THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
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IN
ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE,
&c., &c., &c.

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THIRTEEN years ago, when I started the *Indian Antiquary*, it was with no very sanguine hopes that I should be able to conduct it beyond a few years, and in those first years the subscriptions did not meet the expenses. Thanks, however, to the kind assistance of the Secretary of State for India—in meeting, to a large extent, the cost of producing the facsimiles of Inscriptions for some years,—it was found possible to continue it; and of late years, the number of subscribers has increased, so as to admit of the issue of nine extra parts at various dates.

In closing this thirteenth Annual volume, and with it the First Series of the *Indian Antiquary*, it is my pleasant duty to thank the many subscribers who have enabled me to carry it on.

Whatever may be its merits or value, they are due to the many contributors—Native and European, in India and in Europe, who have so heartily and for so many years supplied its contents,—to whom I have never appealed in vain for papers, and to all of whom, in parting, I tender most grateful thanks. My own share in the work has been secondary: the few spare hours available for it were insufficient, even with better equipment than I could bring to the task, to permit of properly editing papers on so wide a range of subjects.

If the *Indian Antiquary* has been the means of creating a wider interest in antiquarian research, of eliciting and publishing results that otherwise might not have seen the light, or of supplying materials to scholars, especially in connection with Inscriptions, it has largely served its purpose; and the frequent references to it, in English and foreign publications, may perhaps be accepted as some indication that it has been doing this.

My personal connexion with it now ceases, and it is a pleasure to be able to place it in the hands of the two new editors, who are so competent to carry it on upon the old lines, and to open up new subjects for investigation in its pages.

JAS. BURGESS.

*Edinburgh, 31st Dec. 1884.*
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THE HYMNS OF THE NĀṅGĪPANTH.

FROM THE PAPERS OF J. W. PARRY, A.M.I.C.E.

ABOUT Jhajjar and the Nārnaul District of the Faṭḥīlā State there exists a curious sect of Hindus called the Nāṅgīpant, founded by one Dedrāj, a Brāhmaṇ, about 50 years ago. In the May, 1883, No. of the Proc. A.S. Benj., Mr. Parry had a short paper giving an outline history of this sect, and I will not therefore give more here than is necessary for my immediate purpose. Mr. Parry also kindly handed over to me the few hymns he had collected from these people, to make what I could of them, and hence this paper.

Dedrāj, the son of Pūran, a Brāhmaṇ of Dharāli in the Nārnaul District, was born in Sainī. 1828 or A.D. 1771. About 1874 he went to Āgrā, then in the possession of Mā harassment of Rāo Sīndhi, and took service in the house of Dīwān Dharmānā. While there he formed an intimacy with one Nāṅgī, a Baniyāni of loose character. With her he returned to his native country about 1813 A.D., but got into trouble and was imprisoned by Nalākat 'Alī Khān, the Nawāb of Jhajjar, in whose possession Nārnaul then was. He at last settled in Churīnā, in the Khetri District of the Jhajjar State, about 1836, which became the headquarters of the sect he had now started. Here Nāṅgī died, but Dedrāj obtained another Nāṅgī, a Brāhmaṇ of Lāṁāli, Jhajjar, who became a great proficient in the system of Dedrāj, and after her the sect is called the Nāṅgīpant. Dedrāj died at Churīnā in Sainī. 1909, A.D. 1852, aged 81. The present head of the sect is one Rāmchandrā, the son of Gāngārām, an early follower of Dedrāj. He lives at Bhiwānī in the Gurgaon District.

The doctrines of Dedrāj have spread themselves to a limited extent, apparently over Jhajjar and Nārnaul and Gurgaon. The sect professes monotheism and has no caste and no concealment of women. Mr. Parry gives an account of their worship, which appears to consist of working themselves into a state of ecstasy by singing their hymns and dancing. He notices one point probably worth further enquiry. "Many of the hymns have very pretty airs, e.g., 'Jhajāgī bhārī ho, dājīyā' (No. II), and several of the women have clear soprano voices, which if properly trained would have a good compass."

The hymns given below sufficiently show the tenets and ideas of this sect. There are certain clear and obvious moralities inculcated with a rough vigour, which no doubt deeply impressed the simple people to whom they were addressed, and the rest is a confused reference to stories of saints of the neighbourhood, whether Hindū or Muslīm, and to universally known tales from the Māhābhārata, Rāmāyāṇa, etc. There is the same worship, or rather mention, of their universal god by the familiar Hindū names of Rām, Hari,
Gaṅgāsa, etc., that one finds in the Ádi Granth and the writings and speeches of the Indian reformers generally. Dedrāj was evidently a rude teacher of the ordinary Indian type, couching his doctrines in rough and ready verses, easily picked up and retained by his followers, and full of those mysterious and ambiguous references so dear to the Indian peasant.

The language is drawn from all sources, from the current colloquial to archaic terms from old books. It contains some notable forms, especially of the pronouns.

No. I.—Text.

1. Mann Terā háy! Mujhe na dāl se bhūl!
Dāl dāi aur pāt padh mein Tā hī rangyūl phūl!
Jo to kā kāṅgā beve, Bande, tā bo vē ko phūl.
Tojū ko terā phūl mūlēyā: wāhe milē narsūl.
Bārī.

2. Makkā dhoṇḍā, Madinā dhoṇḍā, kāẖū na pāyā Rasūl.
Sīẖī gaẖ, safedī āī; kar chalne kā, Bande, sīl.
Shāh Husain, Fāqlī Sāẖī bād, dhoṇḍa liyā taẖ-mūl.
Bārī.

Māẖī kahē kumhū rī, “kyā rαunhdhāt hāi mohe?
Ik din aisẖ hoṛā, maiẖ rαunhdhūṅī tohe!”
Gathī bandhī dhūl kī; raẖ hoẖān se phūl:
Jhōlī lαyā prem kā; ant dhūl kī dhūl.
Bārī.

4. Chauẖāa pahiẖī, pahiẖī pahiẖī, pahiẖā malmah kẖādā:
Ik din aisẖ hoṛā, ant dhūl meẖ bẖādā.
Kafan hamāẖā ḡudī; gẖor hamāẖā ġāṅā;
Lahīẖ hamāẖā lēnā; kẖāẖ hamāẖā nām. Bārī.

Translation.

1. I am thine! Forget me not in thine heart!
In every branch and in every leaf thou art the glorious flower!
If any one sow thee a thorn, thou servant (of God), sow thou him a flower.
Thou shalt obtain thy flower, he shall obtain his thorn (reed). da capo.

2. Searching Makkā, searching Madinā, nowhere is a Prophet found.
The blackness (of youth) hath gone, the whiteness (of age) hath come; thou must prepare to go, thou servant (of God).

Shāh Husain, the saint of God, hath searched out his secrets. da capo.
3. Why dost scrub thy body (with ashes), O Jogī? One day thou must be mixed with the clay.
The clay saith unto the potter, "Why dost thou knead me? One day it will so happen, that I will knead thee!"
The bundle (of the body) is bound with dust; it remains on, swollen with air.
The hot-blast of love is on it, and the end of dust is dust. da capo.
4. Put on fine garments; put on coarse clothes;
Put on a coat of velvet:
One day it will be so that in the end thou dwell in the dust.
The shroud is our garment; the sepulchre our home:
The grave our bed: and dust our name. da capo.

Notes.

Shāh Husain, alias Edi Husain, or Siyāh Husain, is the name of a celebrated saint, of Kasūr and Lahor, who is said to have raised a boy to life! He is the author of several popular apothegms.

Rahā pawan se phūl: phulīẖā, to swell out, to be inflated, puffed out.

Jhōlī lɑyā prem kā; here we have one of those ambiguous expressions that Indian religious writers are so fond of. Jhōlī has a variety of meanings as quoted by Fallon, New Hind. Dict., s. v. (1), a curve in a rope; (2), beckoning; (3) a, wallet; (4), a cold wind; (5), palsy; (6), a hot wind; (7), loose, slack. The 6th meaning, is, I think, the obvious one in this context. The 7th meaning is, however, the one which appears to be accepted by these sectarians who render it, "when (the knot) of love is loosened." The grammar of this rendering is however, faulty.

No. II.—Text.

Śrī Gānes Śāẖā daṇḍatname.

Tek.

Jhagṛā bẖādī ko, Davāyā;
Samjhe koẖ sant suẖān.

1.

Wohī pẖād, wohī pẖur; dhī re! wohī purẖāh wohī nārī!

Dẖījgar ik bẖāẖ maṇẖī; bhaym phāẖās gẖal dẖārī.

Tek.

Lohā moh bẖ-zor mẖām hāi; bẖāẖ kẖāẖīn karāẖī;
Kám krodh khibaje pakhawaj; náche Manshá-breaking.
Kála-ghi, durmat dári, kai nári de mári.
Bári.

2.
Tin Lek mei sáre phir gat; dhápi ná lêj mári.
Kám, krodh, albattá aur trihusa; ach ghar anahá bhári.

Ték.
Jaghrá bhári ho, Daiyá;
Samjhe ko saí suján. Bári.

3.
Máyá, mamá sab ko khá gat; de de, re, pickári.
Já ko sat gur tálí mil gayá, gáyán bhál tan mári.

Ték.
Jhagrá bhári ho, Daiyá;
Samjhe ko saí suján. Bári.

4.
Áth pakar ghaltá bhajan meh kalap kalapná sári;
Áth pakar palak na bísri, utpat já par dári.

Ték.
Bhairóh saí hái matwádá; charh gat surat utári. Barí.

TRANSLATION.
The Hymn of salutation to Síri Gañhá Sáíu.

Chorus.
The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it.
1. As the father, so, the son; Ah me! as the man, so the woman!
The conjuror hath commenced his game,
And placed the noose of doubt round the neck
(of man).

Chorus.
Greed and love are ever in force; the game is hard and difficult.
The drums (of success) of lust and wrath are sounded; the Goddess of Greed dances (to them).
Disgrace and wickedness have destroyed many men. da capo.

2. (The game) hath gone through all the Three Worlds, neither satisfied nor ashamed.
Lust and wrath and very avarice; that house is very benighted (where these are).

Chorus.
The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it. da capo.
3. Wealth and love have destroyed all; have ground (all) down, alas!

Who hath met a true teacher and enquirer,
The arrow of knowledge (unto salvation) hath pierced his body.

Chorus.
The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it. da capo.
4. Busied with praise all the day, he hath sacrificed his bad passions and desires.
He resteth not a moment all the day, on whom hath come ecstasy.

Chorus.
Bhairóh, the saint, is in ecstasy; his thoughts rise and fall. da capo.

NOTES.
Name=namasthá: salutation.
Manshá, may be for manash or manshá, a man, in which case the passage must be rendered "men and women dance." I have taken it to be Manshá Díví, now the goddess of thieves.
In the next verse nári appears to be used for mankind, like ádmi, but I have never seen it so used elsewhere. Nári or nár is always the female human being as opposed to nár, the male.
The whole passage is very obscure and difficult.
The local munthis translate "man (nár), does as his will (manshá) guides him," but the words and context do not warrant this rendering.
De de pickári, having given a squeeze. It may also be puchárái, having coaxed.
War, the verb wdrí, describes the action of whirling a thing about the head by way of sacrifice.
Bhairóh, i.e. Bhairava, a form of Síva, is a very popular object of worship in the Panjáb and always as a 'holy' character.

No. III.—Tsxx.

1.
Bám nám kírde náká rékhá, kírde kám karanáid:
Diná chár jag jíawan tohe; kyú chhori réh chándá?
Káb tak máh nár rah murakhí? Kyúkár, Bhayá, gándá?

Ték.
Dekho, jère hai réh phanánd!
Bhái, samjhe na jag anáth! Bári.

2.
Dhan johan terd júnó chhip jíjódá, jyún bódal chándá.
Apó ulát, áp náká dard, múrákh hái voj jíméná.
Jánam naran sadá nit barte, harát mál phirandá.
Tek.

Dekho, jári hai rāh phandā!  
Bhāi, samjhe na jag andhā! Bārī.

Translation.

1. Thou keepest not the name of God in thy heart, doing shameful things.
2. Life to thee in this world is but for a few days; why dost leave the bright way?
3. How long, destroying thy honour, wilt remain a fool? Why, Brother, be evil?

Chorus.

Behold, the snare is spread in the way!  
Brother, the blind world understandeth it not! da capo.

Notes.

Janam maran:—allusion here to the universal Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls.  
Harath māl: the simile here is drawn from the Persian wheel.

No. IV.—Text.

Jal jaisā nirnāl ho chattā zamān bardāb rāhā.  
Aglā ēve agan sarāpī jal rāp ko milā.  
Is dwisā meh din chār baserā; Oghār ik japnā.

Tek.

Aise aise járiyā járiyo, re Santo, phir janam nahi ārnā! Bārī.

2.

Gagan mandāl se dhāi dubbā. Dharti meh jāmānā.  
Mahan makhān ta sāhī le gāyā, khaṭtā chhāch ājat bharānā. Bārī.  
Dikhe na pardekhē kahānā; ani dekhē se ārnā.  
Kohe Machhandarndhā, "Swa. jāti Gorakh, yāh Amrāpur ārnā!"

Tek.

Aise aise járiyā járiyo, re Santo, phir janam nahi ārnā! Bārī.

Translation.

1. Live humbly (level with the ground) as pure water running on the earth.
2. Live free from falsehood and guile; repeat thou the name of God. da capo.
3. If any come before thee as flames (of fire) meet him as water.
4. In this world thou art a dweller for but a few days; repeat then Oṁ.

Chorus.

So do your deeds, O saints, that there be no fear of a future birth. da capo.

Notes.

Jāriyā járiyo; simile drawn apparently again from "a game." Jāri being a word for "gambling." The verb jārnā, to gamble, is however new. The words appear to mean literally: "So make your game."

Gagan mandāl, etc. The meaning seems to be here—"fix your thoughts on heaven and obtain the reward on earth; the saints get the good things of life and the worldly have to put up with the bad."

Machhandarndhā, the traditionary preceptor of the great Gorakhnāth.

Amrāpur for Amarapura (Amaravati), the dwelling-place of Indra.

No. V.—Text.

Tek.

Kyā gāo? Ghar dār, divāndā! Sūhī kā ghar sīkar hai jaiśī lambā khagār!  
1.

Chahrānā to chākānā prem ras, parunā to chaknāchār.  
Athārāk lākh pākhāriā charhtā, urtī gagan dār.

Chorus.

2.
Mullanî to ghat mulk se chhori hansî hîr.
Shekh Farîd kudî bîch latî ko rahâ chakndî-châr.

Chorus.
Kyâ gâo ? Ghar dâr, diwândâ ! Saaî kâ ghar
sikar hai jaiâ lambi khajûr. Bâri.

3.
Zât kuzî dharma ko pahunchâ, dharmi dhare
Mansûr !
Das Kabirâ wais pahuncha, jaluâ barse nîr.

Chorus.
Kyâ gâo ? Ghar dâr, diwândâ ! Saaî kâ ghar
sikar hai jaiâ lambi khajûr. Bâri.

TRANSLATION.
Why dost thou sing? Thy home is far, thou fool! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm!
1. If I climb I taste the nectar of love: if I fall I break in pieces.
The feet of eighteen lakhs of horses advance: their dust rises in the sky.

Chorus.
Why dost thou sing? Thy home is far, thou fool! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm! da capo.

2. The Multân left his country, leaving his beautiful wife.
Shekh Farîd hanging in the well was tortured (with his austerities).

Chorus.
Why dost thou sing? Thy home is far, thou fool! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm! da capo.

3. The high and low reach unto shame, Mansûr would bear up the earth!
Kabir Dass reached thither, where light and glory are shed.

Chorus.
Why dost thou sing? Thy home is far, thou fool! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm! da capo.

NOTES.
Chakndî-châr; lit. fine dust. The two senses of this expression are well brought out in this song: (1), broken or dashed to atoms; (2), in torture or great pain, and hence figuratively absorbed, very busy.

Athârûdî lâkh, etc. The allusion here appears to be to the well-known Râjput legend of Atharûdî and Udan of Kanauj. The story of these heroes is to be found detailed in a recent work in Hindî, entitled Atharûdî, printed in Devanâgarî at the Dilkushâ Press, Fathgârâ, 1883, a book, by the way, which is replete with curious old legends.

Mullanî. The person meant here is seemingly Shekh Yusâf Qoresht, ruler of Multân, 1443-5 A.D. He was deposed by his father-in-law, Râi Sahâr Langâ, alias Kutb'd-din Mahmûd Langâ, and sent under an escort to Dehîl. He was a man of learning and high character.

Shekh Farîd, etc.; this alludes to the well-known story of the Shekh's performing his penances, etc., hanging over the mouth of a well.

Mansûr: Mansûr Hallâj, alias Shekh Husain Hallâj Bâzi', the celebrated Sâfî, was put to death by the Khalifâ Al-Muqtadîr b'îllah (18th Abbaside of Baghdad, ante, vol. XII, p. 260), about 920 A.D., for proclaiming 'Amîl-i-haqq:
'I am the truth,' but which can also be translated, 'I am God.'

NO. VI. TEXT.

1.
Chhatri dharma païj ko bandhâ sukari sanjan sârâ :
Hamárâ nirp bekarit bar, dâr dharma ; dharma
sat hârâ.
Dín-deyî ! Din kâ Bandhâ ! Koî nahî niti hamârâ !
Dusâsen mahârâ chhîr gaho hai: mahâ ne savrî
thârâ !

Tek.

Kieî na sabhâ meî dharma bichârâ. Bâri.

2.
Gautam Bîch kî nât Aâhîlâ kartab augean sârâ :
Râj parvast Bâkunth vîdhrârî : Nîgâm kaheî
jâs sârâ.

Tek.

Kieî na sabhâ meî dharma bichârâ. Bâri.

3.
Arjun, Bhitâm, Yudishtîr Bâjâ, in kâ kuchh
nâhî chârâ.
Dharma hêt sab, lastar dârâ : bîsa gîd val sârâ.
Bhesham pitâ àur Dronâ Chârajî, sun sun maun
sârâh.

Hoe nilaj, laj nahnê, jin ko koî nahnê athanîhârê.

Tek.

Kieî na sabhâ meî dharma bichârâ. Bâri.

4.
Das ghas pât ko phâr na pâyâ, Dusâsen pach
hârâ : Șur, Shâm, Har hoe haîn sahâî, madusht ko
màrâ.'
TRANSLATION.
1. The Chhatrî performed a solemn vow of virtue, abstinence and all.
   My monarch doing-evil, threw away righteousness: destroyed righteousness and honour.
   O Protector of the poor! O Brother of the friendless! I have no friend!
   Duśāsana hath seized my garment: my refuge is in thee?

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness.

2. Ahalīya, the wife of Gautama Rishí, did very great wrong:
The king left his happy Heaven: the Scriptures tell the whole story.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness.

3. Arjuna, Bhīma and king Yudhishthira, to them was no good fortune (in the gambling match).
   They laid aside their arms for honour: their power was all lost.
   Father Bhishma and Droṇa Āchārya heard it and kept silence.
   They are without honour, no honour remains to those whom there is none to check.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness.

4. The ten yards robe would not tear, Duśāsana failed.
   Sūra, Sāyāma, and Hari gave help and slew the most wicked one.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness.

NOTES.

This very obscure hymn refers to a confused kind of way to part of the story of Draupadi as related in the Mahābhārata, excepting verse 2, which carries us to the Rāmāyaṇa and the story of Ahalīya and her husband Gautama Rishī.

The first verse appears to be a sort of prayer from Draupadi to Kṛṣṇa to help her against Duśāsana, who, after Yudhishthira had lost her along with himself and all his family, dragged her by the hair into the assembly, and began disrobing her, saying she was now a slave, and could not object.

The second verse refers to the story of Ahalīya, wife of Gautama Rishī, who was seduced by Indra, for which she was driven out of heaven, while she was cursed to be invisible for 1000 years till Rāma released her. See Growse's Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsi Dās, pp. 16 and 234. Observe the form kārta in this verse. Nīgam, properly the Vēdas, here means the Rāmāyaṇa.

The third verse continues the story of Draupadi, but is very difficult and obscure. In the first line chārdā seems to be chādā, often used for 'bad fortune,' but here evidently the reverse.

In the third line of this verse sārtha is for sādhā: mauna sāthā is to preserve silence. Lāy means both 'shame' and its opposite 'honour,' according to context; in this verse, I think, it has the latter meaning. I think the verse means that Yudhishthira (and so his brethren Arjuna and Bhīma) had no luck in the gambling match so fatal to him; and that the old guardian Bhishma and the teacher, Droṇa, of both parties looked on, and would help neither. If this be the meaning the final line and the meaning of lāy become intelligible.

The fourth verse has the same reference as the first, Sūra and Sāyāma mean Kṛṣṇa and his father. In the Mahābhārata legend Kṛṣṇa, being present at the scene when Duśāsana so ill-treated Draupadi, had pity on her and restored her garments as fast as they were torn off. Māthuṣṭ is for mahānāthuṣṭ, the very wicked one, i.e. Duśāsana.

GRANT OF THE BĀNA KING VIKRAMĀDITYA II
BY THE REV. T. FOULKES, CHAPLAIN OF S. JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

In an interesting group of copper-plate inscriptions which were sent to me for examination in connection with the Manual of the District of Salem, there are two land-grants of the kings of the Mahābali or Bāna dynasty. One of these grants is the subject of the present paper.

It consists of three copper-plates of an inscription which had originally four plates, together with the third plate of another similar
inscription. They are $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, being slightly narrower at the ends than in the middle, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. Their edges are slightly raised. They are strung on a seal-ring of copper wire $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in outside diameter. This ring has been cut in the middle for the removal of the plates.

The seal upon this ring is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. It projects $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the ring, upon which it is firmly soldered. It bears upon the centre of its face a recumbent bull facing the proper right, reclining on a flat ornamented pedestal, and supported by a lamp on each side. A small umbrella is raised above the bull with a fly-whisk on its right and left sides, between it and the lamps.

The inscription occupies the inside of the first plate, and both sides of each of the other plates, including the odd plate of the second grant. Each side has from nine to eleven lines of writing. The lines are not straight; nor is the engraving otherwise neatly executed.

The character is an antique form of the Tamil-Grantha. The deed is composed in Sanskrit metre, with the exception of the concluding unfinished portions, which are in Sanskrit prose.

It is a grant of land to certain learned Brahmans of Udayana and Vikramāditya II, of the Bāna dynasty: but the description of the matter of the donation is not found here, the inscription breaking off where it was on the point of being described.

It begins with two benedictory verses; the first of them in the name of Śiva; and the second in the name of Viṣṇu in the form of Nārāyaṇa. The genealogy of the donor of the grant then follows in verses 3 to 14; and a laudatory description of him occupies the 15th verse and the earlier part of the prose portion. It concludes with the effective part of the grant, in the remaining fragmentary portion.

The odd plate which is strung on the ring with the three plates of the above inscription, is of the same size and description as those three in all respects. It commences with words which are also found near the end of the second line of the third plate of the foregoing inscription. It is thus shown to be the third plate of another similar inscription; the introductory portions of which were copied from the same precedent; and, not improbably, the missing last plate of the above grant has been interchanged with this odd plate by mistake.

This inscription is of peculiar antiquarian importance, inasmuch as it helps to place an ancient dynasty of kings, bearing a very famous and illustrious name, but hitherto very little heard of, in their proper position, both local and chronological, amongst the old rulers of the Southern Dakṣaṇa. It is also additionally interesting as being the oldest inscription in the Tamil-Grantha character which has hitherto been discovered.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Svasti Śrī [tva] prakaṭikṛtāvatitarāṃ vedopī nālaṁ yataḥ
[2] Śrī[Śrī]tyāpatilāyāsaṣaṃstajagatām yanmanvate yoh-
[3] gīnaḥ []
[4] Skīshamā[sha]ṃ maṃsaṃrductrīṇādakutaryādinaratnāv-
[5] ḫ[ṛ][ṃ] śrī[ṛ]ṣi jātrāśiṣṭāḥīgyagalo bhūtyai Śi-
[6] vasso stū vah [v][]
[7] Kāḥrādīmāthitum manobhiratulaḥ
[8] devāsurasaimmandamāṃ Hitvākshipta ivājanādīriva ya-
[9] statprādikāḥ rājate [r] Yo bhogi[ṛ]ndramiśātmaṃrtiiran-
[12] ṭṛgha[rghy]a[m]mādyā gān Sadviṃśaḥ scharachārāṃma[ma]ḥ dinūdā de-

Plate II a.

[1] vyāya dailyadvice [d] Sohāḥ Vāmanarūpa Balriti khyā-
[2] taḥ suropadra ṣaḥ[ṛ]pāṇakaratāḥ Śivāṅghrikaramaladvā[ṛ]ṛchha-
[5] dyutirājumatul bBāṇaḥ kripaṃganihatāribha-
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.
[January, 1894.

Plate II b.

TI SM A KASHITEEKAVIR A ANDHRA PATHAH PAECHIMATO BALLIYA.

Plate III a.

SHU SAACHA[CHACHA]MARIBHTA BHUPATIVANDYAPADAYUGALA SRIL[SRIL]BAPAVIDYA.

Plate III b.

ABHAVATDyu[VADYu]DHII YATKARVAVTALAM DIVI[JADA]ADDiviPAVARIMUCHOSARJALAM

Odd Plate a.

dYACHATUSHTAYANIVISHATIMAVINLAH[[]]


ABHAVADUNAPAMARIFATARDTIVARGGA PRATHTIPRITHIKARIRT[[]]

SUK[SSUK]URNASMAVI[ Divi]NITAHA[[]] KASHITIPALAMUKHYA[HA]PARRVAAS[[]]

THIKAHPRITI[ DMA] DVAYANIVHATAMIYU VIKRAMATI[DIVI]TYANA[[]]

DAREUHA NAINIVDHHITI PARAANIPAPATAH[KAHA]DOHKHANTHA

VIJAYALABHAVIPULAYOSHINPAPABHUMASAN[[]]

VIVIDHAVISHHRANAN[TA]VILNAVALAYASAVAKARATALAGHITACHARUHE

MAKUMBLANISVADYAV[AVAD]RIDHARUPURVAKAM AKI[KHI]LAVADEVADLANGATKAR

TATVA[TTVA]SAVINIVSATASKARMAANITABHAYA[TAH]SAVINIVPRADAN[[]]

SHLEBBAYA DHVAYAVAYABHAVYA UDADYENDUMAANKA[GAN]LAVANIVIHAYA EVAMBBHUTA

CHA NAMA PARAM[[]]ABHAVATDyu[VADYu]DHII YATKARVAVJADAADDiviDADIVI PAVARIM.
Translation.

1. **Health and Wealth**! May that Śiva be to you for prosperity, whose nature even the Vēda cannot fully reveal; from whom proceed the stability, the origin and the destruction of all worlds; upon whom the pious fix their meditations; whose two feet are tinged with the multitudinous red rays of the rows of precious stones upon the diadems of the hosts of Sura chiefs who bow down before him.

2. May that Nārāyaṇa save you whose two feet are worshipped by the Sura hosts; who shines more brightly, as Mount Anjana set up by the Dēvas and Asuras when, forsaking Mount Mandara, they were minded to churn the milk-sea; who is that form which always reclines upon the prince of serpents to procure anew the immortalizing nectar.

3. He who was lord of the Asuras; who offered the oblation of welcome to the first existential god, the enemy of the Daityas, in the guise of Vāmana, while performing his sacrifice, and cheerfully gave him the earth with its islands and all things moving and immovable; whose chief delight was to cause trouble to the Suras, and whose constant occupation was the worship of the two lotus feet of Śiva; bore the name of Bālī.

4. From him sprung his son Bāṇa, the abode of virtue, and mighty in strength; who possessed the great pure favour of Śambhu; on whose head are the rays of the lustre of the crescent moon; with whose sword the armies of his enemies were slain; the foe of the Suras.

5. In his extended line Bāṇa-adhirāja was born, as the cool-rayed moon in the milk-sea; who hewed his enemies in battle with his keen-edged sword; of undiminished glory.

6. When Bāṇa-adhirāja and many other kings of the race of Bāṇa, had passed away, then at length Jayanandivarmanā was in that line, the chief abode of victory and wealth.

7. That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Āndhara country, cherishimg it as a peerless bride of high birth; his feet were tinged by the head-jewels of kings.

8. From him was born a son named Vijayāditya; the congregation of whose enemies was subject to him; and even on the field of battle his foes could not stand before him, but fled away seized with terror.

9. From him a son was born Śrī Malai-deva; who was called Jagadekamalla; whose arm was expert in cutting up the whole of his enemies; the source of undiminished merit and fame; who was as Ananga to womankind.

10. By him was born of his queen a son Śrī Bāṇa Vidyādha, incomparable and illustrious, as Shanmukha was born of Pārvati by Hara; he repelled the whole multitude of his enemies; he was very learned; and his pure fame was as a whisk to the ears of the elephants of the points of the compass; and his feet were worthy to be worshipped by kings.

11. His son was Prabhū Mṛrdeva; who expelled all his enemies; whose mind was intent on the four branches of knowledge; unassuming; a fountain of irresistible valour and glory; courageous; and free from the sorrow caused by sin.

12. From him a son was born named Vikramāditya; of unequalled wealth; before whom a multitude of enemies bowed down; whose great fame was spread abroad; humble; a chief amongst the families of kings; whose heart was fixed on the two lotus-feet of the lord of Pārvati.

13. Of him a son was born, named Vijayāditya; whose enemies fled from him in battle, terrified at his overpowering strength;
14. Whose second name was Pu k a l a v i p a v a g a n ď a, unbearable to his enemies; the cloud-like elephants cleft asunder by his sword in battle rained forth their blood like water.

15. Of him a son was born named Vi k r a m a d i t y a V i j a y a b ā h u; who followed the path of righteousness, and was a chief lamp of the B a n a dynasty; before whom a crowd of enemies humbly bowed down; the dear friend of K i ṣ h a R ā j a; he had great riches; and the distress of sin fled away from him;

16. The dust of whose feet was tinged by the lustre of the precious stones in the crest of the diadems of all kings; whose arm was covered with great glory acquired by cutting off the arms of the troops of many hostile kings of all classes.

17. When he had first of all poured water out of a beautiful golden water-pot held in the palm of his hand, on which was a bracelet set with many kinds of precious stones; to the distinguished Brāhmaṇaś who dwell at U d a y o n d u m a n g a l a, whose special duty is the study of the whole of the Vīdās and V e dāyās and the sciences of logic and religious philosophy; who are expert in communicating the knowledge stored up in their own minds, thus . . . . [The remainder of the grant is wanting.]

The odd plate begins with part of verse 11 above, "whose mind was intent, &c.," and proceeds in the same words down to verse 16; the second name of Vijaya ditya II, however, in the 14th verse, being P u k a l a v i p a v a g a n ď a here, instead of P u k a l a v i p a v a g a n ď a. The 16th and 17th verses of this plate are as follows:

16. On whose broad breast V i j a y a l a k ḍ h m l dwellas, won thither by victories obtained in many battles; the sun which makes manifest the clear sky of the B a n a race; whose lotus feet are tinged by the rays of the rubies set in the margins of the coronets of many prostrate hostile kings.

17. When he had first of all made the water oblation poured out of a beautiful golden large water-pot held in the palm of his hand; to certain Brāhmaṇaś, Veda . . . . [The remainder of the grant is wanting.]

Remarks.

The mighty B a l i, to whose race the line of kings commemorated in the present inscription claims to belong, has left a well-marked impression upon both the mythological and the legendary history of the whole of ancient India, ascending up to the earliest periods of the narrations of Vishṇu. The Purānas mention two ancient kings of this name; namely, B a l i the son of V i r o ḍ h a n ś, the redoubtable king of the Daityas, and B a l i, the son of Su t a p a ś, of the lunar race, the father of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma, and Puṅga. The sixth of the nine Ardha-chakravartis of the Jainas also bore this name; as did also one of the three brothers of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain, the rival of Sālivāhana. The Bali of the present inscription is identified, through his son B a n a ś, with the first of these four princes. He is therefore that M a h a B a l i who is the hero of innumerable legends belonging to every portion of India; the once lord of heaven and earth and hell; the leader of the hosts of the Asuras in their unsuccessful attempt to wrest the nectar of immortality from the gods; whose hundred arms were cut off by thunderbolts hurled at him by Indra while engaged in single combat with him; who, nevertheless, subsequently succeeded in driving the hosts of Indra out of the city of A m a r a v a t i, and in seating himself on the throne of that capital city of the gods; and who was at last overcome by Vishṇu, but only through stratagem, in his incarnation as the dwarf Vāmana, and was then degraded to the throne of the subterranean region of Pātāla. Festivals in his honour are to this day celebrated in different parts of India, a temple is dedicated to his worship at Gokarna; he is supposed to visit this earth annually on the anniversary of his incarnation in the infernal regions; and he is expected to reappear on the earth before the close of the present dispensation to inaugurate a general moral renovation of the world, at which time B haroṣh is

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2 Ibid. p. 444, or Hall's ed. vol. IV, p. 122.
3 Asiatic Researches, vol. IX, p. 262.
4 Ibid. vol. IX, p. 120.
5 See verse 4.
to have the distinction of being his birthplace; on the anniversary of his defeat by Vāmana the Brāhmaṇa annually renew their sacred thread, and the first day of the month of Kārtika is observed as the anniversary of his coronation as monarch of Pāṭāla.

Bāña, the eldest of the hundred sons of Bali, occupies a place in the legends of ancient India almost as conspicuous as that of his father. The story of the loves of A n i k dha, the grandson of Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as Kṛiṣṇa, and Uśā, the daughter of Bāña, is told in several of the Purāṇas; and so also is the history of the terrible war, which resulted from it, between Viṣṇu and Bāña, in which Bāña was ultimately defeated and his thousand arms cut off by the discus of Viṣṇu, notwithstanding the mighty assistance of Śiva, whom Bāña worshipped, who brought all his new supernatural forces to his aid in this war.

Intermediate between these two illustrious founders of this royal line and the series of consecutive kings who immediately preceded the donor of the present grant, the inscription interposes another prince, who bore the great name of the son of Bali, Bāna adbhiraja, of whom nothing more is known than the generalities which are mentioned here. He was preceded and succeeded by several unnamed princes.

The remainder of the pedigree of the donor is recorded in verses 6 to 15 of the inscription. It contains the following names:

Bāña adbhiraja.
Jayanandivarmā.
Vijayaditya I.
Sīr Malladōva, alias Jagadēkamalla.
Sīr Bāña Vidyaśākara.
Prabhu Mērudēva.
Vikramaditya I.
Vijayaditya II., alias Pukālavippavagāṇḍa.
Vikramaditya II., Vijaya-bāhu.

This pedigree presents us with a series of

eight princes in direct succession. Their reigns may therefore be regarded as covering about two centuries and a half of time.

The position of the territory of these princes is indicated in the following general terms in the seventh verse of the inscription:—"That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Aṇḍhra country." By "the Aṇḍhra country," we are to understand the country in which the Telugu language is spoken. We are then to look for the situation of the Bāña kingdom, or the territory of the Mahábāli-Bāña kings, along the southwestern boundary of the Telugu-speaking districts upon the borders of the Tamil country; because the Tamil-Graṇtha character in which this inscription is written, necessitates the conclusion that some portion of the dominions of these kings was in the neighbourhood of the Tamil-speaking country, in which alone this character was in use. We are therefore to look for it not far from the middle basin of the Pāḷār. The situation of the village of Uḍa-yōṇduṁaṅgaḷa, as described in other inscriptions of this group, renders this conclusion still more certain and definite.

The western boundary line of the Telugu language, after crossing the river Tūṅga-bāḍrā southwards, runs through the neighbourhood of Adōni, and strikes the left water-parting of the Northern Pennar near the elbow where that river changes its course from the northward to the eastward direction. It then runs up the line of that water-parting southwards, crossing the boundary of the present Māsīr territory, until it reaches Nandidurg. From this important hydrographical centre this language-limit coincides in a general way with the left water-parting of the Pāḷār, running in a south-easterly direction as far as the western boundary of the present district of North Arcot, and continuing onwards through the hills which lie along that boundary as far as the left bank of the Pāḷār near that point in its course where it enters the district of Salem.

line II.

"Compare Wilks' Myser, vol. I, p. 5, for the conterminous boundary of the Canarese language.

There are immigrant Telugu-speaking people scattered amongst the indigenous inhabitants of some portions of the country considerably to the south and west of the general limit here indicated. (Compare Rice's Myser and Coore, vol. I, p. 393, and Cox's Manual of North Arcot, p. 357.)"
We are therefore to look for a portion of the dominions of these ancient Bāṇa kings somewhere to the westward of this latter section of the Telugu boundary; namely, in the eastern portion of the present district of Kolār of the Maisūr territories. How far their kingdom extended into the Canarese country westwards, and what was its extent northwards, there is nothing here to indicate.

This location of the Bāṇa territory is confirmed by the indications of its situation which are incidentally mentioned in an inscription of another later Bāṇa prince, which I hope shortly to publish, for whom the Bāṇa kingdom was reuscuated by Vīra Nārāyaṇa Chōlā immediately after the Chōlē conquest of the Koṅgu-Karnāṭa kingdom. In the first place, that Bāṇa prince bore the title of 'Lord of Nandi'; from which it is to be inferred that the district in which Nandīdrā is situated formed part of the Bāṇa kingdom at that time. Secondly, the conquest of Tumbā by Vīra Nārāyaṇa Chōlā appears to have followed close up his victory over 'the lord of the Bāṇa kings'; from which it is to be inferred with considerable probability that Tumbā’s kingdom was in the neighbourhood of the Bāṇa kingdom. The situation of Tumbā is shown on the 78th sheet of the Great Trigonometrical Survey Map of India, there spelt ‘Toombhā’, near the western boundary of the present district of North Arcot, in latitude 13° 15′ N., and longitude 78° 35′ E.; and some portion of the old kingdom of Tumbā is probably represented at this day by the proprietary estate of the present Poligar of that name.80 On the other hand, the town of Kolār was apparently not in the Bāṇa kingdom; for, as early as the reign of Koṅgaṇivarman, who is placed in the third century A.D., it was held by the king of Koṅgu-Karnāṭa; and some of his successors are similarly said to have possessed it.81 Some portion of the country around Kolār, naturally depending on this chief town of the district, must also have been included in that proprietorship. The conquest of the Bāṇa kingdom by Koṅgaṇivarman is mentioned82 in connection with his residence at Kuvalāla-puram (Kolār); and from this it is to be inferred that some portion of the Bāṇa territory was in the neighbourhood of Kolār. It is not improbable that these districts may have been originally acquired by the Koṅgu-Karnāṭa kings by conquest from the Bāṇas, and that these latter kings were sometimes fortunate enough to reconquer them; at any rate the title of 'lord of Nandi' belonged sometimes to the kings of Koṅgu-Karnāṭa,83 as it did, to the Bāṇa prince referred to above.

The Bāṇa dynasty has long disappeared from the annals of Southern India; and but few references to it have hitherto been discovered in the researches which are at present being made respecting its early history.

(1). The early conquest of the Bāṇa kingdom by Koṅgaṇivarman has already been mentioned. Koṅgaṇivarman’s reign has been placed between A.D. 189 and 240,84 and this conquest therefore belongs to the end of the second century A.D., or to the beginning of the third century. This is the earliest reference which I have met with to this kingdom. Its conquest implies its existence at a still earlier date: and it necessarily follows that the Bāṇa kings were reigning as early at the least as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, and probably earlier still.

(2). A copperplate inscription of A.D. 777 at Nāgamaṅgalām85 mentions another victory over the Bāṇas by Duṇḍu, the heir-apparent to the kingdom of Niṟṟuṉa,86 which kingdom was then feudatory to Pṛthivī Koṅgaṇi, king of Koṅgu-Karnāṭa. From this it is to be inferred that at some date intermediate between these two conquests, that is to say, between the fourth and the eighth centuries A.D., the Bāṇa kings recovered their lost kingdom, and had become formidable to their neighbours,—a "cause of fear," as the expression is there.

(3). The continuous rule of the Bāṇa kings for a considerable portion of the intermediate centuries is attested by the present inscription of Vīkramāditya II.

(4). The 'uprooting' of the Bāṇa king by Vīra Nārāyaṇa Chōlā, whose date, ac-

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81 See Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, pages xvi, xlv, 142, 146, 173, 293 and 297.
82 In the unpublished Bāṇa inscription above referred to. See also Mys. Inscr., pp. xlii, 296, and Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 136.
83 Mys. Inscr., pp. xlv, xlvii, 148 and 149.
84 See Mys. Inscr., xlii. This date I think very doubtful.—See Floy’s Kanarese Dynasties, p. 111, or Ind. Ant. vol. XI., p. 111.—Cf. I. A.
86 Niṟṟuṉa is in the present district of Chitradurg in the Maisūr territories.
According to the information at present available, is the end of the ninth century A.D. and the beginning of the tenth century, is mentioned in the unpublished Bāṇa inscription referred to above; as is also the resuscitation of the Bāṇa kingdom shortly afterwards.

(5). There are two inscriptions of the Bāṇa kings at Gulagopade in the Kolār District, about fifteen miles north of Kolār. One of these inscriptions records the grant of a village for an act of bravery in the reign of Śrī Mahāvali Bāṇarasu, without any indication of that king's proper name. The other records a similar grant for raising the siege of Mavindī-ūru, to the commander of a detached force belonging to the army of Śrī Mahāvali Bāṇarasu, who is described as "the great king Vākramādītya, who, as a Mount Čūra of victory, received from other kings the celebrated name of Bāṇa Vijādāhara," i.e. Bāṇa Vidāyāhara. Here we have the name of one of the kings of the present inscription, the fourth from Jayanandivarmā. The present inscription, in the next place, throws light upon a doubtful passage in Mr. Rice's inscriptions; and, instead of Mr. Rice's rendering of the phrase, tannāsana Prabhū Mārū dēsāne, "at the command of the great lord who ruled him," in his translation of the first inscription, and "by command of the great lord who ruled him" in his translation of the second,—seeing from our present inscription that 'Prabhū Mārū' is the name of one of the kings of its pedigree,—the following rendering in military phraseology may now be substituted, "by order of Prabhū Mārū who commanded him." With this fresh light thrown upon them, both of these stone monuments clearly refer to two similar acts of bravery performed by two officers commanding detachments of cavalry from the army of Prince Prabhū Mārū, the heir-apparent of Śrī Vikramādītya Jaya Mārū, Bāṇa Vidāyāhara, and at that time commanding the Bāṇa army sent to the relief of the town of Mavindī-ūru when it was besieged by some powerful enemy.

(6). The existence of a Bāṇa kingdom of sufficient importance to be mentioned by the side of the principal kingdoms of Southern India as late as the end of the twelfth century, is attested by a verse of the Pratāpa Rudrīya of Vaidyanātha, a standard work on Sanskrit composition belonging to the fourteenth century:

"Rāte Ghrurjara jarjharosi samare Lampāka kiṁ kaṁpase
Vaṁga tvamāsai kiṁ mudhā balarajahākamo skīṁ Konkaṇa
Bāṇa prāṇaparāyano bhava Mahārāṣṭrāparāśatroyo anā
Yoddhāro vayam ityārābhūbhavānyo Aṁdrakamābhyādbhātāḥ"

"The troops of the king of Andhra triumph over his enemies exclaiming, Ghrurjara! thou art mocked in the fight. Lampāka! why dost thou tremble? Vanga! why dost thou flee away? Konkaṇa! why art thou blinded for nothing by the dust raised by thy troops? Bāṇa! save thy life. Mahārāṣṭra! thou hast lost thy dominions. We are the warriors."

(7). The Trivikrama-vrīti, a celebrated Prākrit grammar belonging probably to the fourteenth century, states that its author, Trivikrama Deva was of Bāṇa descent. The passage runs thus in my manuscript copy of this work:

Śrī Bāṇa sukulasakala-dyumanājātīya-varmanāḥ-pautraḥ
Śrī Mallināthaputro Lokadhūgarbhāmritātāṃ
budhisudhāhaṁ
Bhāmasya Vṛtāvidyā-nāmāṁ bhrātā Trivikramāsukvāḥ

The date of the present inscription cannot yet be definitely ascertained. The date of the Gulagopade monuments above referred to would lead to the date of this grant approximately if their dates could be fixed with any approach to certainty; a conjectural date alone, however, can be assigned to them at present. When Mr. Rice first published25 those monuments, he regarded them as belonging to two distinct periods two centuries apart; but in his more recent revision,26

27 See verse 10.
28 See verse 11.
29 Pratāpa-Rudrīya, Prā. I. v. 29; and repeated with a slight variation in the example-drāma, Prā. III. v. 47.
30 Namely, Pratāpa Rudra, the Kakāsthiya king of Orangān, about A.D. 1185 (see note, vol. X, p. 211; vol. XI, pp. 25—26.)
31 In A.D. 1723; Mys. Inscr. pp. 304-305.
32 In 1881; Ind. Antiq. vol. X, p. 88.
of them published in this journal, he regards them as belonging to the same reign; and he there assigns a date to them "not later than the seventh century," upon grounds arising out of references which he finds in other inscriptions. If the reign of Bāha Vidyādharā could be assigned to the seventh century with any trustworthy approach to exactness, the approximate date of the present inscription would be about a century later; since its donor lived in the fourth generation after Bāha Vidyādharā; at the latest its date would be, on these grounds, about A.D. 750.

The fact that this inscription is written in the Tamil-grantha character is of considerable consequence in the search for its date. The time of the introduction of this character cannot yet be traced; its earliest appearance known to me connected with a clue to any date is in the inscriptions of the Chōja kings, in which the names of those kings are frequently written in letters of this character, as are also the Sanskrit quotations which are found in them, while the body of the inscriptions is written in the antique Tamil character. The earliest of the Chōja kings to whom a date can be assigned, namely, Viṃa Nārāyaṇa Chōja, reigned about A.D. 920.  

NOTES ON BUDDHIST IMAGES IN CEYLON.

BY W. KNIGHT JAMES, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.S., COLOMBO.

I. Buddha.—In Ceylon Viṃhāna or shrines, Buddha is represented in three positions: (1) standing; (2) sitting; (3) reclining.

1. In standing figures, the left arm hangs by the side of the body, the fingers are stretched out close together, slightly touching the thigh of the left leg. The right arm is placed close to the side as far as the elbow, the forearm is raised, and the hand held vertically, displaying the palm, while the thumb and index finger are joined at their tips, leaving an oval space between them. This position of the left arm is supposed to represent the inoffensiveness of Buddha, and the needlessness to the Perfect One of any temporal defence or protection. The position of the right arm indicates exhortation, and the placing together of the thumb and finger is intended to show that he covets not the smallest particle of worldly wealth.

Sometimes the right arm to the elbow is placed by the side as above, but the under part of the forearm is towards the body, and the palm of the hand turned upwards with the fingers slightly inclined downwards. This position is symbolic of benevolence, open-heartedness and charity.

2. Sitting figures are always cross-legged, with the soles of the feet turned upwards. This is probably a device of the sculptor to show the Maṅgala-lakkhaṇas, or auspicious marks of which Buddha was said to have had 108 on his feet.

The hands generally rest in the lap, the back of the right hand lying in the palm of the left. Sometimes the hands are separated, the right one resting on the thigh, close to the knee, and the left one placed on the sole of the right foot (the Bhāmispārtha mūrdhā).

This position is indicative of contemplation and deep meditation (Pali, Dhyāna). I have never seen or heard of any sitting figure of the Buddha in Ceylon, with the feet hanging down, such as are stated by Dr. Burges to be found in the Cave Temples of India.

3. Reclining figures are always on the right side, representing what is called in Pali Sīhāsenyā—"the lion’s sleep." Buddha while sleeping was said to retain his consciousness. The head in this position is represented as resting on the palm of the right hand, the elbow touches the bed, and the forearm rests on a round pillow. The left arm is extended and rests upon the left side. The figure is always represented in full length, and the legs and feet are placed one upon the other. This position is emblematical of perfect rest (Pali, nīrodhasamāpatti—the nirvāṇa to be attained in this world). Very rarely a figure of Buddha is represented as walking, but it is doubtless intended to represent the Buddha during one of the seven satīyas or weeks which he spent fasting, and during which time he is said to have been engaged in various exercises intended to show how thoroughly he had overcome human passions and fatigues.

38 The reasons for fixing this date will be given in my remarks upon the second Bāha inscription.

1 This is the Dhyānamūrdhā.

One of these satiyas was spent in walking up and down on the *Batschakakama* or walk composed of gems which was built for him by the gods.

Small images, made of gold and silver, and representing Buddha in each of the seven satiyas, are frequently enclosed within dagabas in Ceylon. The images of the 24 Buddhas previous to Gnuama, and from whom he obtained Visarana or approbation, are also frequently enshrined in these dagabas. Sometimes in temple sculptures, but more frequently in paintings, we find these 24 figures represented with the Boddhissattva in attendance in a reverential attitude, and occasionally he is represented as making offerings of flowers, &c., to them. There appear however to be no distinctive marks by which each of the Buddhas can be distinguished. They are usually arranged in a row, which is supposed to represent their order.

