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīnānāsagāra, Jaina sūri ... 255</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīnānēstha ... 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johāri beggars ... 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōla, kingdom ... 288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal of Asiatic Societies. ... 326f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julāhā, weaver caste ... 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julg’s Mongolian researches ... 299</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junald bin 'Abd al raḥman ... 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Marri ... 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter’s 60-year and 12-year cycles ... 321f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurchidai, Mongol ... 113, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvendi ... 137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyotisaka Vēdāṅga ... 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabali mas ... 294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābir ... 33, 59, 61, 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāchā, bodice ... 39, 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāffā, village ... 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamba, Kādambo, kādamba ... 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadamba ... 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādambas of Goa ... 10, 273-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākātyya, Kākātyya ... 9ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākhyen language ... 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākināda, town ... 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakka, Kar’s I. (Rāsh.), 199, 113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. &amp; III. (Rāsh.) ... 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākalka, Kākka III. (Rāsh.) ... 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākakapūja ... 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālāka, Jaina saint 247, 251, 252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālāl, liquor-seller ... 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāli, g ... 161, 222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālibhāṣā ... 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālidāsa ... 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālinga, dist. ... 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalīvalabbha, — Dhruba, Rāsha ... 125, 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalīyug ... 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalpatāllī, creeper ... 193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalubilī mas ... 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāma, god ... 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmbō, cultivator caste ... 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammakka, country ... 258-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamvalau, vill. ... 337-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaṭā Dāga ... 82, 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakamuni, a Buddh ... 293</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakakha-Sambhu, Śiva ... 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakhala tirtha on Abū ... 220, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandarpa ... 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kappāṭītīdaya—Chōja ... 12, 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇīchī, city, 11, 19, 111, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125n, 197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāḍurī, waterpot ... 281 ff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka, king ... 128-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōndrē ... 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōṇḍikāpatkābandha ... 16ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpdi beggars ... 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapilavastu, town ... 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kappadavanajagrāma in Gu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarāt ... 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapāntiṭi Rājas ... 117, 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kār, a charmed circle ... 35-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karahāṭaka, city ... 110, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara Khitai, Mongol, 76, 279-81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karandivadejañhatadūlāvādā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?), village ... 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karen language</td>
<td>177f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karka, Karkara—see Kakka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karluks</td>
<td>281-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karma</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karmagalur, village</td>
<td>69, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna</td>
<td>17, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna I. (Chaul)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnatak, country</td>
<td>111, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnavati, princess of Udaipur</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnul plates</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttikāyā, g.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāta, country</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭāntra grammar</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasādār, kingdom</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasmir Folklore—see Folklore.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśyapa Buddha</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśyapa gotra</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kātyāyana</td>
<td>54, 123-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kausalyā</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay, on the gates of Al-Kāhirah (Cairo)</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemkemchi country</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kērāla country</td>
<td>88, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēpli, Maina</td>
<td>391-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēsara, g.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēṭa or Kētayamalla Mantri</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadgāvalōka,—Dantidurga (Rāshh.)</td>
<td>110, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaṣa, title</td>
<td>133, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalīla, name for Darzi</td>
<td>118, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamtī tribe</td>
<td>266-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaṇ, title</td>
<td>136, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaṇ-i-Alam</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaṇ-i-Khanan</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaṇ-i-Zeman</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaṇam khaṭeṣ, begum</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khapūṭa, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharataragachha</td>
<td>345, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharība, dīl, coins of</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāṣicas</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāṣirma, g.</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khējanagara, town</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikīri</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khilmār, khilmatgar</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrīm</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khotīga (Rāshh)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khubilai Khakan</td>
<td>77, 282, 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khudīdar, Mongol</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khulang Khān</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khulan Mirkit, wife of Chinghis Khān</td>
<td>78-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khyen language</td>
<td>177f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingemill on the Intercourse of China and Turkistan</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirkhī, atom</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirghises</td>
<td>276-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirghiz Kazaks</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirttana</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttigiri fort</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttivarman I. (Early Chal.)</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttivarman II. (Chal.)</td>
<td>111, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttivarman II. or III. (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>126-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttivarmanādēva (Chandella)</td>
<td>311, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirttivarmanādēva, in Kāṭhikādāj, Pra-ṣaṭis on a stone table at...</td>
<td>98f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koell on Tartar and Turk</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol, kōkita, sydama</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köke Mongols</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolhāti beggars</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollam Amūn era</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konkana country</td>
<td>274, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koppāra, d</td>
<td>110, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōsala country</td>
<td>21, 47, 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōṭēvāra,—Śiva</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōṭikagachha,—Nīrgrantha</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koṭi, koṭi, kāṭa, syāna</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kratuchchhanda Buddha</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krisnā, g.</td>
<td>148, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krisnā, Nāga king</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krisnā I. (Rāshh.)</td>
<td>109, 124, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. and III.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>109-110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriṣṇaṇāmaṇiḥta</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇaṇambat Joshi, founder of the Māhāvāsas</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇapūra or Kṛṣṇorā Brah- mans</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇavēdi river</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛtaya</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubāchah</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubāh</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukā tribe</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukā</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuk enam</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulamśa</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāralabha, founder of the Sutantikā School</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumārapāla (Chaul.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhalamūr, fort</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhasamudhava</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudhāvalli, vill.</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūkśu sellers</td>
<td>142-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunkunādēva, Konkanā</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuntalapura</td>
<td>84, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunit</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrēchapsugachha</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrech-tippa, stūpa</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuriltai</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūsilān</td>
<td>66-7, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutb Shāh</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutbū-dīn</td>
<td>285n, 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvalayásvaracharita</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layhādevṛṣayagkharataravāc- ḱhā</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layhā-Aryasiddhānta, date of the...</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laya chuddi</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣhurāṭgīr inscription</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣhūni, goddess</td>
<td>19, 104, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣhūni, queen (Rāshh.)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣhmisarāga, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāla, kingdom</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāla, Lālbehīg honor. names</td>
<td>119, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāl Beg, birth of</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lālātī, honor. name</td>
<td>118, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamā, Āṣṭa</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambā, a Mātri</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambu, a serpent demon</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamiā, Āṣṭa</td>
<td>231, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lankā</td>
<td>18, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lankāvāra,—Rāvana</td>
<td>17, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lātā, country</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laun, a Jaina Lekhana</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavanaprasāda of Gujarāt</td>
<td>99, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leech</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leech-sellers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemonade-sellers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lha-ma-yin, Asuras</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lha-mo,—Kāladēvi or Ri-ma- te</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Līlī's Buddha and Early Buddhism</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist Saint worship</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līngā or</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lock and key sellers</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohār caste</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōkamahādevi, q. (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōkumītri</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōkēśvara, g</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lomā, story of</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long's Oriental Proverbs</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-yang city</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunka, Jaina Lekhana</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luqmān Hakim</td>
<td>163, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māchhī caste</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackenzie Collection by H. H. Wilson</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackenzie, G. Legend of Bhadrakhellam</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macpherson's <em>Annals of Commerce</em></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madanavarma-deva, Chandel</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madanana, Madana Pantulu</td>
<td>S2, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madana, son of Dushtabuddhi</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhīra tribe</td>
<td>257, 258n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhīhariputra (Andhra)</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Andhra)</td>
<td>257-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhīhavatti, k.</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhıkara-śaikhy</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhuripu—Vishnu, g</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madina</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magadha</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgadhī dialect</td>
<td>199, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhābhārata</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāgiri, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhājana</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhākāla, at Ujjaini</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhākāla-durūr, vill</td>
<td>258-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhākāśapātika</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāmānā-vāvara</td>
<td>132, 16, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāmarti</td>
<td>242, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāmāndraya, office</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāraja</td>
<td>242-3, 244n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāraja</td>
<td>67, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhārajādhirāja</td>
<td>67, 112, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126, 156, 221, 242, 307, 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhārāni, g</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhārāṣṭri dialect</td>
<td>199, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāsāmāyika</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāvandikavara-dikara-pati, office</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhātila, town in Sindh</td>
<td>5, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhātāla, office</td>
<td>159, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāvallipram, caves of</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāvāna vihāra</td>
<td>28, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhācārīka</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāvīra, tirthākara</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāyāna school</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhāyānapūlī</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāndri, g</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māheśa, Māheśvara—Siva, g</td>
<td>10, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhī, river</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahir or Mahā, hon. name 118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśāna, vill</td>
<td>73, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākāla, Chandel capital</td>
<td>326, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māligidēva, k</td>
<td>10, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainā, śārikā</td>
<td>291-2, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātriṇka</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātṛēya Buddha</td>
<td>95, 236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Makaradhvaja, Makarakṣa- 
na—Kāma, g | 19, 20 |
| Makka | 245 |
| Malāda, country | 327 |
| Mālava, co. 101, 104, 107, 111, 161 |
| Māldives, fish-curing at the | 196 |
| Mālis, or flower-sellers | 142 |
| Māllāh, boatmen caste | 41 |
| Māllaya | 70 |
| Mālyavanta, co. or mt | 11, 20 |
| Mānādeva, Jain sūri | 247, 252 |
| Mānādeva, author of *Sāntis-

tva* | 247 |
<p>| Mēghavati, queen of Kulinda | 85 |
| Mēharas | 337-40 |
| Mēhetra, Narsī | 61 |
| Mēhīra, name for Kāhār | 118, 129 |
| Mehtar, name for Chūrūka | 118-20 |
| Melinda-pānka | 86 |
| Mēos of Mēwāt | 35 |
| Merkis | 73, 80, 278, 296 |
| Mērutasna | 241 |
| Mēūns, fisherman caste | 41 |
| Mīn and Mīnāj, hon. names | 119 |
| Mīdhis, wild tribe | 266 |
| Mikirs | 267 |
| Mīng-thi, emperor | 295 |
| Mīr and Mīrjī, hon. names | 119 |
| Mīrābā | 61 |
| Mīraj plates | 66 |
| Mīrāś, hon. name | 119 |
| Mīrīka, ‘pepper-corn’-name | 88 |
| Mīris, wild tribe | 266 |
| Mīshni, tribe | 266 |
| Missar, hon. name | 119, 120 |
| Mōstrī, ‘master’ | 119, 120 |
| Mōcē, caste | 41 |
| molasses | 146 |
| Mongol chronology | 132 |
| months, solar, lunar, and | 323 |
| sūvana | |
| Mōrkhanjā, town | 157 |
| Mogū | 234 |
| Mōru, Merv | 350 |
| mūrdhnevāderā | 338 |
| Mughal revenues | 327 |
| Muhammad | 244 |
| Muhammad bin Fazl | 90 |
| Muhammad bin āsīm | 89 |
| Muhammad bin Tughlak | 318 |
| Muhammad of Sindh | 92 |
| Mu‘in bin ʿAḥmad, k. of Kaṣār | 90 |
| Mūlārka I. &amp; II. (Chaul) | 71 |
| Mūlārka’s <em>dōhī</em> | 40, 41 |
| Multan kingdom | 90 |
| Multakalū, vill | 66, 68 |
| Munichandra, Jaina sūri | 253, 4 |
| Muniśundara | 256 |
| Muniś | 119, 120 |
| Muppanādevi (Kākataya) | 10, 17 |
| Murariapa—Vishnu, g | 221 |
| Mūsā bin Kaffāl al Tamīmī | 90 |
| Mūsā bin Yāhiya bin Khālid al | |
| Barmakī | 90 |
| Mūsanām bēggāra | 172 |
| Nādatūr, vill | 258-9 |
| Nāḍīlalapura | 253 |
| Nāoda | 25 |
| Nāgada Mantri | 99, 100 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>359</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nágadatta, mendicant</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nágahastin, Jaina Yogapradhána</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nágura caste</td>
<td>100, 105-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nágarás</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaratthiya</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nágarájña, author of the Sukrita</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nágarájña, Jaina Yogapradhána</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nágarájña square</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagar Mathóla, vill. in Sindh</td>
<td>57, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagas, wild tribe</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nágāsik bangles</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nálí, barber caste</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naiman tribe</td>
<td>76, 78, 275, 277-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nákhatra</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nákatras, date of arrangement of the</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakakóbara</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námádeva of Panḍharpur</td>
<td>59, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>names, honorific in the Panjáb</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obnoxious</td>
<td>88, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhalese family</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánáka, Nánakabhati</td>
<td>98-108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nának Chand</td>
<td>298n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nának Gurá</td>
<td>36-38, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nándraja, king of Nagar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathála</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánika, Chandel king</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narahari—Vishnu</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha, Jaina sári</td>
<td>247, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náráyana, g.</td>
<td>48, 274, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náráyana Swámi</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narhari, the goldsmith</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násika, district</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návanídhdásikha</td>
<td>242, 244n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negu tribe</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevo-kudu</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nómichandra, Jaina saint</td>
<td>248, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nínideva, the seven</td>
<td>247n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níshankamalla, king</td>
<td>242, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níla, city</td>
<td>37, 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine among the Mongols</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirgranthis</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirupama I—Dhruva (Rádh.)</td>
<td>109, 125, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirupama II—Krishna IV</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rádh.)</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nísháya</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níshápur, city</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níshigiri, goddess</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níshánkamalla, Arjunâdeva (Chaul.)</td>
<td>242, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nityavarsha, Indra IV (Rádh.)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nivartana, land means</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyuktaka, office</td>
<td>71, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nízám Sháh</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose-rubbing, an oath</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numerals, Indian, by Sir E.C.</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayley</td>
<td>299f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numerical symbols</td>
<td>258-9, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nór Sháh Wali</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogelecherbi</td>
<td>189-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogotai, son of Chinghiz</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omar Khayyám's Quatrains</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opprobrious names</td>
<td>88, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Bestiary</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Prosverbs, &amp;c. by Long</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eřloks of Chinghiz Khan</td>
<td>135-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orukkal, Worangal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owl</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxus, relics found in the</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pádalipta, Jaina achárya</td>
<td>247, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píddunáthda</td>
<td>71, 159, 306-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píddapadmójpeine</td>
<td>242, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pídduvarta, land means</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padmá, goddess</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padmanála</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padmatila, Jaina saint</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padúka</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>págga</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páγδa</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páhlana pura, town</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahlavi inscription from Bághdad</td>
<td>233f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paigkambhar, prophet</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páiích</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painch for Sarpanch</td>
<td>119-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paitámaḥ, g.</td>