The Boddhissattva is generally broadly distinguished:—when he appeared as a Rājā or a Cakkavatti Rājā, he is represented as wearing a kingly or imperial crown; when a Nāga Rājā as wearing a crown formed by a cobra; in Brahmanical dress when a Brāhmaṇa. He is represented as a lion when with the Buddha intended to represent Padamo, and as an ascetic wearing the jatā of matted hair, when represented as Jatilo the Boddhissattva of Padumattaro.

Sometimes an incident during one of the satiyas is represented. When Gautama was preaching rain came on, and a snake god, Muchalindo (Muchilinda) is said to have spread out its hood over his head to protect him from the storm. An image representing this, which was at one time in the Kasani Temple near Colombo is described by Totagamuwa in his *Selaithi Sandesa*.

II. Attendants.—In Ceylon there are only two principal attendant figures, these are Sāriputta, who is always on Buddha's right, and Mogallaṇa, who is always represented on the left. These are the Ajasāvaka or chief disciples.

The posture of the attendants is generally standing with the palms of their hands together in an attitude of reverence. They are rarely represented as sitting, and never when the Buddha is standing, and we never find them represented in the reclining posture. Sometimes the disciples hold a flower (generally a lotus) in the right hand, while the left hangs by the side of the body. This is intended to represent pēja, or the offering of flowers to Buddha. In some temple paintings, with these two, and sometimes without them, is represented a large number of other disciples in various attitudes of reverence, such as kneeling, standing with bowed head, offering flowers, &c., but no distinctive names are given to any of these figures. Ananda and Kassapa appear not to be represented in Ceylon sculptures as principal attendants.

III. Dress, &c.—Buddha and his disciples are always represented as wearing the ordinary saffron-coloured mendicant's robe. In some figures both shoulders are covered, whilst in others the robe is thrown only over the left shoulder, leaving the right one bare. In Buddhist books Buddha is spoken of as wearing his robe over both shoulders when preaching, walking abroad, or in the presence of an assembly, and over one only when in the retirement of the pansi, but it appears doubtful whether artists have been guided by this in any way.

Although in Ceylon Buddha or his disciples are never represented as wearing ornaments or a head-dress of any kind, he is generally represented as having on his head a peculiar flame-like process which is intended to represent a sort of halo (Sin. Sīraspati) formed by the collection of the six coloured rays of light which were said to be reflected from his body (Pali, niḷa, pīta, lōhitā, oḍāta and man-jīthā). In some paintings however this halo is represented as surrounding the whole body. Buddha is generally represented as having short hair arranged in the form of little curls.

IV. The figure of Buddha is invariably represented as larger than that of any of his attendants or disciples. There is among the Buddhists of Ceylon a tradition that Buddha's height was 18 cubits (27 feet) and under this notion where it is possible they make the reclining figure of this length, but at Anuradhapura, between Dambulla and Anuradhapura, however, there has been discovered a colossal standing image of Buddha, hewn from the solid gneiss, which is said to be nearly 50 feet in
A LEGEND FROM THE TALAVAKĀRA
(OR JAIMINĪYA) BRĀHMAṆA OF THE SĀMAṆEYA.

BY THE LATE A. C. BURNELL, M. D.

The Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa has been hitherto known only by Saṅkarṣehārya's assuring us that the Kṣaṇapāṇiḥṣad forms part of the ninth chapter of it, and it seems to have been long regarded as a lost work; at least, Sanskrit scholars mention it with an indifference that shows they were hopeless about its recovery. By a lucky concurrence of circumstances, not only did it come to my knowledge that this work still existed, but a copy has come into my hands, and from it I extract the following legend:

This Brāhmaṇa is, perhaps, the largest work of the kind in existence; it is much like the other Brāhmaṇas in style and contents, but much of the matter is new, and it promises to be of considerable importance to lexicographers, as it contains many new words, and furnishes means to test the renderings hitherto given to hard words already found in the Brāhmaṇa literature. It is also, happily, a contrast to the dry and sūtra-like Brāhmaṇas of the Śaṁ-

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1 Prof. Weber's "Sanskrit Literature" (Eng. trans.) p. 74 of the text; in the App., he notices my discovery. Prof. Monier Williams, Indians Wisdom, p. 25.
2 The old Grantha MSS. containing three chapters were lent me, and from a copy of these I give the

4 This has, in effect, been done in many cases, by Dr. J. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts.
many obscure passages and allusions in the
Sūmyā and Purānas.

I shall now give the Talavakāra version of the
legend (ch. I. §§ 41-43) word for word, almost,
as follows in English:—

Now Bhrigu Varuṇa's son was a student. He
thought himself better than his father, and
the gods, than other Brāhmanas not students. But
Varuṇa beheld (him): "Why is my son utterly
without discernment? I must teach him!" He
took his breath away, then he, freed from
darkness and from limits, went to the other world.
He went on in that world. One having cut up
a man ate him. He said: "Can this be? How is
this?" They said to him: "Ask (thy) father
Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee." He went
on again. A man devoured a man who was crying
out. He said: "Can this be? How is this?"
They said to him: "Ask (thy) father Varuṇa! He
will explain this to thee!" A third (time) he went
on. A man devoured a man who was silent. He
said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said:
"Ask (thy) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to
thee!" For the fourth (time) he went on. Two
women watched much wealth. He said: "Can
this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask (thy)
father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!"
For the fifth (time) he went on. (He saw) a red
woman and a yellow woman both stretching out
(their) arms. As for the red woman, a black,
naked man with a club, watched her. As for the
yellow woman, golden men with golden pots,
were raising her up all her wishes. He said:
"Can this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask
(thy) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to
thee!" For the sixth (time) he went on. (He
saw) five rivers, abounding in blue and white
lotus flowers, flowing with sweet water. In them
were bands of Apsarasas, the sound of lutes and
singing and dancing, a delightful smell, (and)
a great sound. He said: "Can this be? How is
this?" They said: "Ask (thy) father Varuṇa!
He will explain this to thee!"||41||

He then met Varuṇa in an open place; he
said to him: "Father, I am come!" "Son! didst thou see?" "Father! I saw." "What? son!" "A man cut down a man and ate him."
He replied: "Yes, those who do not
understand rightly and do not offer the agnihotra
in this world, (but) cut down plants, and use
them as fuel, them the plants, in human form,
devour in return in that world." "What
avoidance is there for that? When one puts
on fuel (to the sacred fire) for it, that is avoidance
of it, by that it is evaded." "What next?" "A man ate a man who was crying
out." "Yes," he said; "those who in this world
do not rightly understand and do not offer the
agnihotra, (but) cook animals for themselves,
them the animals in human form devour in
return in that world." "What avoidance is
there for that?" "If one offers the first
invocation by the voice, that is the avoidance of it;
by that it is evaded." "What thirdly?" "A
man was devouring a man who was silent." "Yes,"
said he; "as men who do not offer the
agnihotra or rightly understand, cook in this
world for themselves the plants that are silent,
so the plants in human form eat them in return
in that world." "What avoidance is there of
that?" "When one offers the final invocation
by the mind, that is avoidance of it; by that it is
evaded." "What fourthly?" "Two women
watched much wealth." "Yes," he said: "they
were Belief and Disbelief. Those who in
this world offer the agnihotra (but) who do not
rightly understand, (and) who sacrifice without
faith, it (goes to) Disbelief, those who have
faith, it (goes to) Belief." "What avoidance of
it is there?" "If one tastes for them (the
milk) twice by means of a finger, that is avoidance
of it; by that it is evaded."||42||

"What fifthly?" "(I saw) a red woman and
a fair woman stretching out their arms. As
for the red woman, her a black naked man
with a club watched. But as for the fair
woman, golden men with golden pots raised her
up all her wishes." "Yes," he said: "those
who do not offer the Agnihotra in this world,
and don't understand rightly, press out Brāhma
blood; that is the red woman. But the
black naked man with a club who watched her
is Wrath; she is his Ambrosia." "What
avoidance of that is there?" "When one eats
(of the offering) by the aruc (wooden spoon),
that is its avoidance; it is evaded by that." "Now
the water that, having washed that
spoon, one pours out to the North, that is
the fair woman, for whom golden men with
golden pots raised up all her wishes." "What
sixthly?" "Five rivers, abounding with blue
and white lotus flowers, flowing with sweet
water; in them dancing and singing, the sound
of lutes, troops of Apsarasas, a delightful smell,
a great sound." He said: "Yes, those were
my regions." "How must I conquer thee?"
"By what is learned from (these) five sights,
by what is inferred from (these) five sights." He said: "As there is no room to conquer (that) world except by the agnihotra, to-day (shall be) my fast-day before establishing sacred fire." So they did. The wise man who knows this thus, (and) sacrifices the agnihotra, by (reason of it) the plants in human form do not devour him in that world, nor cattle, nor (grain-plants such as) rice and barley. His sacrifices are not destroyed, going to Belief and Unbelief. He prevents the red woman, the fair woman. || 43 ||

The corresponding legend in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa has been translated (in German) by Prof. Weber; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it here, and the same illustrous servant has already fully discussed the Indian view of the sacrificial acts referred to. I will, therefore, only say that the agnivādha (or establishing by a Brāhman of the three sacred fires in his house) is the necessary step to the agnihotra or offering of milk in the fire, morning and evening, which at once strikes for all the wrongs the offerer may do, and is also the preliminary to the other Vedic sacrifices. But this offering, as the above shows, must be done with right knowledge and intention, or it is in vain.

The first remarkable point in the above legend, as we now have it, is that Bṛgūd died and went to the other world. In this way it has a character quite new to it, for in the meager version already known, there is nothing of this, and Bṛgūd meets his divine father just as he might meet any mortal in the world. In this way, also, the legend belongs to a large and striking class of myths which occur not only in the so-called Indo-Germanic, but also in the Assyrian and Semitic mythologies. The story of Orpheus and the descent of Aeneas will at once occur to all. In the Norse there are similar legends, the Vegamsvīða in the older Edda, and the journey of Gylfi in the

younger. The Persian (Pahlavi) book of Arda Virāf is one of the most complete stories of the kind, and is, in many parts, much like the Brāhmaṇa. In the Middle Ages the popular myths, e.g. of the Venus mountain, and even the lives of the Saints, e.g. of St. Bruno the founder of the Carthusian Order, furnish visions or experiences of precisely the same kind, to say nothing of Dante's Divina Commedia. If these Indo-Germanic myths be compared, they all agree in one remarkable characteristic, a strong impression of illusion; the journey is more or less unsatisfactory, and the result to its hero is only this, that he must go on steadily in the old paths. The Semitic myths of this kind, e.g. Muhammad's journey, have a more positive character. Legends of this kind, it is hardly necessary to say, abound in all primitive literatures.

Again, Varuṇa here appears in his primitive character, as a death-causing god; which is omitted in the Satapatha text. Varuṇa takes away Bṛgūd's breath or rather (i.e.) 'breaths,' and then goes to the other world. It is remarkable also that the sixth sight that Bṛgūd saw is omitted in the Satapatha text, and the first is repeated. Again, in the Talaṅkāra text there is nothing like an idea of heaven and hell as distinct and separate places, whereas in the Satapatha the distinction is clear. This differentiation points to relatively later times.

For these reasons, it may be urged that the Talaṅkāra text is the older; as it is it is far more intelligible than that in the Satapatha. In the last, only enough to barely convey the lesson intended is left; but this abridgment is characteristic of the later Vedic literature as it gradually became transformed into sūtras or kārikās.

The style supports this view. That of the Talaṅkāra text is plain vigorous prose, with a more frequent use of the conjunctive mood,

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* There are very few Brāhmaṇas who do this now-a-days, and the number is rapidly diminishing. The whole first chapter of the Talaṅkāra Brāhmaṇa treats of the agnihotra and pṛṣṭhiṣṭinha connected with it, much as in the fifth book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but the resemblance is only as far as the matter goes. I have not found a single passage common to both Brāhmaṇas. For the agnihotra see Āpast. Śrauta sūtra, ch. v., and for the agnihotra, ch. vi.
* On this mythical being and the Bṛgūd see Muir's Sanskrit Texts.

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* So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned I will only refer to the Kāthakaṇāpana.
* This is amusingly preserved in the dream of the meddlesome cobbler. See Grimm's Kinder- und Hausmärchen (ed. of 1864), vol. II, p. 388. So also in the tale of Rip van Winkle. The first of these is based on a very old tale. See Grimm's remarks, do.: vol. III, p. 249 fig. (ed. 1866). The last book but one of the Mahābhārata also brings this feature prominently forward.
whereas that of the Satapatha shows a tendency to accumulate epithets, a characteristic of the later Sanskrit, in which the general clearness of statement is sacrificed to an attempt at precise details, such as, in the end, led to the sūtra style, in which details are everything, and it is often all but impossible to get a clear general view of the matter discussed. In some respects, the style is irregular, like that of the gāthās—a name which the Śāmavēda writers give to prose and to the Brāhmanas.

These differences in the condition of the text of the two Brāhmanas show clearly the value of a definite form or style in preserving traditional literatures; the metres of the Vedas have saved the parts in verse from much change, whereas those in prose have suffered like the Brāhmanas.

If the above legend be not of the very earliest times, yet the language and style mark it as belonging to the earliest part of the times when the Brāhmanas were composed, or to a time when the earliest notions of the Brāhmanas, so far as we know, yet survived to a great extent, though a transition to polytheism had already commenced; but there cannot be a better example of fetishism in the real sense of the word—for it is strictly a technical term—than what we find here, where plants are seen by Bhrigu as human beings, and even Śraddhā or faith and its contrary are personified. Such notions survive even in the later Sanskrit literature; but in the earlier or Vedic literature they are to be found almost in every line; the difficulty is not to find examples, but to choose the best. The names of the Vedic gods, for instance, are all names of natural objects, and Dr. Muir’s Sanskrit Texts put in the clearest light the gradual growth from fetishist conceptions regarding these objects or phenomena, up to the polytheistic notions of more advanced times. It is impossible to read the different allusions to the Vedic gods collected by Dr. Muir from the earliest Indian literature without perceiving that the Vedic mythology is a confused mass of inconsistent beliefs; there is nothing like a trace of harmony or subordination. But such a state of things can only be explained by what is to be understood by fetishism; if any metaphysical abstraction had been the beginning of the Vedic mythology, some artificial harmony must have been the result, and the supererogatory gods and the attribution of the same functions to several gods would not appear; as it is, the confusion is so great, that the greatest scholars have not yet reduced this chaos to order.

In the text there is a mention of a class of divine beings—Apsaraes—to which references are rare in the Vedic literature. Various explanations have been assigned to account for them, and from Yāska down to the present time various etymologies of the name have been proposed. Goldsticker supposed that they are intended to represent the vapours affected by the sun, and Holtzmann compares them to the fairies of Europe. I would suggest—"I cannot find that it has been done already—that they are the Indian counterparts of the naiads and nymphae of Europe. Thus (as in the text) we find them mentioned in connection with water, and like the water spirits of Europe they are dangerous and seductive. They are also mentioned in company with gandharvas, who seem to be the corresponding male spirits, and who possess women like the Apsaraes seduce men.

It is remarkable that these beings are sometimes represented as being the equals of the physiques."—Briel, Hercule et Cacus (1862) p. 7. This view is supported by the more recent researches of Hillebrandt and others.

11 Samhita-paṇiḥ-isākṣaṇaḥ, p. 38, Śāmavēda Prātiśākhya, Śāra 38.
12 I use the word without the usual inverted commas, for it is now a good English word. 'Religion' is to be found in Purerha (1820). Originally, it is Portuguese, but as a technical, philosophical term we owe it to A. Comte.—Cours de Phil., Polit. vol. V, p. 25.
13 Similar ideas survive elsewhere. Cf. the superstition about the mandrake.
14 Cf. Manu, ch. ii, 114. As regards plants—Fīshāh (Rigveda), I, 15.
15 This has been often casually stated: "La race indo-européenne fit des forces de la nature ses premières divinités; elle adora le Ciel, le Soleil, l’Aurore, la Tempête; elle leur prêta une âme, une intelligence, une volonté libre, des sentiments d’amitié ou de haine pour les hommes. Mais, tout en leur rendant hommage comme à des êtres supérieurs, on ne perdait pas de vue leur caractère..."
greater gods; thus in this Tālavaṅkāra Brāhmaṇa, it is said that when the Dēvas and Asuras were contending, Indra went to a Gandharva with three heads to learn how to get the victory. In the later literature and Buddhist works, myriads of Apearses and Gandharvas are mentioned, but they are very subordinate beings.

It appears to me that fetishism only will make all this intelligible. How otherwise is it possible to explain the multitude of divine beings of the same class? or how is it possible to explain invocations and offerings to divine beings that the Vedic writers yet knew to be only natural phenomena?

The recovery of this Brāhmaṇa and the Sākhā of the Saṃaveda to which it belongs, now confirms, in a striking way, the conclusions which Haag's discovery of the Maitrāyaṇiya Sākhā of the Yajurveda, and Sir W. Muir's discovery of the Paippalada Sākhā of the Atharvaveda already suggested a few years ago, that there is little absolutely new to be hoped for, even if the recovery of the lost Vedic works became probable. That a few more books of this kind may be found, is possible; but it is tolerably certain that they will be very much like what we already have, and that though they may furnish new details and thus help research, yet the progress of the growth and development of the Brāhmaṇa-religion and literature will still remain to be discovered by minute and painful research; there is no longer any probability of a happy discovery which will, at once and without the tedious labour now necessary, throw light on what is obscure and open out new fields to the enquirer.

This is a result that the earliest students of Sanskrit—except, perhaps, the sober Colebrooke—certainly did not anticipate; but it will be much to the advantage of Indian studies, if it be now generally recognized that they are utterly foreign to all sentimentalism and romance, and that only the most tedious and patient labour can hope to make any dis-coveries, and that even those will be of little interest except to scientists. Here, in short, there is now no room for amateurs, who cannot be expected to sift the mountains of dust and ashes which represent Indian literatures, in the hope that years of toil may bring to light a few grains of ore.

I will now give one specimen to show the philological interest of this Brāhmaṇa.

Sakvāla (Chakkavāla, Chakkavāla).

In Pali books one frequently meets with words which are not to be found in Sanskrit texts, and yet must obviously have had a Sanskrit source. Such a word, e.g., is the Pali chakkavāla commonly called sakvāla (the Sinhalese form of the word) in popular treatises on Buddhism. This word is used to signify a mundane system (of which there is an infinite number), the limit being the space to which the light of a sun is supposed to extend.

The late Prof. Childers (in his admirable Pali Dictionary) has derived this word from chakravāla (Sanskrit), but for this word (assumed to mean 'limit') there is no good authority. Chakravāla (Sanskrit) is equally questionable; both words, in short, seem to be fabrications of pedants, and occur only in the Amarāvīśa and other relatively recent works.

In the Jaiminiya (Tālavaṅkāra) Brāhmaṇa a new word occurs which is evidently the Sanskrit original of chakkavāla; this word is chākavāla (neut.). It occurs more than once, but the following passage (ii, 23) settles its meaning: adityo veda stada atragāma deśa yatraśca chākavāla adi 'gniḥ sa idam sarvam prātāpālasya deśa praddhāhāh abhidhayās tātvam sarvasved ayam idam prayakhastāti' etc. Here chākavāla can only mean 'sphere' or 'horizon.'

The formation from this of the Pali chakka-vāla is easily explained.

The _itr_ becomes short before the double consonant (Minaye's Pali Gr. by Guyard, § 9), and this (by insertion of a) becomes kava (do. § 46. cf. ratana), and thus we get chakkava-la, which has been assumed (as might be the case) to be the representative of chakkavāla;

\[21\] Ch. iii., § 10. Cf. Rig. 940, 4; 955, 6.

\[22\] Lotus de la bonne Loi, ch. xxi. p. 279.

\[23\] As regards the first, see the preface to my Jaiminiya text of the Āraṇavāra Brāhmaṇa (1879); as regards the second, Haag's Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇa (1871), pp. 314, and Weber's Ind. Studien, xiii. pp. 117-128. As regards the third, von Both's Der Atharvaveda in Eschminner (1879).

\[24\] Not, however, by indiscriminate and unscientific search made by persons who do not know what to look for. But if success is to follow such search at all, it will only be possible at present; in a few years more, all the little known and obscure works—and these alone are of value—will have utterly disappeared. Very little interest is taken by the natives, at present, in their literatures, and what little exists is bestowed entirely on recent sectarian and polemical tracts.
the difficulty as regards the meaning of *vīśa* being overlooked; as an independent word it means 'hair,' and is not a formative.

But what is the origin of *chākukha*? *dla* is here obviously a primary formative such as we find in *pādāla* pānīkha, *visāla* mṛndīla and other words. The root is then, to be sought in *chāk-.* I would connect this with *(ā)* chakṣaḥ = see, as appears in *chakṣukha*, etc. Thus *chākukhala* would mean the visible horizon, and from this has been gradually extended in meaning to what we find in the Buddhist cosmogony.

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**ON THE JĀMINIYĀ- OR TALAVĀKĀRA-BRĀHMAṆA.**

**BY PROF. W. D. WHITNEY, OF NEW HAVEN.**

The *Jāminīya* is on the whole a dull and uninteresting work, as compared with the others of its class. A most unreasonable share of its immense mass is taken up with telling on what occasion some being "saw" a particular *sāman,* and "praised with it," thereby attaining certain desired ends, which may be attained by others that will follow his example; and the pseudo-legends thus reported or fabricated average of a degree of flatness and artificiality quite below the ordinary. Of course, there are extensive passages of different character; and also some of the stock legendary material of the Brāhmaṇa period appears here in a new setting, or in a different version, or both. Decidedly the most interesting case of the latter kind, so far as I have observed, is the passage which, with a true insight, Burnell himself selected and published in 1878 as a specimen of his new Brāhmaṇa. By way of further specimen and contribution to the same important end, the comparison of the varying versions of common material found in the Brāhmaṇas, I give here another extract, containing a story already well known from the *Sūtpatāta;* it fills several sections of the third and last of the principal divisions of the *Brāhmaṇa* proper:

"120. To these the chāyana. Chāyana the Brāhgyavan knew the *vstupāṣya* (MS. vstup-vdp-fur., *vstupasya*) *brāhmaṇa.* He said to his sons: 'I know the *vstupāṣya brāhmaṇa*; put me down, then, in the *vstup,* and go forth with thrice repeated departure (*trīḥ punaḥ* prayaścīta). They said: 'We shall not be able; we shall be cried out against (ākṛśana-cacetata); men will say of us "they have deserted their father."' 'Not so,' said he; 'you on your part will be the gainers by it, and I by this means have hopes of becoming young again; just leave me and go forth.' Thus he gave them to understand. They put him down at the *kīrthana* of the *Sarasvatī,* and went forth with thrice renewed departure. He, deserted (?) in the *vstup,* wished: 'May I be young again; may I win a girl for wife; may I sacrifice with a thousand.' He saw this *sāman;* he praised with it.

"121. When he had praised, Śrīyāta the *Māṇavan,* with his clan, settled down by (adhyāyasayat) him. The young cow-herds smeared him with dirt, with balls of dung whitened with ashes (daśapāṇa). He wrought discord for the Śrīyātana; then neither did mother know son, nor son mother. Śrīyāta the *Māṇavan* said: 'Have you seen anything here about, on account of which this has become thus?' They said to him: 'Surely there lies below here this used-up (nāṣikṣṭha) old man; him the young cow-herds and shepherds to-day have been smearing (adhitaka) with dirt, with balls of dung whitened with ashes; hence this has become thus.'

"122. He said: 'That verily was (ābhāt 'has been') Chāyana the Brāhgyavan; he knows the *vstupāṣya brāhmaṇa*; him, now, his sons have left in the *vstup* and have gone forth.' Running up to him, he said: 'Sage! homage to thee! have mercy, sir, on the Śrīyātana.' Now there was a beautiful daughter of Śrīyāta, Sukanyā. He said: 'Do you give me Sukanyā.' 'Not so,' said he; 'name some other treasure.' 'Not so,' said he; 'surely I know the *vstupāṣya brāhmaṇa*; put her down here by me, and then go (yada) with your clan this very day at evening.' They said: 'How shall we answer thee without taking counsel?' They took counsel, and said: 'Surely, one, two, three treasures we should be willing to gain at cost of her; and now we shall gain just everything by her; come, let us give her to him.' They gave her to him. They said to her: 'Girl, this is a worn-out old man, not equal to pursuing; when, now, we shall yoke up, then do you run (āhavād) after.' So she rose up to follow after

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8 From a small tract printed at Mangalore in 1873.
9 See the next paper.
10 From the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, May, 1883.
11 A *Legend from the Talavakāra or Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Śrama-Veda,* by A. C. Burnell. Mangalore, 1878; pp. 40, 24mo. Also included in the *Acts of the International Oriental Congress at Florence,* vol. II, pp. 97-111; and given above, except the Sanskrit text, and some other very slight omissions.
the clan when it had yoked up. He said: 'O serpent, circumvent her deserting [her] living friend.' As she goes (i?)—

"123. A black snake rose up against her. She noting this, sat down. Now the two Áśvins, spoon-sacrificers (darśāhūṁaṁ), were going about there performing cures, not sharers in the soma (anapāsāmaṁ). They came up to her and said: 'This is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband (pāltīcandya); be our wife.' 'Not so,' she said: 'to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.' This he listened to. Then they went forth. He said: 'Girl, what was that noise just now?' 'Two men came up to me here with a form that is the most beautiful of forms.' 'What did they say to you?' 'Girl, this is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband; be our wife.' 'What did you say?' 'Not so, I said; to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.'

"124. That, now, was pleasant to him; he said: 'Those were the two Áśvins, spoon-sacrificers, that go about here performing cures, not sharers in the soma. They will come to-morrow and say the same thing to you; do you then say (brāṭād): "You verily are not whole, who being gods, are not soma-drinkers (asūnāmapau); whole in sooth is my husband, who is a soma-drinker.' They will say to you: 'Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the soma (api soma)?' And do you say (brāṭād): "My husband here.' By means this there is hope of my becoming young again.' They came to her on the morrow and said the same thing. She said: 'You verily are not whole, who being gods, are not soma-drinkers; whole in sooth is my husband, who is a soma-drinker.' They said: 'Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the soma?' 'My husband here,' she said.

"125. They said to him: 'Sage, make us sharers in the soma, sir.' 'Very well,' said he; do you now make me young again.' They drew him away to the kāśīvāra of the Sarasvatī. He said: 'Girl, we shall all come out looking alike; do you then know (jāntūd) me by this sign. They all came out looking just alike, with that form which is the most beautiful of forms. She, recognizing him . . .

'This is my husband.' They said to him: 'Sage, we have performed for you that desire which has been your desire; you have become young again; now instruct us in such wise that we may be sharers in the soma.'

"126. He said: 'The gods here are engaged in sacrificing in Kurukahētra with a victim-sacrifice (? pājāshyāyaigrāma); they do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice; the head of the sacrifice was cut off; so then what Dadhyāch the Atharväna saw, that do you supply; he will teach it to you; then you will become sharers in the soma.' That head of the sacrifice that was cut off is yonder sun; he in sooth is the pāvavṛgya. So they came to Dadhyāch the Atharväna; they said to him: 'Sage, we would have recourse to thee.' 'For what desire?' 'We would learn about the head of the sacrifice.' 'Not so,' said he; 'Indra likewise saw that; he said to me: "If you were to tell this to any one else, I should cut off your head;" that is what I am afraid of.' 'Then do you teach us with this head of a horse.' 'Very well,' said he; 'let me now see you talking together.' They then laid off his head, put on instead the head of a horse, and sat talking together, singing ad man, uttering ṛech and yajus. So he put confidence in them, and taught them with that horse's head.

"127. This Indra became aware of: 'He has told it to them,' said he; and running up, he cut off his head, that horse's head. Then what was his own head, that they skillfully (māntāhānu) put on instead. They came to the gods, who were sacrificing with a headless sacrifice. They said to them: 'Ye sit sacrificing with a headless sacrifice; hence ye do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice.' 'Who knows that head of the sacrifice?' 'We do.' 'Put it on in its place.' 'Then draw a draught for us.' They drew for them that Áśvins' draught. They said to them: 'Ye two verily are officiating priests; ye, who understand it, shall set on in its place that head of the sacrifice.' 'Very well.' They were officiating priests. Thus they became sharers in the soma.

"128. Then Chyavana the Bhārgavān, having become young again, went to Saryāta the Māṇavān, and conducted his sacrifice on the eastern site (prāchāyaṁ sthāyām). Then he gave him a thousand, with them he sacrificed. Thus Chyavana the Bhārgavān, having praised with this soma, became young again, won a girl for wife, sacrificed with a thousand. Those were the desires at that soma; just those desires he attained. With just what desire one praises with this soma, that desire is fulfilled for him. With that same soma Chyavana the Bhārgavān used to draw up out of the kāśīvāra of the Sarasvatī whatever food he desired. That is a food-attaining soma. He attains food-eating, he becomes the best food-eater of his kindred, who knows this. And since Chyavana the Bhārgavān saw it, therefore it is called chyavana . . .''

Whatever may be thought respecting the extract already published by Burnell (and in regard to it opinions will doubtless differ), it will hardly be denied that this story wears a
less original aspect than the corresponding one (or ones) in the other Brāhmaṇa. We cannot, however, be too cautious about expressing sweeping opinions as to the comparative age of the various Brāhmaṇas and their relation to one another, while they are so imperfectly worked up as at present. Their pervading accordance, in language, style, and contents, is the most striking fact about them; they evidently come in the main out of one period, and their differences appear to be of minor consequence. Even from such grammatical indications as that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa uses āvām as nominative, makes its periphrastic perfect with āyam (known elsewhere only in the Gopātha, and occurring but once even in the older Upamishās) and has such forms as ṛkāyita and kātāyita (common enough in the Sūtras, but among Brāhmaṇas paralleled only by kātāyita in the Kaushitaki), we should doubtless be over-hasty in concluding that the Aitareya is a more recent compilation than the rest.

In point of general plane, the Jāmiṇīya stands fully upon the general plane of the Brāhmaṇas, offering no signs either of special antiquity or of more modern date. Thus, to specify a few points: it invariably (and not very rarely) uses as nominatives āvām and yuvām; it makes its periphrastic perfects with āt only (a new case is āpachāryāḥ chakrā reverenced; and iyākshāḥ chakre occurs three times, in the sense of īsī; the text has no examples of aorists of this formation); it has no optatives like kāmayita (still less any participles like kāmayāna, which seem to be absolutely wanting until the epic period); it uses the aorist strictly to express time just past (and hardly offers an instance of what Delbrück calls the seilos use, or equivalence with a present); its infinitives are in their variety and proportional frequency like those of the Satapatha and Aitareya; it employs the subjunctive with freedom (although its variety of forms is decidedly less rich than that of the Satapatha); its imperative in āt has as regularly a future sense as in other Brāhmaṇas (some of the best examples are those in the extract given above); it has such. 3d sing. pres. middle forms as duhā śat ātya (which Aufrecht, Ait. Brāh. p. 429, incautiously pronounces “imitations of Vedic forms,” though no Brāhmaṇa is found without them); its gen.-abl. sing. fem. is in āt instead of as; and so on. Its unusually frequent omission of the augment is probably to be regarded as due to the inaccuracy of the manuscripts; they vary greatly in regard to it.

Of new and interesting grammatical material, the immense text is decidedly barren, more so than any of the other Brāhmaṇas except perhaps the Kaushitaki. But the mass of literature from this period already at command was so considerable, that not much that is novel was reasonably to be hoped for. The text is so faulty that some things are doubtless hidden which further collation or deeper study may bring to light. A very few new aorists appear: as amihat, amrutch (doubtful), adhukhat, amarhat (not noted before in the older language), māt, sevāt. Preceptive forms are made from only half-a-dozen roots. As usual, the e-aorist is most frequent, being made from over thirty roots (the āk-aorist from about half as many: of the sa-aorist, only two or three scattering forms appear (the mongrel adhikthu, in the extract given above). Desiderative stems are nearly three times as numerous as intensive; of special interest in the two classes are tisihata, jīnana (yā sing’), dīṣha (besides dīṣha), evishitā, tātratva, which are new: and chikhitās viniṣṭhā, lēlā, nāsaya, which I have not hitherto found of Brāhmaṇa age.

A new root, guḍ, seems to make its appearance at iii, 171, in accounting for the name guḍa given to a sāman. We are told that when the gods and Asuras contended about food (anūdhya), and the gods got possession of the Asuras' food, there was left to the Asuras a great food named guṛa, which the gods coveted. Accordingly (as nearly everywhere through the Brāhmaṇa), ‘they saw this sāman and praised it; and thereby they won the guṛa food of the Asuras;’ and then: tasminnav-guḍan (‘rejoiced, made merry’); yat agauran tad guṛastha guṛate an. In another passage (iii, 92). vahūt is apparently a variant or an error for vadā (which the grammarians give as of the nu-class, although no nu-forms have heretofore been found): thus, indrl vai sima na ‘sāndhāti; so ‘kāmayta: sima sadhavyāṁ īti; sa etat sima ‘pañjat; tēnd ’stata; tute vai sa sima asadhāti; tad yad etat sāma bhavati, simaṁ ēva sadhāya. The rare root nōd occurs repeatedly, both with ati, as in the
examples hitherto found, and with pra (tasya yō rasah praḥ, nēdat, etc.)

I will only add further that the familiar later word dāt makes its earliest appearance here (it had been found till now no further back than in Upanisadas and Śūdras), and in constant connection with forms d + (y)āt, showing that the derivation conjecturally given for it in the Petersburg Lexicon is unquestionably the true one. Examples are: tēn ēva punar ādīm ādattī (i, 120); hō ity uktā "ādīm adadīa (i, 130);

hīn kurvantī...prastūtī...adīm ādattī...udgā-yayī...pratiharūtī, etc., (iii, 304).

It may be mentioned, however, in conclusion, that the word chākāvāla put forward by Burnell as an older form of chākāvāla, is (as conjectured by Böhltingk in his minor dictionary) only the familiar chādulā. The groups tv and kv are hardly distinguishable, and often confounded in the Grantham manuscripts; but what they give here is pretty clearly meant for tv.

**MISCELLANEA.**

**BURMESE BUDDHIST DHARMASĀSTRA.**

Mr. Jardine, Judicial Commissioner of Burma, and Dr. Forchhammer, Professor of Pali, have in press a complete edition of the oldest lawbook known in Burma. It consists of a bundle of palm-leaves scratched with a version of the laws of Manu. The author—one Buddhagātha, a jurist of the 16th century—records that he translated it from the Talain language. He adds that the text was originally arranged by a Talain King of Martaban named Wágaru, whose reign began in 1230 A.D. The language is Burmese, intermixed with a dialect resembling Pali, but not the same as Pali. The printing from the palm-leaves is completed; portions will be transliterated in the Roman character, and the whole translated into English. The editors will deal with philology and ancient law. It divides law into 18 titles, something like those of the Hindu Manu, and is believed to be a very ancient type of Hindu Law.

**THE RECOVERY OF A SANSKRIT MS.**

A highly interesting paper, announcing the recovery of Śāyana Mādhava's commentary on the Kāvya recension of the White Yajurveda was sent to me by Rao Bahadur Śāṃkar P. Pandit, for communication to the International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden. . . . A preliminary notice of the find will, I think, be acceptable to all scholars interested in Vedic studies.

The fact that Śāyana had written a Commentary on the Mantras of the Śākta Yajurveda was known from Māhlāhara's statement in the introductory verses to his Vādālpaka, where he says that “he consulted” the Bhāṣyas of Uṛṣa and of Mādhava, as well as from his quoting an opinion of Mādhava on Vāj. Śūkh. xiii. 45. As long ago as 1852 Prof. A. Weber stated in his Hist. of Sansk. Lit., p. 112 (first German edition) that Mādhava's Commentary, which he considered to be lost, followed the text of the Kāvya recension. Moreover, Prof. Kielhorn's Catalogue of MSS. from the Central Provinces, p. 6, No. 2, contains an entry asserting that a copy of Śāyana's Bhāṣya on the Kāvayveda was, in 1874, in the possession of Bābā Śāstrī Bhāke of Chāndā. Nobody seems, however, to have taken the trouble of making inquiries regarding the Chāndā MS. and of having the entry verified. The honour of having brought the work to light belongs, therefore, undoubtedly to Mr. Pandit. The copy of which, up to the date of Mr. Pandit's writing, twenty Adhyāyas, or one-half of the whole, had come to hand, was discovered in the family library of certain famous Vaidikas living in the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency.

As regards the Commentary itself, Mr. Pandit's analysis of its introduction shows that Śāyana discusses in this case much the same topics as in the beginning of his other published Bhāṣyas—i.e., the meaning of the term Veda, the necessity of the vedāyASTE, the object of the Veda study, &c. He makes, however, incidentally, some statements which possess particular interest. First, he narrates the "Paurāṇik" legend, which derives the name of the Tāvistirīya Veda from its having been picked up by Vaiśāmpāyana's pupils, who had assumed the shape of tītirī, or partridges, and adds “that he saw this account distinctly mentioned in the Vaiśabhradhāmaṇa of the Kāvayveda.” The latter assertion shows that the curious myth must go back to a remote antiquity. Secondly, Śāyana gives some important information regarding the succession of the teachers of the Kāvya school, which partly differs from that contained in the Brāhmaṇa of the Mādhyandina recension, as well as a remarkable enumeration of the Śākta of the White Yajurveda. The number of the latter agrees, according to Śāyana,
with that given in the Charanayāda. But many of the names are new, and look more trustworthy than those known hitherto. Thirdly, Sāyana states that he wrote his Commentary on the White Yajurveda after that on the Taittirīya recension, and mentions as his reason for explaining to Sākhās of the same Veda their great difference in the readings of the text and in the precepts on the ritual. He unfortunately omits to inform us why he chose to comment on the Kāvya text instead of on that of the Mādhyānāmas. Mr. Pandit thinks that, though in the present day the Kāvyas do not enjoy great consideration among the learned and rank below the Mādhyānāmas, the case may have been different in Sāyana's time, and that Sāyana may have held the Kāvyas text to be superior to that of their rivals. In support of this view it might be urged that other and more ancient writers, when speaking of the White Yajurveda, mention the Kāvyas and not the Mādhyānāmas by name. But the problem becomes somewhat more complicated by the circumstance that, in explaining the Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, Sāyana follows the Mādhyānāma recension. I almost suspect that he was induced to give the preference to the Kāvya Mahānāsākhyā by the consideration that it had been commented on by one, or perhaps more, predecessors.

The details which Mr. Pandit gives regarding the relation of Mahādhara's Vādāyā to the works of the two older commentators, Uruṭa or Ūta and Sāyana, are quite more important than his analysis of Sāyana's Introduction. He shows that Mahādhara's statement that he "consulted" the works of his predecessors is not exactly correct, and that, in reality, Mahādhara transferred into his work large portions of Sāyana's Commentary, and to a smaller extent those of Uruṭa without making any alterations or acknowledging the sources from which he drew them. A comparison of the three commentators' explanations of ten Mantras, which Mr. Pandit exhibits side by side, clearly convicts Mahādhara of gross and unscrupulous plagiarism. His work contains little that is original; what is good and sensible in it seems to have been taken chiefly from Sāyana.

In concluding his paper, Mr. Pandit makes some interesting remarks on some communities of students of the Kāvya Sākhā, which he has discovered in the Dekhan, and on the age of Uruṭa. As regards the latter point, he addsuces, from a copy of the Yajurvedabhadāshya recently acquired by Prof. Bhājāsākhar for the Government of India, some verses in which Uruṭa states that he was the son of Vajraṭa, an inhabitant of Anandapura, and that he wrote at Avanti, or Ujjain, in the reign of king Bhūja. These assertions leave no doubt that he lived in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., and it is probable that he belonged to the most influential and most talented section of the Gujarāt Brāhmans, the Nāgas of Anandapura-Vaṭanagar. One of the verses, which mentions king Bhūja, but not his capital, I remember to have read in the copy which I obtained for Government in 1897. The other point—the fact that Kāvyas exist in the Dekhan at Panīṭharpur and at Vāḍāloḍha, close to Panīṭharpur, is, to me at least, entirely new. Though Kāvyas are repeatedly mentioned as donees in grants issued by kings of the Dekhan, I hitherto believed—relying on the statements of the Panīṭharpur—Kāvyas—that they were extinct in the Marāṭh country, and in Western India confined to parts of the Surat collectorate. In the latter district they are numerous; and one sub-division of the Gujarāt Brāhmans, the Mottās, who derive their name from the ancient Brāhmans of the town of Moṭtā, who have the habit of giving the name of Kāvyas to their books. While in charge of the search for Sanskrit MSS., I have repeatedly attempted to obtain the books of these Kāvyas, which comprise not only the partly-known Mahānāsākhyā and Brāhmaṇa, but also a peculiar set of Śūtras on Śrāvaka and Śrāvaka ceremonies (quoted also by Sāyana in his Commentary), and a number of unknown minor works. Though one of my deputy inspectors, a head-master of a high school, and some village schoolmasters, all Mottā Brāhmans, worked for me, the Bhaṭṭas, or Śuklas, as they were called, who possessed MSS., refused to let us have even modern copies of their sacred books. I trust that Mr. Pandit will be more fortunate with the Kāvyas of the Dekhan, and will soon lay the students of the Vedas under fresh obligations by the recovery of the Kāvyas Śūtras, Pratīṣṭhās, and Purāṇahīs.

Vienna, Oct. 6, 1889.

G. BÜHLER.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N.S.), vol. XV, pt. iii, contains four papers. The first is by Mr. Lewis Rice on "Early Kannada authors," in which he enumerates the following, with more or less information respecting the works of each, but which we can hardly accept the dates of the first two at least:—

- c. 470 A.D. Avintas, author of a commentary on Bhaṛavi's Kīrtīdīrgha. Same source.
- 634 Ravikṛttrī, mentioned in a Čalukya inscription.
650 Samantabhadra, author of a Dēvagamastotra, etc.

670 Kaviparimēṣṭi.—No works of his are known by name.

cir. 690 Pāṇḍyaśa, author of Jaimēndra-nyṣa, Pāṇini-sabdeśatā, &c.

788 Akalantha Chandra, said to be the author of Pramāṇaratnapradipa and Dēvagama-stotrayaṇḍa.

—Vidyāṇanda, author of Ślokantatīkā lāūkā, and Aṣṭamimāsā-nyṣa.

941 Pampa wrote the Pampa-Bhūraṭa, Adipurāṇa, &c.

—Asaga, said to have written a Vardhamaṇaśatmyā-kṛṣṇa.

c. 950 Jinaḥandra, author of Pāṇyapāda-charita.

c. 950 Ponna or Kurugala Sāvaṇa, wrote the Śanti-purāṇa.

—Chāmunda-rāya, author of the Chāmunda-purāṇa.

973 Rana or Ratna wrote the Ajita-trīkhaṇa-purāṇa, Parasurāmacherita, and Chakrēvara-charita.

c. 990 Nēmichandra, author of the Līltāvitt.

—Gajākukūta and Gajagā—perhaps the same.

1060-83 Bijana, author of the Vīramadākākyā Paścātēkāhā Rāmacarita, &c.

—Gūṇabhadra, author of the Udana-purāṇa.

c. 1070 Gūṇachandra, said to have written the Purīndhyudaya and Mahāganaṇḍīvara.

—Gananaḍi—may be the same.

—Haripāla, quoted by Nāgārjuna and Bhaṭṭakalanka.

c. 1070 Gūṇabhadra, author of a Harivēda, Pushpapadanta-purāṇa, and Dēvačandra-prabhaśātra.

1116 Nayaśēna, author of the Dharmamāṃṣīṭa.

—Śambhavāṅa, and Śaṅkhavāṅa—only named.

c. 1070-1120 Nāgārjuna, author of the Kāvya-vajākāna, Chandōṃbūdhi, Kāraṇḍīkā-bhāṣā-bhāṣānā, Vastukēśa, and Kādambārī—the latter a Kannada version of Bāna’s work.

c. 1120 Bāna. On this date see below.

c. 1120 Mallikārjuna, said to be the author of Chhōrakatīd.

—Kumudāndu, said to have written a Kumudendra-Ramāgya.

—Māgahanandi. There is a Paddārthaśāra by a writer of this name.

—Bālachandra, said to have written the Tatavatramāṇḍōtpaṇḍa, and Prabhūśrīkata-ratnāyamākyāyana.

1158 Nāçhikāra, author of Nāçhirīṣṭī, a commentary on the Amarakāśī.

1170 Nāgachandra wrote the Rāmacandra-charita-purāṇa or Pampa-Rāmbiṣṭha, Mallindha-purāṇa and Jinasūkhtanāyana.

c. 1170 Śrūtakṛṣṇi, author of a Bāgaṇa Pāṇḍeṣṭha.

1173 Vīramand, to whom is ascribed the Chandraprabha-viṣṇuvadā.

1180 Aggala, author of the Chandraprabha-purāṇa, and Aggala-Lītīvitt.

—Chandrabhaṭṭa and Śrīvijaya, named by Kēśī-rāja.

c. 1190 Kēśī-rāja, author of the Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa, Chōkāla-pak감charita, Subhadra-harana, Prabhāchandra, Kīvita, but only the first is known.

—Bandhūvarma was the author of Harivaṃśābhayaṇḍa, and Jīvaśasubhāṇḍa.

—Janna, wrote an Anantamābhacharita.

c. 1200 Kamalabhaṇa, author of a Śūthā-purāṇa.

1200 Kānapāra, author of Nēmīṇa-purāṇa.

1225 Mangarāsa, author of a Harivaṃśa or Nēmī-Jīnā-nāṇgati, and to whom is ascribed Kānta-Śabdamaṇiṣṭha, Manmatha-charita, and Sāmyukta-Kumudī.

1250-1300 Rādhabhaṭṭa wrote the Jagannātha-ratnāvijaya, a Brahmanical work in praise of Krishnā.

—Amṛitanandī, author of the Dhavanabhairagī—a medical dictionary.

1300 Śilva wrote the Rāmaṇandrūka.

From this period the Jain literature declines, and Lingyāt authors take a prominent place.

c. 1395 Abhinava Mangarāja, author of the Mangāja-nāṇghanta, on the plan of the Amarabāṣa.

—Abhinava Vāḍi-vidyāndana, collected the Kāṇḍāvāṇḍa.

? 1550 Devottama, author of Nāṇḍārēhaṇḍakāra.

—Devavendra, author of the Rāmakathavatārā and Vāvīvali-kathā.

—Vṛttivilāsa, author of Śāstrāndra and Dharmaparikṣaḥ.

1604 Bhaṭṭakalakanda, author of the Kāṇḍākā Śābbdānudaya and its commentaries.

Mr. Rice tells us, that "Bāna was the author of the Śrīharśa-charita, a life of Harshavaridhana of Thāgāra, who came to the throne 1088. Samano Bāna, described as a poet, whose daughter was the mother of Kēśī Rāja, may have been the same person! This statement may well shake our confidence in any authority for which he does not cite his authority; the merest tyro in Sanskrit literature is supposed to know that Bāna and Harshavardhana belong to the first half of the seventh century—not the twelfth. References to authorities, however, seem to be carefully avoided in this paper, which is a serious defect. Mr.
Kittiel, to whose works the author of it is evidently so largely indebted, is not even named in it.

Mr. B. H. Chamberlain's paper, is "On two questions of Japanese Archaeology," viz., the documentary sources of our knowledge of Ancient Japan, and the so-called Sacred Characters said to have been used by the Japanese before the introduction of the Chinese mode of writing. On these questions he is at issue with the views of M. Léon de Rosny, which he combats most satisfactorily, showing that, on the first, M. de Rosny has given credence to a recent forgery entitled Jō-ki or Uye tus Fumi; and as to the second, that there is not sufficient evidence to justify us in speaking of the use of the so-called "sacred" characters as a fact, and that these characters are identical with the existing Korean alphabet, which is reasonably believed to have been based on an Indian original.

The next is a paper by Rev. S. Beal on "Two sites named by Hsiuen Tsien," in which he tries to identify the mountain Potalaka or Pōtaraka "to the east of the Malayas mountains," on which Avalokiteśvara often resided, and from which perhaps Mount Pōtaraka at Lhasa, the residence of the Dalai Lama, takes its name. A Chinese writer—the annotator on Wong Puh—says that "Buddha preached a sermon on the subject of Avalokiteśvara with twelve faces on Mount Pōtaraka," which "derives its name from the fact that it produces a great number of little white flowers, the scent of which is perceived from far." And Mr. Beal suggests that if the flower was the white jasmine (sambud), it would support his theory that Sumanakûta or Adam's Peak in Ceylon was the mountain in question, and in connexion with this he traces the Buddhist worship of Avalokiteśvara "the god who looks down," also called Samantamukha ("looking every way") to the veneration of sailors and others for the hill-god Sumana. He also notes that the Chinese name Kwan-shai-yin is equivalent to that of the Sabean divinity Al-Makah—"he who hears," and that the knowledge of him may have been brought to Ceylon by Sabean or Arab merchants, who, as Fa-hian states, had settled there in large numbers in the early centuries of our era. This is hardly satisfactory. The second site is Po-lo-lo-lo-lo-li, a hill on which king Sadhava excavated a splendid Sanghārāma for Nāgārjuna. Julian restored the name to Baramulagiri, but Mr. Beal prefers Brāhmara, "the black bee," as a name of Durgā. Now Fa-hian calls the same place Po-lo-yu, which he transliterates as Pārāvatī; and Pārāvatī is Durgā, and Brāhmara is Durgā. Even if this hold good, however, it does not enable us to fix the place.