<td>33, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paitáh, city</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pák-Páṭṭan in the Panjáb</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paksha, bright, 16. 162, 233, 309, 339</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>71, 244, 310, 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palasig, city</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paligre, vill.</td>
<td>66, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pálí inscriptions</td>
<td>258-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palitavósha, vill.</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pallojika</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallavāditya or Mañalavājáma</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pállavas</td>
<td>125, 126, 162, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pampa or Hampa, poet</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañchakada</td>
<td>244, 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchanátha, temple of</td>
<td>340n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pančamahābdha</td>
<td>12, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan-chhen Lo-saž, great</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paldan Ye Se Lama</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇḍharpur described</td>
<td>149f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Tukárám</td>
<td>59f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇḍipur, city</td>
<td>68-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇḍit</td>
<td>119, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇḍiyur, vill.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇḍyas</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇthi</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjáb Folklore. See Folklore</td>
<td>289f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjáb legend</td>
<td>289f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṇjak honorific names</td>
<td>117f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañjphularkat, princess</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pémísa</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantheism, Hindu, by G. Jacob</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pdpāl-hawkers</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paper-kite makers</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páragáv, vill.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pará́l, vill.</td>
<td>69-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramārdidéva (Chandel)</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramahattaraka</td>
<td>71, 112, 150, 221, 242, 307, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramamaháśvára</td>
<td>12, 71, 306-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramapáspota</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramáśvara, g.</td>
<td>33, 70, 71, 112, 125-7, 156, 242, 307, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramáśvara, g.</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parásuráma</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parikshit rája</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paripáróvika, office</td>
<td>338, 340n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parápaṭ, name for Kumbár</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Párváchandra, Jaina</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Párvánatha, g.</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páéra</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pargyahandparvan Jaina festival</td>
<td>247, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páuşutattas, g.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patábdinám, titular name</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pátáli flower</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pátán</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pátán plates</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patán, paper kite</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pátevär or Mhár</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pátá, land means</td>
<td>333, 339n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páṭtadakal inscription</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páttarana, city</td>
<td>249-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páṭtán, Minár, town in Sindh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páttí-Pombuchhapura, city</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páulómi</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paśtévērpana</td>
<td>274n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paśtrim</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pecha—copper money</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pehelván, athlete</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry on Indra in the Rigveda</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permakú (Kádamba of Gos)</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permátśirya</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phérú, Sikh saint</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Pheroshah, battlefield of 36
Philostratus 276
Phulashta, vil 337, 339
Phulma caste 56
Pigjari, cotton cleaners 145
Pippalakharataraśka 249
Pistachio sellers 46
Pitcher—kumbha 87
Polig 125
Polavasa, k. or co. 10, 17
Polytheism 148f
Pombochecheapura, town 10
Prabhanda Caturvarmialati of 194
Rajashekha 100
Prakhava, Jaina sūri 246, 251
Prabhuuliga, g. 273-5
Prabhutavaraka I—Govinda III (Rāsh.) 109, 135, 127, 162
II—Govinda IV (Rāsh.) 109
Pradyotana Jaina sūri 247, 252
Pradunma, Jaina sūri 173
Prabhad 59, 61, 63
Prabhādanadēva, poet and dramatist 233
Praṇasti 103, 107
Praasasata of Nānaka 98f
Pramukhī, or Pramukh Brahman 100
Prasuna, k. of Kerala 84
Prathara 338
Pratimoksha 293
'Princess Pañjphularani' 74
Pritivvidīśvara, g. 339-40
Pritivinvallabha 87, 70, 112, 125-36, 159
Pritivinvallabha, Govinda III (Rāsh.) 125
Pritivinvarmadēva (Chandel) 337
Pūda, Prèḷèrāja (Kākyta) 10, 11, 17, 97
Pāgiphala—betel-nut 24
Pājāmālīya 337
Pungere—Lakshmīwar 156
Purshul, vill 73
Purkēśi I (Early Chal) 66
II. (W. Chal.) 66
Pulindā, rīv 157, 163
Pulser sellers 145
Pulsūmyāi (Andhra) 257
Punja Sanskrit MSS. 287
Punjalika 61, 63
Punjaka 31
Purnamā 290-1
Purabhit, g. 19
Purahara, g. 17
Purāgas 165, 168
Purigere—Lakshmīwar 156
Purisadatā, Purushadatā, Mādhāpatra (Andhra) 96, 257-9
Purnamaitrayanapatra 236, 294
purushamāfka 345n
Purushottama, g. 19
Purvasī Sānghārām 85-6, 238
Pushan, god 333
Puzzle, the American 83
Pythagorean prohibitions 185
Qandar casosta 4
Qandāhā, city 350
Quatrains of Omar Khayyam 240
Qur'an, Wherry's Commentary on 304
Rag dealers 144
Ragha, city 350
Raghabhanasi, name for Chamar 117, 120
Rāhu, g. 235
Rāi or Rāo, hon. name 118, 120
Raichar inscriptions 197
Rāi Sahadeva, king of Sindh 8
Rāja, name for Nāi—barber 118, 120
Rājādārāja 70, 128
Rājakula 159
Rājānī 243, 244n
Rājamālīna 67, 69, 70
Rājamālīya 72
Rājanugraha 71
Rājapura 309
Rājāshēkhara 99, 100
Rāja Kṣ поля 46
Rājendrakāl Mītra 233
rūthi, amulet 39
Rākṣasa 344 & n. 347, 348n
Rākal's Tibetan Tales 303
Rāma 18, 274
Rāmahādra 163
Rāmadās of Bhadrachellam 82
Rāmāgrama stupa 75
Ramanpōr, city 312
Ramantrīka 237
Rāmadās 105
Rāmaṇya 297-8
Rāmatāva 20
Rāmatīra 136-7
Rāмgharharā, name for Tarkān 117
Rāmūgūdha Guha 43
Kukā 336
Rāgā 244-5, 338
Rānakara Śrī-Mālādevā 244
Rāmpoṣṭhārya 250
Rādā, hon. name 117, 126
Rādālu, Rajā 289, 346f
rāṣṭi bangles 45
rāṣṭhīra 258-9
rāṣṭhrakutsa, office 114
Rāṣṭhrakūta 108ff, 124ff, 156ff
rāṣṭhrapati, office 159
Rāṭhi, hon. name 119, 130
Rati 32
Ratnasēkha, Jaina author 256
Rāulta 338
Rāvi, g. 10, 20
Rāvijrabha, Jaina sūri 248, 253
Relics found on the Oxus 327
Rēni-sādi,—deserted course of the Indus 1
Rēṇukā Ammā, g. of the 123
Rēvā, riv. 104, 114
Revenues of the Mughal Empire 337
Rice names 324
Rigveda, X. 129
Rikhi for Rishi 118
Rimata, Kālādevī, g. 235
Rīshikēśī 65
roh—uplands 165
Rohidas 61
Rudda 273
Rudra, g. 9, 90
Rudradāmā (Kashtrapa) 129
Rudrādēva (Kākyta) 9-20, 298
Rudrapalli 248
Rudrapattali, bardharaśakā 248
Rudraśiṁha (Kashtrapa) 129
Rudrēvā, g. 16
Ruh bin Hatim 90
Rukhmāi, wife of Viśhobā 150
Rukmēdevī 60, 63