The last paper is by Mr. H. H. Howorth on "Two early sources of Mongol History"—viz., the Yuen-ch'ao-ki-shi, the contents of which are being incorporated in the papers on Chinghiz Kahan, in this Journal, and the Huan-yuan-shen-nei-t'ai-ju, edited by Palladius in 1872.

These papers are followed by Mr. Vaux's very full and elaborate report on the progress of Oriental studies and research for 1882.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society (vol. XVI, No. xl.) is devoted to Prof. Peterson's Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle, 1882-83. It is elsewhere (infra p. 23) analysed so fully that only some minor points need be noticed here.

This Report is very readable, but contains some rather ex cathedra dicta; thus (p. 2), the author says:—"I should like, however, to say that having had the good fortune to be admitted within the shrine of Aghaláwaras, where the mark of the toe of the god Śiva is to 'be seen unto this day,' and having carefully examined that mark, I am disposed to think that it contains the explanation of the curious knob on the left of the figure of the Pramāra prince, which stands facing the temple of Vasisthā at the other end of the hill. The one is an exact copy of the other; and the 'toenail of the devil' was probably one of the cherished insignia of the royal house of the time. I was able to secure admittance both to this shrine and to that of Vasisthā." This admittance, which has not been rarely granted to visitors previous to Prof. Peterson, we are led to infer, was secured to him by putting off his shoes; for he proceeds to lecture other visitors in these terms,—"There may," he says, "be circumstances in which persons officially representing the government of the country, or an alien church, may hesitate to comply with the condition universally attached to such a concession. No such considerations need trammel the scholar in search of knowledge. And as far as personal feelings are concerned, I do not envy those of the man who can stand before the ruined shrine of Vasisthā, or enter the porch of the Kārli cave, while fancy conjures up the innumerable company of men and women who have worshipped where he now is, without saying to himself, 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'" It is amusing to listen to this demand for reverence to the places where men have long time worshipped what in a previous breath he has described as "the devil," or elsewhere (p. 55), as "a hideous black stone," and at the same time interlarding his language with quotations from a Book, which many of the best men of all ages have regarded it as a want of reverence and good taste to quote in a flippancy.
Thus, in describing Údëpur, in which there are a very few marble structures, he says, (p. 49), "poet or painter might be forgiven who should take it for the embodiment in marble of the apocalyptic vision of the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." It is quite Prof. Peterson's habit to interlard his sentences with such quotations (see pp. 44, 46, 52, 55, &c.). He even finds a parallel between Paul and Kāhāmaka, who, he thinks, "may have changed his name to Kāhāmendra at the time of his conversion." But, like the blind man at Údëpur, whom he mentions (p. 43) as so well versed in the Mahābhārata, Prof. Peterson is perhaps—to use his own words—"as content with the shadow he pursues as any of us all."—Very complimentary to 'us all!'

We are also struck by such sweeping statements as that it is "amusing to note that one of the chief features of the Údëpur public library, "is what must certainly be the most complete collection of Scotch sermons that exists anywhere east of the Lothians." This we know to be an exaggeration, the result perhaps of bias.

Again, is he correct when he asserts (p. 46), that Pushkara is the only sacred place in India that "boasts a temple" raised in honour of Bāhma? This we know is a popular story, but we have seen and heard of temples of Brahmadēva elsewhere, even in Rajputana, as well as in Eastern and Southern India.

Then he speaks of "the magnificent marble statue which some strange chance has raised above ground," near Cambay, "and which has such a weird effect on the visitor, who comes upon it, as we did, unexpectedly." This "marble statue," we are told by one who has examined it, is merely a common black stone or slate image of a Jaina Tīrthankara, in the usual squatting posture; its "weird effect" may be a personal concern.

In describing the daily sacrifice at Ambār, he says—"in a corner of the room a girl was encircling with her arms the little goat that had till then been her playmate, but was now to be torn from her, and put to death, because the upper powers require such satisfaction for the sins of the people of Jēpur. We turned and fled the scene, thinking in our hearts that a sight like this might possibly open the eyes even of certain commentators." This is quite sagely romantic; is this girl to be found often there, or only when a Professor and his wife visit the place? Prof. Peterson, however, has a liking for the oratorical; thus he describes Hēmāchārya (p. 64), as "the great teacher who, writing when English history was hardly yet begun, has, from his urn, ruled the spirits of so many generations, and is potent still," and adds a quotation from Byron's Mänsfrid.

We hardly see the use of reproducing, in an Appendix of fully 24 pages to this Report, the paper on Śāhā, his predecessors and contemporaries, which has so recently appeared in the author's edition of the Kādambara, nor of the extracts and long notes, such (e.g.) as that on L-tsing (p. 44) from Max Müller's latest and well-known work; a simple reference to the book quoted and the page, would, in most of such cases, have been enough.

Finally, he tells us (p. 6), that his MS. of the Ṣurūttatihāsī "was not bought for Government; but was presented" to him by a friend. Does Prof. Peterson not know that there is a distinct rule against any Government officer receiving any such presents? It was thus that Drs. Haug and Sprenger dealt, and finally carried off from the country, to dispose of, for their own behoof in Germany, the best of the MSS. they found. Prof. Peterson excuses himself by stating that in the comparatively few cases in which MSS. have thus been put at his disposal, he has gone on the rule of making over to the collection all MSS. that are new, or more correct than copies already there. Others he has felt at liberty to retain. No such excuse ought to be pled for the evasion of the law. He may retain nothing of value; another led by his example may easily accumulate a splendid collection.

The more important features of this Report are so fully noticed below by Dr. Bühler, that more need not be added here.

BOOK NOTICE.


Professor Peterson's Report of his operations connected with the search for Sanskrit MSS. in 1882-83 consists of three separate parts; (1) an account of a journey to Rajputana and a description of his more important acquisitions, together with extracts from the latter, and an alphabetical list of all MSS. bought (pp. 1—102); (2) a list of the palm-leaf MSS. in Sántinath's Bhaṅgūra at Cambay (App. I, pp. 1—108); and (3) a reprint of a portion of his introduction to the Kādambara, 'Śāhā, his contemporaries and predecessors,' (App. II, pp. 109—129). Prof. Peterson's journey to Gujarāt and Rajputana was his first official tour, undertaken
during the autumn vacation in September and October 1882. He followed the railways by Ahmadabad to Jaipur, went thence back to Ajmer, visiting the neighbouring Thirths of Pushkar, and from Ajmer by railway to Chittur and Udaipur, returning via Gujarát, and from the Anand station made an excursion to Cambay.

At Jaipur which, as my visit in 1876 proved, is a very promising ground for the manuscript-hunter, Prof. Peterson had considerable success, and obtained a number of valuable MSS. containing works on Kavya and Alankāra, most of which, curiously enough, belong to Kaśmirian authors. The works from the Kaśyapaśstra include—1, a very good copy of Śaṅkara’s Saṁketa on Bāna’s Śrīharshaḥcharita; 2, 3, two new treatises by Kathemendra Vyāsadāsa, entitled Chāturācharṣyātaka and Chāturvargasaṣṭiṣrāka; 4, the same author’s Svarūtitaśākaka; 5, the Saṁbhaṇapāṇiḥdīkaśvīryāra of Kaśmīra; 6, 7, two hitherto unknown poems by Saṁbhau; the Maṅkāḷaṭātaka and the Rājendrakarnapāra; 8, Vyāsa’s Devistotra; 9, Alaka’s Viṣhnapadoddhodya on Ratanakara’s Haravijaya; 10, a small hitherto unknown poem, the Vākroktipāṇiḥṣākikā by Ratanakara, with a commentary by Vallabhadeva. Nos. 2–10 are described at some length at pp. 4–14 of the Report, while extracts from them are given at p. 72ff. No. 1 is noticed in App. II.

Some of the new facts which Prof. Peterson adduces from his finds are very interesting and important for the history of Sanskrit literature. Thus he shows that the Svarūtitaśākaka contains the initial verse of Bhartṛiḥṣaṭha’s Hayagrīvavidvatda, the character of which will convince the most suspicious enquirers that the poem really was, as Hemachandra asserts, a mahakāvya, not a nadaka. The same work contains also the name of Rājāśekhara, who is said to belong to the pārvatīśram. This fact is just at the present moment of some importance, as it shows that Prof. Pischel’s combinations (Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1883, pp. 122ff.), according to which Rājāśekhara wrote in 1020 A.D., require reconsideration. As Kaśmīra who composed the Svarūtitaśākaka in the reign of king Ananta of Kaśmīra, 1039–1064, calls Rājāśekhara one of the ancients, the latter cannot have lived later than in the beginning of the tenth century. To this conclusion points also the fact that Rājāśekhara mentions, as Prof. Pischel has shown, ‘charmimg Ratnakara,’ the famous Kaśmīri poet of the ninth century.

If the form Bhaumaka, which the new copy of the Svarūtitaśākaka gives as the name of the author of the Esward yogya (Kaśmir Report, p. 62), is preferable to the reading Bhāumaka in the Kaśmīr copy, I would leave an open question until a good Kaśrā MS. of the poem has been procured. It is as easy to make an au out of an ās to change an au into ā, and the opinion of Prof. Peterson’s friend, Pāṇḍita Durgāprasadā, who decided in favour of Bhaumaka is perhaps worth less than that of the Kaśmīri Dāmodara who held the contrary view. The list of Kaśmīra’s known compositions, (given in the note to p. 4) is not quite complete, as the Kavikṣaṭikāśārava (Bombay Collection 1879–80, No. 205), has been left out. An examination of my apograph of this MS. by Mr. J. Schömburg, has shown that it contains besides the ‘Ornament for the throats of poets,’ another small treatise on Alaka, called Saṁbhvaśchāraḥchāda. Abstracts of both works are in preparation, and will shortly be published. The Kavikṣaṭikāśārava gives a most amusing recipe for ‘making a poet,’ and the names of several unknown compositions of the author. In his notes on the Saṁbhaṇapāṇiḥdīkaśvīryāra, which is also represented in the Government Collection of 1875–77, Prof. Peterson proposes to identify this author, Kaśmīra with Kathemendra Vyāsadāsa. I am still as unwilling to agree to that step as in 1877. For though the two names are really identical, they are so common, and both Kaśmīra’s and Kathemendra’s compositions so numerous that they probably designate two different persons. The question can be settled only when the name of Kaśmīra’s father is found.

With respect to Saṁbhu, the author of the Rājendrakarnapāra, I agree with Peterson in identifying him with the father of Ananda, who is mentioned by Maṅkha. But when he attempts to explain the mutilation of Alaka’s commentary on the Haravijaya by the supposition that Ratanakara did not complete his poem, and when he alleges that the colophon of the copy which I brought from Kaśmīra names Gaṇapati as author of the last part of the poem, I am unable to follow him. The fact is that in the colophon of the 50th sarga the Kaśmir copy of the Haravijaya (Kaśmir Report, App. cxxvi–vii), clearly ascribes the authorship to Ratnakara. The words śudraḥ āṇaṃ Gaṇapatiḥ naḥ Śubhakarmiḥ idām on tatnā tīwaiṛ śubhakama astu, have, therefore, to be referred to the completion of the MS., and mean nothing else, but that one Gaṇapati wrote the copy from which the Government MS. was taken.

The important acquisitions in the Alavakāststra (pp. 14–43) are—1, a new complete copy of Rūḍra’s Kavyalankara with Svetambara Nāmi Tīpasa; 2, Vallabhadeva’s Subhāshītidvali; 3–6, three commentaries on Māmata’s Kavyaprakāsa by Rhājānaka Ananda, Narahari-Sarasvatīśrī, and Bāhmasa. Though the first work is represented in the Government collection of 1888–81
by a beautiful old palm-leaf MS. (Kiolkorn, Report, p. 34), which has disclosed the real name of the author of the commentary, Prof. Peterson has extracted from his new copy some interesting information bearing on the age of Rûdraśa. He shows that Nāma composed his Tippāna in Vikrama Sākti 1125 or 1068-69 A.D., and that he used older commentaries. It is, therefore evident that in suggesting (Kaśmīr Report, p. 67), the second half of the eleventh century as the period of Rûdraśa's literary activity, I have placed him too late. Under the circumstances now brought to light he cannot be placed later than the tenth century, and he may be even older. Vallabhadeva's Subhāāñitāvāli, of which Prof. Peterson gives a short abstract, is the same work as that ascribed in my Kaśmīr Report, (p. 61), to Śrīvara. My mistake arose from trusting to an interpolation at the end of the MS. and to the assertions of the Kaśmīrīa Panjīt. Prof. Aunrecht, who has since been using the Kaśmīr copy, has already assigned the work to its true author (Indische Studien, vol. XVI, pp. 399-10). Concerning Māmphsta's Kāḍrapāda, Prof. Peterson adduces from his new materials some interesting and important details, and he starts a new theory regarding the authorship of that famous compendium of poetics. According to him the metrical portion, the Kāḍrākā alone, belongs to Māmphsta, while the prose commentary is the work of Rājānakānā. His chief arguments are 1, that in some cases discrepancies are observable between the opinions advanced in these two constituent parts of the work; 2, that the colophon to the 106th sūlās in his fresh copy of the Nādārāna mentions Ānanda as joint author of the Prakāda. This passage runs as follows: "iti śrī-Śrīnānādīśaṅkāvirācita Kāḍrapākādo Edhāānādīśaṅkāvirācita Kāḍrapākādārāvāne paśvamānā ardhāānādārāvānā rājānakānā." and Prof. Peterson translates it by, 'Here ends the tenth sūlās, by name Alankārādārāvāna in the Kāḍrapākāda of Māmphsta, otherwise known as the Kāḍrapākādārāvāna of Rājānakānā.' He finds a further confirmation of his opinion in the colophon of a MS. of the text (No. 31 of his list), written in the vātāvra kākēsavānyayādibhāvāntaśānāna (i.e. the year 1431, either of the Vikrama or of the Śaka era), which says, "iti śrībhaṭṭārājānakānā Māmphstāyaḥ kṛitīḥ Kāḍrapākādas... sūrāṇāh." It seems to me that these arguments do not make Prof. Peterson's case a very strong one, while other considerations invalid them altogether. For the divergence of opinion between the Kāḍrākā I, 38, and its commentary (tad edhasaḥ ādārākhaḥ sasuddaḥ analogṛśe punaḥ kvāpi and kṣaptā nāmaśāyaed dho yāt sarvatra adānākārāvān kacchit tu sphitāśaṅkāvirācita 'pi na kākēsavānā) the only instance given, is due merely to Mr. Peterson's peculiarity, and, it seems to me, inadmissible translation of the two passages. He takes them as follows: "A poem consists of words and sense, both faultless, and in addition possessing specific excellencies. They need not always have alankāras, that is, alankāras are usual, but not necessary concomitants," and, "By the words, 'not always,' he means that while alankāras must always be present, a poem does not cease to be a poem if there be no apparent alankāras." But if we follow Kamalākara's interpretation, and understand the words yāt sarvatra adānākārāvān in their proper sense, the meaning of the two passages agrees completely. We then obtain the following translation: — "That (i.e. poetry, consists of) words and sense free from faults, but (such faultless words and sense as are) endowed with specific excellence (i.e. with rasa or sentiment), are in some cases (poetry, though they may be) destitute of (i.e. not possessing any apparent) alankāras," and, "By the (words) 'in some cases' he means that (faultless sense and words) possessing alankāras (are) always (poetry), and that sometimes (they do) not lose their poetical character, though apparent alankāras may be wanting." The second argument, drawn from the colophon, entirely loses its force through a quotation in the Nādārāna appended to the verse:—

iyāh saha mārga vidyāhānā vihārānā
'papanāhāna śaḥ prabhūbādante yat
na tad vihārānā yadh amāra samayag
visistānāṁ saṅghātāseva kathā ||

which in the copies and editions of the Kāḍrapākāda is sometimes placed before and sometimes after the colophon. The Nādārāna gives two explanations of this passage. First, the commentator explains it, as is done in most other śātras, as meaning, that the conflicting opinions of former writers on alankāra, such as the Dvāṃsādī and others, have been so skilfully put together in the Kāḍrapākāda that they form one harmonious whole. Afterwards he proposes a second interpretation which I have not noticed elsewhere. He says that it may also mean that, though the Kāḍrapākāda consists of two different parts written by different authors, the break has been so cleverly concealed that the book looks like the production of one man. In support of this view he adduces two verses composed by two different authors, which mention a tradition, according to which Māmphsta left his work unfinished. The first of these runs as follows:—śrīdāh
BOOK NOTICE.

sri-Maamastháchariyavarnayath parikshādīka Bhagavatā pādārah jñānam matīke vaiki vāhīyadālaṃhānvarind ![ ]

The last pādā is slightly corrupt. The reading given above is that contained in Prof. Peterson's extracts (p. 75), where "yādāhānvarind is proposed as an emendation for "yādāhāh." At p. 28 we have vāhīyadālamhānvarind. Neither vāhīya nor vāhīya gives any good sense. I write vāhīya, and translate the verse as follows:—

"The work was composed by the best of teachers, the illustrious Māmaṭa, as far as the (section on the poetical figure, called) parikṣāra, i.e., as far as the middle of Uṣās, the remainder was filled in after careful consideration by the poet Aladhā (? Alakṣa? )."

Whatever the correct form of the Śrīr's name may be, it is evident that a commentator who accepts the statement that Māmaṭa's work was completed by another author, cannot have composed the curiously-worded colophon according to which the Cāyaprakāṣa and the Cāyaprakāṣaśārsatā are the same thing. That passage is corrupt, and the manner in which it ought to be corrected, it would seem, is indicated by the entry in the list of MSS. bought. At p. 114 of the Report the title of No. 33, which contains the Nīsārasañcā, is given as "tāṣyamītāḥ śākas śrāsamucchāyadhyāhyā." If that entry is correct, it is clear that Āntā's commentary has two names. Hence the colophon must be read, "vājānākānanda-kīrti Cāyaprakāṣa [ni]śārsatā [Śrāsamucchāyadhyā] paromāṃsi."

Though I am thus unable to accept Prof. Peterson's main theory, I think he has done a service to the history of Sanskrit literature by showing the existence of an old tradition, according to which the Cāyaprakāṣa is the work of two authors. I do not see any reason for doubting this statement.

With respect to the remarks on the other works, explaining the Cāyaprakāṣa, I am not able to review Prof. Peterson's remarks in detail, but I would call attention to the following points:—The date of Nāraśās-vāsaśātīrtha's birth which the MS. gives as "the kīta measured by 1296," does not necessarily refer, as Peterson thinks, to the Vikrama era. For the term kīta is ambiguous, and the Śāka era may be meant. Secondly, the commonly told anecdote, related in Bhillamesa's commentary, according to which Māmaṭa, Kāyaṭa, and Ūṭa were brothers, is probably worthless. For Ūṭa repeatedly states in his works that his father was an inhabitant of Anandapura-Varṇagār, called Vaiṣāṭa, while Kāyaṭa was the son of the KālaśāRNA Jaiyā. Māmaṭa's parentage, is, I think, not known. Thirdly, the poet Ruchi-
given is Shanvat, i.e., Vikramasamvat 1164. The lower limit seems to be Shanvat 1445. The library includes very few books which possess a general interest for Sanskrit students. Besides the important Gaudavaha (No. 150), which I mentioned in my Report for 1879-80, there are only the following eight:

(1) Varabhamihira's Brihajjataka, No. 146. (2) Parāśara's Nyāyapravacādhipāna, No. 123. (3) A Nyāyāvatārāśīppana No. 122. (4) Rāmacandra's Nirbhayabhāhma, a nyāyāga, No. 121. (5) The Kaviśikhaṇḍa, by Jayamangala, a poet of the time of Jayasimha of Anhilvād, No. 120. (6) A Lokanātāyaṇavayyāhāramudāika, a fragment of Rāvigupta's Śaṅkhyādūtra, No. 91. (7) Two pieces of the Baghaśvāsana, Nos. 69 and 32. (8) Dāmodaragupta's Sumbhailmata, No. 34.

But I think that Prof. Peterson has done well to print the whole of Rāmacandra Śaṅkara's compilation. For, in spite of its imperfections, it proves the existence of a number of curious works of the Śvetāmbara, which are not easily obtainable elsewhere. No. 29, Hemachandra's Jñata-nāmsa, is interesting, as it seems to be an autograph of the famous Jaina Prabhāvaka. (Report, pp. 63-64). It must, however, be noted that Prof. Peterson's translation at p. 64 of its colophon contains a mistake, i.e., “the conqueror of Kalyāṇa.” The phrase kalyāṇavijayatīrtha is exceedingly common in the inscriptions, and means “the auspicious (or holy) and victorious reign.” In connection with No. 122 (p. 69), it ought to have been mentioned that Śobhana's Śrutī has been translated by Prof. Jacob, and that, as I have shown in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy of 1853, a commentary on that dreary poetical effusion has been composed by Dhanapala, the author of the Pāyulacchhā, who, indeed, was Śobhana's brother.

Prof. Peterson concludes his Report with a strong appeal in favour of the continuance of the official search for MSS., and with a protest against the diversion of a part of the funds to the edition of inscriptions and the preparation of a catalogue raisonné of the Bombay Collections through European agency. Every lover of Indian literature and every Sanskritist will agree with him in his assertion that much remains to be done, and entertain with him the hope that continued efforts will produce even more important results than those which have been achieved hitherto. As regards the chances in Gujarāt and Bājīpūrān they are very good. There are a large number of valuable private libraries which will come into the market during the next ten years, there are a number of very important works, such as the manuals of the Kāvya Śūkha, the Paippalada Śūkha, the Paśchāti Priyakathā, &c., which have to be extracted from their hiding-places, and there are also half a dozen Bhaṅgāres belonging to Jaina communities and native princes, such as Hemāchārya's library at Anhilvād, which remain to be investigated. There is work enough for another ten years, and it would be a pity if the operations were interrupted. But I trust there is no chance that the Government of India will withdraw the grant.

Prof. Peterson's remarks against Dr. Kielhorn's judicious and economical scheme for preparing a really trustworthy catalogue of the Bombay MSS., will, I think, find little, if any, favour in the eyes of Sanskrit scholars. If the catalogue were made, as he would wish, in India, its preparation would have to be entrusted chiefly to the Śaṅkara. Though I have a great respect for the Śaṅkaras in their proper domain—the traditional explanation of the Śaṅkara—I must confess, that an experience of eighteen years has convinced me of their utter inability to turn out any trustworthy and accurate work on a large scale. I should consider it something like a miracle if Prof. Peterson or any other Sanskritist could produce, with the assistance of the Śaṅkara, a catalogue raisonné worthy of the name. Those who go carefully over Rāmacandra's Cambay catalogue, will see how small the chance of such an event is. Moreover, though the monthly pay of a Śaṅkara is low, it takes him a long time to finish anything. The preparation of a printed sheet of the catalogue, if entrusted to a Śaṅkara, would cost three or four times as much as the small sum (Rs. 40), which the European students will receive. Thus were Prof. Peterson's wish fulfilled, he would have less to spend on his purchases than he has now. Nor do I think that with Rs. 2,500 to 3,000, he is badly off. During many years I have never had more, and I sometimes have had to do my work with only Rs. 1,600. Yet the results have not been altogether unsatisfactory. The important point is to limit the purchases to what is really useful and necessary, to abstain from the acquisition of copies of works already represented in the collection, except in cases where the MSS. acquired before are decidedly inferior, and to steadfastly refuse all the rubbish of Śūtras, Kavachas, Māhātmyas, or extracts from the Paṇḍyaś and the Māhābhārata, and so forth, which, however necessary they may be to Bhattajī, possess no interest for any scholar. I trust that Prof. Peterson will, in the end, find it possible to agree with me, and that his future Reports will show even more interesting results than that under notice.

G. Bühler.
BUDDHIST LEGENDS.

From "Fragmentos d' uma Tentativa de Estudo Scolastico do Epopeia Portugueza," by G. de Vasconcellos Abreu.

TRANSLATED WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES BY DONALD FERGUSON, CEYLON.

ORIGIN OF THE KING OF THE LIONS AND OF THE NAME OF CEYLON.

Vestiges of a Buddhist Legend in the "Lusiads." 12

There are legends of peoples descended from the unannamed connection of a wild beast with a human being, the mythological value of which may serve as a guide for the historical knowledge of the origin of those peoples.

In this case the legend which explains the name of Ceylon given to the ancient isle of Tamra, Tamra-dipa, or Tamraparni, is related by the Buddhist authors in their sacred language, the Pali, or in Sanskrit or Chinese.

In the oldest classical texts in Sanskrit, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, we find the word Lankā, as the name of the capital of the island, and—by an extension—the whole island of the savage Rākshasas, whose king was, according to the Hindu epic, the terrible Ravaṇa. Another name equally ancient is that met with in the Harivamsa, Raṅga-devpa, 'isle of precious things,' which the Chinese translated by the word Pao-chu. 3

Hiuen-Tsang, in the 7th century, however, employs the name of Ling-kia, from the Sanskrit Lankā, but to designate simply a high mountain inhabited by evil spirits in the south-eastern corner of the kingdom of Seng-kia-lo, in Sanskrit Siṁhala, 'country of lions.'

In the 6th century, Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Egyptian navigator of the Indian seas, in his Topographia Christiana, calls the island of Ceylon, Selediva; and one of the names best known by the navigators and merchants was, in effect, that of Serendib, 9 Singalib, or Sirindib. 5

These names are derived from the Pali word siṁhala-dīpa, the Sanskrit form of which is siṁhala-devpa, 'isle of the Siṁhālas,' the island of Ceylon, as is seen from the collection of Hindu fables and apologues, the Hitopadeśa.

The word devpa, isle, dīpa in Pali, is transformed in the language of the Arabs into ḍiyah, al-ḍiyāb, as is seen from a Portuguese document of the 16th century, though Fr. João de Sousa transcribes adība. 8

Previous to this the word siṁhala-devpa had been brought by the Arabs to Europe, for Ptolemy uses the adjective salīkē to designate all the inhabitants of Sālai. Lassen identifies this name, given by the Greek geographer, with an abbreviated form in Pali, Siṁhala, signifying 'dwelling of the Siṁhās,' not of actual lions, but of the warriors who emigrated thither with Vijaya, the Hindu conqueror, to whom is attributed the Buddhist civilization of Ceylon.

But a confirmation of the legend we have mentioned, that the island was formerly called Tamraparni, or in Pali Tamba-pañh, is found in the fact that this designation was brought to the knowledge of Onesikritos before that of Sālai, and had thus been in the west since Alexander—

"A nobre ilha tambem de Taprobana,
Já pelo nome antigo tam famosa."—

Ins. x. fol. 169. 10

From the name of the Siṁhala as the island

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1 Published in Lisbon, 1890, in commemoration of the Camões Tercentenary; pp. 30 ff.
2 It will be seen that the "vestiges" of the Buddhist legend in the Lusiads are contained simply in the mention by Camões of the name of Taprobana for Ceylon, and his reference to the footprint on Adam's Peak.—D.F.
3 Stanielas Julien, Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhiques, tome III, p. 125. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 597.
4 St. Julien, op. cit., tome III, p. 144.
5 Amm. Marcelli, lib. Xxii, cap. 7.
7 Chroniques des Chroniques, p. 5, No. 7, and passim, in Relations des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IXe Siècle, translated by Reclus, 1845.
8 Childers, Pali Dict, a.v.
9 Documentos Arquivos para a Historia Portuguesa, Lisbon, 1780, p. 167 ff.
11 Dipavamsa, IX, 20, ed. H. Oldenberg.
12 This verse is thus translated (rather paraphrased) by Capt. Burton in his edition of the Lusiads (1890), vol II, p. 388:

"And, eke, the noble Island Taprobana,
Whose ancient name, nay failed to give her note,
As still she reigns superb and sovereign
By beon of fragrant tree-bark, hitting-hot;
Toll of her treasure to the Lusitan
Ensign shall pay, when proud and high shall float
Your breezy banners from the loft tower,
And all Columbo fear your castled power."—D.F.
takes in Pali that of Sīhālaṁ, the popular form of which, Sīlaṁ, gives origin to the forms Sa廉洁, used by the Persian Rashidud-din, a contemporary of Marco Polo, and that used by this same Polo, Seilam, as well as our Ceylon [Ceylon].

It is noteworthy that Camoens has identifed the two names, Ceylon and Taphroban, because in 1537, from an ambiguity arising from a false interpretation of the geography of Ptolemy by the school of Behaim, Taphroban is explained as the island of Sumatra.

In 1559, Jomard again confounds the two names of Sumatra and Taphroban, which are distinguished both in the maps of this geographer of Henry II, and in the magnificent portulan of Charles VI, from this supposed Taphroban, the island of Ceylon, whose position is accurately marked.

The name of Taphroban, or in Sanskrit Tamra-parṇa, is, as we have seen, the oldest known Hindu name given to the island of Ceylon. The name Laṅkā appears to have been that by which it was known to the first Aryans who went thither from India.

The name of Ceylon or island of the Sīhālaṁ is, however, of such remote origin that even the Makābharata speaks of the Sīhālaṁ as inhabitants of the island at the south of India.

Childers says that the Sīhālaṁ, as we now call them the Sīhālase, are "only the Aryan inhabitants of Ceylon, descendants of a people who emigrated from Lāla, in Magadhā, in India, and came thither many centuries before our era." The capital of Lāla, the

ărīkē of the Greeks, was Sīhāpurā, the city of Lions.

These historical questions having been settled, we give some Buddhist legends regarding the origin of the Aryan civilization of Ceylon. The mythological elements which are found in them are common to other European legends, and a comparison of them is therefore interesting.

CONQUEST OF THE ISLAND OF LĀNA, AND FOUNDED OF THE SĪHĀLESE OR LION DYNASTY.

From Chap. IX of the Pāli Chronicle, Dipawānaka. 

1. This island of Lāna was formerly called Sīhala from the name Lion (Sīha).

Listen, therefore, ye, to the narration of its origin, which I shall relate to you.

2. The daughter of the king of Vāṅga cohabited in the forest with a wild lion, in consequence of which two children were born.

3. Sīhābhāhu and Sīval, two lovely children; the mother was named Susiṁā, and the father was called (the Lion) Sīha.

4. On the expiration of sixteen rainy seasons the son of Sīha departed from the cave, and founded the most noble city of Sīhapūra.

5. The son of Sīha (the Lion), a powerful king in the country of Lāla, ruled the great kingdom in the most noble city of Sīhapūra.

6. Thirty-two brothers were the progeny of the son of Sīha, and of these the eldest were Vījaya and Šumittas, both of extraordinary beauty.

— Pāli has “dīpana māsākām,” and the latter translation seems the correct one.

Ver. 17. Instead of "strangers" Oldenberg has "mocked," and the Pāli text is uncertain.

Ver. 18. Instead of "murder" Oldenberg has "slender." The Pāli word is pannasa, which does not occur in Childers' Dict., though pannasa and pannasena are given, with the latter meaning. Why Sr. Abreu has "murder," I cannot understand.

Ver. 22. Instead of "could scarcely walk," Oldenberg has "were unable (Pīl) to walk on foot." The Pāli is uncertain.

Ver. 29. "They went on their hands and feet." The Pāli is "Paroṃ de gatāhānas com pesas maus," literally "They acted like little sheep with feet and hands." Oldenberg has "They crawled about on the ground with both hands and knees," which is more literal.

Ver. 28. Instead of "landed there and took possession of territory" Oldenberg has "came first to this country." The Pāli is uncertain, Oldenberg reading Anurakhanākkhaṁ as instead of nāmārakhanākkhaṁ, and therefore adding the name of Anurakhanākkhaṁ to those given above. — D. F.

See further on, p. 37 b.

The beautiful wanderer.
7. The young prince Vijaya was audacious and without instruction, and committed acts of the greatest wickedness and unparalleled extortion.

8. The merchants and all the other men of the country assembled, and went to complain to the king of the crimes of Vijaya.

9. On hearing their clamorous voices, the king, full of anger, gave order to his ministers, "Expel this young man; and all these slaves, wives, and children and relatives, and servants of both sexes, and workmen, expel all these people."

10. Then they expelled him, separating him from all his relatives, and they put them on board a ship, and the ship sailed away upon the sea.

11. "Let them go where they please, and they shall not be seen any more, nor shall they return to our kingdom to dwell amongst this people."

12. The ship with the children went on shore on an uninhabited island, whence it got the name of Nagadipa.**

13. And the ship with the women went on shore on an uninhabited island, and hence they called it Mahilarattha (Kingdom of Women).

14. The ship with the men, sailing over the sea without a destination, futilely and without a cause, arrived at the port of Suppara.**

15. And when seven hundred disembarked at Suppara, the Supparakas received them with much welcome and many honours.

16. Whilst they were being thus received, Vijaya and his company, all these strangers, practised cruel deeds,

18. giving themselves to drunkenness, theft, adultery, treachery, murder, and the most vile, immoral, and horrible modes of procedure.

19. The Supparakas were irritated at these horrors of unsurpassable cruelty and barbarous savagery, and agreed: "Let us quickly kill these wicked ones."

20. There was formerly Ojadipa, Varadipa, or Madadipa, also called Lankadipa, and which is known as Tamapañña.**

21. At the time when Sambuddha, the best of men, attained parinibbana,** this son of Sihabhiha, the Khattiya (Kshatriya, warrior prince), Vijaya arrived at Lankadipa, after having departed from the land of Jamuddipa (one of the names of India). The excellent Buddha had prophesied: "The prince will be the king (of Lankā)."

23. At that time the Master (Gautama, the Buddha), said to Sakka,** the chief of the gods, "Do not neglect thy care, Kosiyas," of Lankadipa.

24. Sujampati, the king of the gods, after hearing this warning of Sambuddha, charged Uppalavanna,** to protect the island.

25. Hearing the order of Sakka, the powerful Devaputta,** with the Parisas,** protected the island of Lankā.

26. After staying at Bharukacheha and exasperating the inhabitants, Vijaya returned to his ship.

27. Having with his company gone on board, they put to sea, and soon a furious wind made them lose sight of the coast.

28. They arrived at Lankadipa, where they disembarked, and went on shore. But on terra firma they felt exhausted with hunger, thirst, and fatigue; they could scarcely walk.

29. They went on their hands and feet, and afterwards rose and stood on their feet, and saw their hands (pāla) shining.

30. The very red dust of that earth covered the legs of the people as if it had been sprinkled with blood.

** Nāgadīpa in Sanskrit? "Island of the Naked."

** See Ind. Ant. vol. XI. pp. 236, 237, 238, 234. The evidence from the mention of Bhārūkacheha (Bhurukchāha, v. 26) along with Suppara, that the Dipariksha, places 142a on the west coast of India or in Gujarāt, and the Sūkhāpari stated to be the capital may be Skor in Kofihāw, about 10 miles south of the site of Vahalī, and the traditional capital of the Sima dynasty.—ED. I. A.

** In Skr. prāraka. This term is used to designate the death of the sage, the Buddhā, or of an Arhat, "a Buddhist ascetic and saint." The Buddhist era counts from the death of the sage, Gautama, the Buddha. According to some writers, among them Chillère, it occurred in the year 543 before Christ. Now, since the latest works of Cunningham, although even before that the great Barrow had cited the passage which served as a basis for the discovery of the English archarchologist,—it is reckoned from about 482 or 472 B.C.

** In Sanskrit Sakra, powerful, an epithet of Indra.
their arms and hands; and from this cause that place was called Tambahāṇi.

31. The first city in the renowned Lankādīpa was Tambāpaṇī, and dwelling there Vijaya reigned his kingdom.

32. Vijaya and Vijita and with them Aechutagāmi and Upatissa, were the first who landed there and took possession (?19 of territory.

33. A great multitude of men and women came together, and one Khiṭtīya (prince) built cities here, another there, in all the country.

34. Vijaya built the city of Tambāpaṇī, with its suburbs, on the south bank of the river in the most charming place.

35. Vijita built the city to which he gave his name, and then that of Uruvela; and the minister, who got his name from the aserism Anurādha, founded the city of Anurādha.

36. He whose name was Aechutagāmi founded Ujjēni, and Upatissa, Upatissa—the city of beautiful markets, rich, vast, of great prosperity, and delightful.

37. The first king of famous Lankādīpa was king Vijaya in Tambāpaṇī.

38. When seven years of his reign had passed, many people had come thither. His reign was thirty-eight years.

39. In the ninth month of Sambuddha, the Yakkas were destroyed; in the fifth year of Sambuddha the Jina conquered the Nagas; in the eighth year of Sambuddha the Samadāti22 was completed.

40. On all these three occasions Tathāgata came hither. In the last year of Sambuddha, Vijaya came hither.

41. Sambuddha, the best of men, made the island of Lankā for the habitation of men; and by the anusādhi23 extinguished himself in all his upadhis (upadhi).

42. The Khittiyas reigned thirty-eight years after the parinibbāna of Sambuddha, the shining lord of truth,

43. and sent to Silappura a messenger to Sumitta: “Come shortly to us to this magnificent Lankādīpa.

44. There is no one to succeed me in the rule after my death; I yield in your favour this island which I conquered by my valour.”

PRINCE SIMHALA SAVED BY THE MAGIC HORSE.

A Buddhist Legend24 on the Origin of the Name of Ceylon.

“Simhala, son of the merchant Simha, having embarked to go in search of precious stones in a distant island, assailed, on approaching Tāmraḍīpa (the same as Tāmaṇa, the Tāmraṇa of the ancients), by a tempest raised by the Rākhaṇa, wicked divinities, which inhabit that island. He is shipwrecked with his companions, and by swimming reaches the shore, where the Rākhaṇa appear, and under the guise of beautiful women entice the merchants to yield themselves to pleasure with them. Simhala, after passing the night in the arms of one of these women, discovers by the lamp which lightens them that he has fallen into the hands of an ogress, whose pleasure he serves and who will devour them.

“coming thus (like the other Buddhas), signifies “a redeemer.”

Complete annihilation by the destruction of the five elements of being.

23 Subhasta torporis, i.e., entered into complete nibbāna (nirvāṇa in Skr.) or parinibbāna.


In the Academy of Aug. 13and 27, 1881 (reprinted in the Indian Antiquary for Oct. 1881, pp. 291-3), are two interesting communications on the subject of “The Myth of the Sirom,” one from Mr. W. E. A. Axon, who drew attention to the “Story of the Five Hundred Merchants,” given by Beal in his Buddhist Legend of Ajīva Buddha, p. 399 ff. ; the other by Dr. E. A. Marais, who showed that the story is a veritable Jātaka tale, the Pāli text of which is given in Faunsbör’s edition of the Jātaka, vol. II, p. 127 ff., under the title of Vahkanyājīka, “Cloudhorse Jātaka.” As no translation of the Vahkanyājīka has yet appeared, I give one below, p. 43 ff. The explanation of several doubtful passages I owe to the kindness of Mr. L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyar, the coadjutor of the late Prof. Childers in his Pāli Dictionary. I have added a few notes.—D.F.
him. He learns that other merchants, shipwrecked like himself, have been since their arrival thrown into a prison whence the Rakshasas take them daily to feed on their flesh. Taught by the revelations of the lamp, he goes with his companions to the shore, where there appears to him a miraculous horse which is to transport him from the island. But he has to take care not to turn his head back; any one allowing himself to be moved by the tears of the Rakshasas and casting a single look towards the shore is condemned to fall into the ocean, where the ogresses wait to put him to death.

The companions of Simhala consent gladly to leave the island with him; but faithless to their promises they give an ear to the lamentations of the women whom they are leaving, and disappear one after another, devoured by the Rakshasas. Simhala alone escapes; and, in spite of the endeavours of the woman he has left in the island, the marvellous horse transports him to India.

"The Rakshas from whose hands Simhala had escaped seduced the king Simhakārī, and entered his inner apartments. Assisted by the other demons whom she summoned from the island of Tamradvipa, she devoured the king and his family. Simhala, who alone was able to explain this disaster, was proclaimed king; and he formed the resolution of going to destroy the Rakshasas of the island, in order to spread there the doctrine of the Three Precious Objects. The demons retired into a forest; and from that event the country formerly called Tamradvipa took the name of Simhaldvipa."

This legend is completed by the following, of what we know of the origin of the Simhala:

**Origin of the Kingdom of Simhā (Lion).**

According to the "Mahāvamsa."

"There was once a king who reigned in Baṅganaṅgara in the land of the Baṅgas, and his spouse was a daughter of the king of Kāliṅga. They had a very beautiful daughter, who, one day, going for a walk by herself, met a caravanserai going to Magadhā, and accompanied it without making herself known. On reaching the land of Lāla, they were separated from each other by a lion.

"The daughter of the king, remembering that it had been prophesied that she would cohabit with a king of animals, caressed the lion, and the latter carried her to his cave, and there were born to them a son with lion's feet and hands, and a daughter."

The mother then gave them the names of Simhabāhu (lion's arms) and Simhāvallī (lion's offspring).

"When the son had completed sixteen years his mother discovered to him his origin; taking advantage of the lion's absence, he took his mother and sister on his back and carried them to a neighbouring village, where Anura, son of a maternal uncle of his, the commander-in-chief of the armies of Baṅga, was commissioned to direct the labours of the villagers.

"The latter received them into his house, and clothed them, and gave them food on tree-leaves. The clothes then became of the richest textures, and the leaves were changed into golden vessels. Astonished at such marvels, he asked his guests about their origin, which the mother then related to him. He thereupon conveyed them to the capital of Baṅga, and took the daughter for his wife.

"When the lion returned to his cave, which was deserted, he searched for his children, and not finding them he entered the villages, putting to flight the inhabitants. These hastened to complain to the king, showing him the danger they were running. As the king could find no one able to capture the lion he twice offered still larger rewards to whoever would give chase. Twice the mother of Simhabāhu forbade him to accept the offer; but the third time Simhabāhu offered himself, without first asking the consent of his mother, and the king promised to give him the kingdom if he succeeded in capturing the lion.

"Simhabāhu then sought out the lion in his cave, pierced him with an arrow, and fled back to the capital of the kingdom like a wild beast. The king had died without a suc-

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I have translated Sr. Abren's Portuguese translation of Laesen's German translation, which will be found to differ slightly from Tournour's version.—D. F.

"Tournour says—"They partook of the nature of the lion in the formation of their hands and feet," but the version here given corresponds with the Pāli.—D. F.

"Rather, "the daughter of his father's sister," i.e., the mother of Simhabāhu and Simhāvallī.—D. F."
cessor seven days previously. The ministers, being informed of the fact that he was the grandson of the king and his mother the daughter, and astonished at this, assembled in council, and unanimously invited him to be king. Sihhabahu assumed the rule but resigned the kingdom to him who had married his mother, and returned with his sister to his native country. There he founded in the kingdom of Lāla the city of Sīmhapura and villages in the forests, and married his sister. The latter had twin sons sixteen times, the eldest of whom was Vijaya, and the second Sumitra, the first of whom his father at a suitable age nominated Uparāja (chief heir).”

In these legends we have to separate the historical portion from the mythological.

The historical portion is evidently the Aryan conquest of the island of Laṅkā, and its conversion to Buddhism.

But before this Buddhist conquest the island had already been conquered by the Āryas, as is sung in the epic of Rāma; in these legends we see only the legendary series of which the Rāmāyana is the most beautiful expression.**

The Pali Chronicle attributes to the same invaders the two names, Tambapaṇhi, in Sanskrit Tāmraparṇa, or Tambali, in Sanskrit Tāmraparṇa, and Sihaladipa, in Sanskrit Sīmhaladipa. Here, in my opinion, there is confusion.

The chronicler explains the etymology of Tambapaṇhi in a quite erroneous way, as we hear people ignorant of etymological processes, explaining local names, for example, Ribeira’s of ‘Coselhas,’ ‘Odemira,’ ‘Miragaya.’

It is sufficient for us to note the two ṣ’s in paṇhi to trace the word to the Sanskrit parṇi, which we refer to parṇa, ‘leaf,’ with the feminine termination in composition. The word pāṇi, ‘hand,’ corresponds identically with the Sanskrit. The word tamba, ‘copper-coloured, vermilion,’ corresponds in Sanskrit with the word tāmra, ‘copper-coloured, vermilion,’ but is also the name of several plants, and among them the Rubia mānja, a plant of Roxburgh, which name in Sanskrit is also given to mānjaśtha, (Pāli mānjaśtha), the madder of the dyers, and a kind of sandal, the vermilion of which García da Orta (Coloquio, xlix) speaks, but which must not be confounded with the actual Pterocarpus santalinus, better known by the name of Lignum santalinum rubrum [red sanders wood].

According to the statement of Flückiger and Daniel Hanbury, we are led to believe that in the time of the physician of D. João III, the wood known by the name of red sandal in commerce was not that of a variety of sandal, an article of trade even then very different from that which nowadays has that name in Europe. García da Orta himself confesses that he did not know the tree, but was informed that the natives of India used a portion for fevers, and considered the wood good for working, and suitable from its size for pagodas and idols.

The true region of the sandal in India is from Malabar to Coromandel, especially the mountains of Malaya.** Huien Tsang, describing these mountains, says:—“There rise the mountains Mo-la-yo (Malaya) with their scarped sides and their frowning summits, their gloomy valleys and their deep ravines. On these mountains grow the white sandal, and the tree called Chen-t’an-ni-p’lo (Chandana, like sandal).”

And in the region of the Malaya mountains, which in ancient India exactly formed one of the nine divisions** of the country of Bahrata (India), the division or khandā of Tāmraparṇa is the river of the same name.***

The trade in sandal was of the greatest importance in Ceylon in the first centuries of our era. However, the larger merchants who had the opportunity procured supplies from abroad. Ceylon imported it to export it, because she was the emporium of the Asiatic world, as being the central point of all the maritime commerce.***

On the other hand, it is certain that previous to the Aryan expedition attributed to Vijaya, and with which Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon, the Aryan expedition attributed to Rāma took place. Of the expedition of Vijaya there is a tradition on the eastern coast, of the expedition of Rāma there is living tradition on

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** Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana apud Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
*** Apud St. Julien, Mémoires, tome ii, p. 122.
*** Siddhānta-tīrātana, III, 41.
*** Sanskrit Wörterbuch, s. voc. Tāmraparṇa.
the western coast, in Malabar. Among the Malabars exist even now families with the ancient names of the race of the Ikshvakus, ancestors of Rama. It is possible, therefore, that the name of Taprisarpas, anterior to that of Sinhaladivpas, originated from the region of Malabar.

In the mythological portion we distinguish, as having historical value, the death of the lion.

The speaking lamp, the magic or flying horse, and the misfortune of any one looking back from it, are mythological elements of another order.

These assassinations, nearly always fratricides, but also patricides and filicides, are connected with the building of a city raised over the hole into which has been cast the head, or the phallos, of the individual sacrificed, and whose name is sometimes given to the city.

The lion killed by Sinhabahu has in Greece its mythological representative in the lion of Herakles, which some mythologists explain as the cloud, dark and thundering, conquered by the solar god. In Hellenic tradition is known the monstrous and terrible lion, the devastating lion of the country of the king of Megara, whose daughter is to marry the hero who slays it; and yet the lion has not its habitat in the Peloponnesus, nor in any part of the Doric region, to which the cities of Megara and Nemea belonged.

The tradition is common to the mythology of the Aryan races. And to further confirm it there is the circumstance of the hero of India and the hero of Greece being a great traveller by sea.

In the middle ages the lion and the virgin of the Buddhist legend are the monoceros and the maiden, who embraces him round the neck, attracting him by the enchantments of her beauty or by the delicious perfume which she exhales.

Before examining the other mythological elements, it may be as well not to forget that in the classical literature of Europe mention is made of female beings similar to the cruel Rakshasas; such are, in the African island, always populated, the fanciful beings, exclusively of the female sex, whom Pomponius Mela (III, 9) notices. And Athenaeus (V, 64), tells us that Marius brought from Africa the skins of marvellous animals, which he offered to the temple of Herakles.

The origin is well known of the name of gorilla, given in the Periplus of Hanno by the Carthaginian navigator to certain animals of the tropical zone encountered by him on the western coasts of Africa. The animals which, from among these, he brought and consecrated to the temple of Taut (Juno) were three females.