Ruknīd-dīn 242, 244
Runda, Rundra 273
Rūpaka, a weight 340
Sabā in Arabia 327
Sahāṣṭrapadaprāṇa 159
Sahasra, Sūrya 112-13, 159
Sahadādāpudādha 159
Sahadādahadāparādkā 113
Sādād Singh, ancestor of the Kapūrthala Rājas 117
Sahāṣṭrapadaprāṇa 159
Sadharatna, Jaina author 256
Sa'dād's Gulista 303
Sadriām 52
Sadfād dynasty 90
Sādāvād kingdom 49
Sahārasa 69, 70, 237
Sadāvād kingdom 49
Sādakā, banker 118
Skīs, hon. name 118, 120
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Sūbhāhāra inscrip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Suisarēsvara, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Šuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>Sūkhavatskatharīvindā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Sukritā of Nāgarjuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Sulaimān, Arab merchant, traveller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Sulaimān bin Hishām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Sūla-pāñi, —Siva, g. 230, temple of,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>sūle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Sūlēsvari, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Sumanakūṭa, Adam's Peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>Sumatisādhāhu, Jainā sūri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Sunmedha and Dipākāraka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sun, as a god 10, 12, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Sumāparāntakas-Aparāntakas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Sunāc caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Sūnavadri, vill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Supāra or Sūrprāka, town in the Konkan, 24, 238, 247, 270, 293-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Supārī, betel-nut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Supprā—see Supārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Supratibba, Jainā saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Suraguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 20</td>
<td>Surāshtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Sūrahāraka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Sūrprākārakas—Aparāntakas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sūrya, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>Sūrya-Siddhānta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Sātās, carpenters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Sātra of 42 chapters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Sattvāvādā, Baundā school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>Suvarnavaraha I.—Kaṭka II. (Rāsh.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Šākta, author of the Tatteṣṭha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>śravambhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Svaṣyaṇa-bhūṣaṇa, Siva, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Svat, Akhund of sweetmeat sellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Śyāma, or Śyāmārya, author of the Prajñāpārātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Syntengs, wild tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349n</td>
<td>tdb, frying-pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Tāhir Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Tāhir bin 'Abdallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94n</td>
<td>Tāhir bin al-Husain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>Tālai I. (W. Chal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Tālai II. (W. Chal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>III. (W. Chal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Tāj-u'd-dīn Ibdūz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327</td>
<td>Taht-i-Kuwat relics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>tākī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Taksahāka Nāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Taksahāsāla,—Taxila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>tāl,—musical instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177f</td>
<td>Talaṅg language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337f</td>
<td>Tālījā, town in Keśabāvād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>talpada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Talabh bin Tāhir of Sindh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339n</td>
<td>Tamīnm bin Zaid al-Utbī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Tanguts 30-1, 275-6, 278, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Tanka, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>tankas, coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Tantra school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Tāpāgachha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Tāpāgachha Paṭṭāvali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tapodhan beggars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tarkhān, carpenter caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Tātār and Turk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Tasvimālā beggars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93-4</td>
<td>Tātāriya or Tāhiriya dīr-hams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-7</td>
<td>Tāta-tung-no, teaches the Mongols writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Tavernier quoted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Taxila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Tējāhpāla of Gujarāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>temnuī, Mongol prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tērā, old site in Sindh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Tēhak, hon. name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Thākura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Thākurd, hon. name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>Thirāpadranagara, c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Timānā plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Timānagaras, c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Timurlang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>tiṭhī, first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>tenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>thirteenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>fifteenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>full moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>new moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Ratnasaptami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Tokar, the Merkit chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tokighth, the Merkit chief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Tektangha Taishi .................................. 135
Toothache, charm for .......................... 36-7
Trackers ........................................... 42
Trailôkyamalla.—Karna I. ... 71
(trainida) ........................................... 369
Transliteration of Sanskrit ... 263f
Tribes of the N. E. frontier .................................. 266
Tribhuvanaganda—Jayasimhaha (Chaul.) .................................. 71
Tribhuvanamalla (Kâkatya) 19, 17
Tribhuvanamalla—Jagaddêva (Sântara) .................................. 10
Trîdâsa suhrida ................................... 98
Trîdivâpati.—Indra, g. .................................. 229
Trîlochana.—Siva .................................. 229
Trîlochana-Kadamba .......................... 274
Trînêtra.—Siva .................................. 221
Trîśalâ, mother of Mahâ-virâ .................................. 246
Tsookh-Mejâ ..................................... 61, 152
Tuk ........................................ 57f. 154-6
Tukârâm ........................................ 122
Tukâpuruhoasthita .......................... 112, 114n
Tungabhadrâ, riv. .................................. 127, 162
Turk and Tartar .................................. 299
Tusukat.—Timur’s Law Code ... 192
‘Two brothers’ ................................... 342