So, then, if there are identical traditions of an island of fierce female beings, both in India and in Europe, there is also a historical fact by the resemblance of which we can explain the Hindu tradition. In fact, tradition in Europe supplies the lack of antiquity, in anatomy and mythology, of the centuries which elapsed between the Punic navigator and the geographer of the time of Claudius.

The inhabitants of the female sex, the fierce Rakshasa of the island conquered by Vijaya, must not, however, be set down as fabulous. We have every reason rather to consider them as the savage women of Hanno, who, according to Pomponius Mela, were fanciful beings.

Besides the tradition common to the whole Aryan race, there exist in Europe traditional vestiges which mythographers prove to be of Buddhist origin. They had easy access into Italy, where we find them in abundance, and from thence they spread to the west.

We do not know that there is among us any popular story in which speaking lamps are mentioned. In Italy many are known, and the
reader can see them in the magnificent collection of Pirró, Fiabe, Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani, for example, in the story of “La sorella di la Conti.”

In Italy we also meet with the tradition of the magic horse. But in this case there enter in common Aryan elements and elements of tradition, which is the daughter of importation through Buddhist influence.

Before the winged horse described by Ariosto, Greece knew Arion, the horse of Adrastus, and Pegasus, another marvellous horse.

In fact, a patrimony of Aryan legends must be assigned to the myth of the horse of the hero, which saves him from difficulties, like the horses of the two Áśvins and the horse of Indra, which warns him or at least foretells to him, like the horse of Rávana, weeping, of future disgrace, or neighing predicts, as to Darâses, glory and triumph; the myth of the horse which identifies itself with the hero, on whose strength depends the strength of the hero, and whose rider bears a name given to him from the horse he rides and from the strength of that horse, like Áśvattha (áśva-stháman, strength of a horse), the son of Drápa, in the Mahâbhârata.

The later transformations of the myth of the magic horse, the horse of the hero, indicate to us, however, an importation of Buddhist traditions. Thus transformed, the magic horse is in Lisbon the pair of cork boots; and in literary productions, who does not recognize it in the mantle of the lame devil and the case of M. de Balzac?

In popular stories their parallels are found in the carpet on which the hero ascends, and on which he is transported through the air, the boots of swiftness which the three brothers procure, and the shoe of Cinderella.

An example of these transformations in the east before those known to be European is the Avadâna No. Ixxiv, of the Indian stories and apocryphal, translated from the Chinese by Stanislas Julien.

THE DISPUTE OF THE TWO DEMONS.

There were formerly two Piśáchas, who had each a box, a stick, and a shoe. These two demons disputed with each other, each wishing to have these three objects at once. They passed whole days quarrelling without being able to come to an agreement. A man, being witness of this obstinate discussion, questioned them and said: ‘What then is there so wonderful in a box, a stick, and a shoe, that you dispute with such hotness?’

‘From this box,’ replied the two demons, ‘We can obtain clothes, drink, food, bed-coverings, and, in fact, everything necessary for life and comfort. When we hold this stick our enemies submit humbly, and no one dares dispute with us. When we have put on this shoe, by its power we can go flying without meeting any obstacle.’

‘On hearing these words, the man said to them: ‘Go a little way from me; I am going to make a fair division.’

‘At these words the two demons retired apart. The man took the two boxes and the two sticks, put on the two shoes, and flew off. The two demons were stupefied on seeing that nothing was left to them.

‘The man then spoke to the demons, and said to them: ‘I have taken away what was the object of your quarrel, I have placed you both in the same condition, and have in which the episode reappears—J. G. von Hahn, Griechische und althäusische Märchen, No. 114 (Leipzig, 1884), in which it is the striking of the earth three times with a magic stick which transports the possessor wherever he wishes; Kreutzwall-Löwe, Esthische Märchen, No. 11 (cork boots which carry one far); G. Pitré, Fiabe, Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani, No. 31 (boots which carry like the wind).
relieved you of all subject of jealousy and dispute.'

Our leading mythographer, Sr. Adolfo Coelho, knows a Portuguese popular story, of which, however, he cannot obtain a complete version, in which there are three brothers, one of whom has an eye with which he sees at great distances, another has a carpet which carries one far away, the other has an apple or a water which cures every disease. Professor Adolfo Coelho sees in this story, to which he says, there are many European parallels, a Buddhist origin; and traces it to the story which we have given from the Asanás.

The parallel story in India is No. 24 of vol. II of the collection Tuti Náme, edited by Georg Rosen, Leipzig, 1858, quoted by De Gubernatis, Mythologie Zoologique, vol. I, p. 135. 41

In the collection of Hindu fables, in Sanskrit, the Páichehatantra, the reader may find an interesting variant of the episode, in the story of 'The Weaver who passed himself off as Víshnu.' Benfey in his valuable study on these Hindu stories and apologetic comments on some peculiarities of this story. 42

The horse, which we thus see substituted by the mantle, the carpet, the boot, the shoe, is in the Buddhist religion one of the necessary requisites of the Chakavāristu. 43

A Chakavāristu is he who possesses all that exists in the limits of the world. Buddha is a Chakavāristu. His horse is white as the light of day, and has hair like the golden rays of the sun; he lives by drinking in the winds, and flies traversing the whole of space. 44

According to the Rgya-Teh'er-Tö-Pa, the horse belonging to the Buddha Chakavāristu is grey, 45 has a black head, its hair plaited, is covered with a net of gold, and traverses all the heavens. The Chakavāristu mounts it at break of day, and traverses, from one side to another, as far as the oceanic confines, the entire world, not before the keeper, who has the courier in his charge, first closes to ask it to neigh.

From the Vedic hymns we see that the sun is designated as a god who sees and knows all, to whom nothing is hidden, and who rises, drawn by his rays, by his horses, 46 and this conception reveals a great development of anthropomorphism, because the sun is given in the hymn VII, 77, 3, the double qualification of 'eye of the gods,' and 'shining white horse.' On the other hand, the sun is compared to the fire of the altar, and the fire of the altar is compared to the sun, because in mythology, as in all the Vedic cult, to celestial phenomena correspond like terrestrial phenomena, what takes place on earth has equally a place in heaven. The fire, agni, in Latin ignis, is also compared to a horse. 47 It is he who goes from earth to heaven bearing the sacrifice to the gods, 48 neighing from the first moment, i.e. crackling on the altar of sacrifice, rearing, flashing in the midst of the cloud-like lightning which pierces space.

It is he who draws the gods to the altar, 49 it is he who gives the victory, it is he who leaps from abysses, he is the victor who saves the hero. 50 It is he who feeds on the winds, who is the friend of the wind; 51 he is the horse of which we can say with Ariosto:— 52

"Questa è il destrier . . .
Che di fiamma e di vento era concetto;
E senza fiato e libra, si nutria
Dell'aria pura . . . ."

Secure when attached to the hair of the magic horse, the companions of Siñahbhu can save themselves from the voracious Rákshasas, but under the condition imposed on Orphens, of not looking back. They suffer themselves, however, to be enticed by the sirens of Ceylon, and die by their hands, as Orpheus by the hands of the Barchantes of Thracia; they are lost through the motive which robbed Orpheus, the morning star rising over the earth, of the beautiful Euridyce, the aurora, his beloved. 53

In the Semitic mythology the same myth is met with. Goldziher 54 explains by the solar theory the myth of the daughters and wife of Lot. Like so many other traces of ancient

41 Cf. Liebrecht, Volkunde, p. 118.
43 Benfey, L. c.; Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 127; Foucault, Rgya-Teh'er-Tö-Pa, chap. III.
45 See note II below, pp. 47 f.
46 Shvédéa, L. 56; 1, cf. with Rig-V, 45, 8, &c.
47 I, 53, 2; 140, 3; III, 1, 4; 2, 7; VI, 2, 8; 12, 6; &c.
48 III, 37, 14.
49 Cf. VIII, 91, 12, with IV, 9, 8.
50 Cf. Rig-V, 19, 5; X, 91, 7; I, 94, 19; &c.
52 See Decharmos, Mythologie de la Grécia antiga, P. 571 ff.
or falling upon the earth of darkness, in the subterranean world called Tartarus by the Greeks, Tālātā by the Hindu Aryans,\(^{3}\) invisible as the region Amenti of the Egyptians,\(^{4}\) for which the solar theory satisfactorily accounts; nor would it be possible to deny the intimate connection between the mythological elements of the Oriental legends which we have given, and the identical features of the legends of classical antiquity.

With these legends, also, are connected superstitions which we meet with in our day in Europe, so that in Portugal the people say that "to go backwards is to call on the demon," that "to go backwards is to fall into hell," and the Norwegians say that "he who goes backwards drags his father and mother with him to hell," as they also say that "to beat the mother is so beat the earth," and "to beat the father is to beat a stone,"\(^{10}\) superstitions which are also met with on the other side of the ocean in America, according to Müller.\(^{11}\)

Thus, as the Aryan conception of the white horse of the hero furnishes a solar myth, so its explanation in like manner is the belief in traces of the visits of a divinity to the earth, and chiefly the belief in divine footprints on the summit of mountains.

In the Buddhist religion the horse and the feet of Buddha are objects of the greatest veneration in his temples. And as such we see them represented on bas-reliefs, on sculptures, and

"....em Ceylão que o monte se elevanta.\(^{12}\)
Tanto, que as nuvens passa, on a vista engana,
Os naturale o tem por cousa sancta
Pela pedra onde está a pegada humana."\(^{13}\)

_Lusiada, X, fol. 183._

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\(^{12}\) See the list of versions given by our colleague in his collection, _Contos Populares Portugueses_, pp. xix, xx.

\(^{13}\) Le Livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine, avec les Évènements Héroïques et Historiques des Quiches. Original and translation by Abbé Breasseau de Bourbon, p. 249-5.


\(^{15}\) Benfey, _Hermes, Minos, Tartares_.

\(^{16}\) We would remark, in this place, of Amenti, that it is not a chance illustration nor a common-place and unnecessary comparison. The motive is correct, and the comparison apt. Chapter XV of the _Book of the Dead_ says:—"In the afternoon the sun turns his face to Amenti," \_Pierret, in the_ Fomentaire, _Héliographique_, p. 29, says:—"Amenti, Amenti, hell, region where the sun hides himself, abode of souls after death." And further, "In the west, the occidental region." Of the same author's _Dict. d'Archéologie Egyptienne_, s. v. To this definition of Amenti is also added that...
Buddhist Legends.

Camocens, and before him Duarte Barbosa, were acquainted with this trace of Buddhist legend; but it seems that they heard it from the Arabs.

Commencing with low lands, the island of Ceylon runs down to 5° 51' south latitude, rising, little by little, and appearing to attain to the highest ranges, which fall suddenly from the clouds to the other shore of the sea. Of the mountains which form the crown of this "jockey's cap," a remarkable one is the Samanella, "rock of the divine assembly in the mountain," which the Europeans, following the Arabs, call Adam's Peak, and which the Buddhists had previously named Siripada in Pali, in Sanskrit Siripada, "foot-mark of the Fortunate One," because they believe that there the footprint of Buddha is still visible.

The true Pali name of this mountain is Sumanakuta, so-called because the divinity (deva) Sumana dwelt there, says Childers (Pali Dict., s. v.), "mountain of the happy," or, as Lassen says, "mountain of the gods." Another name of this mountain is Simhakuta, "the shining mountain," the last from which, in the south, the sun disappears.

Hardy (Manual of Buddhism, p. 211-12) gives the following Ceylonese legend:—"The downs (the divinity) of Sumanakuta (another name of Samanella), Sumana, having heard of the arrival of Buddha, went to the place where he was, and after he had worshipped him, he presented a request that he would leave an impression of his foot upon the mountain of which he was the guardian, that it might be worshipped during the five thousand years his religion would continue among men.

Buddha went to it (the mountain) through the air, attended by 500 ralaihus (saints). At the right hand of the sage was Sumana, in beautiful garments and rich ornaments, attended by all his inferior deities, with their queens, who made music and carried flags and banners, and scattered around gold and gems. Sakra, Maha Brahma, and Iswara, were all there with their attendant retinues; and like the rolling of the great ocean upon Maha Meru or the Yungandham rocks, was their arrival at the mountain. The sun remained in the midst of the sky, but his rays were cold as those of the moon; there was a slight falling of rain like the water that is sprinkled around a throne to allay the dust; and the breeze, charged with sweet perfume, came from all sides to refresh the illustrious visitant. At his approach, all the trees of the mountain were as though they danced in gladness at the anointing of a king. In the midst of the assembled deities, Buddha, looking towards the east, made the impression of his foot, in length three inches less than the cubit of the carpenter; and the impression remained as a seal to show that Lanka is the inheritance of Buddha, and that his religion will here flourish."

Hardy says in a note, that the print of the foot of Buddha is an "indentation upon the summit of Adam's Peak." Ibn Batuta describes the foot of Adam in the island of Serendib (Ceylon), saying:—"The mark of the noble foot, that of our father Adam, is seen in a black and high rock, and in an open place. The foot is impressed in the stone, so that its site is quite depressed; its length is eleven spans. The inhabitants of China came there formerly; they

remarkable, from the many legends connected with it, and the conspicuousness of its appearance, especially from the sea; it is an insulated cone, rising boldly into the sky, and generally cloud-capped. It is supposed by the Chinese (Daivi's Chinese), that its base is a temple, in which the real body of Buddha reposes on its side, and that near it are his teeth and other relics." Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, 1st ed., p. 311.

Lassen, Ind. Alterthumk., 2nd ed., vol. I, p. 233-4. On the hypothesis, in the idea, that this was the highest. Cf. however, note 46.

8 The lord of Tavatimsa (paradise). He is the same as Sakra (powerful), in Sanskrit, a name given to Indra.

9 Not to be confounded with the Brahma of the Puranic religion. In that of the Pitakas (Buddhist sacred books) Maha Brahma is simply the ruler of a brahma-loka (H., p. 41), of a superior celestial world. See Childers, Pali Dict., s. v. Sakra.

10 Not to be confounded with Iswara, "supreme lord," in Sanskrit. In the Buddhist religion some of the principal Brahmanic deities are met with as archangels. See Childers, of supra.
cut from the stone the place of the big toe and of that adjoining it, and deposited the fragment in a temple of the town of Zeitun (Tseu-thung), whither they go from the remotest provinces."

Dr. Davy\(^{50}\) says that the footprint of Buddha is "a superficial hollow five feet three inches and three quarters long, and between two feet seven inches and two feet five inches wide."

The plain fact, then, is a depression on the summit of the mountain. Of the legends which explain this fact the Buddhist alone has scientific and historical importance. We shall therefore leave on one side what the Muḥammadan Māshādi and our chronicler, Osmio, tells us of the race of Cain and of the tombs of Adam and Eve in this island; and let us see how the origin of the legend is explained in mythology.

The myth of the horse of the hero and that of the divine footprints are myths that are related. But the horse of the hero, which defends him, counsels him, even beats down and conquers the enemies of the hero, represents force, rapidity, energy, light, in a word life; the divine footprints are the traces of mysterious feet which are not known, which no one sees, and which scarcely leave impressed the testimony of his visit after the disappearance of the divinity. Among the Gnostics the soles of feet engraved in stone represented death.\(^{91}\)

The last rays of the sun, traversing space, and as if lighting with the force which draws the luminous god the pyre which devours him, the last pādas, that is, the last "rays," gilding the summits of the mountains, and as if emerging from the abyss, are the pādas, that is, the "feet" of this god, whose tunic is the twilight, which is put off when he is about to die. And in the midst of these pādas, "feet and rays," of these pādas of light, is seen even in the last moments the solar disc, through the impression which the retina retains. His vermilion-hued heart is like the bleeding wound of a cruel torment. These feet even converge one towards the other, are superimposed, and the god of the large footprints, the god of the three footprints, becomes the god of one single footprint, and the god of one single foot, whose ankle is in the middle of his foot, and whose toes are united like those of a jālapāda, those of a palmiped.

This conception, so singular, of the foot of the god, is of great value, if we compare it with the conception by which the Chakravarthi has his neck immovable, independently of his body, and looks always forward, always in the same position, and has to turn his whole body when he turns his face.

It is undoubtedly the anthropomorphic conception of the sun.\(^{92}\)

The complication of myths, says my teacher in Paris, M. Bergaigne, and of rites which are their image, results from the combination of natural observations with the idea of the cult in its simplest form. The Vedic ritual is the reproduction of the Vedic mythology; and the domain of Vedic mythology includes earth and heaven. The mythologist, consequently, cannot explain the Vedic mythology either by the heaven alone or by the earth alone.

And, in fact, the ritual represents the phenomena of the celestial world, and the celestial world only preserves its order by the order of sacrifice. The liturgical order and the cosmogonic order are interdependent.

Adolpho Coelho told me, some time ago:—

"The mythologist must never forget that the heaven, the earth, and the sea are confounded when the uncultivated man explains the phenomena of nature; what is on the earth is in the sea, and what is in the sea is on the earth, and what is in the heaven is on the earth and in the sea."

Starting from this principle, of which I have already made use in this essay, I shall attempt to give another explanation of the divine footprints on the summit of mountains.

On the mound of earth, the altar raised in the place of Vedic sacrifice, and to the east, was called vēdi. The uttara-vēdi\(^{93}\) is the superior, culminating vēdi, the vēdi of fire. In the middle was a cavity which was called udhkī, that is, "navel," where were thrown the pieces of flesh and the śoma, the drink of the gods and of the sacrificers, fermented, combustible, on the flames of the sacrificial fire.

This extinguished, Agni dead, there were

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\(^{50}\) Apud Sp. Hardy, op. cit., p. 212.


\(^{92}\) Cf. with the whole of this explanation Sēart, Essai sur la Légende du Buddha.

\(^{93}\) Kuśika-vāstram, 137, apud Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
scarcely the traces in the place where he reposed, there was the nāḍhi, the hole opened on the top of the highest mound, like a single footprint of this god, who there became extinct.

Thus hymn 164 of Maṇḍala I of the Rāgveda says in Ṛichi 34:—"I ask thee for the farthest extremity of the earth; I ask thee where is the navel of the world; I ask thee for the seed of the horse; I ask thee for the highest heaven of the voice." And in Ṛichi 35 it is answered:—"This reti is the farthest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the navel of the world;" this sōma is the seed of the horse; this Brāhmaṇ is the highest heaven of speech."

My professor in Munich, the late Dr. Martin Haag, the Orientalist who has best explained this hymn, so beset with thorny difficulties and mysterious problems, does not say, in the study devoted to the hymn and published by him shortly before his death under the title of Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfsprache, what is the horse. But this is no loss. It is the cloud which by its rains brings fertility to the earth, and hence the horse of Agni or Agni himself, the celestial messenger fire of the sacrifice or conductor of the gods over the altar of sacrifice.

It is prolific, because to the celestial fire the ray succeeds the seed, that is, the rain which makes the earth suitable for production, and which raises the fire, as is mentioned in different passages of the Vēdas, in the bosoms of the plants.

The highest heaven of the voice is the Brāhmaṇ, says Ṛichi 35. And Dr. Martin Haag explains:—"The Brāhmaṇ treated of here is probably the Brāhmaṇ presiding at the sacrifice; in him are combined all the sacred sacrifice, all the hymns, sentences, &c., which only he with his voice can chant and cause to be heard."

I may, however, add to this explanation that

the Brāhmaṇ presiding at the sacrifice was the highest heaven of the voice only as representative on the earth of the god who made his voice heard on the earth. This voice is the vāyūmrāṇi, the "voice of the cloud," sung in hymn 125 of the Maṇḍala X of the Rāgveda, and in hymn 30 of the Kaṭaka IV of the Atharvasvēda. It is the voice which announces the will of the gods, it is the messenger of heaven, the inspirer by whom is revealed the sacred word, the divine messenger of whom the Rishis, the Vedic poets, speak, and also Homer; it is the one who proclaims the law of universal order, both cosmogonic and liturgical. It is like the voice from the burning bush, terrible and threatening; but yet soft and magic as the sound of the flute of the Maruts and of Yama. It is that which makes itself heard, descending to the earth, from the height there, from the dīva-sadānam, the "abode of the gods," to which ascended the mortals who had become immortal, and where sōma runs in floods, and where echo the songs and melodies of the divine flute of Yama, where is the tree of shining leaves.

And if we record finally that in mythology (Aryan, at least), tree, mountain, and altar are synonyms and expressions almost identical, the connection will then be plainly seen of the horse of the hero and of the footprints of the god on the top of mountains, symbols almost inseparable in the Buddhist religion.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

I. The Cloud-horse Jīṭaka. "Those who will not carry out the advice." Thus spake the Teacher, while dwelling in Jetavana, concerning a certain unhappy monk. This monk having been asked by the Teacher: "Is it true that you are unhappy?" replied: "It is true!" When asked, "Wherefore?" he said: "On account of having looked with desire upon a beautiful woman." Then the Teacher said to him: "O monk, these women who allure men by their form, voice, colour, taste, and touch, and also by

The Greek conception by which the temple of Delphi was the centre of the world. The Buddhists thought, however, that the centre of the world was strictly marked by the sacred tree of the temple near Buddha Gaya.

It is a Separatabdruck of the Sitzungsberichten der philosophischen und historischen Klassen der königl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, and has the subsequent title of "Übersetzung und Erklärung des Dieghatamās Liedes, Rāg. I. 164—München, 1876."

the charm of female fascination, getting them into their power, and knowing that they have attained their wish, through loss of (men's) purity and wealth, are, on account of their sinfulness, called Yakkhinis. In former days also Yakkhinis approached a company of men by means of female artifice, and having fascinated the merchants and got them into their power, seeing others also, brought about the destruction of them all and devoured them, crushing them, with the blood flowing from both sides of their jaws. He then related the story:

In former times there was in the island of Lankā a Yakkha city called Sirisavattthu. Therein dwelt Yakkhinis. These, when a shipwreck took place, were accustomed to go to meet the merchants in splendid clothing, surrounded by slaves, carrying children on their hips, and offering food and drink. That they might think, “We have come to an abode of men,” they would show here and there men ploughing and tending cattle, and so forth, herds of cattle, dogs, &c., and approaching the merchants they would say: “Drink this rice gruel, partake of this rice, eat this food.” The merchants unawares enjoy the things given by them. Thus having eaten and enjoyed, while resting they exchange friendly greetings. They ask: “Of what place are you inhabitants, whence do you come, whether are you going, on what business have you come hither?” And they answer: “We have come hither having been shipwrecked.” Responding: “Well, sirs, our husbands also, three years ago, went on board and went away; they must be dead; you are also merchants, we will be your wives,” they enticed those merchants with female blandishments, and leading them to the Yakkha city, the first men being captured, having bound them as it were with supernatural chains, they hurried them into the abode of destruction. If they do not obtain shipwrecked men near their own place of abode they wander along the seashore, as far as Kālayānī on this side, and this is their custom. But one day five hundred merchants crossed over to their city. The females, approaching them, enticed them, and bringing them to the Yakkha city, binding the men whom they first captured as with supernatural chains, they hurried them into the abode of destruction, and made them their husbands, the chief Yakkhinis, the chief merchants, the others, the remainder, and so the five hundred Yakkhinis, the five hundred merchants. But that chief Yakkhinī in a night time, when the merchants had gone to sleep, rising, goes to the abode of destruction, and killing men, eats their flesh, and returns. The others also do likewise. When the chief Yakkhinī had eaten the human flesh, on returning her body was cold. The chief merchant having embraced her knew that she was a Yakkhinī, and thought: “These must be five hundred Yakkhinis; we must escape.” On the morrow, in the early morning, on going to wash his mouth, he told the other merchants: “These are Yakkhinis, not human beings; they will devour us after making us their husbands, as they have done in times past to other shipwrecked men; let us now flee.” But two hundred and fifty said: “We are unable to leave them; you go; we shall not flee.” The chief merchant, having persuaded the two hundred and fifty by his advice, fled, terrified at the females. Now at that very time Būdhisattha was born from the womb of a mare; he was pure white, black-headed, mukha-hairied, possessed of supernatural power, being able to go through the air. Rising through the air from the Himavan, he went to the isle of Tambapannī, and having eaten paddy produced spontaneously in the lakes and ponds of Tambapannī he went on, and thus proceeding said compassionately three times in a well-modulated human voice: “Does any person wish to go? Does any person wish to go?” They hearing the speech came near with folded hands, and said: “Sir, we wish to go.” “Then get upon my back,” said he. Then some got on his back, some seized his tail, but some stood with folded

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101 “Female fascination.” The Pāli is tikkhi suttana, the latter part of which is not given in Childers’ Dictionary. It occurs three times in this Jātaka, and is also found, as L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliyar kindly points out to me, in the Jātakāsthokka, p. 296, vol. I., of Fauboll’s edition. As to this word, which Dr. Morris does not explain, Mr. Wijesinha writes that he does not recollect meeting with it in any other Pāli books but the Jātaka, where it is almost synonymous with bhāna. He points out the resemblance to the Tamil kāttu, dance, and suggests that it is of Dravidian origin, which is not improbable.

102 “Crushing.” The Pāli is murumurap燃料, from murumurat, an apparent causative of murumurati, an imperative word, not found in Childers’ Dictionary. Dr. Morris, however, considers the word not a causative but a “denominitive verb of onomatopoetic origin, like our words snort, chomp, crunch, &c.” The verb murumur, to murmur, is given in Winslow’s Tamil Dictionary.

103 “Supernatural chains”: Pāli devasakkañchādi, where, as Mr. Wijesinha points out, deva can hardly be translated divine; he suggests a corrupt reading for tesabheva, but as the word occurs twice, and Fauboll gives no alternative reading, I have let it stand.

104 “Her body was cold.” I have not elsewhere met with this characteristic of Yakkhinī.

105 “Two hundred and fifty”: Pāli oddhatayapatti, literally two-and-a-half hundred.

106 “Black-headed”: Pāli dhākañcā, i.e., “crow-headed.”

107 “Mukha-hairied”: mukha, according to Childers, is “a sort of grass, xaccharum mukha, from the fibre of which the Brahmanical string is made,” also “a sort of fish.” No doubt the first meaning applies here. According to the Raja-yeh-Eol-Po, quoted further on, the horse’s hair is plaited.
hands. Boddhisatta by his own supernatural power conveying all the two hundred and fifty merchants, even those standing with folded hands, placing each in his own place, returned to his own abode. But the Yakkhis, when the time of the others had come, killed the remaining two hundred and fifty men and ate them.109

The Teacher, addressing the monks, said: "O monks, as those merchants went to the dwelling of the Yakkhis and met with their death, while those who obeyed the word of the cloud-horse king were placed every one in his own place, even so monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, not fulfilling the advice of Buddhadasa, experience great sorrow, through hundreds of misfortunes, by means of the five sorts of bonds, deed, action, condition, and so forth; but those who fulfil the advice obtain the three noble sampattis, the six Kama heavens, the hundred Brahman worlds, and such-like conditions, and experiencing the great nibbana of immortality enjoy great happiness." The Perfectly Enlightened then, having said this, spoke these verses:

1. "Those men who will not carry out the advice preached by the Buddha will obtain misfortune as the merchants by the Rakshasams.

2. "And those men who will carry out the advice preached by the Buddha will reach the shore safely as the merchants by means of the horse."

The Teacher, having thus set forth this discourse, illustrating the doctrines, connected the Jataka (at the end of the teaching, the unhappy monk was established in the fruit of sotapatti, and many of the rest obtained the fruits of sotapatti, sakadgami, anagami, and arahatship):

"Those two hundred and fifty merchants who followed the advice of the cloud-horse king were the followers of the Buddha, and I was that cloud-horse king."

II. The mythical horse (ante, p. 41a and note 65).

The Portuguese word is picaresco, which I cannot find in the dictionaries, but Lacorda gives picares, which he translates, "having the colour of salt and pepper mixed together." The word used by Fonseca (Raja-Tcher-Rel-Pa, p. 17) is gris, grey, and he says in a note "literally 'bluish, of a black-blue.'" In the Pali Ková Ki, p. 133, the horse is thus described: -- "The purple horse, also called the strong and rapid wind. This horse is of a tint between red and blue. The blessed king of the wheel having come early in the morning to his palace, there suddenly appears to his sight a horse of a violet colour. His hair is threaded with pearls, which fall when he is washed and combed, and are instantaneously reproduced fresher and more brilliant than before. When he neighs, it is heard at the distance of a yojana. He has strength sufficient to fly. When the king mounts him to traverse the world he departs in the morning and returns in the evening without experiencing any fatigue. All the atoms of dust that touch the feet of this horse are converted into grains of gold." With regard to the solar myth explanation of the horse, I translate what Sénart says (Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, 2nd ed., pp. 19-22) -- "The Mahabharata (I, 1896) calls Uchchhaharavas 'maityamani, mittidistam, avastham anuttamani;' thus the Brahman mythology speaks expressly of an 'avastham,' which is no other than the solar-steen Uchchhaharavas.109 On the other hand, the Lalita Vistara gives the horse of the name of Valahaka, which means cloud,111 and is the designation of one of the steeds of Vishnu. He receives the same epithets as the Elephant; whilst Uchchhaharavas is of a dazzling whiteness, he is of a dark-blue (alakshiras), and the Chinese enumeration calls him the 'purple horse,' or the 'strong and rapid wind;' he thus resembles in a curious manner those horses of Indra whose hair has the bluish reflections of a peacock's plumage,112 and still more those steeds of the wind (edasya aśvat), red (rījra, R. V. I, 174-175; aruna, yāhīta, I, 134, 3), who also draw Indra.113 (R. V. X, 22, 4-6), considered (X, 163, 2) as the 'king of all this universe.' Like the horses of the Walkyrjas which shake from their hair the rain and the dew, our steed has its hairs threaded with pearls (lightning), which fall when he is washed (the rain) and combd, and are instantaneously reproduced fresher and more brilliant than before,"114 when he neighs, it is heard at the distance of a yojana, for his neighing is nothing but the thunder:115 if, finally, "all the atoms of dust that touch his feet are changed into grains of gold," we recognize there the old image of the thunderbolt conceived as the des Fuevos, p. 132. Other traces of the same mythological idea, preserved in the Brahmanic call, and to which we shall return, fully warrant such a clear agreement.

109 On Coylen as the island of demons, see Sénart's Essai sur la Légende du Buddha, p. 231 at seq.
108 So also the Dhammapada, ed. Gorresio, I, 46, 29.
107 Especially the stormy cloud. Cf. Mahabharata, I, 1290, where Indra is thus invoked: 'Pavanā janahain phoras chakshusāsman Valahaka.' Cf. also R. V. X, 33. 6, where the Marutis are prayed to make abundant the waters of the secund horse (vrisnīāśva).
111 For the quotations of Mair, Svamritis Texta, V, 85.
112 Elsewhere, X, 49, 7, Indra traverses the sky, drawn by the horses of the sun, which proves the essential identity of both.
113 Grimm, Deutsche Mythol., quoted by Kühn, Herulk.
shoe of the cloud-steed. We do not see why we
should be surprised to find in the horse of our
legend this symbolic meaning; for it is that which
be usually has in the Indian mythology. He
appears with this meaning on several occasions as
the direct expression of the sun, and in the case of
Uchchaisravas, the white horse, which can be
seen at the dawn of day, and in that verse (R. V.
VII, 77, 3) which describes to us 'the good Uahas
bringing the eye of the gods, leading the beautiful
white steed . . . , in many legends, also, from
among which I will refer only to those which
relate to the Digriyaju and the Aśvamedha; I shall
speak further on of this. This is no reason
for separating widely the aśvaram Uchchaisravas
and the aśvaratī Vahyakū; the former himself,
the voice of thunder from which he derives his
name, and in that black tail which the Serpents,
sons of Kadrū, treacherously form for him, has
preserved traces of another meaning. This fusion of
different symbolisms in a single type might easily
suggest various explanations. However, if we
consider that in the narrations where the solar
god appears actually in the form of the horse, as
in the case of Purusha, as in the myth of
Vivasvat and of Sarayu, it is chiefly with the
intentional signification of a disguise, of a meta-
morphosis; if we remember that the elephant,
the primitive symbolism of which should not be
doubtful, has nevertheless come in certain narra-
tions to be identified with the solar hero, we shall,
I think, be inclined to consider that the office of
horse as representing the cloud answers closely
to its probably oldest meaning. Its luminous
signification would be only the secondary, as well
as ancient, development; it is natural to confound
the star with the vapours which conceal it or
appear to carry it. The horse may, in like manner,
very well represent the lightning which bursts
from the cloud. From its central signification a
sort of double radiation would be produced; the
fact is sufficiently well expressed by the acts which
make of the sun, the eye, and of the lightning,
the foot of the atmospheric steed. This will
explain how the horse properly solar has left in
cognate mythologies so few evident traces; how,
even in Indian mythology, it only appears mixed
with other elements. As to our Buddhist aśvaratī in
particular, it is certain that if, in the
picture which is drawn of it, the primary signifi-
cation is evidently manifest, its office of carrying
the Chakravartin, whom it takes round the earth,
leaving in the morning, and returning in the
evening, is a very clear expression of the second.'

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.
(Continued from Vol. XII., p. 272.)

No. CXXXVIII.

The original plates containing the inscription
now published were found, with four
other sets and a sixth set which has been
lost sight of, suspended by their rings on an
iron bar across the mouth of a large pot which
was discovered in digging the foundations of a
wall at 'Chicacoole' in the 'Ganjam' District of
the Madras Presidency. The grants were
purchased by Mr. W. F. Grahame, C.S., and
were presented by him to the Madras Museum,
where they now are. They were obtained by

111 Cf. especially the struggle of Krishna with the horse
112 Mahābhārata, I, 120.
113 All the less that R. V. VIII, 1, 11, makes a close
correspondence between Etaea, the steed of the sun, and the
winged and rapid horses of Viṣṇu.
114 Kuhn, Herob. des Fenius, p. 251.
115 Mahābhārata, I, 1228 and fol. Cf. R. V. I, 32, 12,
Indra transformed into a horse's tail to deliver the
inimical waters.
116 I see nothing in the passage (R. V. I, 122, 6) quoted
by M. Kuhn, Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachl. IV, 119) to prove
precisely that we must understand thereby a horse's head;
117 If, as M. de Gubernatis asserts (Zool. Myth. I, 302)
beeleni (Röm. ed. Corresio, IV, 40, 50), applied to
Vishnu, which, considering the state of the text, is very
doubtful, this passage would furnish another argument
for the ideas expressed here; and this horse's head would
recall very forcibly the very clear meaning of the head of
Dadhya, on which Cf. Schwartz, Sansk. Monatsber. Lab., p. 89 f.
118 So the Horse, the solar bird, gets the epithet
aśvamethi (R. V. I, 30, 6; X 172, 1); it is then, in fact,
distinguished from solar wheel, exactly as Etas, the
steed of the sun, always represented as bearing the wheel.
(Cf., for example, Kuhn, Herob. des Fenius, p. 63 and fol.)
Mr. Kuhn (Zeitschrift, vol. I, p. 328 and fol.), formerly
gave expression to observations which seem to me very
similar to these, but his idea was not explicit enough for
me to shield myself with his authority.
1 No. 155 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper
plate Grants. Noticed by me, only Vol. X. p. 248, No. 1.
KALIÑGA GRANT OF NANDAPRABHANJANAVARMA.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III.

From the original plates.
it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands; but the first plate had been broken in such a way, from the ring-hole to the edge, that it could, if desired, be separated from the others without cutting the ring; it is quite plain, however, that there has been no confusion, and that this is the proper first plate of this grant. The seal on the ring was originally rectangular, about 2" long by 1" broad; but a good deal of it is now broken away. It had originally a legend, in relief on a countersunk surface; but the letters have been so destroyed by rust, that I am unable to say what the legend is, except that it does not seem to contain the name of Nandaprabhājanavarman, the maker of the grant. The weight of the three plates is 11½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 26½ tolas, total, 37½ tolas. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of the Mahārāja Nandaprabhājanavarman, the lord of Kaliṅga, and is issued from (the city of) Sārapalli.

And it records the grant of the village of Deiva vaṭa, or possibly Deivyavāṭa or Deivyavāṭa, to the charanaḥ or branches of the Deiva varṇa, for the benefit of a Brāhmaṇ named Hariśchandra. I am not able at present to suggest any identification of either the city whence the charter was issued, or the village that was granted.

The grant is not dated; but, judging by the standard of paleography, it is decidedly ancient, and is probably pre-Chalukyan. Among the published grants, the one the letters of which show the nearest resemblance to the letters of this grant,—making allowance for the contrast between the upright and the sloping styles of engraving,—is the Pallava grant of Vijayabuddhavarman, No. LXXIV., ante Vol. IX., pp. 106ff. Until, however, we obtain some further mention of the name of Nandaprabhājanavarman, it is impossible to make any definite suggestion as to the date of this grant.

Text.

First plate.

[1] Svasti* Vijaya-Sārapalli-vāsakīt* parama-bhāga-vatō mātāpiṣṭi-pādā.-
[3] Śrī-mahārāja-Nandap[ṛ*]bah-
[4] ūjanavarmā Deyavāṭe* kutumbinam-ajñāpayati [*] Viditam-a-
[5] stu Aksahātgraḥarhiyay-brāhmaṇa-Hanū(ṛ*)-chandrasvayminē u-

Second plate; first side.

[8] ka-pū[ṛ*]vṛnda a-karaṁ bhara-vāna-varjgam puay-āyu[ṛ*]-yyaśasām-abhiyātādhayaē
[8] a-chandra-dā́(tā́)rak-ārka-pratishthitam-agraḥārṇaṁ kṛtva sarvva-kara-parīh-
[9] raiś-cha pariḥṣeyyā Dēvaṁrātraḥ-goṭra-charaṇabhāyā(ḥyāḥ) pradattaṁ [*] Ēvaṁ
[8] jśtvā yushmanbhīḥ purv-viṣcita mārayāyā sarv-viṣpasthānaṁ karttavyaṁ

Second plate; second side.


Third plate.

[11] yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadā phalam [*] Sva-datt[ā*]ṁ par-

— way in which kṛs is formed in vikramad, line 10, we may say also interpret this akṣara as kṛs. Both the akṣaras, however, are rather anomalous ones.

* The propriety of this correction can hardly be questioned. And it is easy to see how the engraver, whose work throughout is not so accurate as it might have been, was led into engraving sī instead of sī.  
10 Correct into Devārā.  
11 and 12 in each case the anusvāra is a mistake.  
13 Correct into eva-dattāṁ tīvṛ &c.  
14 Correct into rājaḥḥa.  
15 The usual reading is Sāgar-ādhipaḥ.
Hail! From this residence situated at the victorious city of Sāraṇapalli, the Mahārāja, Śrī Nandaprabhājanavarmā, the most devout worshipper of the holy one; he who meditates on the feet of his parents; the supreme lord of the whole of Kalinga, issues his commands to the kṣatryinga at the village of Deyavātalā.

(L. 3.)—"Be it known! For the benefit of the Brāhmaṇa Harishandrasāvāmi of the agrahāra of (?) Akṣatā, having, with libations of water, and for the increase of religious merit and duration of life and fame, made an agrahāra-grant (of this village), free from taxes, (and) with the exception of . . . . . . . . . . (and) constituted to continue as long as the moon and the stars and the sun may last, and having exempted (it) with remission of all the taxes, it has been given (by me) to the charages of the Dēvaritā ghotra. By you, knowing this, in accordance with your custom and the respectful service is to be performed, and that which is to be measured out, consisting of gold, &c., is to be tendered.

(L. 9.)—"And I make this request to future kings,—looking upon this grant, which is the perpetual business of (all) those who protect that which may be acquired by any of the means of religion or succession (of inheritance) or prowess, as their own act of religion, this agrahāra should be preserved by them, just as if it were their own gift.

(L. 12.)—"And I will instance on this point the verses sung by Vīṭas:—Land has been given by many kings, lords of the earth; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him at that time belongs the reward (of the grant that has been made)! O Yudhisthīra, best of kings, carefully preserve [land*] that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (of a grant) is better than making a grant, (and) is the most excellent (of all acts)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who asssents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

TWO EASTERN CHALUKYA COPPER-PLATES.

BY S. M. NĀTELĀ

The following transliterations and translations show the contents of two Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grants now in the Madras Central Museum. They were discovered by a man, while ploughing, in the Makkha village of Lākra, near Aggripalle in the Nūzivūḍa zamindar of the Krishnā District, Madras Presidency, and were presented to the Museum by the zamindar.

It is customary to translate this word, by 'great king.' But the large mass of epigraphical records that is now available for examination, shows that, in all except very early inscriptions, such titles as rāja, king, adhikāra, supreme or superior king, and maharāja, 'great king,' and perhaps even rājadhāra, 'supreme king of kings,' by no means convey the idea of our English word 'king,' but, unless coupled with other titles indubitably designating of supreme sovereignty, indicate only subordinate, though undeniably high, rank and power. They are, in fact, technical titles which, like dēvaritā, Mahādeva, Mahādevadhipati, Mandūkṛa, Mahānandavela, Dandakariyā, Mahāsākāvāra, Rājadhāra, Vishnupāta, Balādhiṅgala, Sāhādhiṅgala, Mahārājadhīhnagoti, &c., it is much better, if only for the sake of uniformity and consistency, to use untranslated, than to attempt to render into English by terms which always vary according to the idiosyncrasies of the translators, and which never suffice to give a faithful and literal idea of what the original words mean. The only title that properly and fully corresponds to our idea of 'king,' is maharājadhāra, 'supreme king of Mahārājas;'
No. I.

This grant is on five plates, joined by a ring with a beautifully preserved seal. The plates measure 91" by 41" and have their edges turned up to preserve the inscription thereon. They are in excellent preservation. The seal has on it a boar, three elephant-goads, and the legend: Śri-Tribhuvandākṣa.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Sarvākāram-asēhasya jagataḥ sarvadā śīvan gō-brāhmaṇa-nrīpādāṁ śīchaṣcha śīvan bhavatu sarvadā |

[2] Svasti Śrīmatām sakalā-bhuvana-samstōyamāna-Mānavyā-sagōtrānāṁ Hārīki-puṭrāṇām Kau-


[4] dhṛyātā- |


[6] ēkṛt-ārati-maṇḍalānāṁ āvamādhh-āvabhrīta(thā)-saṁa-paviṭr-kriṭa-vāpaḥam Chalukya- |


[8] śa varṣhāni | Tat-puṭro Jayaśimhavallabhas-trayas-trīṇāśat-varshāṇi | Tat-bhṛtār | Indra-

[9] rāja-a |

[10] ndāno Vīṣhuvardhanaḥ nava varṣhāṇi | Tat-puṭro Maṅgi-yuvārjaḥ paṁcasa-viṁśatī-


[12] Tat-sūnur=Jayaśimhas-trāyāda-samvatsarān | Tad-[d*]vimātūr-anuṇaḥ Kōṅkiliḥ |

Plate II, first side.

[13] shaḥ=maṇsān | Tat-agrājō Vīṣhuvārjas=svānujām udvāpya sapta-trīṃśat-samvatsarān Ta-

[14] t-puṭro Vijayaśitya-bhaṭṭārkaḥ asādā-abdān | Ta-nandanō Vīṣhuvardhanaḥ asāt-

[15] triṃśa- |

[16] d-abdān | Tat-puṭra Gaṅggaṇaṭa-balais-sārddhān-dvādaś-abdān-aharṇiṣam bhuj-ārjita-

[17] bala- |

[18] padga-sahāyo nayavikramaḥ ashtottaram yuddha-śatam yuddhā Śaṅbōr-mahā- |

[19] layān tat-saṅkhyāy-ākārō vīrō Vijayaśitya-bhūpatiḥ kṛtvā rājyaṁ sa Gaṅgīśa |

[20] chatuṛṣiṃsāt-saṁān | chatu-uttara-saṁkhīyaṁ yayaṁ sakhyaṁ Saṁchī-

[21] p|

[22] tēth Tat-sūnur=nayaṇa-viṇaḥ Kāyaṭīr=Vīṣhuvardhanāḥ | Vēṇgīgīnāthas-saṁstānām- |

[23] ayuddha- |


Plate II, second side.

[25] kta-bhuḥ nityam tri-varga-parivāhama-tantra-maṇtry samvardhātikha-haṭhāntara-la-

[26] bdha tējā gaja-vājī-yuddha-kuśalas-sārddhā-samvatsaram Paṭiḥ babhūva rājyā jayavi- |

[27] d-abbhishiktāḥ kulōnātēḥ | Tat-sutō-jani samasta-bhūriyaṁ śaṣakas-sakala-sampdam-pa-

[28] tēḥ dhaiṛya-dāna-dhaiṛti-dharma-nirmalam-śrī-patāpa dhara-mūrti-vienerima samara-ni-

[29] | rat-ārati-vrātān anēka-dharēvārān | Prakṛti-bala-saṁpannaḥ tējas-tati-krama- |

[30] n-ōṇātēḥ | vilasad-asinā jītvā sūryam pratāpa-yaśōmayir jījagati Vijaya-

[31] | tyō nityam guṇaś-cchā jīgāya saḥ | Gaṅgāyānām gaja-vai-rāvi-śaktir asāmān | Raṭṭeṣa- |

[32] saṁchōdītō |

[33] jītvā Maṅgi śrī-harat yuddhi mahā-bhiḥ=āpta-viṁśayām | Kriṣṇam saṅkīlam-ānū |

Plate III, first side.

[34] kitō-khila-bala(?)-prasāt-dru-sad-vikroṇā | bhūt-ārītān-atha viḥāya tat-puram aran jō |

[35] nirddādaḥ prabhūḥ | Sa samasta-bhuvanāsraya-Srī-Vijayātīyaḥ=chatus=chatvarī- |

[36] māśad-varṣhāṇi | Tat-anu savitārya=asamagatā tīmira-patālā nava-Raṭṭa-ṇāyāda-bal-

[37] | n-ābbivyaptam Vēṇgī-maṇḍalān | Tat-anu-Vikramaditya-sūnūs-Chalukya-Bhīma- |

[38] | dhīpā Dōṛājan-āpara-śīnā | sva-vikram-aṅk-sahāya-taravārī-prabha-yāvahā- |


April 1873, but they are, for all practical purposes, useless.
Plate III, second side.

gha-vīśutaḥ jīvāyā-eva pratāpata pitarī bhujala-bhavata-tad-vairī-varggaḥ paścājejītv-
āri-varggān-
[30] nāįmajita-mahā-ṣakti-saśānaraṇḍra-prajā-ḥakrōpa bāhyām ripu-samitam-āpi svārtta-
bhōgaḥ kirtiṁrthā rājya-ādi-labha-tējāḥ-saṃsādalam-adhipō jētām-indram prāya-
tāḥ | Tat-sūna=r Udyāditya-iva Amma Rājya-Mahēndrā-sāpar-nāma ripu-timī-
[31] ram-ārā-nilahyā prakṛiti-sapatnā-paksha-nikṣipta-sāṃsāt-kubja-kaṭila-manōbhā-
[32] nīga-karaṇ karaṇam-utkṛṣṭhyā ṣakti-traya-sampanna-pratāpāvajrīṭi-piśara-śtāmaha-
[33] nīga-karaṇ karaṇam-utkṛṣṭhyā ṣakti-traya-sampanna-pratāp-aṭva-vaipa-piśera-śtāmaha-
prakṛiti-balaḥ prajāyā Sura-guruṁ tējaḥ Bhāmum antakṣmahya Kṣaṁ-mām-Ama-

Plate IV, first side.

[34] māgīrma viniḥṣeya ta-chochinnhā yeha jagrhiḥ | Tat-kula-prasātā Sēmādityasya sūrno=r-
[35] nēka-yaddha-labda-pratāpāḥ Pratvīya Rājaḥ | Tat-sūna=r sakalārāti-mada-chochhā-karañ-
[36] yudhaḥ sēvakā Pratvīya-kālyayatyaṇaka-bhūbihuṣaḥ abhaśhūr-bhājaṇādityam drīṣṭya-
Plate IV, second side.

[37] pritim-upārjanāḥ | Prāptam-uyula-gaṇṭikāṃ yam parā yama-saṁbhām | Yō hi | Śatrūnām-
[38] tūmulēṣu vita-paṭṭamaḥ sāmṛṣya jītyā bālam Kuntādityā iti śrut Śaṁkīta-mahā-
[39] kṛtā-pratāpālayaḥ | Mat-chittam pariṭhāṣya bhṛtya padāvī labdhvā prasāda-gaṁṭha-
spītā-
[40] nēka-bal-āri-bhūpa-vijayā Śrī-jamna bāhunathāḥ | Tasmāi | Sadvāda-grāmaḥbhiṅḍikē-
[41] Gōṁḍu=r-nāma-grāmaḥ sarvākara-parīkṛṣṭyāśmābhīr-dattamāti | viṣṭitam-a-
[42] stu vō=smābhīḥ || Avy-adhāryaḥ | Pūrvapaḥ Gōṁgurva | Dakshinaḥ Gaṁyūrū
Paśchāmatva

[43] Ḫa Kalaccheruvalu | Uttarapādā Maḍapalli | Ėṭēshām madhya-vartinaḥ kṣhetra-sīmānāḥ
Pūrvapa

[44] Pōturāyu | Āgnēyataḥ | Peṭakōyīlamu | Dakshinātāḥ Kuṛucchāṭī Naṁritaḥ Pa

Plate V.

[45] rāvati-kurva | Paśchimataḥ Pālguṇḍatpadamataṅkata | Vaiyāyataḥ Pailaka
[46] ngōṭamainadurag-bhagavati | Uttarapādā Maḍapalluvaryu | Iśānataḥ | Cāmīnēgīnu
[47] tta | Avy-ōpāri na kēnchit-bādha kartavyaḥ yāḥ karōti sa pāncamahāpātakō bhava-
[48] tī Tatā āya Sa Vyaśēṇ-eōkta Baṁbhīr-Vasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ-ch-anupālita yaṣya
[49] yaṣya yadā bhūmih taṣya taṣya tādā phalaṃ || Śva-dattām para-dattām va yō ha-
[50] réta vasūdhaṁ labhārāṃ shasti-vaṁsła-saṁbrādṛī vīṁśṭhyām jāyata kṛmīṃ

Translation.

May prosperity abound in all things in all the world for ever! And prosperity to cows, Brāhmaṇas and kings! Hail! The brother of Śatyāṣraya vallabha, who was an ornament to the family of the Chalukya—
who are of the kindred of Māṇavya that

is praised over all the world, who are the sons of Hārīti,2 who had obtained (their) kingdom by the favour of the boon granted by Kau-
śikī, who are protected by the Māṭīgaṇa, who are ever contemplating the feet of the god Māhāsena, who have had all kings easily
made subject to them by the excellent sight

Virūḍhaka, Virūḍhkāsa and Dhrītarāṣṭra. See Beal’s Buddhist Rec. of the Western World, vol. i. p. 110f.—
Ed. I.A.
of the sign of the Boar which they acquired by the sight of the holy Nārāyana, who had their bodies purified by the closing bath of the horse-sacrifice. — Kuṭaja Viśṇuvardhāna (ruled) 18 years. His son Jayasimha Vallabha, 33 years. Viśṇuvardhāna, son of his brother Indrārāja, 9 years. His son Māṅgi, the Yuvarāja, 25 years. His son Jayasimha, 18 years. His brother by his step-mother, Kōkkili, 6 months. His elder brother, Viśṇurāja, after driving out his younger brother, 37 years. His son Viṣṇu Viṣṇudattāra, 18 years. His son Viśṇuvardhāna, 36 years. His son, the powerful king Viṣṇudattā by the valor of his arms and by the assistance of his infantry, after fighting 108 times in 12½ years with the just and powerful armies of the Gaṅgas and Raṭṭas built the same number of temples to Śambhu. That lord of Gaṅga, after ruling the kingdom for 44 years, acquired the friendship of the husband of Śachi (Indra, i.e. he died). His son, the just and valourous Viśṇuvardhāna, who had prefixed to his own, the name of Kali (Kali-Viśṇuvardhāna), who was lord of Viṇgṭ, whose form was such that he could wield all weapons, who was skilful in giving proper work (to men) — and in protecting and training them according to their caste, period of life, and position of life, whose hands were ever engaged in conquering the cities of his enemies, who had a minister that knew all the rules for carrying out the three pursuits of life, (religion, pleasure and wealth), whose splendour in this world was increasing, and who was skilful in battling with elephants and horses, being consecrated as King for the prosperity of the family, was lord for a year and a half. To him was born a son, who was ruler of all kings, who was lord of all wealth, who was pure, possessing boldness, gifted, resolute and charitable, who was renowned for his (stalwart) frame, bearing fame, who caused many hostile kings to be slain in battle, who had united in himself the elements of a good constitution, who shone in excess of unparalleled glory after conquering the sun by the fame and splendour of his glittering sword and by his good qualities, who was known as Viṣṇudattā, — and who, at the instigation of the lord of the Raṭṭas, after conquering the king of the Gaṅgā countries who was famous for his unequalled array of elephants, cut off the head of Māṅgi in battle, and thus obtained honour by his great prowess; — after leading away the terrified and the afflicted, he the lord totally burned his enemy's city. He — the refuge of the whole world — the prosperous Viṣṇudattā (ruled) 44 years. Afterwards when that sun set in darkness (when he died), the Viṇgṭ kingdom was pervaded by the army of the kinsmen of the new Raṭṭa. Then the lord Chālukya Bīma — the son of his (Viṣṇudattā's) younger brother Viṅgṭa Viṣṇudattā — otherwise named Drōhāṛjuna, shining with the splendour of his scimitar, the only friend of his valour, became king. To the indigent and the helpless, to the naked, to dancers and singers, to religious beggars, he believed like a father and like a teacher; and making them reveal their desires, like a Kalpatree, he pleased them by unequalled donations. After protecting them for 30 years as if pleasing Purandara (Indra) by his good qualities, he obtained that deity's friendship (i.e. died). His son Viṣṇudattā, who had obtained fortune even from his childhood, who was famous for his possessing, united in himself all the enjoyments of strength and money which make the limbs (or parts) of a constitution, who, while even his father was alive by the fame of the strength of his arms destroyed hosts of his enemies, and obtained by his own valor the reward of unconquerable greatness. Even in intellectual supremacy he deprived the hosts of his surrounding enemies of their enjoyments, and thus attained fame. Having obtained splendour by the blessings of his kingdom and becoming lord of the level ground (this world) went to conquer Indra (died). His son, Amma, otherwise called Raṭṭa Mahānṛdra, who soon destroyed the darkness of his enemies like a rising moon, who cut by his sword, that was causing terror to all crooked minds, the neighbouring kings who placed themselves on the side of his old enemies, who

* The closing bath of the horse-sacrifice, or Avabhritha-
sanàna, as it is called, is the bath which the sacrifi-
cer (Kṣatvāna) has to undergo as ablation after a
sacrifice.

* See Mr. Fleet's transliteration and translation of this

* Viṣṇudattā is here called the lord of Gaṅga, a
poetical name of the Gòdāvari River.
had joined in himself the three शक्ति, who had bent by his fame the strength of the subjects of his father and grandfather, who was making himself the teacher of the gods (वधापति) by his memory, the son by his splendour, the earth by his patience, the mountain of the gods by his being resorted to by the learned men, and who was the refuge of the whole world—विश्वपार्वद्वान, the great king, who was consecrated in his kingdom, sitting on his throne, summoning all the नृत्यता, living in the country of कण्ठि, thus ordered:—

"By him, the foremost of the पात्तावद्वान family—which is always placed in the position of being able to secure the constant prosperity of our family—who was known as कृष्टि (? Kampa, and who was the follower of विश्वपार्वद्वान, the killing of our enemy दत्तारा of unapproachable army in battle, and the taking away of his emblems, was accomplished agreeably to the command of विश्वपार्वद्वान. प्रत्याराम, who had obtained fame in many battles, was the son of सोमादित्या, who was born in that family. His son, who holds his hand like a weapon to cut away the pride of his enemies, who is the servant of king कलीविज्ञादित्या (?), is ब्राह्मणादित्या. The friendship of that ब्राह्मणादित्या, equal to याम in battle, of shining bells, and seeing whom the enemies feared, was sought by us. And he in the crowd of enemies making his victorious war-drums to be heard above all, conquered the army, and thus becoming the temple of great fame and honour, has been distinguished by the name of तुर्य. He, after delighting my mind, and after conquering many hostile but admiring kings, has obtained the place of a servant under me. He has long arms which are the origin of prosperity. To him the village named गोंधुरा, which is more than 12 villages, is given by us in the act of atoning for all our sins. Let this be known to you all. The boundaries of the village (are):—To the east गोंधुरा, to the south गाँवयुरा, to the west कलेचुरुवुल, to the north मंदपल्ली. The boundaries in the (four) villages that border on that village given:—To the east पौर्णयु, to the southeast पत्तकोय्यल, to the south कारुवाणि, to the southwest पुरुवाणु, to the west पलगुण्डापदुमल्ला, to the north-west पलकुश गोमातुर बहगुसुर, to the north मंदपल्ला, and to the northeast चामिरुण्डाल. No injury should be done to this (charity) by any one. He who does (injury) becomes guilty of the five great sins. Thus it has been said by राजा:—Lands have been given by many and have been preserved (in grant) by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it. He who appropriates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure.

Mr. Sewell in his note on this grantsays, "this is an extremely handsome and well preserved grant of five plates, joined with a ring having the clearest and best seal I have yet met with. The document evidences the charitable donation of a village by Ammaraja I, of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It must have been executed, therefore, between the years A.D. 918 and 925, the period of that king's reign. The grant was found at the close of the year 1871 buried in the ground in a field in the village of जेकुर, near अंद्रा, in the Kistna District, 15 miles north-east of ब्राह्मणादित्या, a village belonging to the present zamindari of नूरविद, and therefore in the heart of the Eastern Chalukya country. The plates were presented, along with other two, to the Madras Museum by the then Zamindar, since deceased. The seal has the Chalukya boar over the legend "सैल-राजसेन" with sun, moon, and three elephant goads. Below is a lotus. Above, something that looks like a triple umbrella, or it may be a crown. The grant bears no date of any kind. It commences with the usual Chalukya titles and gives the following genealogy:—

Satyāravavallabha. Kubja-Vishnuvardhana (18 years).

Jayasimhavallabha. Indrarāja (33 years).

Vishnuvardhana (9 years).

Mangi-Yuvāraja (25 years).

Jayasimha
Vishnuraja
Kaukili
(13 years).

elder brother of
Kaukili, whom he
succeeded, after
defeating him.

Reigned 37 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vijayaditya-Bhatatraka</th>
<th>18 years.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vishnuvardhana</td>
<td>36 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayaditya</td>
<td>44 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnuvardhana</td>
<td>1½ years.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vijayaditya and Vikramaditya, 44 years. Aided by Ratta, he beheaded Mang. After him the Kinsmen of Nava Ratta usurped the Vengi kingdom.

Chalukya Bhima
(30 years).

Vijayaditya
(length of reign not given).

Udayaditya alias Ambaraja-Mahendra
(the grantor).

"The document states that Ambaraja granted the village of Gunthuru to Kaukili, son of Prithvija Raja, who was son of Somaditya, of the family of Pattravardhana, which was very loyal during the days of Kubja Vishnuvardhana. The grant was made in the presence of the principal families (kuvalba) of the district of Kanakuruvi. There is no subscribed signature of Kaukili Raja as in some grants of the period. The genealogical table corresponds with that given by Dr. Burnell on p. 21 of his South-Indian Paleography, with the following exceptions:—To Jayasimhavallabhha 33 years are given, corresponding with four of the plates noted by Dr. Burnell, as well as with Nos. 1 and 2 of this series. Seven grants therefore give 33, to two which give 30 years. This grant declares Mangi's son, Vishnu Raja, to be elder brother to the usurper Kaukili, while Dr. Burnell makes him younger. In this respect Dr. Burnell's Plates, C, D, and Nos. 1 and 2 of this series agree with the plate under discussion, while No. 2 adds that Kaukili was Jayasimha's half-brother. We thus have five plates which make Kaukili the younger. Only one out of the nine plates yet noted give 16 years to the reign of Vijayaditya Bhatatraka, the rest agreeing in giving 18. As to the latter's successor, Vishnuvardhana, Dr. Burnell's C, D, F, Nos. 1 and 2 of this series, and this plate (six plates in all) give him 36 years. One, Dr. Burnell's B, gives 30 years. Dr. Burnell's E mentions 26, which is probably a mistake. To his successor Vijayaditya Bhopati or Vijayaditya-Narendra-Mrigaraja, six grants give 48 years, one 40, and this one 44. To Vijayaditya's son, Vishnuvardhana, one grant (Dr. Burnell's F) gives 6 months; the rest give him 1½ year. Vishnuvardhana's son, Vijayaditya, is given 40 years by one grant (Dr. Burnell's F) and 44 by all the rest including this one. The usurpation of the sovereignty by some Ratta chiefs for a period not defined is especially to be noted here, as, if true, it may upset previous calculations on the earlier chronology.

As to the village of Gunthuru, I have tried to identify it, but at present without success. The boundaries are given in considerable detail, and it may be that the village intended is Gunthuru, one of the most important towns in the Kistna District; but the surrounding places must be identified before this point can be decided. The boundaries given are—'east, Gomanga; south, Gainayuru; west, the Kaku Tanka (Katalcheruvula); north, Madapalle.'"

No. 2.

This grant is on three plates, joined by a ring bearing a seal having the design of a lotus surmounted by the sun and moon, with three daggers and the legend Śrī-Tribhuvanadākṣuṣa.

**Transliteration.**

**Plate I.**

| [1] Svasti Śṛimatām sakala-bhuvana-samśāyamāna-Mānava-sagotṛaḥ Hāri- |
| [4] mādhi-āvahṛita-saṅka-pavitrī-kṛitā-vapapāṁ Chalakāyaṁ kula-alainka- |
| [5] rṣiṇīr-vividha-yuddha-labha-vijaya-sūdhēḥ(n?) bhuvana-mahābhirāma-Vikrāmarā- |
| [6] masya-patraḥ pratāp-avamata-para-maṇḍala-ṇripati-maṇḍalasyā Śrī-Vi- |
Plate II.—first side.

[8] īva Lakṣmiṇ-prabhavō dina-kara  īva satata-rahaïta-padmaḥ  śaśadha-
[12] ra  īva kumuda-vana-priyō Dharmamajja  īva niṣa-dharmam-nirmalō
[14] Dharmanāmja  īva Duṣāsana-khaś-karaḥ  Mēru-īva sthira-sthi-
[17] tir-ṣula-tukā-liṅita kauṅka dhanta dhanta durbala malināh para-
[18] ma-brāhmaṇa-yō Vishṇu  īva jīhaḥ  samasta-bhuvana (ā?)-śraya Śrī-Viṣa-
[19] yādītya-maharājādhirāja-paramēva (ra?)-bhaṭārakaḥ  Kāṇḍeṣuva

Plate II.—second side.

[15] ti-vishayō vana  va grāmasya ku  ka pramukhaṁ
[16] kuṭumbinas= sarvā-itham-ājāṭhyāti  viditam-asta vō-smāhhiṁ
[17] Minamini-vastavyāya  Kāśyapa-gōṭrāya  Āpastambha-sūtrāya  Taitri-
[18] ya-brāhmaḥsūraṇe  Turka-varmā-triδ-pautrā (ya?)  vēdānga-vi-
[19] ḍē shat-karmaṇa-nirātāya  Drōṇa-ṣaṁsma-dvi-Vēdi-pautrā (ya?)  brāhmaṇa-gu-
[20] sa-gaṇ-ālakātāya  Pa- (dva?)-bhaṭārakāya  sūrya-graháma-ni-
[21] mite (tē)  asminn-eva  grāmō dvādaśa-vēndā ka-kōdrava-bīja-saṁsthitaṁ

Plate III.

[22]  apartheidār avāsanaṅ sarvā-kara-pari
[23]  pūrvataḥ Korrapuru-simha  dakṣinataḥ  Tātri  kaḥ paśchimataḥ 
dakṣinaḥ
[24]  maṭi Utrataḥ Rēguvaṭi-bauha-rēguvaṭi  chaturvaṭi
dakṣina
[25]  Ājiṣṭhīṇ-saya dharmasya nirmalāh dharmasya-saṁ-grahaḥ bādhiṃaramalāh
[26]  kasuvat (kasu) puṇya-vittō narottamaḥ  | Bahubhīs-vasudā dattā bahubhīs-chānu-
[27]  pālīta yasya yasya yaḍa bhaumih tasya tasya tadā phalam sva-dattām (n?)
[28]  para-dattā (u)  yā yadātā vasm不准̊nam saṣṭhī-varṣa-sahasrāṁ viṣṇāyām jayētā kṛṣṇaḥ  

Translation.

Hail: The grandson of Viṣṇu Ramā, who was a delight to the mind of the people, who had won success in many battles, who was an ornament to the family of Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Māṇavya, that is, praised over all the world, who are the sons of Hāriti, who had obtained (their) kingdom by the favour of the boon granted by Kausiki, who have had all kings made easily subject to them by the excellent sight of the sign of the boar which they acquired by the favour of the holy Narāyaṇa, who had their bodies purified by the closing bath10 of the horse-sacrifice. The affectionate son of the great king Śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana, who had hosts of kings from other countries bowing down before him by his valor, was the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, Śrī-Viṣṇu-yādītya, who had subdued the valor of hostile kings by the sharp edge of the sword that he carried in his hand, was adorned by the three constituents of regal power11 who was the origin of prosperity (Lakṣmiṇ),

10 See above, p. 33, note No. 4.
11 i.e. king, minister and energy—Prabhu-mantra-utāha.

like the milk ocean, who ever protected Paṃḍ (the goddess of prosperity), like the creator of the day (the sun), who took delight in protecting the world and making it happy, as the moon protects the forest of lilies, who was pure by his own charitable acts like the son of Dharma (Yuddhisthira) who did away with bad rulers (Duṣāsana) like the younger brother of Dharma (Śiṣa), who had one firmness of resolution (sthiti) like Mēru,12 who had washed away and reduced his sins by getting himself many a time weighed with gold in the scales, who was a good Brāhman, and who was victorious like Viṣṇu. He in the country of Kāṇḍeṣuva... thus orders the (kuṭumbha) heads of the families.

"Be it known to you (that)—The grandson of Tūrka varmā, who was learned in the three Vēdas, who was an inhabitant of Māṇavīna, who was of the family of Kāśyapa, who belonged to the line (śātra) of Āpastamba, and who was a religious student of the Taittiriyaśākhā portion of the Vēda; the son of Dr...
the fruit of it. He is born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years who confiscates land given, whether by himself or by another."

Mr. Sewell's note on this plate is as follows:

"A grant in three small plates, very roughly executed. It professes to be a Chalukyan document and has a Chalukyan seal, with sun, moon and lotus, and the legend Śrī Tribhuvandhikat. It commences with the usual Chalukyan glorification (Mānasyasa gotraṇa, &c.), but only mentions three names, Vijayaditya, called Maṅgalaḍāhirya paraṇeva (ra) bhaṭṭāraka, son of Vaiśhnavarādana, and grandson of Vikrama Rāma. If the grantor be the sovereign usually styled 'Vijayaditya Bhaṭṭāraka,' we here have a new name, 'Vijaya Rāma,' for the sovereign Maṅgi surnamed the 'Yuvārāja.' But the point is doubtful. By this document a village is given to a Brāhmaṇ during a solar eclipse. The plates were sent with (other two) to the Museum by the seminard of Nārīśvaru in the Kistna District."

**MIRZAPUR FOLKLORE.**

Auspicious and inauspicious signs most commonly observed.

The following things are considered auspicious if found, met or observed (especially if brought from the opposite direction) within a hundred steps or nearer from the starting-point by a person bound on some business or a journey:—

1. A pot full of water,
2. Any fruit,
3. A Brāhmaṇ (particularly with his forehead marked and a book under his arm),
4. A cow,
5. An unmarried girl,
6. A mother with her child in her lap (particularly with her head and part of the hair coloured with vermillion or Indian lead),
7. A horse or elephant,
8. Milk or coagulated milk,
9. A peacock,
10. A mongoose,
11. A corpse, but with no one crying after it,
12. Fish,
13. A washerman with clothes washed,
14. Arms,
15. An empty pot, if brought from behind.

The undermentioned things under similar circumstances are thought inauspicious, and the superstitious put off their journey to some future occasion, if they happen to meet or observe any of the following things or descriptions of men:—

1. A one-eyed or blind man,
2. A widow,
3. Oil or an oilman,
4. Leather,
5. Bone,
6. A man with his mustaches shaved,
7. A sennuch,
8. A mendicant with his clothes dyed in Indian red,
9. A person maimed or affected with any disease,
10. A cat or jackal if it cross the path of the traveller,
11. A beggar,
12. The braying of the ass, crying of the jackal, or sneezing of a person, if heard by the traveller when starting.

The following days are inauspicious for journey in the directions detailed:

- Saturday and Monday ............. East.
- Friday and Sunday ............. West.
- Tuesday and Wednesday ............. North.
- Thursday ........................... South.

Saturday and Wednesday are thought unlucky for going to a physician or sending for him for the first time.

Wednesday is the most inauspicious for commencing any trade or engaging in a work calculated to bring gain. It is called kūdā diś (empty day).

**Mirzapur Folklore.**

The six accompaniments of the Veda or Viṣṇudhyānapātha are:—(1) śikṣā, the science of proper articulation; (2) chanda—metrical; (3) vyākaraṇa—linguistic analysis of grammar; (4) nīkṣaṇa—explanation of Vedic words; (5) jyotisha—astronomy; (6) hāka—ceremonial precepts.

**Mirzapur Folklore.**

The six duties of Brāhmaṇas are:—(1) teaching the Vedas; (2) holy study; (3) offering sacrifices; (4) conducting sacrifices for others; (5) giving gifts; (6) receiving gifts.
For wearing new clothes, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and sometimes Sunday are considered auspicious, and the rest inauspicious.

Shaving on Saturday is most strictly prohibited.

The mewing of a cat or whining of a dog if heard for a time by a sick person confined to bed is thought a sure sign of his death.

Dreams.

(1) Dreaming one’s self on horse-back, (2) finding one’s self in a situation higher than the ground, (3) finding one’s self dead or unwell are considered auspicious.

(1) Riding on an ass, (2) going to the south, (3) dreaming one’s self being married, are inauspicious.

Dreams when forgotten are supposed to carry no effect.

The white lizard if it falls on one’s forehead is a lucky sign, and if it falls to the left side is reckoned unlucky.

Feeling the right palm itchy portends gain, and feeling the right sole itchy is a sign of a journey.

The palpitation or convulsion of right eyelid, right eyebrow, and right muscles are auspicious to man and inauspicious to woman. The palpitation of the left eyelid, eyebrow, and muscles are auspicious to woman and inauspicious to man.

Houses.

A house with its front part wider and higher than the hinder part is inauspicious, and that of a contrary construction is auspicious.

A house with its main gate or door to the east or north is auspicious, and the same with its main entrance towards west or south is inauspicious.

Crying, quarreling, calling out the names of wild animals or that of a miser, and seeing the face of an ugly man or woman or that of a miser is prohibited when one is just out of his bed in the morning.

W. G. J.

MISCELLANEA.

KANHPKI—KANISHKÂ, &c.

On the coins of the Turushka kings, we find legends in corrupt Greek, such as—

PAÂMÂNÂPÂO KANHPKI KORÂNÂO,

OÖHPKI KORÂNÂO,

BAZÂDÂHO KORÂNÂO,

and on an allied coin we find—HILÂOY ZAKA KOPÂNÂO (or KOPÂNÂY), TYÂNNOY'TOS and on another TILÂICâYOY for ZAKÂPY'SOY (Spaltrisâa)1 On the Manikyâla inscription we have—MADHRJÂSA KANISHKASA GUSÂHANÂ

[...]

This shows that KOPÂNÂO is equivalent to GUSÂHANÂ, or KUSÂHANÂ—as indicated by Chinese writers; and we know that KANHPKI and OÖHPKI are identical with KANISHKÂ and HUSÂHANÂ.

We see that in both the first two words of the 4th legend I is used for the Greek ρ, and this has led numismatists to read the last word as Kopanov; probably however it is only intended for Kopan, i.e. Kushânâ. In the last we have P used for Ζ (perhaps pronounced as Ψ). Now the Greek alphabet has no letter for the ζ or sh of the Indian languages, and hence there would arise a difficulty in representing their sounds. The Baktrian letter Î = ʃ may have been used in Kopanov on Ḥran's coin, to supply the want, but we have Z for ζ in that of Bâsulâo or Vaisulâo's, while it appears twice to represent ʃ in the legend Kopancy Zaoov Kozolâa Kadases, which is equivalent to the Baktrian—Khushasasa Yaussa Kuyula Kaphasa,—where also sh is again represented by p. Why P (or P) should have been employed for the sound of sh, and why I or ʃ was used for p in Hvasu and turanamou, is not quite clear. The form P, employed on the coins, bears a close resemblance to the Baktrian ð = ʃ,—was it then intended for sh and not at all for p? Whatever the explanation, it would appear that in these quasi-Greek legends, the Yuei-chi or Turushkas did use P and sometimes ð (or ð) for sh and occasionally for s, and that I or ʃ took the place of p.

Will this help us to explain such Skythian terms as PAOÂMÂNÂPO, APOÂOÂCHIO, YPÂKÂÂOY, OKPA, &c.?... J. B.

LIST OF CHÔLA KINGS.

The following list of Chóla kings was sent me by the late Dr. Burnell about four years ago. It is from the Brihadisvara Mahâtmâya, or legend of the great temple at Tanjor. Dr. Burnell said he put no confidence in it, “though some of the names are, no doubt, real ones.”

1. Kûlâtumâga.
2. Déva-Chóla.
TWO TAMIL COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

In the Library of the University of the University of Leiden are two fine Tamil Śāsana. The one consists of three plates, held together by a strong ring, bearing a large seal, in the centre of which are the following emblems:—Two fishes upright; to the right of them an animal seated, dog-fashion, the head of it somewhat injured; above, in the middle, a chhatri with a chāmara on each side of it, also somewhat defaced. On each side the area is an object resembling a tall lamp with a ribbon or cloth knotted round the middle of it. These are enclosed in a raised circle, on the area round which, beginning on the left side, is the following inscription in old Chōla-grantha characters:—

श्रीकुलुट्टंगा राजाश्रीमान: (विश्व) पुरासो-जीभरमहादुपुरानम: (विश्व)

that is:—"The supreme order of Śrī Kūluttāngarājāśrīvarṇam, which is the head-jewel of the assembly of the charitable lords of the earth (of all directions?)."

This inscription runs round the margin, but the syllables——tāμājāsahā kārnavaram——are written under (vick?) panyakshōtivara—over the upper and part of the right side of the seal. Outside the inscription is another slightly raised circle, and the margin is ornamented by 29 knobs.

The other grant consists of 21 plates, and has a still larger seal, with 18 knobs at slight distances from one another round the margin. The central field contains on the left two fishes, scales, fins, eyes, gills, and mouths, all distinctly expressed; and, on the right, an animal seated as before, and perhaps intended for a tiger, the Chōla symbol—with its tail drawn forwards and upwards against the nearest of the fishes. Over it is a chhatri with a chāmara on each side, the handles resting on the heads or capitals of two small pillars resembling kīlā 21 years, after which their lists differ entirely from this.

1 This agrees with Prinsep’s list so far, but after Sivalinga he has “Vira Chōla” 918 A.D.” Buchanan and Taylor respectively assign 18 and 13 years to Kūluttāngā, and place after him Rājāndra. 11 (or 9) years and then Tirumuda Kandā, 13 (or 13) years, then Karī-
lamp-stands, each with a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble candle flames. A well raised circle, double at the bottom, surrounds this. Outside it is the legend, in well-raised Chôsa-grantha characters, apparently of rather an older type than those on the other seal, and not quite so distinct in some places. It apparently reads—

(श्री)राजङ्ग्राम (श्री) परेसरित्वर्मण: राजङ्ग्रान- त्रेश्चित्तम्) आभि श्रेणिमा (?) ग्रामसारः

That is—"The order of (Shri) Râjâendra Chôja (ka??)parâkâśarîvarmâ Râjândra... row of light..."

We are not aware that these plates have ever been published. They evidently belong to the great Chôsa dynasty of Southern India, and they may throw light on obscure points in their little known history. EDITOR.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.
Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Principal, Gujarat College.

Ali was the son-in-law of the Prophet Muham
dad and was the fourth successor of the prophet according to the traditions of the Sunnis and the first Khalif or Imam according to the belief of the Shiias of Persia. The proverbs or rather the 'sayings' of Ali form, in their completed shape, one of the most popular books of the Shiia divines, who look upon these dicta of their adored leader much the same as the Sunni Muhammadans do upon the wîrkals or traditions of the prophet himself. Ockley in his History of the Saracen gives a fully told life of Ali. He lived in the seventh century.

1. Religion gives strong protection; the world betrays.
2. Truth is a cutting sword.
3. Envy is the chief of vices.
4. Behind prosperity sits adversity.
5. Fasting is a most useful medicine, abundance multiplies diseases.
6. The ascent to excellent virtues is difficult, the descent to vices easy.
7. To be occupied with what is past is a waste of time.
8. Religion is patience in adversity and gratitude in prosperity.
9. A fellow-feeling on religious matters causes the firmest friendship.
10. Take care not to praise any one on qualities which he does not possess, for his work will show whether you have rightly described him.
11. That which is incorrect is corrected by learning.
12. Rewards are obtained by work not by idleness.

13. Submit yourself to your master and he will exalt you; approach God with the obedience due to Him and He will come near to you.
14. Look attentively before you apply your mind to anything; and consult with another before you proceed with it; and arrange the mode of acting before you enter on the business.
15. The folly of a man is seen by two things, viz. when he speaks of a thing with which he has nothing to do, and when he replies to something of which he has not been asked.
16. The fruit of carelessness is penitence and the result of sin disgrace.
17. The liberality of a poor man makes him illustrious, but the avarice of a rich one makes him vile.
18. Seriousness is the ornament of a man.
19. Obedience is the ornament of a servant.
20. The folly of a counsellor is the destruction of him who seeks advice.
21. The harm done by a speech is greater than that of a wound.
22. Associate with the learned and wise and frequent their assemblies, for if you are ignorant they will teach you and if you are learned you will increase in knowledge.
23. Elegance of manners is half of religion.
24. Good government makes an empire lasting.
25. The love of the world is the source of all evil.
26. The love of the world corrupts the mind and makes the heart deaf, so that it does not listen to wisdom.
27. The sweetness of another life takes away the bitterness of this.
28. The sweetness of victory obliterates the bitterness of patience.
29. Piety cannot reside in a mind which is saddened on account of earthly things.
30. The best praise is that which flows from the tongue of the good.
31. The best thing about alms is their secrecy.
32. The best man is he who is liberal and grateful in his prosperity, and has patience and a noble mind in adversity.
33. The companionship of worldly people disgraces religion and weakens faith.
34. A heart without religion is filled with vain delights of the world.
35. The prosperity of a liberal man displays his virtues, but the prosperity of a miser shows his vices.
36. Silver which profits is better than gold which destroys.
37. With God the silver of a poor man is brighter than the gold of a rich one.
38. The house of retribution (i.e. Paradise) is not without generous men, but there is no miser there.
39. Treat men kindly, and you will be secure from evils which they might bring on you, and safe from snares which they might lay for you.

40. Let alone that which does not refer to you, and occupy yourself with your own more serious affairs which tend to your salvation.

41. The remembrance of God heals sick minds, and drives away diseases and miseries.

42. It is better to lose one's eyes than to look at that which disgraces religion.

43. Leave that which is little in favour of that which is much, and what is scanty for what is ample.

44. One who is fond of equity and justice is beloved when he is a master, and praised when he is a servant.

45. Give up prodigality; for the liberality of a prodigal will not be praised, nor will his poverty meet with compassion.

46. A step in rank, though it be high like a mountain which winds do not shake, does not make a noble possessor of the honour insolent, but a step in rank easily makes an ignoble person insolent, like the dry grass which the passing wind disturbs.

47. Those who are liable to commit faults like to publish the faults of others, in order that their own may be more easily excused.

48. The remembrance of God enlightens the eyes and pacifies the mind.

49. Leave off extravagance by keeping to the happy mean, and to-day remember to-morrow.

50. No one reaches the height of perfections unless he actively wages a sacred war.

51. The chief part of wisdom is to cling to truth and justice.

52. The chief of faults is secret hatred.

53. The height of virtue is to control anger and lust.

54. Sometimes there is destruction hidden under the thing we seek.

(To be continued.)

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Part II, No. 2, for 1883, opens with a series of Folktales from the Upper Punjab, by the Rev. C. Swynerton. The stories in this series of thirty-two are generally very short, and mostly in the form of fables. They have been translated for the writer, not by him, and while doubtless preserving the original form of the stories we could have wished to have seen them produced in simpler phrase with more of pure Anglo-Saxon vocabularies.

The next paper, by Ch. J. Rodgers, on "The Rupees of the months of the Ilahi years of Akbar," is a very interesting one. It is well known that some of the coins of the Ghazi dynasty have the name of the month as well as the number of the year on them, and in a previous paper, "On the copper coins of Akbar," Mr. Rodgers gave examples bearing the names of six of the months of the Ilahi year. He mentions six coins of Jehangir struck at Lahor, and one at Qandahâr, all of the same year, bearing the names of seven of the months. Of Akbar's 49th Ilahi year he has two rupees struck at Tatta, three at Lahor, one at Ahmadâbâd and one at Burhânpur—all seven being of different months, and from other years he has coins of the remaining five months. On some square coins of Jehangir, weighing from 210 to 217 and 219 grains, are inscribed into which are woven the Persian names of the Ilahi months. The paper is illustrated by two plates, on which are figured 24 coins.

Mr. Rodgers enters a strong protest against the "curiosity" collecting propensities of educated Europeans, and those who make scarce coins into sleeve-links, bracelets, &c., and the constant working up of both gold and copper coins by native workmen. So many coins have disappeared from the cabinets of our Indian Asiatic Societies' Museums, however, that we cannot join him in the desire to get back to India what are now safe in public Museums in England. They are far more accessible there for Orientalists than they would be even in Calcutta.

Mr. R. Rosecall Bayne contributes "Notes on the remains of portions of Old Fort William, discovered during the erection of the East Indian Railway Company's Offices," illustrated by five plates, in which he discusses and illustrates the positions referred to by Holwell and Orme, and fixes with satisfactory exactitude the position of the Black Hole, of horrid memory.

Mr. G. A. Grønson has a long paper on Behâr declension and conjugation, to which Dr. Hoernle adds several pages of remarks.

The last paper is on the temples of Vaidyanâtha at Deoghâr in the Santal Parganas, by Dr. Râjendralâla Mittra. This is a long paper in which numerous well-known Hindû myths are given at length, many of them related of a score of other places as well as of Vaidyanâtha,—the deception of Râvana by Vishnu, for example, in which the latter in the disguise of a Brahman undertakes to hold for a little the jñâtirâgha, which Râvana had obtained, and then dropped it in the sand, is also told of the Gokárâ isâga.

The list of the jñâtirâgâs as given from the Vaidyanâtha Mâdhâmyam is—"1, Somântaha in Saurâshâtra; 2, Mallikârjuna at Sûrâsala; 3, Mahâ-
kālā at Ujjain; 4, Omkāra at Amarāvīra (on the Narmādā); 5, Kālāra on the Himālaya; 6, Bhūmaśākara at Dākini (i.e., at the source of the Bhūmā in the Dakhan, north from Punā); 7, Vaiśāsvara at Bānāras; 8, Tryambaka on the banks of the Gauṭamī (Gūḍāvārī); 9, Vaiḍīya-nātha at Chitābhāmī; 10, Nāgāra at Dvārakā, (sic); 11, Rāmaṇā at Sātbhandha, and 12, Ghas- ṛipāśa at Śirvāla;—surely the last is for Ghas- ṛipāśa at Ellurā. In this list, it will be observed, that the Dvārakā shrine is substituted for that of Nāgānātha in the Nizām's territory to the east of Akhmadāgar, but which has for centuries been greatly used in popularity, whereas Vaiḍīyanātha has risen greatly within the last century. Throughout the paper no opportunity is lost of correcting the statements of Dr. W. W. Hunter, Mr. Beglar, or General Cunningham, but the author illustrates his paper with a plan, the "location of the different temples" on which he allows is not absolutely correct. We are at a loss to understand the use of publishing such a plan, where the walls of a well are represented of the thickness of the diameter of the well itself, and where none of the pillars of the temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa are within 5 feet of the enclosing wall, though in the text (p. 130), it is admitted that one of the pillars is embedded in the eastern enclosure wall; and in this case this plan is the more especially useless, as Mr. Beglar had published one in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, vol. VIII, with the account which the Babu seems so eager to pick faults in, but which, plan, he says, he did not know of while preparing his own. The wood-cut, too (p. 173), said to be "copied, and from a photograph," is so incorrectly executed that it is almost unintelligible.

The Śāgam of Vaiḍīyanātha—"the presiding divinity," as the author calls it—"is of a cylindrical form, five inches in diameter, and rising about four inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt shaped like a yāni and pointing towards the north. . . . The top is broken and has an uneven surface, one side being a little higher than the other side. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Bāvana." The place is frequented for the cure of diseases, and the author naively remarks that, "Of course there can be no statistics to show the percentage of cures, and it must be comparatively small, perhaps not more so than at Lourdes and other places in Europe, but it is sufficiently large to keep up a constant stream of pilgrims submitting to the fast."

There seems to be little of note architecturally about the temple or its surrounding shrines. The inscriptions give their dates from Śaka 1513 (A.D. 1996) when Pūrṇā-malla, chief of Giḍhāur, claims to have 'speedily built' the central temple of Vaiḍīyanātha, till A.D. 1810-23 when the temple of Anandabhairava was erected. Dr. Rājendra-bhaḷa, however, contends strongly on a priori grounds that the first temple is many hundreds of years older than Pūrṇā-malla's time, and that he only built the porch. The same sort of argument, without any inscriptive or architectural support would equally apply to any of the other eleven shrines of the class, as well as to many others of less note, of which we have the clearest evidence that the present buildings are comparatively modern. Such arguments are calculated only to mislead and retard scientific investigation.

Among the lesser shrines one is to Vagālūḍī or Nagalāmukkhi,—one of the ten forms of Durgā called Mahāvidyā—who, according to some Tantras, has four hands, according to others two. "Her dhārāṇī pictures her as a female of grave and majestic appearance, excited with wine, bright as gold, four-handed, three-eyed, amorous, disposed, holding a short club and a lasso in her right hand, and a tongue and a thunderbol in her lef hand, arrayed in a yellow garb, and decorated with golden earrings, her breasts hard and close, and she is seated on a golden throne." (Ṣaṭākṣaraparāṇama, Suppl., p. 1238). The temple of Śvāya, built about the same date (A.D. 1792-3), of materials apparently from an old shrine "for on the architrave of its porch there is an inscription in the old Viṣṇu character," and the image "is that of the Buddhist Padmapāṇi, 2 feet in height, and there is on the base of it an inscription beginning with the words Dāya dhrāmpāṇa in the kuṭīla character." With pains perhaps the rest of this inscription might be made out; it consists of two lines, and perhaps 25 or 30 syllables. We could have wished for more details about this supposed figure of Padmapāṇi, for the Bābu's ideas of Buddhist mythology are not always satisfactory. (See ante, vol. IX, p. 115). Another small temple he describes as "the sanctuary of Sandhyā-dēvi, the goddess of Vesper. She is also called Śāvitrī-dēvi, the wife of the sun. Her first name was Tārā-dēvi, a name well known among the Buddhists. Her image, as seen in the temple, is that of a fierce-looking female seated on a car drawn by horses, but the car and horses are broken and smudged." What authority have we for identifying Tārā-dēvi with Śāvitrī? The latter is at least quite as old a name as the other, and one is reminded here of the author's old error (Buddha Gaya, pl. xxxi, fig. 1), in mistaking the Buddhist figure of Vamādārā for this same Śāvitrī-dēvi. (Ante, ut sup.).

Translations are added of the inscriptions found.
instance, the Nyāya; we find its inquiries arranged in a sevenfold analysis, e. g.—(1) substance; (2) quality; (3) act; (4) generality; (5) particularity; (6) co-inference; (7) non-existence. Sevenfold classifications are anything but rare. No doubt all that Mr. Sinnett has related came to himself as a revelation, but the merest tyro in Oriental philosophy could have disillusioned him concerning the novelty of it had he been anxious to enquire.

It appears to us that all the statements made in the book may be placed under three heads, viz. (1) the Eternity of matter, (2) Evolution of life from it; (3) Transmigration of souls.

According to Mr. Sinnett Buddha comes from time to time into this world. He came as Gautama and again reappeared as Śāntarākṣasūrya, and to those who can read between the lines he is in the body again. The strange thing, however, is that in each incarnation he contradicts what he did in his previous one. As Gautama he was an atheist, as Śāntarākṣasūrya he is a believer in God, and in this 19th century one of the most credulous of incarnations. Consistency, however, is not a doctrine of Esoteric Buddhism. God, according to Śāntarākṣasūrya—the re-incarnation of Buddha—is the "Supreme Soul of the universe. He is omniscient; from him every soul is evolved: to him every soul returns. He is life (jīvott). He is the soul and breath of life (prāna). He to the external world is what yarn is to the cloth, what milk is to curds. He is both creator and creation, actor and act. He is existence, knowledge and joy, without parts, unbound by qualities, without action, emotion or consciousness." The supreme being, according to this same authority, existed at the beginning, one without a second. In another place he says the lifeless world can proceed from Brahma, just as a lifeless hair can spring from a living man. Now this is the opposite of Buddhism, which denies the existence of God and evokes spirit from matter. Surely we have here good news for Tyndall, who has, without anything more to do in the way of experiment, only to apply to Mr. Sinnett, and he will show him how life originated. Here is the discovery. "The original nebula (wherever it came from) arranges itself (rather clever for nebula) in planetary vortices of evolution and develops worlds in which the universal spirit (wherever it came from) reverberating through matter, produces form and life." (p. 181.)

The planetary spirit is a wonderful fellow. But though it is not a god, yet it is concerned with the working of nature in an immeasurable space, from an immeasurable past, and all through an immeasurable future. The enormous areas of time and space in which our solar system operates is explorable by the mortal adepts of Esoteric science. Within those limits they know all that takes place, and how it takes place, and they know that everything is accounted for by the constructive will of the collective host of the Planetary Spirits operating under the law of Evolution that pervades all nature."

Here the secret of Esoteric Buddhism is out. God is dethroned, and Olcott, Blavatsky, Sinnett, and Kathumi Singh are placed in His stead. They learn from the planetary spirits. They become omniscient within the range of the solar system. Hence the confidence of those occult gods. They know everything, and therefore are the fit instructors of an ignorant world.

We are no longer at a loss to know why the book has assumed the oracular form. Here we have the gods over again, but this time speaking in a new tongue and to a new class of people. We fear they will yet have to descend to the position of ordinary mortals and submit to be criticised instead of worshipped. The inducement held out for falling down at the feet of those new deities is not a material world and the rule over it—"for they cannot say that has been given to them, but the promise of rank among the planetary spirits to those who fail not to cross the fifth round. Mr. Sinnett's apples of Sodom will not tempt many thinking Englishmen.

It does not require much thought to perceive the greatness of the revelation vouchsafed to the world by this occult prophet. The novelty, if there is any novelty in it, is not in the main principles of the book. These are as old as Oriental speculation. It is not a new thing to assert that there is no God. We read something about this in a Book which claims the respect of millions—"The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." The doctrine of metempsychosis, which is its main foundation, its Dévachan and Avichi, are no new discoveries. These belong to the old mythology of the East. The only apparently new thing is the adoption by an Englishman of the wild theories of Oriental philosophy, and the hardihood with which he has ventured to parade them as secrets disembowelled from the haunts of the Planetary Spirits in the Himalayas. It is possible that some shallow minds, of which there is no want in the present day, may be impressed by the flowing sentences and bold oracular assertions of the author: thinking men will not give the book a second thought.

It need hardly be added that of Mr. Sinnett's Buddhism, neither ancient nor modern Buddhists knew almost anything; Gautama Buddha never contemplated such a system.

W. B.
on the different temples, but in No. 5 he omits the style of the era, which is Saka, while those preceding are in Sàkhâ, and among other misprints we have (on p. 106), "the Saka year 1734 = A.D. 1612," where the figures ought to be S. 1634 and A.D. 1712.

**BOOK NOTICES.**

*Esoteric Buddhism,* by A. P. Sinnett, Author of *The Occult World* (London: Trellner & Co. 1883).

This book is not the study of a lifetime. The author candidly confesses that the information it contains, if the wild theories in it can be called information—which is very doubtful, has been acquired within the last two years. The book may fairly be classed with those of Joseph Smith and Swedenborg. Like all prophets, Mr. Sinnett is nothing if not dogmatic; his *ipse dixit* is assumed to be enough: the oracle has spoken, let the world hear and believe. It strikes us that the world would not have lost much if the arcane of occult wisdom had never been unclosed. When men have anything worth telling, the world will be grateful to those who confer the boon of making it known. Otherwise, the trespassers on the patience and good sense of thinking people must not be surprised if they are roughly handled. Mr. Sinnett in this work has treated men as if they were knaves or fools; for only a person of either of these classes could be supposed to accept his incredible statements. No doubt there are credulous persons who will look upon the ravings of *Occult Buddhism* as the highest wisdom, and there may be knaves who will adopt this creed for their own purposes.

A wiser than Mr. Sinnett has, in an old Book whose statements have had a longer testing-time than this latest of all eras, said that "There is nothing new under the sun." Mr. Sinnett says there is, and here we traverse his doctrine. Millions and millions of years are but short periods in Mr. Sinnett's eyes. But ages of fabulous antiquity are no new thing to the writers of mythology. The simplicity of Mr. Sinnett is in one sense charming. He seems to think he has got a "great revelation" to make known, and, with the proverbial generosity of an Englishman, he is unwilling to deprive others of the treat he has himself received. Hence the incredible myths of his Thibetan preceptor are paraded before an unsympathetic world. Possibility, probability or proof are not needed. In the oracular form assertion is great and prevails. As we have just said, there is nothing new under the sun, so we make bold to say with regard to this "new revelation"—it is not on new lines. It is the old, old mythology—it is a wild theory to explain the existence of the world and of sin, and a still wider theory of the past and of the future. Mr. Sinnett, beginning with man, like Hindu philosophers, analyses him and tabulates the analysis. His philosophy does not abandon the beaten tract. We find at the basis of it metempsychosis, the passing through heavens and hells, the evil of matter, and the methods of getting free from it.

There is a common creed at the basis of all Indian philosophies. From one root there are almost endless divergent ramifications; so that there is unity and at the same time endless variety. One of these variations we have in this Esoteric Buddhism, but no more bizarre, no newer, and no better, than the others.

Mr. Sinnett, having a knowledge of the correct and severely logical method of Western thought, is aware that he will here be charged with the fallacy of illogical division. He therefore admits that these principles could not, by the most skilful professor of occult science, be exhibited as separate and distinct. In this way, by a skilful manœuvre, he strives to place them beyond the scalpel of the logician. The transcendental rôle suits him here.

But here, as indeed all through his book, *Esoteric Buddhism* is not the great revelation which Mr. Sinnett makes it out to be; for the common creed of Hinduism proceeds on exactly the same lines. The soul and body, according to it, are composed of several principles. There are, for example, the (1) *Parmita,* or (2) *Jñanatman.* This common creed believes in (1) an Exterior body and (2) an Interior body. To these the *Vâdânta,* adds a third or causal body. The mental powers are also composite. They are:—*Buddhi,* or perception; *Akhâkâra,* or self-consciousness; *Manas,* or volition, to which again the *Vâdânta* adds a fourth division, viz. *Chitta,* or Reason. Thus we have man considered as a being who may be analysed and looked on in seven different lights without the aid of occult light. It is true that the different systems of Oriental philosophy, such as the Nyâya, the Sâkhâsâya, the Yoga and the *Vâdânta,* have their own peculiarities. Take for
A. Râṣṭrakûta grant of Krishna III. of Bharûch, Šakasamvat 810.

PLATE I.

PLATE IIa.
RATHOR GRANT No. IV.
A GRANT OF KRISHNA II OF ANKULEŚVAR, OF 888 A.D.

BY E. HULTSCH, PH. D., VIENNA.

The original of the subjoined grant of the Rāṣṭrākūta or Rāṭhor dynasty was kindly lent to me by Professor Bühler. It was discovered at Bagumra, together with No. III.1

Like other Rāṣṭrākūta inscriptions, this one is engraved on three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear letters on the inner sides only, while the middle one is inscribed on both sides. The plates measure 11 by 8 inches, and are held together by a ring which is passed through holes in the middle of their bases and bears the seal of the Rāṣṭrākūtaś, a figure of god Śiva holding two snakes.2

The letters are well cut, and on the whole in a tolerably good state of preservation; but not a few of them have been damaged or entirely destroyed by verdigris. The characters resemble those of the published Rāṭhor grants. The following peculiarities deserve to be noticed.

The Aeagrapa seems to be expressed by a horizontal stroke,3 and ʍ, which is 'usually written thus (🎶), has twice a different form with a similar stroke behind it (🎶); in both cases, however, the horizontal line may be a casual and unused addition to the preceding letter. The letter  advis has a peculiar shape (🎶) and is in some cases hardly distinguishable from  and .

The language of the inscription is so full of mistakes of every description, that mere footnotes would not have sufficed to correct them all. In order to save space, I have annexed to the transcript a revised version of the important parts of the grant.

The plates afford three instances of a well-known phonetic process which is one of the main characteristics of the Iranian languages, but is also common in the Indian Prākrits, especially in Sindhi and Panjābī, viz. of the change of sibilants to /h/. The palatal /h/ has suffered this change in /ḥ/ for /hra/ (plate I b, line 11), the lingual /b/ in /ṣr̥/ for /ṣr̥/ (plate III, line 6), and the dental /b/ in /ṛ̥/ for /ṛ̥r̥/ (plate II b, line 4).