ubhayamukh ........................................ 122
Uch or Biloeh, fort in Sindh .................................. 7
Uchhara, kingdom of Hastin .................................. 321
udchakshug ........................................ 148
udâkapûr ........................................ 67, 113
udâdhisârpa ........................................ 159
Udaya, K. (or Chôja) .................................. 10, 11, 17
Udayagiri inscr. .................................. 310
Udyôtana, Jainâ sûri .......................... 248, 251, 253

Uighurs ........................................ 122, 276, 279-81
Ujjain, Ujjaini, Ujjayini, city 189, 220, 247
Ullug Beg .......................................... 132
Ullugh-Tagh, Mts .................................. 275
Umâpâti, —Siva, g. .................................. 244, 339
‘Umar bin’Abdal’Azîz Habbâ-ri, governor of Bánia .................................. 90
‘Umar, khalîf ................................... 89
Umâsvâti, Jaina Yugasprâdhâna .......................... 253
Uûchhârâdasvegâyas .................................. 70
Uûchhôrinda ...................................... 70
Undavalli hill .................................. 95, 96n
unisa, coping stone .................................. 98n

upâdhyâya ........................................ 274
Upapâla, Upello (in Vivāra) .................. 327
Urmîr beggara .................................. 172
Urva, co. ....................................... 350
uttamañâsa .......................... 125
Uttarakuru, co. .................................. 310
uttardipatha .................................. 67
Uvâtyalêvâdî, vill. .................................. 114
Uzbeg Pâi, general of Jelânûd-din .................................. 92