The grant belongs to the Gujarāt branch of the Rāṣṭrākūtaś, the same that issued the Bārodā plates of Karka II, dated Śaka 734, the Kavī plates of Govinda IV, dated Śaka 749 (Rāṭhor grant No. I.),4 and the Bagumra plates of Dhrūva III, dated Śaka 789 (Rāṭhor grant No. III).5 It opens with the usual benedictory stanza of the Rāṭhor grants. The first 18 stanzas of the Vaṣṇūvalī, which occur all among the first 29 stanzas of the Vaṣṇūvalī furnished by No. III, describe the following princes:

Govinda I. (stanza 2)
Karka I. (3)

Indra I. (4) Krisna I. (7, 8)
Danidurga (5, 6)

Govinda II. (9) Dhrūva I. (10 to 12)

Govinda III.
Indra II. (16)

Śarva (14, 15) [Karka II.]6

Karka III. (17, 18)

[Dhrūva II.]

The name of the last prince has to be supplied at the end of the mutilated stanza 19 from the corresponding stanza (30) of No. III. Then follow fragments of at least three stanzas, the first of which contains the name Dātiṇaṛ-.

p. 292, l. 12. Literary Gujarāti दातिन, but among the peoples दातिन.

1 Compare Pālī and Prākrit धर्म, Hemachandra, II, 5; Gujarāti स्वर or धर्म.
2 Prākrit धर्म. See Vararuchi, ed. by Cowell, II, 44; Hemachandra, ed. by Fischel, I, 292; Chauya, ed. by Hoernle, III, 14; Ratnakālī, ed. by Cappeller, 123.
3 Ind. Ant. vol. XIII, p. 179.
4 See the facsimile of one of Mr. Fleet's Rāṭhor grants, Ind. Ant. vol. XII, p. 161.
5 In धर्म, plate I, line 1.
6 In धर्म (plate I, line 6) and धर्म (line 16).
man. Stanza 23, which is again complete, states that some prince vanquished his enemies in Ujjayini before the eyes of the Vallabha king. The prince who issued the grant was Krishna II, surnamed Akālavarsa, and resided in Aṅkuśāvara. On the new moon of Chaitra of Śaka Samvat 810, the day of a solar eclipse, he granted to two Brahmaṇas the village of Kaviḥasādhī, which belonged to the province of Koṅkana, and was bounded on its western side by the port of Varanavi, on the north side by the village of Vasūhārīka.

The question arises what relation existed between the earlier Rāṣṭrakūta and this Krishna. A priori, he might have belonged to some new branch line, as he resided in Aṅkuśāvara, while the last two Gujarāt Rādhor princes of which we possess inscriptions dwelt in Bharoch (Bharukadcha or Bhrigukadcha). But if we take into consideration the shortness of distance between Bharoch and Aṅkuśāvara and the fact that the second of these two princes could dispose of a village far to the south of Aṅkuśāvara while their capital was situated to the north of it, it becomes evident that Krishna II, Akālavarsa, must have been one of the direct successors of Dhruva III, and that since the latter's time Bharoch had ceased to be the capital of the Gujarāt Rādhors. Accordingly king Dāntivarman, whose name is preserved in the fragment of stanza 20, and who may have been the father of Krishna II, must have ruled in the interval between Śaka 759, the date of No. III, and Śaka 810, the date of the present grant. The expedition which Ujjaini, against a Gujarāt Rādhor prince, probably Krishna II, himself undertook, would belong to the same period and perhaps still precede the accession of the Paramara on the throne of Ujjayini. The mention of the Vallabha king, who is introduced as spectator of the combat, shows that, like his predecessors, Krishna was a sūtra vassal to some sovereign power, probably to the Rāṣṭrakūta of Mānukhetra or Mālkhed.

The numerous omissions and general incorrectness of the grant might lead one to consider it a forgery. As however Professor Jacob of Münster has computed that a distinctly visible solar eclipse actually took place on the day when the grant was issued, its genuineness is proved beyond all doubts. The omissions are easily accounted for by the want of space, and the blunders by the scribe's lack of erudition.

Transcript of the grant.
Plate I.

[1] एक ओ लक्षित - "लेखिताम धम्म-वेणीमित् [क] मले कुत्ते [ल] हरण दशा काँ-
[3] नितुकलया कमलकुश [क] [क] आसाधित-मिरमुन्तमण्डलायी विषये [ह] वेणीमित्-
[5] की रासालाण्डौ; [०] भुव; मुरुचि पूर्वकरस्तान-दिगातकानिन्त्वालिन्दर [४] राज राजाः राजवाड़-
[४] सिन्हा; [२] तत्यसाहो विवाशी विवाशुरुपूर्वार्ती-राजासहरविनिविक विशादमयी। [भू]

[१] पभिविश्वपुरुषकुशित कुत्ते; भूलकेराज गो गोविष्णुमय। [३] तः मध्यवर्तेन
[६] करुपचत्तानदिन नदिभरिताविरोधविकिलिताः सीतात् [५] तमान लिन्तिः कालिकितमुखी
[७] तमुः; सर्वशिशुरकरस्तात्रीविनेद्रावर [४] वस्तीमचित्तमस्तत्तदस्तुस्तमविविव
[८] लिपि लिपि लिपिया [१] भोक्ता मुह शिवकुशलस्वागतितमहीतीर्थाणामी [५] चागिसमिकरणर्चितानि

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13 This was also a Bīrada of Dandurga, and the name of the earliest known Rāṣṭrakūta king; see Mr. Fleet's Kauñaresa Dātās, p. 32.
14 The modern Aṅkuśāvara. The length of the vowel u found in the grant is no error of the engraver, but points to the old name of the town, which was Aṅkurvaṃ as Professor Böbl remarks.
15 This eclipse occurred on the morning of 15th April, 898 A.D.—J.B.
16 I do not find these places on the maps at my disposal, but Professor Böbl informs me that Varvari is the modern Varavī, a large village on the Tapal near Surat, and Vasūharīka has been identified by Ed. Sāheb Mohanlīl B. Jashvi with the modern Varavī.
17 No. I. plate II, line 20; No. III, plate II, line 18.
18 The word mahāsamānādhānita which must have ranged among his titles is corrupt on the grant (plate II, line 15, line 3).
19 See Professor Böbl's remarks; Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 142; and vol. XII, p. 150.
20 The two aksharas left out in the transcript are doubtfully; they look like िे श्री.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [MARCH, 1884.

[69] विषयनिवे। उदर्त वघाः प्रामाण्यातीत। एवेन चतुरावनिपुलित सांग्रहात् सारिकांति।
[70] १) र वस्त्रायत्वारुण सर्वास्तानकुलक शर्मान्दनारायण। सभायांविरहस्यदेवोत्तमरूपस्य सत्ताति।
[71] य छात्रारीतिसम्बन्धितप्रज्ञसिद्धार्थसम्रायात्। पुजेति।
[72] वदायनाद्यययोगुहायुङ्गसंस्तितिबन्धुकलसनुकलाएँ। नित्यानुमुखिचेवन बुधमात्रात्।
[73] र्या संयमसहस्यभिषेकारत्मकरूपमुखमन्त्रित्सोपिकोष्टापूर्वके।
[74] मातिविषयाभिलुप्ताः बुधादायकारिये। भृकुटी भोजन शुभार्थ प्रचुरश्रेयसम्रायात्। न केनापि।
[75] पारिवर्तनाः कार्यः तदगामिनुणिविविधानदार्शने। जोहिन्दरक सहायकन माध्यमिको इत्यादि।
[76] कृती सज्जने। देवी प्रम्ण भारते दिंक्ये। कार्तिके। तुः प्रज्ञाविधी व्यस्तानि। गृहमया।
[77] यैं पालनाः। न केनापि पारिवर्तनाः कार्यः। आगाममिलितिरुपमहः।

Plate III. (a)

[1] ब्रह्मेत्रीः समायण भृद्धनाथकालिकायथायथ विद्वृत्तायानिन्यरूपयायायण बालक्यमात्र।
[2] ललितानुसारं च भीमिताभिनवस्य श्रद्धानिनिर्धेसी अर्थातोनुवनसाधनात्।
[3] व्यक्तिः। यथायाविद्वारोनेन हर्षातिकायात्रकाराणायायायण: स सन्न्यमानिकायारकायायण।
[4] वक्तृतं। सहोत्तर र्या उत्कृत्तार्थ भाषवत्तासे व्यासानाम भवेन। [[1]] परिवर्तनः च भवानि।
[5] द (I) भएसानां भृतमान च तन्त्रेतन्त्र नहेके। र्येति। [[1]] अन्तर्वायमप्रमण अयास्यी भृद्धिने।
[6] तथा तेन मूर्तियुः दत्ते बृजसाने गांडे महदन्त दत्ते। [[1]] विश्वामिनिकालायुः। भुक्ताकोटरायणि।

(a) Plate III, line 5, 97 badly executed.—Line 4, 97किष्टरायणि has been corrected by the engraver from 97भ्रायणि.

The metre of this fragment seems to have been Sanskritic.

The metre of the fragment मृदुला. The beginning of the

first and third pādas are mostly of stanza 31 of No. III.

82 Those seven syllables must have belonged to a stanza in Upasūdī or Uttarāśiṣṭikā.

83 The metre of stanza 38 Anuṣṭhūḥ. The second pāda is irregular.

84 Stanza 24 = No. III, 42.
A. Rāshtrakūta grant of Krishna III. of Bharuch, Śakasamvat 810.

PLATE IIb.

PLATE III.
24. He, perceiving this worthless life to be unstable like the wind or the lightning, has made this pious gift, which is most meritorious because it consists of a grant of land.

And this illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (surnamed) Akālavarsha, the lord of great feudal chiefs, who possesses all the great titles, proclaims (the following command) to all (officials):—

'Be it known to you that, for the increase of my parents' and my own spiritual merit and glory in this world and the next, I, residing in Aṅkuleśvara, have given, confirming the gift by a libation of water, and after having bathed in the Narmadā at the bathing place sacred to Bhagavat, on the new moon of Chaitra, when an eclipse of the sun took place, after eight hundred and ten years from the time of the Śaka king had elapsed, to the two Brāhmaṇaśa Taṅga Vāsāvaka and his brother Guheśvara, the sons of Aja Vāsāvaka,

who live at Variavi, are among the Trivedins of that place, belong to the Gotra of the Kuḍinas, and study the Tajuvādē, in order to defray the expenses of the performance of the Bali, Čaru, Vainavadeva, Agnihotra and similar rites, the village called Kaviṭhasāḍhi, which ranges among the one hundred and sixteen villages connected with Variavi and belongs to the province of Koṅkaṇa. Its boundaries are:—to the east the village of Valachha, to the south the village of Uṭtarapādhavaṇa, to the west the port of Variavi, and to the north the village of Vaṣuḥārīka. . . . . . 'And money (dramāḥ) is to be given (to the grantees) in three portions; first, in Bhadrapada, secondly, in Kiṃdaka, and thirdly, in Māgha.'

For this (grant) the royal messenger (dātaka) is the very great prime minister, a Brāhmaṇa, Allāhiyaka by name; and this (grant) has been drawn up by me, the great minister for peace and war, the illustrious Jājjaṅka, the son of Kaluka.

This is my sign-manual, of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (surnamed) Akālavarsha.

(Rāhor grant No. III, plate II b, line 3) which designates some class of dignitaries;—see Professor Bühler's note on that passage.

22 [seems to have described a banquet celebrated in honour of some victory, when the warriors] 'quaffed liquor and the glory of their foes at the same time.'

23. He who established his fame in distant parts, when, sword in hand, he conquered his enemies in Ujjayinī before the eyes of the Vallabha king.

26 The original reads 'bhārata dāvo[ ].'

28 Compare Rāghuvaṇa IV, 42.

29 Vāsāvaka is a Pākhrit form of the term Vāsāvaka.
A NEW GURJARA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY PANDIT BHAGWÁNLÁL INDRAJÍ, PHILOL. D. (LEIDEN); HON. M.R.A.S.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper is from a grant which, with several others, has been entrusted to me for publication by Mr. Sheriáji Dádábhai Bharuch, Assistant Master in the Sir Kawasji Jahéngir Ready-money Madrassá at Náusári. They were found in excavating some foundations at Náusári.

The present grant consists of two plates, each about 12" broad by 9" high. The edges of the plates are for the most part fashioned slightly thicker, with a depression running along inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. A small piece, containing the first akáhara and part of the second, is broken away and lost at the commencement of the second plate. And, lower down on the same side of the same plate, a large triangular piece, its sides measuring about 4¼, 3¾ and 4½", has similarly been broken away and lost; but almost all the missing letters can be supplied. When the plates first came into my hands, they were covered with a coating of rust almost as thick as the plates themselves, and hardly a letter could anywhere be deciphered; but I have succeeded in removing this entirely, and in making the inscription quite legible throughout. The inscription runs across the breadth of the plates. There are holes for two rings; but the rings, and the seal that must have been on one of them, have been lost. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The characters, with the exception of the attestation in the last line, are like those of the Chalukya and Rástrakúta grants of the seventh century that have been found in Gujaráti. This type of characters is derived from the South-Indian alphabets of the fourth century, and differs considerably from the old Nágarí characters of the same period. The characters of the attestation, however, in line 44, differ entirely from those of the body of the grant, and are the Nágarí characters of the seventh century, which must probably have been the current-hand characters used in Gujaráti at that time. We are led to this conclusion,—for Maháráshtra and Káthiawád, as well as Gujaráti,—by the facts, that other grants from the same parts have been found to bear attestations in the same Nágarí characters, and that inscriptions of dates later than the seventh century, from the same parts, are engraved in characters from which the modern Nágarí characters have certainly been derived. And the reason why characters of the South-Indian type were used in grants up to the seventh century, is, I think, to be sought in the facts—that the kings of the south from time to time invaded, and established their power in, Maháráshtra and Káthiawád, and brought with them men who did the work of engraving their grants according to their own alphabets; and that the practice thus introduced was afterwards continued, and so, side by side with the current-hand characters of the country, there remained in use, for a considerable time, a totally distinct alphabet for formal official purposes. Even the characters used in the Valabhlí grants are distinctly of South-Indian origin.

The present inscription furnishes the following short genealogy—

Dadda.

Jayabhata.

Dadda, or Báhusaháya.

Jayabhata.

It does not specify the dynasty to which they belonged. But, as we have, whether for the same or different individuals, precisely the same names of Dadda and Jayabhata in the Kaira, Uméti, and IIáo grants, coupled with specific mention of the Gúrjara dynasty,—and as the same names have not been met with in the case of any other dynasty,—there can hardly be any doubt as to the persons named in the present inscription being of the same dynasty. And here the dynasty is said, for the first time, to be derived originally from the Mahábhrata hero Kára, the elder half-brother of the Pádavas.

In respect of the first Dadda, this inscription furnishes an interesting item of information, the full importance of which I shall show published by me in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XVI. pp. 1ff.
further on, in the statement that "there hung ceaselessly over him, with the grace of a white cloud, a canopy of glory gained by protecting the lord of Vālābhī, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harsha-deva." I shall show below that the great lord thus mentioned must be Hārsha or Hārsha-vardhana of Thānēwar or Kanauj; and that we are enabled by this mention of him to fix approximately the date of the grant.

The inscription furnishes no information of any importance with respect to the first Jāyabhāṭa. Of the second Dadda, it gives Bāhusāhaya, or 'he whose (only) helper was his arm,' as a biruda. This biruda was acquired by the strength of arm displayed by him "in the great wars waged with the kings of the east and of the west." But, as none of these kings are mentioned by name, the expression must be purely hyperbolic; and we cannot interpret it as referring to any but some of the minor chieftains of the neighbourhood. This inscription also adds that he was a para-māhēvara, or worshipper of the god Śiva; which shows that, like the rulers of Valabhi, the Gurjaras were primarily Śaivites in religion. It also gives him the attribute of samadhiyapatapiṇāmahēsabade, or 'he who attained the five great titles;' and this implies that he was not an independent king, but the feudatory of some other paramount sovereign. In respect of the second Jāyabhāṭa, all the information given, of any importance, is that, like his father, he was a worshipper of Śiva, and had attained the five great titles.

The inscription is of the time of the second Jāyabhāṭa. The charter is issued from the camp at Kāyāvatāra, which I am strongly inclined to look upon as the Sanskrit name of Kāvī, in the Jambūsar Talukā of the Broach District. And it records a grant by Jayabhāṭa of a field, measuring sixty-four nivartanas, in the village of Šamīpadraka, which was included in the Kōrīlā pathakas or 'subdivision.' Kōrīlā seems to be the modern Kōrāl, about ten miles to the northeast of Broach. I am not prepared at present to identify Šamīpadraka, nor Gōlikā, which is one of the villages mentioned in defining the boundaries of the field. Dāhaddha, which is mentioned in the same connection, is perhaps the modern Dūhā near Gōdrā in the Pach-Mahāl. Girinagara, which is mentioned as the original home of the grantee, is the modern Girnār in Kāhīawād. The agrahāra-village of Šraddhikā, which was his residence at the time of the grant, cannot at present be identified.

The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the month Māgha, in the year 456 of some unspecified era. And in line 43 the name of Monday (or of Tuesday) is recorded for the day on which the eclipse took place, the grant was made, and the charter was written. We have now to consider the question of the era to which this date is to be referred.

The first point that suggests itself is, that the second Jāyabhāṭa of this Naurā grant of the year 456 must be identical with the Jāyabhāṭa of the Kāvī grant of the year 486. There is a difference of thirty years between the two dates; but this is not at all unreasonable; and it simply goes to show that the Naurā grant was made soon after the commencement, and the Kāvī grant towards the end, of the power of Jayabhāṭa. Unfortunately, the genealogy of the Jayabhāṭa of the Kāvī grant is lost. Also the name of the father of the writer of the Naurā grant, and the names of both the writer and his father of the Kāvī grant, have been broken away and lost, thus depriving us of what would probably have been a very reliable means of identification. And the names of the Dītalakas differ in the two grants,—being Bāvulla in the Naurā grant, and Kāpatakanaka in the Kāvī grant; this, however, is to be explained by the difference between the localities which are referred to in the two grants, and to which the charters had to be conveyed. But the characters of the two grants are of the same type and period; the wording is, mutatis mutandis, identical throughout; and the dates are expressed in precisely the same way in both grants, even including the use of the somewhat unusual word nīaddham. I consider, therefore, that it must be taken as certain that the Jayabhāṭas of the two grants are identical.

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8 Dadda I. and Dadda II., however (see the genealogy at p. 73 below), were worshippers of the sun; according to the Kair grants.

9 Published by Dr. Bühler, ante Vol. V. pp. 109ff.
In addition to these two grants, we have four others of the Gurjara dynasty;—the two Kaira grants, dated, like the Nausārī and Kāvī grants, in the years 380 and 385 of some unspecified era;—the Umētā grant, dated specifically in the year 400 of the Śaka era;—and the Ilāō grant, dated specifically in the year 417 of the Śaka era. They give the following short genealogy—

Dadda I.

| Jayabhata, or Vitaraga. |

Dadda II, or Praśantarakṣa.

And, being all grants of Dadda II., they prove, if the Umētā and Ilāō grants are genuine, that the dates of the two Kaira grants,—and, consequently, also of the Nausārī and Kāvī grants,—must be referred to the Śaka era. The genuineness of the Umētā and the Ilāō grants, however, I now question.

The characters of the Kaira, Nausārī, and Kāvī grants, are all of precisely the same type, and as like each other as can possibly be in the case of inscriptions the actual engraving of which was done by different men. On the other hand, the characters of the Umētā and Ilāō grants are identical with each other, but differ entirely from those of the other four grants; and the wording of the formal parts of these two grants, and the method in which the dates are expressed in them, differ on the one side from the Kaira grants, which are from one original form of draft, and on the other side from the Nausārī and Kāvī grants, which are from another. The grant with which the Umētā and Ilāō grants are identical throughout, even and especially in their mistakes, is the Valabhi grant of Dharaśēna II., dated in the Śaka year 400, which both Dr. Bhaû Dāji and Dr. Bühler have stamped as a spurious grant. If placed side by side, they will be seen at once to have been engraved by one and the same hand, in spite of the assertion to the contrary in the plates themselves, and at one and the same time, in spite of the asserted intervening difference of seventeen years in the dates. And, further,—in spite this time of the difference of the characters and style of drafting,—the Ilāō grant purports to be written by the same Bōva who wrote the two Kaira grants.

My opinion is that the Umētā and Ilāō grants are forgeries; and that they were probably got up by the same man who forged the grant of Dharaśēna II. Possibly he got hold of genuine grants of Dadda II., dated, like the Kaira, Nausārī, and Kāvī grants, in an unspecified era; and then, not knowing what the era was, he made a guess and inserted the name of the Śaka era.

I reject therefore, the Umētā and Ilāō grants; and, with them, the theory, so far as it rests upon them alone, that the dates of the Kaira grants are to be referred to the Śaka era.

There remain the dates of the years 380 and 385 of some unspecified era for Dadda II. of the Kaira grants, and the dates of the years 456 and 486 of an unspecified era, but undoubtedly the same, for the second Jayabhata of the Nausārī grant and the sole extant Jayabhata of the Kāvī grant. It is at once plain that Dadda II. of the Kaira grants cannot be identified with the second Dadda of the Nausārī grant. In the first place, the biruda of the former was Praśantarakṣa, and of the latter Bāhusahāya. And, in the second place, a far more important obstacle exists in the fact that, if these two Daddas were identical, then the reigns of the father and his son,—of Dadda II. of the Kaira grants; and of the second Jayabhata of the Nausārī grant, and the Jayabhata of the Kāvī grant,—covered a period of at least one hundred and six years, from 380 to 486, which is an absolute impossibility. On the other hand, as we have the dates of 456 and 486 for the second Jayabhata of the Nausārī grant, it is plain that his reign cannot have commenced much before 456. Taking 456 as the commencement, and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 380 as the date of the first Dadda of the Nausārī grant. And this is exactly the earliest of the two dates obtained for Dadda II. of the Kaira grants. I identify Dadda II. of the Kaira grants, therefore, with the first Dadda of the Nausārī grant, to whom

* See Mr. Fleet’s Nos. CXXXIX. and CXLI., pp. 81 ff. below.
* Published by Dr. Bühler, ante Vol. VII. pp. 61 ff.
* See Mr. Fleet’s No. CXLI., pp. 115 ff. below.
* Published by Dr. Bühler, ante Vol. X. pp. 271 ff.
no birudā is allotted in this grant. And thus, from the four grants, I establish the following genealogy and dates:

Dadda I.
(about the year 330.)

Jayabhaṭa I., or Vitarāga.
(about the year 335.)

Dadda II., or Praśantarāga, 380 and 385.

Jayabhaṭa II.
(about the year 405.)

Dadda III., or Bāhussahāya.
(about the year 420.)

Jayabhaṭa III., 456 and 486.

The recurrence of only two names in a genealogy of six persons may appear odd, but is not at all impossible, and it is a common practice among the Hindus for grandsons to assume the names of their grandfathers. And, in the case of the rulers of Valabhi, we have even six sons in succession called Śrīlākṣitā. The use of birudās was the expedient resorted to, in order to prevent confusion arising from this practice; and we find that two of the Daddas and one of the Jayabhaṭas in the above genealogy, have such birudās recorded for them.

The present Nausāri grant was issued from the viśakā or camp at Kāyāvatāra, which, as I have said above, I am inclined to look upon as denoting Kāvī, in the Jambhāsār Tālūkā of the Broach District; and, from the use of this word viśakā, Kāyāvatāra must have been only an encampment temporarily occupied by Jayabhaṭa III. on a tour for administrative or offensive purposes. The name of the camp or city from which the grant of 486 was issued is lost, with the first plate of that grant. And the Umēṭa and Ilāḍ grantees purport to be issued from the camp situated in front of the gate of Bharukacchha or Broach. In the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., however, the expression used is simply Nāṇḍipūrī, or "from the city of Nāṇḍipūrī"; and, on the analogy of the Valabhitaṭ of the Valabhi grants, I agree with Dr. Bühler in considering that we have here a mention of the real capital of the Gurjara family. But I am inclined to think that it may be the modern Nāṇḍōḍ about 34 miles to the north-east of Broach,—an old town, and still the capital of the Rājpipla State under the Rōwa-Kāntha Agency,—rather than according to Dr. Bühler's identification, the old fort named Nândipūrī, just outside the Jhāḍēswar gate to the east of Broach. The villages mentioned in the Gurjara grants are all in the present Broach District. And the Gurjara power, therefore, extended over this District and probably part of the Gaikwāḍ's territory.

As regards the status of the members of this family, Dadda I. is called only a Sāmanta or feudal chief. Dadda II., in the Umēṭa and Ilāḍ grantees, is called a Mahārājādarāja; but I have given above my reasons for rejecting these grants as spurious. In the body of the present Nausāri grant, and also of the two Kaira grants, he is simply described as having attained the paśchamāhāsābda; and, in the seals of the Kaira grants, he is called simply a Śrīmanta. Dadda III. and Jayabhaṭa III., again, are described in the present grant as having attained the paśchamāhāsābda; and the latter has also, in the Kāvī grant, the title of Mahādunantādhipati, or lord over great feudal chiefs. This title, which is of constant occurrence in southern inscriptions, shows considerably higher rank than that of Dadda I.; but it still indicates subordination to some higher authority. The Gurjaras could not have been vassals of the rulers of Valabhi; for, Dadda II. gave protection to the lord of Valabhi when he had been defeated by Harsha-dēva; and, in the Kāvī grant, Jayabhaṭa III. prides himself upon having quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi. It was probably the Chālukya family, whether the Gujarāt branch or the Vatapi dynasty, that the Gurjaras acknowledged as their supreme lords.

The most important historical item, in fact the only absolutely definite item of contemporaneous history furnished by these inscriptions, is the statement, in the Nausāri grant, that Dadda II. gave protection to the lord of Valabhi, when the latter had been defeated by the great lord or Paramēvara, the illustrious Harsha-dēva. We meet with the same statement is not explicit enough to be turned to any account at present.
name in the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas, and their relatives of the Gujarāt branch. Thus, in the Aihole Mēgāti inscription, No. LV. of Mr. Fleet's series in this Journal, Pulikēśi II. is described as causing the joy of Harsha, whose feet, which were like waterlilies, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power, to melt away through fear;¹⁰ in the Nirpan grant, No. LXXVI. of the same series, he is described as defeating the glorious Śrī-Harsha, the supreme lord of the region of the north;¹¹ and in the Karnul grant, No. CXXIX.,¹² the ‘Togurahode’ grant, No. XXIX.,¹³ and others that follow the same form, he is described as acquiring the second name of Paramēśvara or ‘supreme lord’ by defeating Śrī-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north. So, also, in an unpublished grant which I have of the Yuvārāja Śilāditya-Śrīyārāya of the Gujarāt branch, Pulikēśi II. is described as acquiring the banner of victory in battle with Harshavardhana, the lord of the region of the north.

In the case of Pulikēśi II., whose date was from A.D. 610-11 to at least A.D. 634-35, this Harsha or Harshavardhana is admittedly the great monarch of that name, also called Śilāditya of Thāneśvar or of Kanauj, who, according to M. Reinard's calculations, reigned from A.D. 607 to about 645,¹⁴ and whose court was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang between A.D. 629 and 645.

This great king Harsha or Harshavardhana is well-known to students of Sanskrit literature; and the record of the poet Bāna and called the Śrī-Harsha-Charitra, is extant. This work, however, was composed in the early part of his reign, and does not contain all the events of his life. When Huen Tsiang visited his court, Harshavardhana was at Kanauj, performing religious duties. But, according to Bāna's work, his original capital was Śthānēśvara, or the modern Thāneśwar in Northern India. According to the poet, he was of the Pushyabhūti dynasty. The Chinese pilgrim says he was of the Pe-tšhe class, thus leading Gen. Cunningham to think he was a Vaiśya by caste.¹⁵ He was connected by marriage both with the kings of Mālaya and the rulers of Valabhi. And he established an era of his own, known as the Śrī-Harsha Saṃvat.

Huen Tsiang describes Harshavardhana as a powerful king, who subdued distant peoples and made the neighbouring nations fear him, and who carried his victorious arms from the east to the west, only failing to make his power acknowledged by the people of Mahārāṣṭra, which was the kingdom of Pulikēśi II. And he further states that, not only did Harshavardhana and Pulikēśi II. meet and fight, but Harshavardhana in person marched out to punish the people of Mahārāṣṭra,—i.e., he himself headed an invasion of that kingdom.

With so powerful and warlike a king of all the region of the north, invading distant kingdoms, and oppressing and overpowering all the neighbouring nations,—and with no other king of the same name who can be referred to the same period,—we need look no further for the great lord, the illustrious Haršadēva, after whose attack protection was given to the lord of Valabhi by Dadda II. We are, in fact, driven to identify him with this same Harshavardhana of Thāneśwar or Kanauj, who reigned from A.D. 607 to about 645.

If, now, we refer the earliest recorded and the latest probable dates of 380 and 405 for Dadda II. to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 458 and 453; the latest of which is more than a hundred years too early for him to have been the contemporary of Harshavardhana. Therefore, in connection with what I have already said as to the authority of the Umētā and Ilā grants, I now finally abandon the theory of the Śaka era for their dates. If, next, we refer the same dates to the Vikrama era, to the Gupta-Valabhi era as commencing, according to Gen. Cunningham in A.D. 166 or according to others, in 190, or if we refer these dates to the Valabhi-Sainvāt that

¹⁰ ante Vol. VIII. p. 244.
¹¹ ante Vol. IX. p. 123.
¹² ante Vol. XI. p. 68.
¹³ ante Vol. VI. p. 67.
¹⁴ Professor Max Müller seems to prefer A.D. 610 to 650; India: What can it teach us? p. 290. But see

¹⁵ Mr. Beal supposes he was of a clan called Vaiśra or Bāisa.—Bud. Rec. W. World, Vol. I. p. 200.—Ed. I. A.
commenced in A.D. 319, we obtain in each case results incompatible with Dadda II. being contemporary with Harshavardhana. It is plain, therefore, that we must discard all these eras, and find some other epoch for the era of the Gurjara grants.

There have lately come into my hands some grants of the Gujurat branch of the Chalukya family, which require to be now fully noticed. And another is an unpublished Surat grant, of the year 443, of the same person. Taken together, they give the following genealogy and dates:

Pulikeshivallabha, (Pulikeshī II.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vikramāditya-} & \quad \text{Jayasimhavarmā-} \\
\text{Satyārāya-} & \quad \text{Dharārāya-} \\
\text{Viniyāditya-} & \quad \text{Śilāditya-Srīyārāya-} \\
\text{Satyārāya-} & \quad \text{The years 421 and 443.} \\
\text{In both the grants the donor is Śilāditya Srīyārāya, with the rank of Yuvarāja.} \\
\text{And another of them is an unpublished Balsdr grant, noticed by me in my paper on the Nausiri grant, which gives the following genealogy and date:} \\
\text{Kiritnavarmā I.} \\
\text{Pulikeshivallabha (Pulikeshī II.)} \\
\text{Vikramāditya-} & \quad \text{Jayasimhavarmā-} \\
\text{Satyārāya-} & \quad \text{Viniyāditya-Maṅgalarāja-} \\
\text{Śaka 633.} \\
\text{The difference of more than two centuries between the years 443 as the latest date of one son, and Śaka 633 as the date of another son, of Jayasimhavarmā, shows that the dates we have for Śilāditya-Srīyārāya cannot be referred to the Śaka era. And, taking into consideration the characters in which his grants are engraved, the model according to which they were drafted, and the method in which their dates are expressed, there can be no doubt that they are to be referred to the same era as those of the Kaira, Nausiri, and Kāvi Gurjara grants.} \\
\text{Now the Surat grant of the year 443 opens with the verse—} \\
\text{Narasiṁha-vikrama[h] stutavimala-yaśajagatijivajgatavīrah|} \\
\text{sthira-balaviniyādityaḥ} \\
\text{Satyārāyavallabhaḥ śrīmān||} \\
\text{An eulogistic verse of this kind, at the beginning of an inscription, is usually in praise of the grantor's paramount sovereign. It follows, therefore, from this Surat grant, that, as Śilāditya-Srīyārāya was still a Yuvarāja in 443 as he was in 421, his father Jayasimhavarmā was still alive in 443; and, further, that in 443 the head of the whole Chalukya family in Western India was Viniyāditya-Satyaśrīrāya of the Western Branch, whose capital was at Vatāpi or Bādāmi.} \\
\text{There are, it is true, two Viniyādityas mentioned in these inscriptions. But it is impossible to confound the two, and to understand the opening verse of the Surat grant as referring to the son of Jayasimhavarmā, for the following reasons,—1, because of their different second names of Satyārāya and Maṅgalarāja;—and 2, because, even assuming Viniyāditya-Maṅgalarāja to be the elder brother of Śilāditya-Srīyārāya, it is altogether unaccountable that he should be praised in the opening eulogistic verse, and yet should be entirely passed over in the genealogy, which does mention his cousin Viniyāditya-Satyaśrīrāya. Unless the year 443 can be shown to be of later date than Śaka 653,—and this is impossible; since, setting aside all other reasons, I have another unpublished grant which gives the date of the year 490 for Pulikeshivallabha-Janārāya, the younger brother of Viniyāditya-Maṅgalarāja; and this shows clearly that Viniyāditya-Maṅgalarāja must have come between 443 and 490,—the truth is that Viniyāditya-Maṅgalarāja was the younger brother of Śilāditya-Srīyārāya; and the explanation of the omission of the}
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1. To this same series belong the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja or Vijayavarmā of the year 594, Mr. Fleet's Nqs. XLVI. and XLVII., ante Vol. VII., pp. 242ff. and the Nipun grant of Nāgarājana, Mr. Fleet's No. LXXVI., ante Vol. IX., pp. 128ff. But the former contains no mention of any of the Western Chalukyas of Vatāpi, and the latter is not dated; and, consequently,

2. The dates of these two, and of the two mentioned below, do not contain any details, such as the names of the days of the week, that can be made use of for the purposes of calculations.
name of the latter in the Balsār grant, is to be sought in the fact that he died during his long Yavanā-sāhip and did not actually become the head of the Gujarāt branch of the family, and would, therefore, ordinarily be passed over in the genealogy.

Mr. Fleet has fixed the reign of Vinaya-dīṭya-Satyaśrāya as extending from Śaka 602 or 603 to Śaka 618, or A.D. 680 or 681-2 to A.D. 696-7.\(^{10}\) Now,—as the Surat grant shows that in 443 Vinaya-dīṭya-Satyaśrāya was the head of the Chalukya family,—so also the Nausāri grant seems to show that Vikramāditya Satyaśrāya was in the same position in 421. Consequently the year 443, but not 421, fell somewhere between Śaka 602 and 618. Taking the mean of the two, we have Śaka 610. And, deducting 443 from this, we have Śaka 166 or A.D. 244-5 as the initial year, and Śaka 167 or A.D. 245-6 as the year 1, of the era in which the dates of the Nausāri, Surat, and other similar grants are recorded.

Applying this epoch to Sūlādīṭya-Sṛṣṭāśrāya's earliest date of 421, the result is A.D. 665 or Śaka 587. And this is, as required, in sufficient accordance with the date of Vikramāditya Satyaśrāya, who, as Mr. Fleet has shown,\(^{10}\) was actually reigning in at any rate Śaka 592 or 593, and may perhaps have begun to rule somewhat earlier.

Applying the same epoch to the year 380, the earliest recorded date for Dadda II. of the Gurjara family, it brings him to A.D. 624, or, as is required, well into the reign of Harshavardhana of Hāṇḍavat or of Kanaṇḍa.

This, therefore,—with a possible margin, to be determined hereafter of a few years either way,—is the epoch that I select for the commencement of the era in which the grants of the Chalukyas of Gujarāt and of the Gurjaras are dated.

It is impossible at present to say to what event this era owes its establishment. But I would hazard the conjecture that it is the era of the Tṛikūṭakās, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kanherī plate.\(^{11}\)

Note by J. F. Fleet, B.C.S., C.I.E.

This Nausāri inscription records a grant which was made, according to lines 30-31, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon that took place on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. And it further records in specific words, in line 41, that the charter was written on the same day, in the year 456 of some unspecified era. Further, lines 42-43 record the date on which the charter was made nibaddha or 'assigned.' The date here is recorded in numerical symbols. The symbols for the year give 456, in accordance with the full verbal statement in line 30. The name of the month and the fortnight of it, and the symbols for the lunar day, are unfortunately broken away and entirely lost. But on the analogy of the precisely similar passages in the Kāvī inscription, we are justified in assuming that the charter was made nibaddha on the same day on which the grant was made, and therefore in supplying here, for what has been broken away, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha. Finally, as in the case of the Kāvī grant, the name of a week-day is here connected with the date on which the charter was made nibaddha. The first part of the word has been broken away and entirely lost. And the ākṣara that preceded the syllables vārē, was broken at the same time. But enough of it remains to show that it was indubitably ma. And we are therefore restricted to reading either Śvamavārē, 'on Monday,' or Bhavamanavārē, 'on Tuesday,'—with, primā facie, a preference for the former, since Bhavamanvārē, though frequent enough, is not so usual an expression for Tuesday as Mahāgalavārē is.

Accordingly, the details available for calculation are the occurrence of an eclipse of the moon on Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight, i.e. the full-moon day, of the month Māgha, in the year 456 of an era, the epoch of which is thereby to be determined.

On the grounds of contemporaneous historical allusions, Paśit Bhagvānīlā Indrajī has shown above that the era must commence within a few years either way of A.D. 245.

General Cunningham has been kind enough to calculate the above details, with the result,—

10 Dr. McMullan's Districts, p. 374.
1 Dynasties of the Karnāres Districts, p. 27.
20 id. the same page.
21 No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, pp. 374.
after the examination of many dates both before and after the approximate period of A.D. 245,—that the only epoch that agrees for both the eclipse and the week-day, is the year A.D. 249-50, with A.D. 250-51 as the year 1 of the era.

Adding 456 to 249-50, we obtain A.D. 705-6. And, as Mahâha corresponds with January-February, the date of this grant must be in the early part of A.D. 706. In that year, the full-moon of Mahâha fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February, on which day there was an eclipse of the moon.

Applying the same epoch to the date of the Kâvi grant, General Cunningham obtains Sunday, the 24th June A.D. 736, as corresponding with the Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashâha, or June-July, in the year 486, as recorded in that grant.

With these two coincidences, we are plainly on firm ground. And the era thus obtained, as General Cunningham points out, the Chédî era or the era of the Karâchurîs of Tripura, which he had already fixed as commencing in A.D. 249 = 0, with A.D. 250 = the year 1.

In accordance with Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraijs suggestion that the Ilô grant may contain a genuine date in the era used in the Nausâri and Kâvi grants, falsely referred to the Sâkhâ era,—General Cunningham has calculated the details of this date also, viz. the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishtha, or usually May-June, in the year 417. Adding 249-50, we obtain A.D. 666-67; and the month of Jyaishtha belonged to A.D. 666. In that year, however, there was no solar eclipse till the 25th August, which is after the recorded date and will not suit in any way. But, in the preceding year, the new-moon of Jyaishtha fell on the 21st April A.D. 665, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun, as required; to apply it to the date of the grant, however, assumes an error of one year in the recorded date.

Text.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrī-Kāyāvatārâ-vāsakât satata-Lakshmî-nivâsa-bhûtē jīṣâ trîshū-santā-pâhâriṇî din-
[A] nātha-vi-

[2] stārit-ānubhâvō jīṣâ dvi-kul-ōpajîvyamâna-vibhava-sâlîni jīṣâ mahatî mahârâjâ-Karṇa-
ânayâ jīṣâ kamal-âkara iva râ-

[3] jahanâsâh prabala-Kakâla-vilasit-ākulita vimala-svabhâvō gambhir-ôdâra-charita-vismâ-
pirata-sakala-lôkâpâ-

[4] la-mânasâh paramesvara-Śrî-Harshadēv-abhibhûta-Valabhipati-pati(tr) trân-ōpajâta-bhram-
ad-adhara-abhûta-vibhrama-

chaya-ôpachyâmaṇâ-manâ-

[6] nirvṛitik(r) anâka-kaṭaka-vaśâ-samâlāh-durlâlitâ-pratâp-anâlo niśita-nistriñśa-dhârâ-dâ-
rit-ârâti-kari-

Śrî-Jayabhâtas-Tasya-âtmajâ ma-

[8] hâmuni-Mann-praṇîta-pravachan-âdhigama-vivēkâ-svadharmam-ûnuhthâna-pravâna varṇa-
âśrama-vyavasth-ômnîlîta-saka-

[9] la-Kalikâl-âvalâpaḥ praṣaya-jana-manorâtha-vilaya-vyatîta-vibhava-sampâdan-âpanit-âsêsha-
pâreśthva-dân-a-

[10] bhinmâḥ pada-vivâs-ûkâ-âti-varttî-kupita-kari-nivârâṇa-prathâtha-guru-gaj-âdhîrâha-pra-
bhâvō vipat-prapatâ-

ya-pratîcchya-âdhirâja-

*22 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary,—also all those that follow, down to line 22.
*23 The sense requires us to correct this into vilasit-ākulita.
*24 Correct into pravâna or pravâcli.
viṣṭhāno-mahā-saṅgrāma-narapati-sahasra-parivāti(t)ī]-ānēka-gaja-gaḥṭā-vighaṭāna-prakāśita-bhuja-viryya-vi-

khyāta-Bhūsaṃgha-āpara-nāma īṣ parama-mahēśvarāḥ samadhiṣṭa-pañchamahāśabda-Śrī- 
Dadda-Tasya sānur-a-

nēka-samarā-saṅghaṭa-ghana-gaḥṭa-gaḥṭ-āpastana-pāṭuḥ-asahishyap-vana-dāvālal dīn-
ānāth-

tura-suhṛt-svajana-bandhu-kumudākara-kaumudi-nīśakaraḥ Bhāgirathī-pravāha iva vipa-

kasa-kahōbha-kahamaḥ Sāntanu-

r-iva samudbhūta-kala-kala-śāra-mahāvihinī-pathiḥ ādi-varāha iva sva-bhujā-bala-parākram-

ōddhrita-dha[rāqiḥ pa]-

rama-mahēśvarāḥ samadhiṣṭa-pañchamahāśabda-Śrī-Jayabhaṭaḥ kuṣali īṣ sarvvaṉ-eva 

rāja-sāmanta-bhō[gī-ve]jaya-

pati-śiṣṭa-śramaṇa-mahattar-ādhihikār-ādīn-samanudarāsavatya-Asu vah saṃviditaḥ yathā 

mayā mātā-pinrāt(r)ātma-

nāś-ṣāhīḥ-āmuṇmika-punya-yassāh-bhūvīṛdhyayā īṣ Girnagaraviniṅgagata-Śraddhik-āgra-

hāravastavya-tachchabhu[truvvidyasamānaya-

Shravāyana[sagōṭra ]-Vājaśa[sa] neyāMādiyandinasabrahmachāri-brahmaṇaṭaDattaputra-s 

brahmaṇa-Dēvasvamīni īṣ asam-rē-

ta-prakāśānāma-Kalumbarāya īṣ bali-charu-vaiśāvādē-āgniḥetra-śtithi-pañcamaḥśrayajī-ādī-

kriy-ōtsarpṉa-

ṛthana īṣ Kūrillā-ṣathak-antargagata-Saṃpadraṇa-grāmō īṣ pūrvvottara-almiṇi chatuś-

shaṅhi-bhū-nivarttana-pramāṇaṃ

Second plate.


dakshiṇatō 

Yamalakhallar-ābhīdīh-

na-taḍākanī īṣ īṣ tathā mahattara-Mahēśvara-satka-kahēтра īṣ īṣ nāpita-Dēvaka īṣ 

sa[t] -

ka-vāpaka-kahē-tra[=cha īṣ aparataḥ Śaṃ-

 padraṇa-grāmāni īṣ eva Dāhādha-grāma-yāyī pānthā īṣ uttaratō Baraṭakhallar-ābhī-

dāna-taḍākanī īṣ īṣ tathā 

Kūrillā-vaśi-brahmaṇa-Narmma-satka-brahmaďa-kaḥētra[=cha īṣ īṣ evam idāmī chatur-

āghāṭanā-opalakṣita[=kham īṣ] khaṭraṇī īṣ īṣ sōdraṅgaṇa īṣ sōpa-

rīkaraṇ īṣ sa-bhūta-pā[=vā ṭ]ta-pratyāyaṇ īṣ sa-dāhāya-hiranyādēyaṇ īṣ sa-dā-āparā-

dhāma īṣ s-otpadyāmana-vaiśhī[=ṣṣ] kiṇa īṣ griha-sthāvara-chala-

ka-īṣ-ratīyā īṣ-pravēṣō īṣ-nirṛgama-īṣ-sagara-īṣ-chatuṣhpada-prachāra-īṣ-vāpī-īṣ-kūpā-īṣ-

taḍāka-īṣ-padr-opajyva-samāṃta[=īṣ sarvṛvā-rā-

jaktyānām-asastapakahēpanīyan īṣ pūrvvpa-prattā-devabrahmaďa-rahitāṃ īṣ bhūmi-

chchhidra-nayōy-ā-cherdhe-ārk-k-ārṇa-

va-kshiti-sarit-parvāta-samakullana īṣ putra-prantr-āvaya-kram-ōpabhiyogam-adya 

Māghe-suḍdua-paṇchadasya[=ā] īṣ chand-ōpa-

raγe īṣ punya-tiṭhāv-udak-ātiṣa-rggēṇa brahmaďayatvāna pratipāditaṃ īṣ Yatē-sayā 

ōcītayā īṣ brahmaďa-

ya-āsthiyā bhuṇjātaḥ kriṣhtataḥ karashayataḥ pratidhiṣātō vā na kaiśchid-vyāṣedēḥ 

varttityavam-Āgāmi-bhadra-nri-

* Some correction or other is needed here; since, if the first syllable is skh- (and the upper member of the compound consonant does resemble skh more than anything else), and the second is vṛ, then the nasal of the fourth syllable ought to be nṛ, not na. The nearest name that suggests itself is Brīdayaṇa. 

* In the original, the engraver first omitted this sk, altogether. He then inserted another ka between vṛ and nṛ, and attempted to alter the original skh into skh; but, in doing so, he really converted it into skh. 

* The engraver first formed brā here, and then converted it into bṛa. 

* The usual form is taḍākanī or taḍāgaṇī. 

* In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary. 

In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
Translation.

Hail! From the excellent camp of Kāyāvatāra.—

(L. 1.)—In the great lineage of the great king Karṇa,—which became the perpetual abode of Lakṣmi; which ailed the misery (produced by) desires; the dignity of which was amplified by (giving relief to) the poor and the helpless; (and) which possessed wealth that supported families of Brāhmaṇas,—(there lived), like a swan in a group of lotuses, the illustrious Dāda, whose pure mind was not agitated by the freaks of the mighty Kali age; who, by his wise and noble deeds, struck the minds of all kings with wonder; (and) over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory gained by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadēva.

(L. 5.)—His son (was) the illustrious Jayabhāṣa, whose mental happiness increased as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by needy men coming (to him) without fear; the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical dynasties;25 (and) who veiled the lotus-like faces of the women who were the distant quarters with the white cloth of (his) glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls from the temples of the elephants of (his) enemies, rent open by the edge of (his) sharp sword.

(L. 7.)—His son (was) the illustrious Daḍa, who attained the five great titles,—who was proficient in the scriptures compiled by the great sage Manu, and in discrimination, and in the performance of his own religious duties; who destroyed all the arrogance of the Kali age by the proper management of the varṇas and áśramas; who abolished the arrogance about (their) charity of all (other) kings by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (by him) in putting an end to the desires of needy people; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by (his) holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad; whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (his) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery; whose other name of Bāhussahāya 26 was made famous by the help of the passage in lines 30-31, and on the analogy of the corresponding passages in the Kāvī grant.

25 The secondary meaning applies to a fire burning up thorn and bamboo.

26 Enough of this letter remains on the broken edge of the plate to show indubitably that it was so. It is, of course, a matter of conjecture whether the preceding akṣara was ś or bhau; but ś is the more probable of the two. The preceding letters are supplied with the
strength of (his) arm that was displayed in tearing through innumerable hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west; (and) who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara.