Vachârâja of Bundi .................................. 33
Vâchaspati, g .................................. 312
vâda ........................................ 51
Vâjanagara in Gujarât .................................. 101, 305
Vâjâvura, vill. .................................. 162
vâdi ........................................ 242
Vâkereta ........................................ 350
Vâghêla dynasty .................................. 99ff, 241ff
Vaijâvâpa gotra .................................. 101
Vaijâñânti (?) .................................. 68, 70
Vaijñâvâna religion .................................. 299
Vaijásâvâra .................................. 162
Vaijîl of Vesálî .................................. 299
Vajra, Jainâ sûri .......................... 247, 252
Vajrââkhd .................................. 247
Vajjrasenâ, Jainâ sûri .......................... 247, 252
Vajrañâ, k. ...................................... 114
Vâkâ-âkha ....................................... 11
Vâkâpirâjya .................................. 253n
(Chandel) .................................. 326
Valabhâ, city .................................. 244, 305, 307
“ council .................................. 247
“ era ........................................ 241, 244
“ kings .................................. 306ff
“ native date of the destruction of .................................. 241
Valabhâ-saû .................................. 242
Valâgiri or Vâlagiri stûpa .......................... 258-9
vallabha ........................................ 67
Vallabhâ I.—Krishna I. (Râsh.) .................................. 124, 160
II.—Gôvinda II .................................. 124
(“Krittvârma II. .................................. 124
(Ch. Chal.) 110, 111, 114
Vallabhânarândra I.—Gôvinda III. (Râsh.) .................................. 109, 132
II.—Gôvinda V .......................... (Râsh.) 109
III.—Karaka III .................................. 109
(Ch. Chal.) 109
Vâlmiki .......................................... 22
Vâna-dêvatas .................................. 43
Vânârâja, (chavâda) .................................. 253
vânaramahâdhvaja .................................. 273
Vanavâsî, city .................................. 68
Vârasa, Bhauma .................................. 71, 223
“ Brihaspati .................................. 127
“ Ravi ........................................ 244, 312
“ Sôma .................................. 274, 339
“ Vaîjâ ...................................... 16
Vardhâmâna .................................. 67
Varâha Mihira .................................. 27n
“ date of .................................. 322
Vâravaruchi, story of .................................. 146
Vardhamâna .................................. 70
“ Jaina sûri .................................. 248
Vardhamânânam, c. .................................. 11, 18
Varden, co. .................................. 350
Vârîkhêja, vill. .................................. 157, 162
Varmân .................................. 70, 311
Vârâgadja, vill. .................................. 107
Varupa, g .................................. 176
Vâsishêtîputra (Andhra) .................................. 257
Vastupâla of Gujarât .................................. 99, 235
Vasubandha, Buddhist hymn-writer .................................. 49
Vâsudêva, a snake .................................. 231, 233
“ god .................................. 10, 16
“ king ........................................ 129
Vâtañgarâ, d. .................................. 159, 162
Vatsarâja, k. .................................. 161
eatthu, ‘it is well’ .................................. 48
Vôddugas ........................................ 9, 114
Vôdántâsâra, by G. Jacob .................................. 116
Vôdas .................................. 20, 68, 106, 108, 114, 163
Vôdas, Rig .................................. 107
“ Yajur ........................................ 108
Vâdhas.—Brahmâ, g. .................................. 113, 160
Vedâsa ........................................ 30n
Vegadakhtarawasâkkhd .................................. 249
Vehrkanâ ........................................ 350
Vegetable hawkers .................................. 141
Vehrkanâ, co. .................................. 350
Vêjajanta palace .................................. 29, 31
Venâo, c. or dist .................................. 156, 258
Venkâtâpura, vill. .................................. 273
Verâval inscr. .................................. 241
Vibhâsha ........................................ 59
Vibudhaprabha, Jainâ sûri .......................... 247, 253
Vichâvapura in Sindh .................................. 5
Vidur .......................................... 61
Vidyâdha (Chandel) .................................. 311, 326
Vidyânanda, Jainâ sûri .................................. 255
Vihârasvâmin .................................. 128
vijâji ........................................ 27
Vijaya of Ceylon .................................. 236
Vijayachandra, Jainâ sûri .................................. 255
Vijayandana, Jainâ sûri .................................. 256
Vijâyâdëva, Jainâ sûri .................................. 256
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. (Kadambo of Goa)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya-Narendramriga-raja (E. Chal.)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaganar</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayapala (Chandella)</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaprabha, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijayarāja</td>
<td>12, 221, 242, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijayardijivasāntāra</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaratna, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijayaskundaśvada</td>
<td>254, 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijāpanini-gydu</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijnāśa or Sindiv, antiquities of 1c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrama, k. of Ujjaini</td>
<td>244, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina sūri</td>
<td>247, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>era</td>
<td>241, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramaditya II, (W. Chal.)</td>
<td>125n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramadityapaditasaṅkramaśvara</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrama-saṅkha</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilasa</td>
<td>160n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vimalachandra, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>248, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vindhya mts</td>
<td>11, 19, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vipulchitta</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vira, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>247, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viradhavala, (Chaul) of Gujarāt</td>
<td>99, 100, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virama, prince</td>
<td>99, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viramgrāma, vill.</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virāṭa, Matayadēśa</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virūpākṣa, Śiva, g.</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visala, Visaladhēva, (Chaul) of Gujarāt</td>
<td>32ff, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visalanagara, c.</td>
<td>100n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vishaya</td>
<td>159, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishayā, dr. of Dushṭabuddhi</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vishayapati, office</td>
<td>114, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīšnu, g. 10, 12, 20, 67, 104, 105</td>
<td>148, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnudharmana, inscr. of</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnudharmana (Hoysala)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viṣṭi</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśvala—Viśala (Chaul.)</td>
<td>101, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśvanātha, g.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viśudāh</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṭḥōpā—Krāha, g. 58-9, 150, 152, 154-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṭṭhāl, g.</td>
<td>62, 64-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṭṭhura (Vidhurā)-jātaka</td>
<td>31-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von Hammer</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vouru-kasha</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels—their relations in the Rig-veda</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhadēva, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhavādī, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>247, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛhadgachha</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛjī or Vajjī Vesāli</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛāghrapallī or Vāgbhāla dynasty</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāsa</td>
<td>68, 115, 163, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyāsabhedā in Hindu law</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wani plates</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warangal, Woraŋgal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wazīr, hon. name</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westārwān, mt. in Kashmir</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherry's Commentary on the Qurān</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whinfield's Quatrains of Omar Khayyam</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white—among the Mongols</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widows—Hindu</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Williams (Mon.) on a Sanskrit Ode</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the Vaishnava religion</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams (Wells) on Fu-sang</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's Mackenzie Collection</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women, among the Mongols</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñaśrī-Sattakarnī (Andhra)</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñaveda, V. N. Mandalik's version of</td>
<td>50-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha, g.</td>
<td>260n, 261n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya'kūb bin Lais</td>
<td>30, 94n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya'kūbi, Arab writer</td>
<td>94n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yama, g.</td>
<td>65, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasał</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasanameh-buzurg, Mongol code of laws</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāsobhadra, Jaina āchārya and sūri</td>
<td>246, 248, 251, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāsodēva, Jaina sūri</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāsvarma, (Chandel) of Kanaūj</td>
<td>253n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yates, R. V. G.</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuvāraṇīya</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazīd bin Ābā Kabshāh</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeoch or Yäch, Yaksha</td>
<td>260, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeṣuntai</td>
<td>180, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīga</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhamalla, k.</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yūsuf and Zulaihkā, by R. T. H. Griffiths</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuvāraṇā</td>
<td>161n, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafhrā</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaraftālān</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zemarchus</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ERRATA IN VOL. XI.

p. 46, 1. 4, for is read shew.
   " 21, for cuta read cut.
6a, 1. 17, for (ghangri) read (ghaungri).
11b, 1. 11, for tata, read tata.
125, 1. 15, for Anmaakonda, Anmaakonda,
   read Anmakundâ, Anmakonda.
13, transcription 1. 55, for -vádika-dan
   read -vádika-dan.
   " 114, for budha-satânya[n]*,
   read budha-satâny-a[?]n[n]*.
   " 115, for Sruyâ, read Sruyô.
15, 1. 120, for -dama-su, read -dàma-su.
   " 142, for Jishnu, read Jishnu.
16a, 1. 25, for Om, read Om.
17a, 1. 4, for Rudrâvara, read Rudra.
20, note 29, for Mâttichêrvâla, read Mâttî-
   chêrvâla.
69, transcription 1. 14, for prátiṣṭhîpač read
   prátiṣṭhîpach.
73a, 1. 14, for Gûrjara read Cháudâ.
   " 18, for Bûgada read Bâhâyâda.
   "  for Dharmarânya read Dharma-
   rânya.
73b, 1. 1, for mentions read does not mention.
85b, line 32, for me the, read met the.
87a, 1. 40, for Pallava's read Pallavas'.
110a, ll. 27 and 36, and 1. 18, for Sàmângad
   read Sámângad.
111, transcription 1. 4, for abhîmukhî[?]n[*],
   read abhîmukhî[?]n[*].
   " note 7, 1. 10, for narâpà, read narâpô.
112, transcription 1. 12, for janâh, read janâh.
   " 15, dele the hyphen after
   Sómânvayi.
114, note 28, 1. 2, for chaturasya read
   chaturasya.
131, 1. 41a, for 'atras read 'atrus.
   " 43a, for sangî read sangî.
159, transcription 1. 42, for =aha read =aha.
164a, ll. 23, 24, for specimen verses:
   ↓ where shows the accent, ↑ a strong
   accent, read specimen verses: where
   ↓ shows the accent, and ↑ a strong
   accent.
175a, 1. 32, for 7 read 5.
176a, ll. 22 and 34, for Veda read Veda.
   " 35, 36, for Rig Veda read Rig Veda.
176b, 1. 14, for Upanishads and the Darânas
   read Upanishads and the Darânas.