(L. 13.)—His son, the illustrious Jayabhāta, who has attained the five great titles,—who is clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of numerous battles; who is a very forest-fire to quarrelsome people; who is the friend of the poor and the desitute and the sick; who is a full-moon to the groups of lotus-like relations and friends; who, like the stream of (the river) Bhāgirathī, is able to confound (his) enemies; who, like Śāntanu, is the lord of a great army full of a buzzing and humming sound; who, like the pristine boar, has raised up the earth (from the power of evil kings) by the might of his own arm; (and) who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—being in good health, thus commands all kings, nobles, chiefs, lords of districts, headmen of subdivisions and villages, officers, &c.:

(L. 18.)—'Be it known to you that, for the increase of the religious merit and fame, both in this world and in the next, of (my) parents and of myself, a field of the measure of sixty-four nisartanas of land in the north-east boundary in the village of Śampadraṇa which is included in the Kōrillā pathaka,—the boundaries of which (field) are, on the east, the boundary of the village of Gōlikā; on the west, the tank called Yamalakallara, and the field belonging to the headman Mahēśvara, and an irrigated field belonging to the barber Dēvaka; on the west, the road that goes to the village of Dākhāddha from the village of Śampadraṇa; (and) on the north, the tank called Barutakallara, and the field which is a brahmādāya and belongs to the Brāhmaṇ Narma who lives at Kōrillā,—this field, thus defined as to its four boundaries,—together

with the udraṅga and the uparikaṇa and the bhūtrādaptṛtya; with its income in grain and gold; with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten faults; with the right to forced labour: with the houses, immovables, movables, streets, entrances, exits, oceans (?), pasture for four-footed animals, step-wells, wells, tanks, and those who live on the skirts of the village; not to be meddled with by any royal officer; exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brāhmaṇs; according to the familiar reasoning of the ground and the sky: to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth and the rivers and the mountains endure; (and) to be enjoyed in succession by sons, son's sons, and heirs,—has to-day, on the holy occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Mūrga, been given by me, as a brahmādāya, with copious libations of water,—for the purpose of performing the bali, the charu, the vaisvadēra, the agnikātra, the atithi; the five great sacrifices, &c.,—to the Brāhmaṇ Dēvavāmī, familiarly called by Us Kallmihar, who came from (the city of) Girinagara; who is an inhabitant of the agrahāra of Śraddhākī; who belongs to that community of Chaturvedis; who is of the (?) Shrvāyanaśa gōtra; who is a religious student of the Vājasaneya-Mādkyandīna (śākha); and who is the son of the Brāhmaṇ Datta.

(L. 31.)—'Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (it), cultivating (it), causing (it) to be cultivated, or entrusting (it to any one else), in accordance with the proper conditions of a brahmādāya, (and) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings, whether of Our lineage or others. And he shall incur 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. 34.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The giver

101 'He whose (only) helper was his arm.'
102 Vishnu, in his incarnation as such.
103 Kāliala seems to be a déśī word, then in use, and meaning a pond.
104 Vāpaka seems to mean a field which, by means of irrigation, yields a rabi crop of rice, &c., after the kharif crop has been gathered.
of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (but) the confessor (of a grant), and he who assents (to such confissation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhyas (mountains), destitute of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (of this grant that is now made)! Gold is the first offspring of the fire; the earth belongs to Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun; he who bestows gold and a cow and land, by him the (entire) three worlds are given! Those grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by former kings, are like garlands that have been used; what good man would take them back again? O Yudhishtira, best of the wise!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (of a grant) is better than (making) a grant!

(L. 41.)—This has been written by Keshava, who is in charge of the great army, the son of the Bhojika . . . . . . . . . . , in the year four hundred, increased by fifty-six, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Magha. It has for its messenger the military officer Bavulla. Prepared in the year 400 (and) 50 (and) 6; [in the bright fortnight of Magha; (on the day) 10 (and) 5]; on (?) Monday." (This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Esq., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. CXXXIX.

Three inscriptions of the Gurjara family have now been published in this Journal,—by Dr. Bühler, the Umēta grant of Dādāra, dated in 400, on the full-moon day of the month Vaisākha; and the Kaavi grant of Jayabhaṭa III., dated in the year 486 of an unspecified era, on Sunday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Aṣāḍha;—and by Paññat Bhagavānī Indrajī, the Nausāri grant of Jayabhaṭa III., dated, in the same way, in the year 456 of an unspecified era, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Māga, and, apparently, also on Tuesday corresponding with the same day.

And three inscriptions of the same family have been published elsewhere,—by Professor J. Dowson, the two Kaira grants of Dādāra, dated respectively in the year 380 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the

* See note 35, p. 79 above.
* Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. pp. 247ff.—General Cunningham calculates the date as corresponding with Monday, the 3rd April, A.D. 475.
* Id. Vol. V. pp. 109ff.—With reference to the remarks that I have published in Vol. XII. pp. 292-93, Paññat Bhagavānī Indrajī assures me, from his personal examination of the plate, that the second numerical symbol is certainly 380, and not 385.
* ante, 707ff.
* Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. I. pp. 247ff.—A mixture of these two grants was published before that, by Mr.

James Prinsep, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. pp. 96ff. His division of the text follows the grant of 380 down to line 24 inclusive, but the grant of 385 from line 25 to the end, except that it gives the date of 380, not 385. After the last word Prayajtabhāya of the two grants, it adds Samaṇo-Dattasidha tayya puruṣa Vitarīya-sparśa-adānt Ājījayaḥ bhāmaṇhākṣa bhāmaṇhākṣa dānaḥ; but there is no foundation for any such passage in the lithographs published with Professor Dowson's paper.

re-edit these two Gurjara grants from the facsimiles published with Professor Dowson’s paper.

The first of these facsimiles shows two plates, each about 11½” long by 9½” broad. It does not suffice to show whether the edges of the plates were fashioned thicker or raised into rims to protect the writing, or not. At the lower right-hand corner, a largish piece is broken off the first plate; and, at the upper left-hand corner, a small piece is broken off the second plate. With these exceptions, the plates are well preserved, and the inscription is very legible. The facsimile is a good one, but shows many omissions and inaccuracies, which may be errors in the original, or may only be due to imperfections of the lithograph; being in doubt as to which cause they are to be attributed to, I have had to treat them for the most part as errors in the original. The plates have holes for two rings; but the facsimile shows one ring only. It is about ¾” thick, and of irregular shape like the rings of the Valabhi grants. The seal on the ring is roughly circular, about 1¾” in diameter; and it has, in reliance on a countersunk surface, some device, the meaning of which is not apparent, but which may perhaps be some emblem of sun-worship, and, below this device, the legend Sāmanta-Dadda, in the same characters as the body of the grant. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The inscription is of the time of Dadda II., also called Praśāntaratāga. It is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year 389 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, i.e. the full-moon day, of the month Kārttiika. The charter is issued from Nandipurī, which Dr. Bühler has identified with an old fort of that name, just outside the Jhadősāwār gate to the east of Broach,—but which Paṇḍīt Bhagwānlāl Inḍarji prefers to identify with the modern Nāndōḍ in the Rājpipla State; and it records a grant of the village of Sirishapadaṛa, in the vishaya or province of Akūrēśvara.

Dr. Bühler has identified Akūrēśvara with the modern Aṅkulēśwar or Aṅkulēśwar, the chief town of a Tālūkā of the same name in the southern part of the Broach District. And Sirishapadaṛa would seem to be the modern ‘Sisodra’ in the Aṅkulēśwar Tālūkā.

Text.19

First plate.


[*] satatam-avilāṅghit-āvadhau sthairyā-gā[va[m]bhi(bh)rryā-lāvanyavati mahā-satvatayā āt[i]-duravagāhā Gurjjarachripati-vaṅg-mah-ādaddhā(ḍau) Śrī-sahajanmā Kriṣṇa

[*] sahaḥridayā-śāt-padaḥ kaustubha-maṅgir-eva vimala-yaśō-dīdhiti-nikara-vinihata-Kaliyugamahāraṇāmoḥāha vānavahā śāmanta-Daddaḥ [*] pratidinam-apēta-saṅkāna yēna


[*] rāpoṁ satvam udvahatā keśari-kiśorōkēg-ēvopari kshitiḥbhṛtāṁ [*] yauḥ chātimalina-Kaliyugamahāraṇasaṃ-dvās-taḥ-sanu-divas-sam-anu-divas-sam-anu[*]ya-sparādhyē[*]va[*]yē-ā

[*] yauḥ kalā-samūḥ-ādayō guṇā vikram-anūta-maṅa-vilas-ālasa-gata-yō-rati-gaja-gaḥ-ṭaḥ pra-medāsca[*] yase chaiviolent-dāna

[*] pravāha-priti-ārtthi-madhukara-kulasaya ruchira-krītt-vaś-āsahāyasaya satatam-askalita-padāṃ prasarataḥ sad-vaṅs-āhitā-kōbhā-gauravasya


[12] jē na kru(kru)-āśayatayā lāvaya-sthaśraya-g[a] śūbhīrya-sūthyā-anupālanañayā mahādāḥdhāruḥ iva vyāl-ārāyatayā sat-ātaka-samunna-vidyādhar-āvā


[16] prabōdhō mahā-vishdharasasy-ēvā maṇi-manaṁ=īva svacchhā-tāra-bhāvō mahādāḥdhāruḥ=īv[a]mārīṭa kālaśōmṛtī-kalaśasya ēvā amaraṅa-ādītya

[17] prabhāvaḥ kariṇā iva madhā-janasya=ēvā vilāsō vibhavasy=ēvā sat-patra-viniyōgyo dharmasya=ēvā kratūḥ kratōṛ=īva sva-da-

[18] kṣiṇā-kālōḥ prēṃṇa iva sad-bhāvaḥ śāśīna ēvāmala-kālaśāmuhō niyatam=alaṅkāra


[23] masyā-śīri-bhīri=nupagata-trilompo(shnō)-pi guṇārjāna-āvīchchhina-tarṣaḥ sarva-pradaṇā-dūlō=pi para-yuvati-hridaya-dāna-par[=]jumukhaḥ pa[=]par[=] para-

[24] parivāḥ-āhīdāna jāda-ṭīhī [16] yasya cha na virodhī rūpaṁ śīlasya yuvanāḥ sad-vṛttaṁ vībhavaḥ pradaṇāya tri(tri)-vargga-sēvā pa[=]prasāpa-āpddyana-

[25] sya prabhuṇaṁ kṣ[=]ntē Kalī-kālō guṇānāma[nti] [16] Tasya sūṇ(u)ḥ sajal-

[26] ghana-patala-nirṛgata-rājanikara-ka-āvābōhiñā k[=]unudā-dhavala-

[27] yaśaḥ-pratāṇ-āśthagita-nabho-maṇḍalā-nēkā-samarā-saṅkata-pramukh-āgata-nīhata-śatra-sā-

[28] manta-kula-ladham=dra(pra)[bhātasama]


[30] mala-prapām-[ō]dgṛhiśā-vajarā-

[31] maṇi-kōṭi-rucira-dśhiti-virājita-muktā-ōdbhāṣita-sīrā dīn-āṅāth-ātṛ-ābhīyog-āṛṭhitjan-

[32] ākliṣh[t]-[paripār]-

[33] ta-viblya-vimāṇah-āṇapahyamāṇa-trivishṭap-aṅka-saḥāya-dharmma-sa[m]chayā praṇyapā-

[34] pari[kupita]-

[35] māṇinījana-prapāma-pūrvva-madhura-vachan-ōpapādita-prasāda-prakāśikṛita-vidyadharaṅ-ga-

raka-

Second plate.

[12] The reading is the same, khaśa, in No. CXL l. 13. Prof. Dowson suggested the emended reading khaṣa, which I adopt.

[13] Here, and in the same word in l. 27, the ā is attached, somewhat unusually, to the top stroke of the j, instead of to the middle stroke as in, for instance, ajāna, l. 45, and jāyantī, l. 48. In the corresponding four cases in No. CXL., it is attached uniformly to the middle stroke.

[14] We have here a somewhat rare form of ṣa. It occurs again in jāda-ṭīhī, l. 24, mandalā, l. 26, Daunākīṣa, l. 37, and Kusāṃśa, l. 38. It does not occur in No. CXL.
Translation.

Öm! Hail! From (the city of) Nāndipura.

(L. 1.)—In the likeness, like to the great ocean, of the Gurjara kings,—which irradiates all the faces of the regions with the

wealth of (its) various and spotless virtuous qualities, (as the ocean does with its jewels); which protects all the great kings who are (its) adherents, (as the ocean protects all the great mountains, which, by taking refuge in it, are still possessed of their wings); which al-

18 This Ayurveda is a mistake.
19 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.
20 so, desētya.
21 The second k here represented, somewhat unusually, by an almost entire ko below the upper one, instead of by a stroke across the lower part of the upper ko. A similar instance, occurs in arks, in l. 18 of the Nirṇaṇa granth, No. LXXV., Vol. IX. pp. 129ff.
22 These two letters, praktī, were engraved over two other letters that had been engraved and partially cancelled by beating in.

23 This line is in current-hand characters. They differ somewhat from those of the attestation of the Umētā grant.—The attestation of No. CXLI. also is in current-hand characters; they approach more to those of the Umētā grant, than to those of the present grant. The attestation of the Śilā grant, No. CXXI., is not in current-hand characters.
24 The context is (l. 31) Śrī-Dādāth kuśal sarveśvaḥ. —See Vol. XII. p. 157, note 7.
ways abstains from breaking agreements, (as the ocean abstains from transgressing its boundaries); which (like the ocean) is possessed of stability and profundity and beauty; which, by reason of being possessed of great nobility, is difficult to be invaded, (as the ocean, by reason of having great creatures in it, is difficult to be plunged into),—(there was) the Nāga, who,—like the kausūbha-jewel born along with Śrī (and) resting over the heart of Kṛṣṇa,—dispelled the mass of the darkness of the Kali age with the multitude of the rays of (his) spotless fame; who, being possessed of good adherents, uprooted the descendants of the hostile family of the Nāgas, just as Vaimāṇa, possessed of excellent wings, uprooted the offspring of the hostile family of the serpents; (and) who, even from birth, had all sin removed by performing obeisance to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of the sun. Day by day he stood free from apprehension,—having a body adorned by a multitude of immovable virtues, as that of a lion is adorned by the mass of the firm threads of its mane, (and) having the canopy of his spotless fame spread abroad in the guise of the pearls that trickled down from the foreheads of the elephants of (his) enemies that were slain (by him, as by a lion), (and) maintaining toward (other) kings an excellence of disposition, suitable to (his) beauty, as a young lion maintains on the mountains a vigour suitable to (its) form. The virtues, consisting of (the knowledge of) the collection of the fine arts, (as of the digits of the moon), &c., (and) the troops of the elephants of his enemies and (their) lovely women, having a lazy gait of rat and of wantonness induced by (his) prowess, day after day, as if through mutual rivalry, betook themselves to him, the moon of the darkness of the extremely sullied Kali age. The lands lying round the feet of the Vindhyas (mountains), as if they were wives productive of married happiness (and) carrying beauty on (their) lofty breasts, (were) for the pleasure of him who, like an excellent elephant, pleased

the swarm of bees which were petitioners with the ceaseless flow of his charity which was like rut, (and) who reduced (even) those who were not (his) adherents to submission by (his) brilliant fame, (and) who always moved without any tripping of the foot, (and) whose splendour and dignity were maintained by (his) excellent lineage, (and) who had the hairs of (his) body erected (in pleasure caused) by the (hostile) kings being slain by the blows of his hand, (and) whose voice was as sweet as (the sound of) the falling waters of the cataracts of the (river) Rêvâ. He was to be compared with the moon in respect of placity and purity and lustre and accomplishments (like the digits of the moon), (but) not in respect of any stain (like a spot on the moon),—with a pool of waterlilies in respect of having all family-toubles (like thorns) overcome by the plentiful glory of (being) the abode of Śrī, (but) not in respect of being born from the mud,—with a lion, in respect of vigour and energy and prowess, (but) not in respect of being full of cruelty,—with the ocean, in respect of being possessed of beauty and stability and profundity and endurance and (power of) protection, (but) not in respect of being the asylum of wicked people (like snakes), (and) with the (mountain) Himâchala, in respect of being the abode of excellent cities (like mountain ridges) and noble men of learning (like demigods), (but) not in respect of being surrounded by degraded warriors (like the mountainous regions round Himâchala). Like the excellent coils of the serpent Śōsha, his excellent wealth, the greatness of which was manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, (was) common to the whole world. The excellence of his family was declared by (his) character,—his sovereignty, by (his habit of) command,—his (knowledge of the use of) weapons, by the submission of (his) enemies,—his anger by (his infliction of) punishment,—his favour, by (his) charities,—(and) his piety, by (his) worship of the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors.

28 Or "saltiness."
29 The kausūbha-jewel, which Viṣṇu (Krishna) wears on his breast, was produced, at the same time with the goddess Śrī, when the ocean was churned in order to obtain the nectar.
30 Or "danger, misfortune."
32 Or "saltiness."
(L. 15.)—His son (was) Śrí-Jayābhaṭa, whose other name was Śrí-Vītarāga,—who was as pure as heated glitering gold; who, like the kalpa-tree, incessantly conferred (all) desired objects; who was always like the season of spring (in the cycle) of the seasons; who was like a grove of dense mango-trees in full bloom of the season of spring; who was like an assemblage of waterlilies of a lake; who was like the blossoming of an assemblage of waterlilies; who was like the jewel of a great poisonous snake; who was like the pellucid clearness of a jewel; who was like the pot of nectar of the great ocean; who was like the power of conferring immortality of a pot of nectar; who was like the rut of an elephant; who was like the sportive daintiness of lovely women; who was like the application of wealth to worthy objects; who was like the sacrifice of religion; who was like the time of the distribution of alms of a sacrifice; who was like the good quality of affection; who was like the collection of spotless accomplishments (which were as the digits of the moon); who was always decorated with ornaments; whose face was like the full-moon; who was affable; who was gentle of speech; (and) who had acquired the goddess of victory in battle against powerful enemies. As if longing for protection from fear of the enemy which was the Kali age, the virtues with humility bestook themselves to him. The evils of thirst and heat of suppliants were removed by him, as by a dark-blue cloud, having for the lightning (his) pure reliance, (and) causing the happiness of all living beings, (and) pouring forth fertile fruits. Though he was a hero, he was always apprehensive of (incurring) disgrace. Though he was destitute of avarice, his thirst for the acquisition of virtue never ceased. Though he was characterised by perfect liberality, he was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men. Though he was eloquent, he was slow-minded in applying abusive epithets to his opponents (in argument). His beauty was not obtrusive of (good) character; (nor) his youth, of good behaviour; (nor) his wealth, of liberality; (nor) his pursuit of the privārga, of their failing to conflict with each other;²²³ (nor) his sovereignty, of patience; (nor his living in) the Kali age, of (his possession of) meritorious qualities.

(L. 25.)—His son, Śrí-Dādā, who has attained the pāñcharaṣṭrāḥ,—who has covered the expanse of the sky with the creeping plant of (his) fame, which is as white as a waterlily awakened by the rays of the moon when it has come out of a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (always) being loudly proclaimed by the weeping in the morning of the wives of the hostile Sāmantaś who have been slain when they came out against (him) in the dangers of many battles; whose head is irradiated by a tiara that is decorated with the lustrous rays of a core of diamonds (in it) which are scratched by performing obeisance to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors; who possesses a store of religion, the sole help to (obtaining) paradise, that is (always) being increased by satisfying the desire for wealth of poor people and the helpless and the sick and strangers and suppliants and people in distress; whose clever and versatile nature is manifested by the favour, induced by (his) honeyed speeches preceded by respectful obeisances, of passionate women who are made angry by (their) affection (for him); (and) who has cast the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of (his) spotless virtues,—being in good health, thus informs all the rājas, sāmantaś, bhōgikās, vishayapatis, rādhramahattaras, grāṇamahattaras, ṛṣikīrīkās, and others:

(L. 33.)—"Be it known to you! This village of Śrīshapadra, in the vishaya of Akrūrāśvara, has been allotted by Us, with copious libations of water, on the full-moon day of (the month) Kārttika, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (Our) parents and of Ourself, for the purpose of continuing the bali, the charu, the vaiśnavāda, the agniḥōtra, the five great sacrifices, and other rites preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chaturvēdīs, together with the udraṇa and the uparikara; religion, the enjoyment of pleasure, and the acquisition of wealth, without allowing any one of them to interfere with the others.²²⁴

²²³ See note 21 above.
²²² The play is on the two meanings of dāna,—giving, and cutting, or destroying.
²²³ In paraṇa-parṇa-dvēda, 1. 24-5, the last part of the compound must be dvēda, not dvēna. He was supposed to practise the privārga, or the practice of
²²⁴ Or perhaps 'by providing for (the study of) the four Vedas'.
whether of Our lineage or others, who are desirous of the general reward of giving a grant of enjoyment or of land, (and) who are desirous of acquiring, (so as to retain) for a long time, fame as lustorous as the moon.—bearing in mind that the world of living beings is as unsteady as the waves of the water of the ocean driven forward by a mighty wind, (and) that riches are attended by (liability to) non-existence (and) are frail, and that meritorious qualities endure for a long time. He shall incur 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. 46.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyása, the arranger of the Védas:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhya (mountains), destitute of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (of this grant that is now made)! Those grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by former kings, are like garlands that have been used; what good man would take them back again?

(L. 50.)—Written by the Saṅdhyāvratadākāravādāṅkāra Viśvāmanda, at the command of (Our) own mouth, in the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Kārttiika. The year 300 (and) 80; the bright fortnight of Kārttiika; (the day) 10 (and) 5.

(L. 52.)—This (is) the sign-manual of Praśāntarāga, the son of Viṭārāga, who delights in worshipping the feet of the sun.

cancelled grant on the back of the same plate, No. XLVII. (11 pp. 235ff.) In No. CXLI. L. 5, the same form occurs as is here.

According to the present inscription, these three men,—Dhāra, Dāmādana, and the second Īvara,—seem to belong to the Bharadvāja gotra. But in No. CXLI. L 58-9, they are said to belong to the Lākṣmanavāra gotra.

Bhūṣyāpati; lit. 'lords of possession.'

Sva-hasta, lit. 'the own hand.'
No. CXL.

The second of Prof. Dowson's facsimiles of the Kaira grants of Dadda II. shows two plates, each about 10½ by 7½ broad. It does not suffice to show whether the edges of the plates were fashioned thicker, or raised into rims to protect the writing, or not. The plates are well preserved, and the inscription is for the most part very legible. The accuracy of the text is subject to the same remarks as in the case of No. CXXXIX. The plates have holes for two rings, but the facsimile shows one ring only. It is about ¾ thick, and of irregular shape, like the rings of the Valabhi grants. The seal on the ring is roughly circular, about 1½ in diameter; and it has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same emblem or device as the seal of No. CXXXIX, and below it the same legend, Sāmanta-Dadda. The language is Sanskrit throughout; and, down to line 31, the text agrees almost word for word with the text of No. CXXXIX.

The inscription is of the time of Dadda II, otherwise called Praśāntarāga. It is dated, in both words and numerical figures, in the year 385 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the month Kārttiika. Like No. CXXXIX, the charter is issued from Nandipuri. And it records a grant of the same village of Śirishapadra, in the Vishaya or province of Akārāśava. The object of this second grant, made only five years after the preceding one, is not quite apparent. The first grant was made to forty Brāhmans; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vatsāspinā and Mahādeva of the Kaundinya gotra (No. CXXXIX. l. 38-9), Indrāspinā of the Bharadvaja gotra (id. l. 40), and Bhadra, Vāyuśrīna, Drāgośavā, Rudrāditya, and Pūrvavā of the Chauli gotra (id. l. 41); and two new names are introduced, viz. (l. 37) Vāda of the Vataśrīna, and (l. 40) Indrāditya of the Dhūmrāyaça or Dhaumrāyaça gotra, thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l. 40. The names are arranged, not according to chañāres, as in No. CXXXIX,—but according to gotras; and three persons,—Dhara, Dāmadhara, and the second Iśvara,—who, according to No. CXXXIX. l. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvaja gotra, are here said (l. 38-9) to belong to the Lākhshmayya gotra. And the words chātura vvidya-parikāla-pārivaṣa, in l. 42 of No. CXXXIX, are omitted in the present grant. In other respects the present grant was made to the same persons, for the same purposes, and under the same conditions, as the grant recorded in No. CXXXIX.

Transcription. [42]

First plate.


[43] Some letters, of which y seems a constituent part, appears to have been engraved between this y and na. Probably the na was repeated by mistake, and then partly cancelled.

[44] In No. CXXXIX. l. 7-8, the reading is dēma-pradēha. Here the syllable na is quite distinct, and there is a rather indistinct letter between it and pra, which can hardly be anything except i.
[9] gau(rava)vasya bhadra-mata-tāga-ga-sasya-eva kara-ghāta-vinihata-keśitibhrīt-dhuna-tanur-
[hus]ya rēvā-nirjhar-salin-prapāta-madhura-nimādasya
g[10] bhag-ālō dhavās-samunnata-payōdhār-āhita-śriyō dayātā Eva mndō Vindhyā-nag-śopatayār-
(kāh) [9] yaś-cu-śopatīya ṣaṣiṇī saumya[eva]*-vaiṃalya-śōbhā-ka-
na paṅkajamataya sat-ōtāha vikkrā(m)naīr=mṛ(m)mrī.
[12] gādhīrājē na krūr-āsaṭayāya lāvāya-sthairyya-gāmbhiryya-sthityy-anupālanastayā mah-
ōdadhau na vaṛō-āśrayataya sat-kaṇṭha-pa(sa).
[13] munna-ta vidyādhār-āvāṣayā Himāda(Cha)lō na khaśha(ṣa)-ya(pa)-rivarātaya yasya cha
sad-bhūgaḥ Śeṣh-durgasya-eva vimala-kīrṇa-maṇi-śat-āvihkṛīta.
[14] gauravas-saṅkal-jagāt-ārā(dhā)raṇō ṣaṣya prakāśyatā sat-kuḷaṁ śi(ā)lēnaḥ prabhu-
tvam-ājūyaṃ śastraṃ-arāti-praṇijātaṃ kōpā(ḥ) mṛnabōja
g[15] praaśaḍaḥ pradaṇākār-evaharmī dēvā dvijī-ṣuṣṭa-vijāraṇā-saṃpuryyay-ēti l(l)[(1)] Tasya saṇūḥ
praṭapa-riṣhchāri-kana-kavāddātaḥ kalpatāraya-ivāvīraṭa-m-a-
[16] bhūrkhīṭa-phala-pradaṇā satatam-�iṣu-गaṇasya-eva vasanta-samayō vasanta-samayasya-eva
pravīk[ā]ṣita-nibīda-chūṭatarka-van-ābhağaḥ sarasa iva
[17] kama-śaīvalaḥ kama-śaīvalasya-eva prabhūḥ mahanā-viṣhadhāraṣya-eva maṇiṃ-maṇiṃr
tva vaṃschehaṭa-hāravaḥ mah-ōdadhāḥ mēnimaṇi mītra-kā-
[18] laśaṣya-ēvā śaivāra-ādīya-ṣuṣṭa-bhārō ṣiṅgiri ṣaṣya madaḥ pramachā(ḍa)-janasya-ēva vilāśē
tva bhūvavya-ēva sat-pātra-vīniyogū dharmma
[19] syēva krrati krratōrīva eva-dakshinā-kālah prēmā iva sad-bhūvaḥ śaśiṇa ivā-ālamā-ka-
śaṃbho niyamat-aśaṅkā-bhūtaḥ sakala
[20] niśkar-ābhirupad-vadatāḥ śaklo vadānāḥ prabala-ripu-bal-āṅika-samara-samavāpta-vijaya-
rīlī Śrī-vitarag-āṣara-nāmā Śrī-jana(ya)bha-
naḥ [9] sphurita-di(vi)mala-kṛti-śaudāmā[ni] nyena sakala-ji-
[22] va-lōk-ananda-kārīṇa kāla-valahākṣaṅ-ēva-vānydhya-phalaṁ garjitaḥ praṇayām-sapaha[hn]ni-
ṁā-ṭiṣṭa-%anta-pā-ōdāḥ [9] yaśè cha gū(ā)ro pī sitata-
[23] māyaśābhirur-apagata-triṣjaṅgī-pi guṇ-arjuna-āvichchhinnam-ṭaraḥṣaḥ sarva-pradaṇā-śilō pī
para-yuvāti-hrīdaya-dāno-parāmukhaḥ paṭur-apū pa-
[24] ra-parivād-āni(bhī)dhāna-jaḍa-dhī [9] yasya cha na virōḍhī rūpa[m]* śīlasya yau-
vanauḥ sad-vṛttasya dī(ḥ)bhavaḥ pradaṇāya tī[ti]vargga-svēva parasparā
d[25] pīḍanasaḥ prabhūtvān kṣhantēḥ kāli-śaṅguṇāṁ-īti l(l)[(1)] Tasya saṇūḥ sajala-
ghana-pata-pañcaragata-ranajrakar-āvabodhi
[26] ta-kumuda-dhavala-yaśaḥ-pratān-āśthagīta-nabhaḥ-maṅdalaḥ-nēkā-samara-saṅkṣa-pramukh-
āgata-nihata-śatru-samanta
[27] kulavadhū-prabhūtasamaya-rudita-chchhaḥ-ōdgyāmāna-vimala-nistriṇā-pratāpō
dvē-dvijī-ṣuṣṭa-gum.

Second plate.

[28] charaṇa-kamala-praṇām-ōdghrīṣita-vajrāmaṇi-[kōṭī-ruchiura]-dīdhiti-virājita-makut-ōdghsita-
ā[ī]rā।
[29] dī(ḥ)a-anāth-ātūr-abhyāgat-ārthīṭjan-ākliṭha-pa[ri]pūraṇa-va[ḥvāha]-manorath-ōpachi[chh]-
yanma-triśīṣṭāp-aṅkā-sa-
[30] hāya-dharman-saṅchayaḥ praṇaya-parikupita-mānini[nt]-jana-praṇa]-ma-pūrvva-madhura-
vachan-ōpapāḍita-prasāda-prakrīṣi.
timira-śaṅgavaya-samadhigata-paṭcha-
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

[March, 1884.

[**] mahāsabdā [h*] Śrī-Devaḥ-kanāli sarvān-śva rāja-sāmanta-bhūgika-visā(sha)yapati-rāṣṭra-grāmanahatatarākāri-śādīm-sa-
[**] manubōdha-yat-Astu voh-viditam-asamāhyira-Akr̥[a]*]cēvara-vishay-āntarggata-[**]Śrīshāma-
[**] padrakā *[a] śastra-grāmasādāraṇagāḥ
[**] sōparikaraḥ sarv-ādāna-sāgra-hāya[ha]* sarvā-ditya-viśti-ātīhī-ātīhimā-kā-panīhar(h)īṇo bhū-
[**] mihcchhidra-nayyānāma dhām-bhāṣa-prā-
[**] vēṣyā a-achindr-ārak-āṇṛprada(ya)-kshīti-sthiti-samakalinaḥ putra-pauru-āvaya-bhūgyo Jamb-
[**] bāsaro-vāstavaya-Bhāradvājās.

[**] gōtra-Kaṇvasabrahmachāri-brāhmanā-ādityaravi | tathā Tāpiṣṭhu(s)ra | Indraśūra | Iṣvara | tathā Vatsa-sāgōtra-Bhāṭ[f*]y-ī(a)-
[**] dhyāpaka | Gōpāditya | Vāda | Viṣākha | Agniṣarmma | Bhaṭṭigaṇa | Drōṇa | Māha-
[**] (tha)rasa-sāgōtra-Vīṣākha | Drāha | Nandi | [**]
[**] Rōma | Daunḍag[ti](ya)*sāgōtra-Tāpiṣṭarmma | dvi[**]Tāpiṣṭarmma(rmm) | Drōṇa | Bhaṭṭi | 
[**] Pitṛśārmma | Bhāgvisvāmi | Dattasvāmi | Lākshma-
[**] nyasāgōtra-Dhāra | Dāmadhara | Iṣvara | Kaṇḍināyasa-sāgōtra-Bāva | Gbōsha | Šaila | Kāśyapa-sāgōtra-Bhāṭṭidāma(ma) | Vā(va?)tra[*] | [**]
[**] Háritasa-sāgōtra-Dharmsēdha | Dhaumr[sa]*yana(ṇa)sāgōtra-Karkk-ādhyāpaka | Āvuka | 
[**] Indraśūr-ādī-bhāma-bhāya-sūkhā-krūrī-kūrrīkī-rī-tārī-tīitu-māhā(t)-
[**] prītārī-tūtana-ṃca-puṇa-yāsū-śi(h)bhi vyṛddhēy Kāṛtī-
[**] kyām-udak-ātisargaṃ-ātisariśhō[*] Yātō-śmad-vaśayair Answers-vv-[[a]*]gāmini-bhūga-pati-
[**] bhī prabala-pavana-prītī-bhadī-āra-tāra-ānagha | [**]
[**] chaṇḍīchalaṃ [jīj]vā-lōkam-abhā-ānugataṇa-anasārāvina(bha) vana-drṛggha-kāla-sthēyasā-
[**] cha guṇān-ākālayā saṃadābhā-bhū-
[**] pradāña-phal-ēpaubhī śākara-ruchairā yāsās-chirāya chichśhuhbhīr-ayam-śasad-dā-
[**] ṣō(y)ʾīnumatmvabhāya pālīyitavāyasya[ca] | Yō wājēa- 
[**] na-timira-pātal-āṛita-matir[Achchhinhīyād-achchhidyamānakaṃ vānumodēta sa pachē-
[**] bhīr mahābātankiṣaṃ-sahyuktaś-syād-īty-Uktaṃ cha bhagā |
[**] vata vēdā-vyāṣeṇa Vyāṣeṇa || Shashtīṃ varsha-saharsānī svargge tisthā[t]i bhūmi-daḥ 
[**] achchhētā cha-anumantā na yān eva naraka vāṣa[|]
[**] Vīnḍhyāvatvaśvatavatāvyaṃ śvahka-kōṭara-vāsaṇāhā kriṣṇy-āhāyoh ki jayan[t]bhū[m]ji-d[ā]yaṃ 
[**] harantī yē || Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājaḥbhśr-
[**] gar-ādhibhī yasa yasa yada bhūmīs-tasaya tasaya tadā phalam || Yan(i)ha da[t]āni 
[**] purā narendrāna-iddanāya dharmma-[a]*rīsthā-yaśas-karāpi nirbhukta-
[**] māyla-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar-ādadi(dī)ta || iti [[**] Saṃvatsara-rāṭa-traye 
[**] pačch-aśī(śīly-amah) rīṣkō-ka-paurṇāmāyaṃ
[**] likhitaṃ sandhi[ndhi]vyijṛahādīhikarāṇādhibhīkhikaṃ(kri)ta-Rē[v]ēpa svā-mukh-aśīfayāṇi[ || ] |
[**] Saṃ 300 80 5 Kārktika bhū(su) 10 5 [[]**] Di[nakara]nara-ṁarā-ā-
[**] rechhina-ratasya Śrī-Vitarāga-sō[n]ḥ s(v)a-[hastrō-yaṃ] Prāśāntarāgasaya ||

Translation.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) Nāṃdī-
puri;—

(L. 1.)—In the lineage, like to the great
ocean, of the Gūrja-ra kings,—which irra-
diates all the faces of the regions with the
wealth of its various and spotless virtuous qualities,
as the ocean does with its jewels); (and, as in

[**] and [**] in each case, the mark of punctuation is
unnecessary; especially in the former case, standing, as
it does, in the middle of a word.
[**] so, devīya.
[**] In No. CXXXIX. l. 37, this name is written Vatra.
[**] The words chītārrvīṛṣaya-parikšāpana-pārvanā,

No. CXXXIX.,—(there was) the Sāmanta
Daḍḍa, who,—like the kaustubha-jewel, born
along with Śrī (and) resting over the heart of
Krāṣṇa,—dispelled the mass of the darkness
of the Kali age with the multitude of the rays
of (his) spotless fame; who, being possessed of
good adherents, uprooted the descendants of
the family of the hostile Nāgas, just as

which precede ālī ṣ, in No. CXXXIX. l. 42, are
omitted here.
[**] From here, to the end, is in current-hand characters.
See note 21 above.
[**] See note 22 above.
AN OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTION AT HADALI.

BY K. B. PÁTHAK, B. A., BELGAUM.

Hadali, a village belonging to the Rámdurg State in the Southern Maráthá country, is eight miles to the east of Nargund in the Navalgund Táliká of the Dharwád District. The inscription now published is on a stone at the temple of the god Kalamésvára. No information is forthcoming as to the sculptures on the stone. The writing covers a space of

3" 4" high by 2' 2½" broad. The characters are well formed Old-Canarese characters of the period. The language is Old-Canarese throughout.

The inscription is of the time of the Western Chálukya king Tribhuvanamallá II. or Viśrámádityā VI.; and it is dated on Monday, the first day of the bright fortnight

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See note 32 above.

The meaning of surva-dáma-sutigráhagá is not apparent.
of the month Chaitra of the Raktākshi
sāvaitasa, which was the ninth year of
the Chālukya-Vikramavarsa,—i.e. Saka 1006
(A.D. 1084-5).

The inscription first praises the Four-hun-
dred-and-twenty Mahājanas of Pādraukun or
Pādālukun, which is evidently the old name of
Hadal itself. It then mentions a saint named
Dēvasāktipāṇḍita, and his disciple Jānāsākti-
pāṇḍita. And it then records some grants
made by the latter to the god Gavārēvāra and
for other purposes.

**Transcription.**

[1] Namas-tuṅga-sīra-chunbhi-chāndra-chānara-chāravā | traṭīkāya-nagar-ā-
[2] raṁbha-milatstāmbhāya | Mahādēvāya namaḥ ||  *
[3] Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrīprithiviballbha mahārājaḥdhirāja paramēvaram parama-
[4] bhaṭṭārakaṃ | Satyāryakutātiḻakaṃ Chālukyābharaṇaṃ śīristra-Tribhuvanamalla-
dēvāra rā-
[5] jyan=uttarātār-ābhivṛddhält(ṛddhi)-pravardhdha(ṛddha) mānaṃ-ā-çandrā ārkkā- tāraṅ
d barāṁ su led taṃ || Śīrinā-Chā.-
[6] ṭukya-Vikrama-varshada 91eyā Raktākshi-saṅivatsarāda Chaitra-su(ṣu)dhādhā(ṛddha)l Sōma
vārad-anu[19] || Svasti Ya-
pannam=appa
[8] ṇādi-saṁśiṭaḍīḍā[ddh(a)]=ggarud(t)a-prasatśīṭhitar=amōgha-varāha-pratisāţa
- āvija= kula-
tīlaḷkar=saṣaṭa-sōma-saṁśīṭ-āvya-
[9] bhṛt(ḥ)-iavagāhāna-pavitrākri(kṛi)ta-śāliva
shaṭ-karmma-nirata-atiṭhi-abhyāgata-visi(ṣi)
shāṭaṇa-pūj-oṭtsā-
[10] har=vyavahāra-Chaturmukhar=ssa(ṣa)a-raṣ-āḡata-vajra-paṇjarar=āṣira-jana-kalpa-vrikhar=
dvātrāṇiṣṭa-sa-
[11] haṃsya-samay-ārghy-ārhar Śri-Bhāravāra-rakṣaṇiṭya=ddushta-nigrahā-visi(ṣi)ṣaṭa-pratisā-
ṭi[19] nāraka=appa
[12] śīristra-Parddala nālūrīṛppadīmbara || Śaraṇyano kāvar-īva=raḥ-arṣṭiḥe vipra=kula-
pradiṣpat=īṭvara-
[13] charanābha-bhṛtīngar=adhirak=saṣaḍ dharmmada Mērugal=diṣṭāntara-yaṣṭi-uttamara=ggaru=
gaṇa
vēḍ-āgaṃ-sāstrada pariṇa-
[15] tiyo=Ajaṅge tāme dor[e] Padmabhava[m] dor[e] tamago pegaro=āvano dore vipra=kula-
pradiṣpator=vasu-
appa[19]
[17] Sa لما ta varṣhāṃ tapadolu satutatam=Īśana pādpadamamaṇā pūjisidar-khiti-vale(la)yaṇa
pogale guṇ-ā(ś).
[18] nnaṭar=enisida Dēvasāktipaṇḍita-muniṇpāṇi || Tat(ch)-si(chhi)ṣy(a)hy(a) || Bhuvanado=
negal[da] Paldala Padgāvēvarada-
[19] ili Śivane Kāḷāmukhan-āṅ-gavatārisiṇaṇ=÷emh-aṁte-vol-iḍār=Nyyā(jā)naṣakti-
paṇḍitadēvar || Hara-chara-
[20] nā sarāṛuha-madhukhar=ina-sama-tājar-amala=chārtiṭra=bbhāh(bbḥā)sura-yati-hṛt-padma-
sarvāra-haṁsar=Nyyā(jā)ṇa-
[21] śaktipaṇḍitadēvar || Śērag-ilad=vār dānadoj=Araviṇda-priyta-tanuṇanaṃ śuchitanda=[
Marutāṭma-
[22] =emh=īvaro=dore paṇḍita-puṇḍarika-vana-māttadēvar || Vṛṣi || Smāra-paritāpamaṇa
ṭoṣedan=āśramadīm viṣa-

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1 From Mr. Fleet’s ink-impression; revised by Mr. Fleet.

* This instance is noteworthy, as showing the current pronunciation of āṭ.
Translation.

Salutation to Śambhu, who is adorned with the moon resembling a chaúri resting on his lofty forehead, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Salutation to Mahadāva!

(L. 3.)—Hail! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvana mañalla déva,—the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Śrī and of the earth, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyārāya, the ornament of the Chaúrya, was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the sun and moon and stars might last:—

* The a is lengthened by metrical license.
* It has to be scanned as if written Nyāna-akuti.
* Soma-sanasthi is the name of the fifth division of the Sāma-Samhita, which is the seventh of the seven sāma-samhitas. The seven sāma-samhitas alluded to, are the Agnisthāma, Nyāna-akuti, Ukhya, Sāhāṣṇa, Atihrātra, Viśuṣṭa and Agnisthāma.
who delighted in honouring guests, strangers, and excellent people; who were like Chaturmukha in the practical concerns of life; who were a cage of thunder-bolts to those who took refuge with them; who were like the Kalpa-tree to their dependents; who deserved worship during thirty-two thousand ceremonies; who were protected by the holy Bhravas; who punished the wicked and protected the virtuous. How blessed are the good Brhmaṇas of Paḍalū, distinguished in the world as rivaling Sarasvajätā; who protected the man who sought their aid; who conferred favours on him who begged of them; who were the lights of Brhmaṇ families; who were bees on the lotus-like feet of Śiva; who were excellent; who resembled mount Mēru in devotion; whose fame spread to the ends of the world; who were good and great by reason of their numerous virtues. They alone were equal to Aja, on account of their proficiency in the excellent Vedic lore and the Śastras; and the Padmabhava was equal to them; who else in the world could rival these lights of Brhmaṇ families?

(L. 16.)—The sage Dēvaśaktipāṇḍita, endowed with the qualities of yama, niyama, svadhya, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, mānu-nāushadha, and exalted by virtues, performed austerities for a hundred years, and continually worshipped the lotus-like feet of Śiva to the admiration of the world.

(L. 18.)—His disciple, Jñānaśaktipāṇḍitaśiva, has descended onto the earth, just as Śiva himself appeared as Kālmukha in the temple of Gavärēvara of Paḍalū, renowned in the world. Jñānaśaktipāṇḍitāśiva was a bee on the lotus-like feet of Hara; he was as brilliant as the sun, of pure conduct, and a swan in the lake which was the lotus-like hearts of glorious ascetics. He was like Karpa in boundless liberality, like Mārtiti in purity of conduct, and a very son to scholars resembling a forest of lotuses. He easily vanquished the pangs of love, and subdued all the passions; and, thus praised by the world and captivated by the charms of consistent speech, he became the husband of the lady Emancipation. The life of Jñānaśaktidēva in regard to things movable and immovable, was everywhere wonderful to contemplate. Of all gifts, the gift of education and the gift of food are the best; therefore Jñānaśakti, the chief of ascetics, attained a high distinction in the world on account of these. Jñānaśakti purchased with money, and allotted into the hands of the Four-hundred-and-twenty (Mahājanas) of the glorious agrahar Paḍalū, as a sarvamahā-small grant for the god Gavārēvara, five māttaras of waste culturable land, to the west of the culturable land of the satra on the north-east of the village. Also, for the purpose of giving education, (he allotted) five māttaras of manyavarisa, to the north of the road to Posagere, and received and allotted as a sarvamahā-small grant, four māttaras to the west of the field of the god Ardhapārśvara of Vasu (or Hasu). Also (he allotted) one māttar of flower-garden (land), to the south of the garden of Būha on the road leading to Kaṭirmidi and to the east of the village. The Four-hundred-and-twenty (Mahājanas) shall protect this act of religion!

(L. 33.)—He who destroys this, shall incur the great sin of having killed a thousand tawny-coloured cows at Varaṣe or a thousand Brhmaṇs at Kurukṣetra, or a crore of ascetics at Śomēvara! “This bridge of religion is common to kings, and should be protected by you from time to time”; thus does Rāmaḥadra often entreat all future kings! He who appropriates land, whether given by himself or by another is born as a worm in oreum for sixty thousand years!

(L. 37.)—The poet Tajara-Karparasa,—who wrote elegant verses, and who was the son-in-law of the glorious Mahāsudhakīvra, the Danadvēṣaka Kālidosbhajita, wrote (this). His father was Chandra, a very sun in the sky of a Brhmaṇ family; his mother was Chāmbike, who acted virtuously; his father-in-law was Śri-Kālidāsa, of pure and exalted fame, praised by the world; the god worshipped by him was Umāvara, adored by the whole world;—thus did the earth ever extol Karpa, the father of a group of learned men. The writing (is) of Kāvēja, a very Vidgītāhara in architecture.

* Ekka is a corruption of ekka-kōṭi; ekka is a Prakrit form of ēka, 'one.'
THE DATE OF ŚAṆṆARĀCHĀRYA.

BY K. T. TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

In the very interesting and valuable appendix on the chronology of ancient and mediæval Sanskrit Literature, which Professor Max Müller has added to his recent lectures on India: What it can teach us, that learned scholar has said that we are now in possession of the date of the birth of the great philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya. On looking into the authority to which he refers for this information, we find that it is derived from a stanza in a work, the age and author of which are not specified, and the credibility of which, therefore, as a historical or chronological authority, it is not easy to determine. It does appear, however, from what is said about the work by Mr. K. B. Phāṭak, who introduces it to public notice, that it must have been written some considerable time after the age in which Madhvāchārya flourished—that is to say, some considerable time after the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Now the date of Śaṅkarāchārya, mentioned in this stanza being 788 A.D., I own that I am not at all prepared to accept the testimony of a work belonging, at the earliest, to about the end of the twelfth century, as anything like conclusive on the point. We have no means of finding out, or of forming an opinion upon, the value of the materials from which the date was ascertained. And three hundred and fifty years is too long an interval to permit us to dispense with an examination of those materials.

In a note on Mr. Phāṭak’s essay which appeared in the Indian Antiquary, from the pen of its editor, it was pointed out that the date yielded by the stanza in question had already been mentioned by Prof. Tiele in his History of Ancient Religions, published in 1877. The editor, apparently, was not aware of the source from which Professor Tiele had derived his information. But in a note to my translation of the Bhāagvadagītā in Prof. Max Müller’s series of Sacred Books of the East, I had suggested it as probable that the source was the Arvyādīvādādikāra of the late lamented Yajñavāla Śāstri. The words of the stanza quoted by that venerable scholar, whose recent death is an almost irreparable loss to us all—coincide very nearly with the words of the stanza as published by Mr. Phāṭak. They are not, however, quoted by Yajñavāla Śāstri as from any particular author, but as what is said by the Śaṅkarācārya;—those conversant with tradition. This does not by any means enhance the weight due to the stanza as a historical authority. Yajñavāla Śāstri also quotes another stanza from Bhaṭṭa Nīlakanṭha’s Śaṅkarācāryadāsāvarśā which gives the same date; but I am unable to say whether that work was sufficiently near in time to Śaṅkarāchārya to be worthy of acceptance as an authority of much weight.

Now, these stanzas may, perhaps, be provisionally accepted as useful evidence, in default of all other, but even thus they must be received with caution, until we are in possession of their credentials, and then their value must be judged of from the character of such credentials. The necessity of caution is illustrated by the history of this very question of the age of Śaṅkarāchārya. In the Indian Antiquary, vol. VII, p. 282, we have an extract from the Kṛta-lītāpati which yields 400 A.D., as the year of Śaṅkara’s birth. It also states that Śaṅkara died when he was 33 years of age, while Mr. Phāṭak’s stanzas state his age to have been then only 32, and on this circumstance is based a story which is recorded in Mādhava’s Śaṅkarāvijaya. Which of these two statements are we to accept? On what historical grounds

1 Vide pp. 354-360.
3 See Yajñavāla Śāstri’s Arvyādīvādādikāra, p. 226; Gītāchārya Karbhākara’s Bhāgavatābhāshā, p. 8; and Conf. Bart’s ‘Religions of India,’ p. 195; Burnett’s ‘South Indian Palaeography,’ p. 42.
4 It is due to Mr. Phāṭak to state that he does not put forward on behalf of this stanza in question any claim so high as Professor Max Müller seems to have done.
5 See vol. XI, p. 283.
6 See p. 27. M. Barth refers to Weber’s Indische Studien, vol. XIV, p. 375, but the date there given is awfully taken from the Arvyādīvādādikāra.
is the testimony of such a work as the Kēra-
lōgopātī to be rejected in favour of such stanzas
as we have referred to? I will not dwell on
other traditions, or even on those, and they are
not few, which bear upon the date of Śaṅkara-
chārya. But I shall now proceed to show
some specific grounds for rejecting the evidence
of the stanza relied on by Prof. Max Muller.