p. 197a, 1. 15, for kalubîli read kalubîli.
197b, ll. 6, 10 and 18, for medu read medu.
   " 10, for meḍa read meda.
198a, 1. 1, for combolly read ebolly.
220b, 1. 5, from bot. for Anhilvâḍas read
   Anhilvâda.
242a, 1. 12, read Śrî-Abhayasâlha
   " 13, read Gaṇjaśrî-Virabhada
   " 32, read Somanâtha Pâthu.
242b, 1. 32, read एक्क and अङ्ग.
   " 26, dele (± m, n, j ä).
243b, 1. 4, from below dele (?).
244a, 1. 85, f, read Śrî-Rukunâ-dān.
245b, 1. 13, f, read the congregation of the
   ship-owners and sailors, and add note:
   नौकार कु माल शीत नौकार तथा नौकार
   and नौकार
   and it occurs also in a Śilâkâra grant dated
   Saka 8. 1016 (Ind. Ant. vol. IX, p. 38,
   note 50).
259b, In the transcript of the third version
   of the Jaggayapata inscription:
   1. 1, read ṭhâkunâha — vâsapakhaṇa;
   1. 2, read Nákachanâdasa — Makâcha-
   nduru;
   1. 3, read Siddhata ḍapana — Mûlasiri;
   " 1, 5, read siri;
   " 6, read mahâchëtiya — ṛapana deya-
   dhanaṇa;
   1. 7, read patîthapita ti.

[The syllables in italics have been misprinted
in the Devanâgarî transcript.]
270a, 1. 6, from bot. for 8 read 7.
271b, note, for initia read initial.
272a, ll. 5, 6, read see Brihad Sûkhàlida.
   " 1. 9, dele correct.
272b, 1. 13, for (S + (22 + 7)) \(\frac{1875}{1875} \) + 60,
   read (S + (22 + 7)) \(\frac{1875}{1875} \) + 60.
294b, 1. 23, for terms read term.
   " 37, for kala mas read kai mas.
   " 30, for kebali read kebalī.
   "  for kebella read kebella.
1. 31, for nonunquam read quandoque
   bonus.
   " ll. 36 and 38, for kala read kala.
   1. 40, for Sîn. read Sûn.
295b, 1. 13, from bot. for kindom, read king-
   dom.
ERRATA.

p. 297, the Notes and Queries ought to be numbered 8, 9 &c. to 12 instead of 9, 10 &c. to 13.

305a, l. 9. after 13½ add—The plates were found at Lunsadi a village in the Mahuvā pargānā under Bhaunagar, and lent by Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar of that State, at the instance of Col. J. W. Watson, to the Editor to take facsimiles from. The seal is attached (not lost).

309, l. (23) after अपरतः read कुटुंबीयोतकसः ब्राह्मणः।

(*) पूजाधिशिष्टाः महर्षिज्ञानसाक्षात्कृताः प्रकृताः अज्ञातसङ्क्षेपम्। कक्षाधारणा। सर्वपूर्वः।

(**) दामिलस्तंबकः अपरतः।

and alter the numbering of lines (24), (25) &c. to (26), (27) &c.

p. 337 [*] read भीमदासहिःपादः।

p. 337b, l. 5. read Kambalalī.]

" 1. 12 from bottom, read Tāladvrāja.

" 1. 1 from bottom, dele l. 1, read पूजाये।

p. 338 [*] read वनस्पतरकारम्।

“ [*] read देवीसर्वदत्ते।

“ [*] read पुजायचे एव सुपुज्ञीयसे।

“ [*] read गीताशि।।

p. 310b, l. 36. read Aśvapati a native of Pādmāvatī (?).

311b, l. 1. read Kirtivarman.

" 1. 14. dele *.

" 1. 15. join rājajyamāhyagata. *

" 1. 18. dele *.

" 1. 28. for आरहयितूम - read आरहयितूम.

" 1. 39. read Kirtivarman.

312b, l. 17 f. read and 2 rephas

" 1. 28. read guhdatām.

313b, l. 2 f., read in his review of the first volume of Senart’s Inscriptions de Piyadasi in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen of the 18th October 1881, p. 1313.

321a, l. 24. for Pankshoba read Sankshoba.

334b, l. 28. for No one will be disposed, read Not every one will be disposed.

p. 338 [*] read वानस्पतः।

“ [*] read वनस्पतम्।

333b, i. 5 from bottom, read पूजा।।

333a, l. 10 from bottom, read see note 13.

336b, l. 36. read Tāladvrāja.

340a, l. 4. read Velahala.

340b, l. 13. for produce read merit.