And, first, in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara-chārya
on Vṛ vedanta Sūtra II, 1, 17, we read as follows:—
(I omit the portions which are not material for
our present purpose) 

Now it seems safe to infer from this passage,
that both Śrūgghna and Pātaliputra must
have been in existence at the time when it was
written. The gist of the argument is plainly
in the distance of the two places named being
such that a man who is in one of them on one
day cannot on the same day be in the other.
And such a distance could not be predi-
cated of any two places like these, unless
both of them were real existing places at the
time. Now the evidence has been indicated
above, which shows that Pātaliputra was de-
stroyed by a river inundation about the middle

10 See Inter alia Barth’s Religions of India, p. 53 notes,
and see also the Kṣāytrarātra, pp. 6 and 7. One of the
dates there given (p. 6) is stated to have been deduced
by the late Dr. Bhaṭṭa Dījī from a stanza like those refer-
red to but not at all so explicit.
11 See also Sūrvikā Bhāṣya (Bibi. Ind. ed.) p. 1093,
where Śrūgghna, Pātaliputra, and Mādhava are mentioned
united. This lends some support to the argument in
the text. It may, of course, be suggested (Conf. Ind. Ant. vol.
IV, p. 246) that these may have been merely conventional
examples, as Śrūgghna, Mādhava, and Pātaliputra are
all referred to in various places in Pātanjali’s Mahābhā-
shaya, for instance, and at least once in a similar context.
Conf. Mahābhāshya, as quoted by Professor Weber, Ind.
Ant., vol. VI, p. 553. But in the first place, the ex-
ample as given by Śaṅkara, is adapted to the requirements of his
particular argument, not merely repeated verbatim from
Pātanjali; secondly, the examples in Pātanjali belong to
a period when Pātaliputra was still in existence (conf.
as to this Professor Bhāṇḍākar’s view in Indian Anti-
quity, vol. I, 111), while after 756 A.D., according to
the evidence referred to, the illustration, even if a
conventional one, would have ceased to illustrate any-
thing in such an argument as Śaṅkara’s, and thereforc
would scarcely have been employed in the context we
have here.

of the 8th century A.D. If that evidence
can be accepted, it follows that the author
of the passage above set out must have flourished
before 756 A.D., and if so, it further fol-

12 See Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Report, vol. VIII,
90; J. A. S. B. vol. XVII, p. 35. But see, too, Indian
Antiquity, vol. XI, p. 19, where the original passage is
differently rendered. The discrepancy is vital on this
point, but though the paper in the Antiquary professes
generally to be a reprint of that in the Journal of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal, no explanation is given of the
discrepancy. It is to be hoped that this matter will be
clarified upon by the future editor of the Antiquary.
For the view op-
posed to that stated in the text, reference may also be
made to Downen and Eliot’s Hist., vol. I, p. 56, and
for what it is worth—i.e. Eggleton’s Journals, vol. II,
Part II, pp. 20. As to Śrūgghna, see Cunningham’s Arch.

13 P. 58 [Edn. Ind., ed.]}
say that the parallel he draws is between two propositions, which may be thus conveniently expressed—(a), before Pūrṇavarman’s coronation, a son of a barren woman was king; and, (b), before creation non-entity was in existence.

Now in this passage, it seems impossible to avoid the inference, that Pūrṇavarman here is not an ordinary Dāsavadatta or Caius, but a real personage, and a king. And if we go through the various lists of kings with names ending in Varmā, which we have from still extant records—through the long lists of the Kōdambas of Vanavasi, the Pallavas of Vengi, the Chāndellās of Mahābā, the Mānuṣkaris of Magadha, the Utpalas of Kāśmir, and other kings of such names in other dynasties, all aggregating upwards of sixty kings, we find the name Pūrṇavarman only twice. Of these one Pūrṇavarman is met with in two inscriptions at Āvaya. The discoverer of the inscriptions suggests, that this Pūrṇavarman must be either identical with the other Pūrṇavarman or must have been so named after him. But however that may be, I think that this Javanese Pūrṇavarman is not in the least likely to have been alluded to by Śaṅkarāchārya. There is then, only one Pūrṇavarman to whom we can apply the allusion under consideration, and this is the king of that name mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang. He was a king of Western Magadha, and as we learn from Mādhavāchārya’s book that Śaṅkarāchārya was at Bānāras just before and immediately after he actually wrote his Bhāṣya,—having merely retired to the quiet of Badari to write it out,—we thus obtain a probable explanation of this reference to Pūrṇavarman, which supports the identification suggested. It is true that the Śaṅkaśāraṇīyāya which has been fathered upon Anandagiri, seems to speak of the Bhāṣya as having been written by Śaṅkarā before he left the south.18 But the departure from the south there spoken of is the departure on his great intellectual campaign, while Mādhava in the passage referred to, speaks of a visit to Bānāras before that campaign was commenced or thought of. The account given by the pseudo-Anandagiri, therefore, is not necessarily inconsistent with that of Mādhava. M. Barth, too, in his recent work on Indian Religions, seems to be disposed to hold that Śaṅkarā wrote his Bhāṣya in the south, but he adduces no specific reasons for his opinion. And on such a point as this, I am quite content to follow the guidance of Mādhava’s book, more especially because of two corroborative circumstances. In the first place, Bānāras has always held the position of the centre of religions and literary activity in this country, from the time of Buddha, down to our own day. And, secondly, while Śaṅkarā’s works contain, so far as I have looked into them, no allusions suggestive of associations with men or things of the south, the passages above cited refer to places to the north of the Vindhyas. These circumstances though not, perhaps, of much weight in themselves, are of some use as corroboration of the statement of Mādhava, which is in itself entirely free from any taint of improbability.

Thus far, therefore, we have reached the conclusion that Śaṅkarāchārya’s Bhāṣya was written after the coronation of Pūrṇavarman, who was a king of the province where the Bhāṣya was projected and first published. Can we fairly draw any further conclusion from the materials before us? Without blinking the fact that we are now getting upon somewhat debatable

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18 See Ind. Ant. vol. III p. 182; vol. X, p. 249; vol. XII, p. 193; vol. XI, p. 193; Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Report, vol. V, 445; Prinsep’s U. T. (Thomas, ed.), vol. II, p. 245; Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Reports, vol. XV, pp. 164-5; see too, Sewall’s Indian Dynasties, p. 43; Max Müller’s India; what it can teach us, pp. 285; Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 113; Prinsep’s U. T., pp. 291, 309; J. A. S. B., vol. XXXII, pp. 154, 156; vol. XLVII, p. 75; vol. XLVIII, p. 253; Burgess’s Arch. Surv. Report, vol. III, p. 100 (citing Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 150); Barnall, South-Indian Palaeography (2nd ed.), pp. 34, 35n; Sewall, Lists of Antiquities of Madras, pp. 18, 19, 27; J. R. A. S. vol. XX, p. 463; J. B. B. A. S. vol. XXI, p. 289. Some of the references here given contain the same lists of princes, but it has been thought desirable, on some points, to give all the references accessible, except when only single kings are named.


20 Canto VI, st. 56.

21 Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 237.


23 See also Bhāṣya on Bhāṣyabhaṣya Upaniṣad, pp. 719, 721, among other passages.

ground, for myself I think, on the materials before us, we can conclude that Śaṅkara-chārya and Pṛṇavarmā were contemporaries, that at least the first chapter of the Ā śāhāya was written before Pṛṇavarmā’s death.

Firstly, I should deduce that conclusion from the mere mention of Pṛṇavarmā itself; there being no reason why a king who had ceased to reign should be preferred to one who was actually reigning. Secondly, for the purposes of such an illustration as that which Śaṅkara gives, there was a positive reason for naming a living king as the least likely to be regarded as निवानपन्य, or unreal, among a people deficient in the historic sense. And, thirdly, there was a strong reason why Pṛṇavarmā should not have been specially selected for such an illustration, if he was not a contemporary reigning sovereign, because whereas Śaṅkara-chārya was a Brahmana, and intellectually an opponent of Buddhism, all we know of Pṛṇavarmā is that he signalized himself by an act of very pronounced and unmistakable activity in support of a most important Buddhist institution, namely, the celebrated Boddhi Tree of Buddha Gayā—and this, be it remembered, after an attempt had been made by a contemporary Brahmanical king to destroy it. It seems to me that the probabilities are all against a Brahmanical writer alluding by preference, even for purposes of mere illustration, to such a Buddhist king, unless there was some connection of some sort between them. Such a connection we find, I think, if we assume that the Buddhist king was the sovereign reigning at the time when the Brahmanical writer flourished, and in the province where he lived. If this argument be correct, it follows that Śaṅkara-chārya flourished in the reign of king Pṛṇavarmā of Magadhā.

Now Huen Tsian’s visit to this country extended from 629 to 645 A.D., of which he spent two years, 637-638, in Magadhā where Pṛṇavarmā reigned, and where the Boddhi-tree grew. He speaks of Pṛṇavarmā as having been the last of the descendants of Aśoka, and does not appear to have made any effort to see either him or any one of his successors.39, 40 I am disposed, from these facts, to infer that Pṛṇavarmā had ceased to reign before Huen Tsian heard of him. And as this must have occurred not later than about 637-638, it may be inferred that Pṛṇavarmā must have lived somewhere about the latter end of the sixth century A.D. General Cunningham, in his Archæological Survey Report for 1871-2, places Pṛṇavarmā about 590 A.D.41 But in his Report for 1879-80, he brings the date down to 630 A.D., and adds this observation:—“Pṛṇavarmā's date is taken from the Chinese Pilgrim, Huen Tsian.” I confess I cannot follow this reasoning. To my mind, it would be a most extraordinary circumstance for Huen Tsian to have failed to visit Pṛṇavarmā, and to keep a record of the visit, if Pṛṇavarmā was living when Huen Tsian was in the country. And as he makes no allusion whatever to any such visit, and describes Pṛṇavarmā as the last of Aśoka’s descendants,42 I infer from this, that Pṛṇavarmā had been long dead, and that his kingdom had assumed a quite subordinate position under some more powerful sovereign. On these grounds I am disposed to support General Cunningham’s first date as likely to be nearer the truth than his last. We must, however, for a final settlement of this question, await those further materials which, in 1873, General Cunningham hoped to collect touching the history of the Varmās, the Guptas, and the Pālas.

Another mode of fixing the date of Pṛṇavarmā is to ascertain the date of Śaṇīkā,43 the king of Kāraṇavarmā, who endeavoured to

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38 See Śivākra ṛāhāya, p. 531, a passage which (as also Bṛhad-ṛāṇaya: Upaniṣad, p. 404) should be added to those referred to in the note Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 289.
39 Cunningham Arch. Surv. Report, vol. III, p. 60; see too, Dr. Kṛṣṇadāshi Mitra’s Buddha Gayā, pp. 97, 99, 346. Dr. Kṛṣṇadāshi’s dates agree with those originally suggested by General Cunningham.
40 The Brahmanical king is not named, but referred to merely as the Gauda king in the Harshchrānta, p. 56; Huen Tsian calls him Śaṇīkā. In his Introduction to the Kāla-kunti (p. 72), Professor Peterson identifies him with Śaṇīkā, sp. quæra. As to Śaṇīkā, see infra, Hall’s Pāṇduvali, p. 18.
destroy the great Boddhi tree at Buddha Gayä, which Pûrvavarmá successfully reinvigorated. Now this Saśāṅka was identical with the Saśāṅka, who, according to Huien Tsang, treacherously murdered Rájyavardhana, the elder brother of Harshavardhana Silalāitya. Dr. Fergusson places Rájyavardhana and his father, Prahákhara-vardhana, between 580 and 610 A.D. But Professor Max Müller brings down both those kings to the period between 600 and 610 A.D. According to these dates Saśāṅka must, in all probability, have been still living about 605 A.D. If Huien Tsang’s account of Saśāṅka’s treachery is true, and Bāna as pointed out in the note below, corroborates that account, it is not likely that he would attempt the destruction of the Boddhi tree, after having set a neighbouring province against himself by murdering its sovereign, who, even in Saśāṅka’s own estimation, was “a wise king.” Therefore, Pûrvavarmá’s reinvigoration of the Boddhi tree probably took place about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., if Professor Max Müller is right, and some time in the end of the sixth century, if Dr. Fergusson is right. However that may be, it is not worth while to go very deep into the question of these dates at present. My friend, Mr. P. M. Mehta, has been kind enough to help me in understanding various passages in Huien Tsang, which bear upon the question, and on the date of the accession of Harshavardhana, which, I thought, was placed some five or ten years too late by both Dr. Fergusson and Professor Max Müller. I cannot, however, discuss these questions on such materials, and five or ten years earlier or later involves too small a difference to be important for our present purpose. I am content, therefore, to accept the beginning of the seventh century A.D., as a period down to which we can trace Pûrvavarmá as reigning in Magadha, and that is about the time, therefore, when Saṇkarāchāryā must have composed his great Sārtaka Būdha-bhāṣya.

There is another line of investigation which leads us to a date so near this, that in spite of certain circumstances which tend to discredit our guides, I think it desirable to make a brief reference to it. In the Tamil Chronicle entitled Kōṇjugāthākaḷ, in the Mackenzie Collection, there is a statement that Saṇkarāchāryā converted to Saivism a king named Tiruvikrama-deva, Chakravarti. In 1848, Professor Dowson, commenting on this statement, put forward a suggestion that it was incorrect in mentioning Tiruvikrama I, instead of Tiruvikrama II. And by calculating backwards from the last king mentioned in the Chronicle, on an average duration of the reigns, Professor Dowson came to the conclusion that Tiruvikrama I lived in the 6th and Tiruvikrama II in the 8th century A.D. It will be perceived, that if the statement in the Chronicle and Professor Dowson’s calculations can be accepted, the conclusion reached is in very fair agreement with that which we have been led to on other and independent data. But in 1874, Professor Bhāndākar took up the subject, and in the light of information derived from certain copperplates then recently discovered, came to the conclusion, that 49 if the king con-

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38 Conf. Müller: Ind. Ant.: What it can teach us, p. 287.
41 Ind. Ant.: What it can teach us, p. 289-90. Professor Max Müller’s view is based to a considerable extent on the date of the battle of Korur being 544 A.D. But Dr. Ferguson seems inclined to place that date about 20 years earlier, see his Saśāṅka and other erra, p. 18, an essay first separately printed; (the references in this paper are to that edition) but since published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N. S.), vol. XII. I find, too, from Dr. Burgess’s Arch. Surv. Report, vol. III, p. 28, that Mrs. Reinaud placed Harshavardhana’s accession in 607 A.D. Conf. also Fulse’s Cathay, vol. I, p. ix-
43 My doubt is based on this, that the activity of Harshavardhana (described at Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 195), implies a longer duration than 20 years. Dr. Burnell, (S. Ind. Paleography, p. 18), places the commencement of the reign of Pulakéci II at 610 A.D., but puts the defeat of Harshavardhana by him near the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century. General Cunningham gives the same date as M. Reinaud in his Ancient Geography, p. 575, and J. R. A. S. (N. S.) vol. III, p. 221. But see, too, J. R. A. S. vol. XVII, p. 38, for the General’s former opinion. General Cunningham’s date, the beginning of the seventh century, for Saśāṅka’s indisputable part in the affair of the Boddhi tree (see Ancient Geography, p. 590), Arch. Surv. Report, III, p. 90, seems far inferior only, and not, as I thought at first, based on an explicit statement of Huien Tsang’s. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc., N. S., vol. VI, p. 248, where the date is indicated thus—5953.
44 This was mentioned long ago in Cavelli Veśākā’s Bāja-śarāvtā’s Decan Poets, and in the Kavi-charita, probably following this, see p. 7.
verted to the Śaiva faith was Tiruvikrama I, Śaṅkarāchārya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if it was Tiruvikrama II in the sixth century." Professor Bhāyādkārkar further pointed out that the latter date, that is, the date in the sixth century, viz., 526 A.D. "curiously enough, agrees with that given in the Chronicle, while the former does not." Therefore, if we adopt the dates yielded by the copper-plate on which Professor Bhāyādkārkar's calculation is based, then Professor Dowson's suggestion leads us to very nearly the same date for Śaṅkarāchārya, as we have ourselves arrived at. But now come the circumstances to which we have alluded above, as presenting some difficulty in the way of accepting this conclusion, in the present condition of our knowledge of these matters. Dr. Burnell, in his Elements of South Indian Palaeography, says the king mentioned in the Koṅgudāśārājāla, as having been converted by Śaṅkarāchārya, is a king of the Chālukya dynasty. In giving the family line of that dynasty, Dr. Burnell has this note on the name of Vīrakarīyāyita, the son of the famous Satyārāya Pulakṣi II, who was a contemporary of Huen Tsiang:— "According to the Koṅgudāśārājāla, Śaṅkarāchārya lived during this reign, a statement nearly correct." Now, with reference to the first part of this remark, it strikes me as strange, that Dr. Burnell should have dealt with the subject of it so summarily, when we have the statement of Professor Dowson (who was the first to give a full account of the Koṅgudāśārājāla), that the king referred to was—not one of the Chālukyas, but—one of the so-called Chēra or Gāṅga kings. Of course, it is not contended, that Professor Dowson must needs be right, but it is plain that Dr. Burnell's statement cannot be accepted against Professor Dowson's,

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without an examination of the reasons on which it is based. And these reasons Dr. Burnell has not adduced. Turning next to the second part of Dr. Burnell's remark, we find him saying that the statement is "nearly correct," that Śaṅkarāchārya lived during the reign of a king who flourished, according to him, between 652 and 680 A.D. For an explanation of this remark, we must look to Dr. Burnell's Preface to the Śātravādāna Brāhmaṇa, where he says, "with reference to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa:— "That he lived about 650-700, I think there can in future be no doubt." From this, of course, Śaṅkarā's date is easily deduced, as, according to our native traditions, Śaṅkarā was an eye-witness of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's self-immolation." Now this date of Kumārila, about which "there can in future be no doubt" is arrived at, it must be remembered, on the authority of a work written as late as 1608 by a writer who was at that time about 30 years of age. And I am unable to accept implicitly the very positive conclusion of Dr. Burnell, having regard to the fact that it is based on a statement made in 1608, about an event which, according to the statement itself, took place nearly a thousand years before that time. Leaving aside this initial difficulty, when we come to look into the detailed reasons set forth by Dr. Burnell for his conclusion, we find further difficulties. According to the Tibetan sources on which he relies, Kumārila lived at the same time with Dharmakīrti, who flourished in the reign of Srong-gtan-gam-po, which extended from 629 to 658 A.D. On this Dr. Burnell proceeds to argue, that as Huen Tsiang who left India in 645 A.D. does not mention Kumārila,—"the great and dangerous Brāhmaṇa enemy of the Buddhists"—Kumārila cannot have lived be-

600. Ānandagiri's Śaṅkarāvijaya, p. 236. Dr. Burnell expressly places Śaṅkara about 560 to 700 A.D. South Indian Palaeography, p. 37, and about 700 A.D., p. 111. The former date is adopted by Mr. Sewell, Lists of Antiquities in Madras, p. 177.

See Max Müller, India: What it can teach us, p. 360, where Professor Max Müller gives his own estimate of Tarkāṇṭha's work; see also Ind. J., p. 360, where he speaks of Dr. Burnell as having had great faith in Tarkāṇṭha's History of Indian Buddhism: see his Aincr Grammarians, pp. 5, 6 and Conf. Jour. R. A. S. (N.S.), vol. VI, p. 254. The portion of the work which relates to the point here discussed appears in the Ind. Jour., vol. IV, p. 865. It seems to place Śaṅkara before Kumārila, and distinguishes between Kumārila and Bhaṭṭa, whom it calls a disciple of Śaṅkara. This is not a narrative which can be implicitly accepted as an authority.
fore 645 A.D. Now, it is easy to see, that in reasonings based on such grounds, a mistake to the extent of a whole century might occur, even although the positive dates were well settled. This becomes obvious, if we substitute Nawā Phaḍānāvari for Kumārila, Lord Lyndhurst for Dharmakīrti, and Queen Victoria for Srongtsan-gam-po, in the above argument. Such a substitution can be made very fairly, yet if we follow Dr. Burnell’s line of argument, we come to the mistaken conclusion that Nawā Phaḍānāvari (who really died in 1800) lived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And the mistake would become greater, in proportion to the future duration of the reign under which we now live. I say nothing here regarding the second branch of Dr. Burnell’s argument. But if allowance is made for the liability to error in the calculation above set forth, I think the circumstance noted by Dr. Burnell may really be regarded, not as contradictory, but as corroborative, of the conclusion we have reached, namely, that Śaṅkarāchārya and Kumārila lived about the latter half of the sixth century of the Christian era. While, therefore, Dr. Burnell’s remarks throw doubt on the validity of the argument based on Śaṅkarāchārya’s relations with the Čhāra king, Tiruvikramadeva; and while too, they cannot be regarded as correct, in so far as they are used to support the positive conclusion which he has drawn; they may fairly be used in support of the conclusion we have here arrived at.

The second circumstance alluded to above has the effect of strengthening our misgivings about the soundness of the argument based on the Kāṇḍeśicārājākāl. Mr. Fleet denounces as forgeries, the copper-plates by which the Kāṇḍeśicārājākāl was supposed to be corroborated, and from which the date of Śaṅkarāchārya was deduced. In view of the circumstances alluded to already, it is hardly desirable to enter here on a consideration of the point raised by Mr. Fleet. Whether that conclusion be right or wrong, it is plain that while a doubt is raised, by a competent authority like Mr. Fleet, as to the genuineness of these documents, it is impossible to accept any deduction based upon them as satisfactory. And this must be so, even though the deductions be in agreement with the conclusions arrived at from other and independent data.

I have elsewhere pointed out that Mādhava’s Śaṅkaravijaya mentions Bāṣa, Mayūra, and Daṇḍi, as contemporaries of Śaṅkarāchārya. That statement and the conclusion which has been reached in this paper harmonize with and corroborate each other. Daṇḍi is placed by Professors Weber, Bühler, and Max Müller, in the sixth century A.D. Bāṣa and Mayūra, we know to have lived in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., and part of their careers may have fallen in the latter part of the sixth century. These dates and our date for Śaṅkarāchārya would thus seem to be capable of being harmonized pretty fairly, if we refer all these famous men—Bāṣa and Mayūra, Daṇḍi and Śaṅkara to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Let us here do what Professor Max Müller very properly asks us to do—“as much as possible divest ourselves of the idea that Hindu writers always wish to impose upon us, and to make everything as old as possible.” And let us consider that, while, on the one hand, there can be no object in untruly representing Śaṅkarāchārya as having vanquished such writers as Bāṣa, Mayūra, and Daṇḍi in philosophic controversy; on the other, the contemporaneous existence of these

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48 This is on the assumption that the story of the persecution by Kumārila is true. I have long distrusted the story; see some further remarks on it infra. I know of no earlier mention of it than Mādhava’s book (where, however, the Jainas are mentioned as the victims of the persecution), and what calls itself Aṇābādiṇi’s Śaṅkara-vijaya, p. 235. 50 See Mr. Fleet’s essay on Kanorese Dynasties, p. 11, from which an extract bearing upon this point is reprinted at Ind. Ant. vol. XII, p. 111ff. 49 Conf. Professor Egglings’s essay on the Čhāras and Chulukyas, read before the Oriental Congress held in London (see Tübiner’s compilation) and Indian Antiquary, vol. III, p. 193. 51 Conf. Burnell’s S. Indian Palæography, p. 34. Ind. Ant., vol. I, p. 899.
writers with Śaṅkarā is deductible from other and independent arguments. I think if we do this, we may accept the reconciliation of the various statements here proposed. And this is not reasoning in a circle, for we have here two results from two independent sets of data. Those two harmonize pretty well, and they may therefore be legitimately regarded as supporting one another.

Mādhava also mentions Śrī Harsha, the author of the Khaṇḍana, as having been converted by Śaṅkarācārya to his own views. This statement, if we accept the date proposed for the author of the Naśadākhyāya by Dr. Bühler, is entirely irreconcilable with every one of the dates which has been assigned to Śaṅkarācārya. If Dr. Bühler's view be correct, we must seek for some explanation of the statement in question. The only explanation that occurs to me is, that the Śrī Harsha, with whose name the original tradition connected the name of Śaṅkarācārya, may have been king Harshavardhana Śilāditya, the contemporary of Bāha and Mayūra; that, subsequently, that tradition was misunderstood as applying to the later Śrī Harsha, the author of the Naśadākhyāya, and also of the philosophical treatise Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍadākhyāya; and that in consequence, the original tradition regarding the two having flourished at one time received subsequent acceptions, and was improved upon, since the admirers of Śaṅkarācārya could not think of any philosopher as a contemporary of Śaṅkara, without imagining at once a controversy between them with a resulting victory in favour of their hero. The misunderstanding I suggest was, I think, a likely event, as the later Śrī Harsha was a writer on philosophical topics. And the rest of the suggestion seems to me to be in accord with our ordinary experiences of the history of oral tradition.

In conclusion, I have recently heard from Professor R. G. Bhājādārkar that he has arrived at pretty much the same date as is here put forward, on entirely independent grounds. His argument will necessarily involve a modification of the remark of Dr. Burnell, with reference to the statement of the Kūṅgūkācārya. But as Professor Bhājādārkar's view will be published soon, it is not desirable that I should say more than that it gives me great pleasure to think that the conclusions of this note will receive such valuable corroboration.

Since writing the above, a corroboration of the conclusion here arrived at has turned up in an item of the literary history of China, for which we are indebted to the Rev. S. Beal. We learn from Mr. Beal that "during the Ch'en dynasty, which ruled from 557 to 583 A.D.," in China, the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda on the Saṃkhya Kārikā of Īśvākṛṣṇa, was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. Now this Gauḍapāda is stated by Colebrooke to be "the celebrated scholiast on the Upanishads of the Vēdas, and preceptor of Gōvinda, who was preceptor of Śaṅkarācārya," not "preceptor of Śaṅkarācārya" himself, as Mr. Beal puts it by an oversight. And in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya on the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad, which also embraces a Bhāṣya on the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda to that Upanishad, Śaṅkara makes his obeisance to his परम्पुर, who is पूर्वमिच्छुपय- 

referring thus to Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Gōvinda Yati. Now it seems to be scarcely likely that the Chinese translator would translate a work by an author then living. We must therefore allow for the time which must have elapsed between the death of Gauḍapāda and the translation which may have been made, say, about 570 A.D. At that time, probably, if Gōvinda Yati, too, was not already dead, he must have been giving lessons to his distinguished pupil, Śaṅkarācārya. And on a liberal calculation, I do not think that we can bring down the date of Śaṅkarācārya, to any period subsequent to, say, about 590 A.D. Mr. Beal, indeed, having before him only the suggestions of Professor Wilson touching the date of Śaṅkarācārya, did not draw the inference regarding it, which naturally arises

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69 Śaṅkarācārya, canto XV, stanza 157; and see with reference to this Ind. Ant., vol. I, p. 289; also as being indirectly upon it, vol. III, p. 61.
70 J. Ind. Ind. etc., vol. X, p. 93; and vol. XI, p. 292, & seq., I cannot as yet accept Dr. Bühler's view, though I admit his arguments are entitled to much weight. See also on the age of Śrī Harsha, J. A. S. B., vol. XXXIII, p. 387, where Dr. Rājendralall suggests a date earlier than Dr. Bühler's on quite independent evidence.
72 See p. 507 (Bibb. Ind. ed.) Śaṅkara refers to Gauḍapāda, elsewhere also, quoting two of these Kārikās on the Māṇḍūkya. See Śivākara Bhāṣya, pp. 536 and 482; the Kārikās occur at pp. 534, 482 of the Māṇḍūkya (Bibb. Ind. ed.)
73 Wilson refers to Chārāmas Perumal of Malaya. As to that see Sowall's Dynasties of Southern India, pp. 525., and Ind. Ant. there referred to.
THE BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. J. D.

D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

The manner in which this catastrophe occurred serves well to shew the indebtedness of Muslim to Christian literati, and the form which Muslim appreciation and gratitude for the absorbing power of Hinduism, reference may be made inter alia to Lyall's *Basics on Non-missionary Religions*, and to the following:


The existence of Buddhists who in Huen Teang's time could scarcely be distinguished from heretics (J. B. A. S. vol. IX, p. 261), seems to indicate that the gradual assimilation or absorption had then commenced. I am aware that many other scholars agree with Dr. Ferguson. Dr. R. Mitra, for instance, speaks of the "suppression" of Buddhism (J. B. A. S. vol. XXXIII, p. 132); and Mr. Shering of its "departure or rather expulsion" (J. B. A. S., vol. XXXV, p. 67; and vol. XXXIV p. 11). See also J. B. A. S., vol. II, pp. 292, 302, 423; vol. XVI, pp. 220-22. But the existing Buddhist buildings and records appear to indicate a very different conclusion. See on this point Cunningham's *Geog.*, p. 80; J. B. A. S., vol. XI, pp. 24, 249; vol. XII, pp. 253, 297, 311; and J. B. A. S., vol. XIII, p. 10; vol. XIV, pp. 30, 43, 48, 53. The various instances of the Musalman appropriations of the materials of Buddhist buildings (as to which see among many authorities, J. B. A. S., vol. XXXIV, pp. 3, 9; or vol. XLI, pp. 251, 256, 294), point to something like what is expressed in Cunningham's *Buddhist Stupa* already cited, though it is not impossible that the materials borrowed to buildings fallen into disuse. It must suffice to indicate my view. Prof. Rhindich also draws my attention to *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 185; J. B. A. S., vol. XIII, p. 10; Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. VIII, p. 45, as bearing on this topic.

As to the existence of Buddhism down to a late period, conf. in addition to the authorities mentioned in the last note J. B. A. S., vol. XVII, pp. 33, 403, 409; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 49. The information from foreign writers is of great value on this point. Conf. *On Bactria*, by Lee, pp. 111, 152; *Yule's Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 419, 433; *Dowson and Elliot's India*, vol. I, p. 21, 27; *Yule's Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 157, 159, 161. The doubts expressed by the editor of Marco Polo at p. 159, though justified by hitherto received notions, will themselves require reconsideration in view of fresh evidence, some of which has been now indicated.
assumed. 'Amrū ibn-l-ʿĀs, conqueror and governor of Egypt, was an orator and poet, a lover of learning and of learned men. His literary gifts had been displayed in his earlier days, when he (like so many of his fellow-countrymen) wrote lampoons on Muḥammad. This conduct he afterwards came to regret, and embraced The Faith. He was fond of the society of the learned; and he sought to make up, by association with them, for the deficiencies of his early education. He found a congenial companion in a native of Alexandria, the celebrated John the Grammarian,—the last disciple of Ammonius. This man was a Christian, of the sect of the Jacobites, and was surnamed Phīlōpusus, 'a lover of labour',—John the Industrious. He had attained to eminence for his laborious treatises of various kinds,—such as works on Grammar and Philology, and Commentaries on Moses and Aristotle. The Arabian conqueror and chief, being naturally of a more inquiring and liberal spirit than his Muslim co-religionists, interested himself during his leisure hours in conversation with this Christian scholar, and an intimacy was soon formed between them.

Now, after the capture of Alexandria, an account was taken of all the public property; but the collection of books and manuscripts which constituted the Alexandrian library was omitted. It is alleged that, in a unlucky moment, John gave information to 'Amrū of this unnoticed treasure; and that, emboldened by the terms of familiar intercourse which had sprung up between them, the loving student went so far as to ask that the collection might be given to him. In his opinion the treasure was inestimable, 'however contemptible,' to use Gibbon's term, 'it may have been in the estimation of the barbarians.' 'Amrū, it is said, was inclined to gratify the wish of his friend, but could not give effect to his inclinations without first referring the matter to the Khalifa, his master. To this came the famous answer of 'Umar,—an answer embodying a sophism that might have weight: with an ignorant fanatic, but which could only excite the astonishment and regret of a philosopher. If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Qurʾān—the Book of God—they are superfluous, and need not be preserved; but if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed. The sentence was carried out with blind obedience; and the volumes of parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city,—not necessarily to heat them, perhaps, but probably rather to kindle them. Rollin, however, says they were used for fuel instead of wood. However this may be, such was the almost incredible quantity of literature that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. The story is given by Abu'l-Faragius; it is doubted, as every one knows, by Gibbon, but received by many scholars,
among whom are such high authorities as Von Hammer and Poock. 13

One of the arguments on which Gibbon bases his rejection of the story is given in the following words: - 'The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan casuists; they expressly declare that the religious books of the Jews and Christians which are acquired by the right of war, should never be committed to the flames,' 14—the reason being ‘the respect due to the name of God’ which those books contain. This has a good sound; but Gibbon is compelled to add that ‘a more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mahomet;’ which is the same as saying that the early Khalifas were not so scrupulous regarding the destruction of the books of Jews and Christians, though they were known to be certain to contain the Divine name. Now, 'Umar was the first but one of the Successors,—he having succeeded to the Khalifate only two years after Muhammad's death. So that Gibbon may be said, in effect, to concede the point as to at least the high probability of the destruction of the library having been effected, as Abu'l-Faragius records, by the order of this Khalifa. The only authority whom Gibbon quotes in support of the discredit he thus casts upon the story is a writer so late as Reland: he cites no Muhammadan author contemporary with the alleged piece of Vandalism; but he is of opinion that the report of a solitary witness who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the fact of the silence of two annalists of an earlier date, both of whom were Christians and both of them natives of Egypt,—the more ancient of whom, the patriarch Euthychius, having amply described the Conquest of Alexandria. But it may safely be urged that the positive assertion of a historian of such unquestioned credit as Abu'l-Faragius is worthy held to be, cannot be set aside by an argument that is, after all, merely negative. 15 Gibbon's reference to Aulius Gellius, 16 to Ammianus Marcellinus, 17 and to Orosius, 18 as speaking of the libraries of Alexandria in the past tense, are (as Enfield has pointed out) foreign to the purpose; for these writers refer only to the destruction of books there in the time of Julius Caesar,—some seven centuries before. 19 Subsequently to that period, large libraries must have been continually accumulating, during the long period in which the various schools of philosophy flourished in that city. The destruction of the various libraries there in the time of Caesar, as also the growth of the great library to which we refer, are carefully related in detail by Rollin, and many other historians. 20

But, in truth, the fact of the destruction of the library having taken place by the order of 'Umar, does not, as Gibbon supposes, rest on the authority of but one man. So high an authority as Charles Mills (who, it should be observed, does not by any means write in an anti-Muhammadan spirit) exhibits the rare spectacle of a scholar of profound reading, voluntarily submitting to the humiliation of withdrawing, after sufficient research, his opinions formerly published. He writes,—The Saracens, as well as other good people, occasionally condemned books au feu. Absorbed with ideas of the conquest or conversion of the world, the early Successors of the Prophet held in equal contempt the religion and the learning of their new subjects and tributaries. Their most pious act in this line—by which we understand him to mean, the act at once

13 Poock, Specimen, p. 170; Harris, Philological Enquiries, p. 281; White, Bampton Lecture, p. 335, and the notes, p. 12.
14 Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Ch. 51 (p. 956, ed. Chatto and Windus, Lond. 1875).
16 Aulius Gellius, Notus Atticus, lib. vi, cap. 17.
18 Orosius, Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII, lib. vi, cap. 17 (p. 421 of the ed. of Havercamp, 1739).
19 Mills would guard his reader against a very natural misapprehension regarding the various libraries of Alexandria which have at different times been for various reasons destroyed. 'When we talk,' says he (History of Muhammadanism, pp. 381-2), 'of the destruction of the Alexandrian library, let us not be deceived by words. It must not be imagined that the library of the Philomies was the one which the Saracens pillaged. That 'elegantia regum curaque egregium opus' was destroyed in Caesar's time; and the new collection which Cleopatra formed, was dissipated in the wars which the Christians made upon the Pagans.'—Conf. Newton, The Prophecies, pp. 196-7. For a most interesting account of these magnificent stores of the wisdom of the ancients the reader is referred to Rollin, Ancient History, vol. V, pp. 19-23 (ed. Lond. 1841).
most prominent and noteworthy, and at the same time the most expressive of the genius and tendency of their Faith—the was the destroying of a large library at Alexandria. It was done by the order of the Caliph Omar, when Amru conquered Egypt. The fact does not, as I once thought, rest on the sole authority of Abul-Pharajius: Macrisi, and also Abdallatif (the writer of a work expressly on Egyptian antiquities) mention the circumstance. I hesitated, with Langlès, from crediting the story on the authority of Abul-Pharajius alone; but the authorities cited by Macrisi and Abdallatif removed this scepticism, and I willingly retract the error I made in my first edition. It should be added that so high an authority as the Baron de Sacy, in a long note to his translation of Abdallatif, has collected various testimonies from the works of Arabian writers, preserved in the Royal Library in Paris, which concur in establishing the credibility of the narrative of Abul-Farajius. It is, indeed, impossible to regard it (as Gibbon would insinuate) as a fiction invented by the Armenian historian.

It is only charitable to suppose that Gibbon was sincerely convinced of the repugnance of such coarse Vandalism to the genius of Muslim casuistry. But the student of Islamic tradition will be neither astonished nor deceived by what is so transparently an after-thought. It clearly is, like so much of the church-literature of Muljammadans, a makeshift designed to mitigate the odium of an act which no man not a genuine fanatic could have been guilty of. Indeed, even Gibbon, notwithstanding his well-known prejudices, does not see his way to giving a distinct denial to the story; he merely says, by way of stating his own position regarding the matter,—'I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and its consequences.'

We are the more earnest in mentioning this, because of the tendency there appears to be to accept without further enquiry the opinions of this great writer, and because of the disposition we observe in men to conclude that because Gibbon failed to be satisfied with the grounds on which the story rests, therefore the story is a fabrication,—forgetting altogether that there may have been evidence of which Gibbon was not cognizant (which, as we have seen, would appear to have been the actual fact). That such a tendency does really exist will be seen in the case of so profound a scholar as Baron von Humboldt, who apparently on no better ground than that of Gibbon's doubt, hesitates not to brand the story as a 'myth.' We easily believe what we wish to believe. Hence we find that though Gibbon found the story of the burning of the library by 'Umar too much for his historical digestion, he records the opinion that it was destroyed several centuries before—viz. circa 389 A.D.—by the fanaticism of Theophilus, the Christian Archbishop of Alexandria, and he does so without hesitation, and without the faintest apparent symptom of a doubt.

Lake adds to the argument of Gibbon—to whom as we have elsewhere noted, he acts as a faithful henchman—the statement that such an act was inconsistent with the character of 'Amru. Under some circumstances, such an argument might have relieved the dreaminess of the episode; it happens, however, that the true character of 'Amru is well known. Besides, we submit that the point turns rather upon the character of one greater than 'Amru, and whose mandate 'Amru would not have dared to contravene. It was beyond his power to alienate any portion of the spoil; the consent of the Khalifa was necessary. The violent and irrational nature of this Vandal among the Khalifas is but too well known to the student of Saracenic history, and it is an object of special glory to the Faithful to the

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23 De Sacy, Relation de l'Egypte, p. 240.
24 Humboldt, Cosmos, vol. II, p. 582.
25 Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Ch. 28 (p. 457).
26 Conf. Bato, An Examination of the Claims of Ishmael as viewed by Muljammadans, p. 213.
28 Consult on this point, Muir, Annals of the Early Caliphate, passim.
29 Rollin, Ancient History, vol. V, p. 21. Of gigantic stature, great courage, and prodigious strength, the chief characteristic of 'Umar was ferocity. His savage aspect appalled even the boldest, and his very walking-stick struck more terror into beholders than another man's sword. Such are the words of the Arabian historian al-Waqidi; and the events of 'Umar's life after he became Khalifa, prove that these words of the historian are not chargeable with exaggeration.
31 Müller, Universal History, vol. II, p. 46. For instances of his curious destructiveness of temperament, the reader should consult Taylor, History of Muhammadanism, p. 175.
present hour. He exhibited, if possible, more of the spirit of Muḥammadanism than even Muḥammad himself did, and his reckless and wanton destruction of treasures held sacred by persons of other religions has earned for him a notoriety unique among the most faithful copyists of the Original. The other Khalifas—Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān, and 'Ali—were mildness itself in comparison with 'Umar,—the very archetype of the Wahhābi of the earlier years of our own century. Characterized, though his reign was, by all the worst fruits of his religion, the act of folly which history thus fastens upon him has done more to familiarize posterity with his name than all the other devastations committed under his authority.

Whether the world is indebted to the fanaticism of 'Umar or not, for this coarse destruction of the untold treasures of the wisdom of the ancients, and whether the words of the sentence of destruction were or were not the product of his peculiar genius, are points which it is now-a-days impossible to decide and fruitless to discuss; but, as has been well observed, if the words are not his, at least they are full of historical verisimilitude and significance. Lest it should be supposed that this opinion is the offspring of Christian sentiment in Dr. Marcus Dods, we may add that the elder Disraeli, who must be acquitted of any suspicion of collusion with the Christian teacher, gives his opinion in concurrent language. He remarks, in referring to this lamentable catastrophe, that though modern paradox attempt to deny the facts of the story, yet the tale would not be singular even if it should turn out to be true,—inasmuch as it perfectly suits the character of 'a bigot, a barbarian, and a blockhead!' He goes on to show that we owe to the same destructive spirit of the Muḥammadan religion the loss, by this same resort to the agency of the devouring flame, much of the most ancient literature of the Persians. These invaluable records of Persian genius and learning, collected by the zeal of the Sassānī princes in Modain, were hurled, by the order of 'Umar, into the waters of the Tigris.

The obvious conclusion, from the facts thus brought together is, that the burden of proof rests with those who deny the story. The grounds on which Gibbon bases his scepticism regarding it, we have seen to be worthless; it would have been interesting to have learnt on what grounds so eminently careful a writer as Humboldt was would justify the contemptuous term by which he characterizes it. A story so long credited, upon high authority, calls for more critical treatment than, from all that appears, the worthy Baron devoted to it. Thus much, at any rate, seems beyond possibility of doubt,—that the story is in entire harmony with the known character of 'Umar and with the practices of Muḥammadans in the earlier ages of The Faith.

Taking the account as recorded, it is impossible to estimate the loss which literature has sustained by the destruction of the treasures of this library. It is true that in speaking of the libraries of times which preceded the invention of printing, we must not be misled by magnificent descriptions, or by the ample catalogues of their contents. The manuscripts were numerous, indeed, but the matter they contained would in modern print be compressed within a space much smaller than might at first be supposed. The fifteen 'Books,' for example, of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which in classic times composed literally as many volumes, are all of them together reduced now-a-days to a few dozens of pages. Still, we cannot renounce the belief that though much of the ancient literature has escaped the ravages of ignorance and the calamities of war, a great deal that would have been of value and interest perished in the sack of this famed metropolis.

33 Palgrave, in his Central and Eastern Arabia, has surpassed all writers in the exquisite delicacy of his judgment on the Wahhābi renaissance.
35 We should here observe that beyond the statement that the parchments supplied the public baths of Alexandria for half a year, there is no clue by which the measure of the loss might be approximately estimated. There were, in fact, several libraries in different parts of the city; and it is now impossible to ascertain whether the one now under consideration was or was not one of those that had been previously destroyed. If it was not, the loss to the world is one which it clearly is impossible to exaggerate.
37 Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, p. 13 (ed. Lond. 1866).
38 Taylor, History of Mohammedanism, p. 175.
CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

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

(Continued from vol. XII. p. 303.)

XXIV.

Chinghiz Khân having crushed out opposition among his compatriots, and having broken the power of the Kin Tartars who dominated over Northern China, now turned his attention to the empire of Kara Khitai, which lay to the west of Mongolia proper, and against whose ruler he had a mortal grudge. The empire of Kara Khitai was founded by a fugitive Khitan prince, who, when the Kin Tartars overwhelmed his house, fled westwards, and was well received by the various Turkish tribes of Sungaria and its borders, was duly acknowledged by them as their chief, and in this way integrated in one hand a very wide empire or, rather, to be perhaps more exact, continued the Khitan empire in the western portion of the wide district which once acknowledged its supremacy.

It is not my present purpose to tell the history of this empire in detail. This has been already well done by Dr. Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geography, p. 22 ff., while I have described it elsewhere in the Journal of the R. Asiatic Society. Here it will suffice to mention that the ruler of Kara Khitai was obeyed by the various nomadic Turks from the Volga to the Gobi steppe. His capital was called Balasagun, probably, as Dr. Bretschneider suggests, a corruption of Balhshun, Mongol for city. Balasagun had been the capital of the Western Turks in the sixth century. It was, according to Juveni, named Gubalig, i.e. the Good City, by the Mongols. The Chinese authors call it Gudsse wardo. Its site has been much debated, but the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi clearly points to its having been situated on the Ch'i, a river which rises in the mountains west of lake Issikul and flows westwards. The ruler of Kara Khitai was styled Gurkhan, which, according to Juveni, means “universal Khân.”

The Uighurs, the Karluks, the Kipchaks and Kankalis, and perhaps also the Naimans,—all Turkish tribes,—were among his tributaries, and his position at the accession of Chinghis

Khân was doubtless that of the most powerful ruler of Eastern Asia. To understand the cause of quarrel which Chinghiz had against him, we must revert somewhat. We have seen how, when the confederated Naiman and Merkit chiefs were defeated by the Mongols on the Irtish, those of them who survived the fight fled in various directions. Kushluk, the son of the chief of the Naimans, escaped, according to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, through the country of Veikharlu, i.e. of the Uighur-Karluks, to the river Chui, where he joined the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai. Rashidu'd-din tells us he went towards Bishbaligh and reached Kuchaj, i.e. Kharar, west of Kharar. The Yuan-shih and the Muhammadan historians agree in dating this event in the year 1208. At this time Chilku was Gurkhan of Kara Khitai. Kushluk did not enter his presence, but sat himself on a mat outside the audience chamber, while one of his courtiers personated him inside. Meanwhile he was casually seen by Gerbasu, the daughter of Chilku’s eldest wife who detected him, and in the course of three days he married her daughter Khankhu. She was not entitled to wear the royal diadem, but only the head-dress, called Boto, by the Chinese. This head-dress, as Quatremère says, was doubtless the same as that described by Rubruquis, and which he calls bota and also bocca, both being doubtless corruptions of bokta.

Khankhu was only 15 years old when Kushluk married her, but she was his equal both in prudence and experience, and acquired such influence over him that she persuaded him to abandon Christianity, to which religion he belonged, and adopt Buddhism, and eventually urged him to plot against his grandfather and to seize his throne.

D’Ohsson and Raverty both say Kushluk married the Gurkhan’s daughter and not his grandaughter. The Gurkhan was a frivolous person, chiefly occupied in hunting, and his dependents, the rulers of the Uighurs and the Karluks, detached themselves from him, drove

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1 Probably the ord or camp of the Ghuz being its meaning.
6 Erdmann, p. 335.
7 Quatremère, tome I. p. 192 and 193 note.
8 Erdmann, p. 335.
out his daroughas or deputies, and allied themselves with Chinghis Khan as I have described.

Meanwhile Kushluk obtained his permission to utilize Chinghis Khan’s absence in China to collect together the débris of the Naimans, his father’s people, who were scattered in the districts of Imil, Kayalik and Bishbaligh, assuring him that he only wished to employ them in his service. He accordingly collected them together, and was also joined by a chief of the Merkites. With the troops he thus brought together he began to plunder the eastern dominions of the Gurkhan as far as Khoten, a policy which attracted fresh recruits to his banners. He also entered into negotiations with the great Khwarezm Shah Muhammad, to whom he offered the western dominions of the Gurkhan if he would help him. Muhammad had recently won over the Turkish ruler of Samarkand, Osman, a former dependent of the Gurkhan. He was descended from the old Imperial stock of the Turks, and still bore the lordly title of Sultan of Sultans. Osman had asked the hand of a daughter of the Gurkhan in marriage, and his request having been refused, and having been also pressed for tribute, he transferred his allegiance to the Khwarezm Shah. To punish him the Gurkhan sent an army against him, while Muhammad went to his support; but before his arrival, the Gurkhan had turned elsewhere to meet the threatened approach of Kushluk, who had surprised Uzkend,—where he kept his treasures,—and had also tried to capture Balsaghun. He was, however, defeated on the river Chimbie, (?) and forced to retire, by the aged Gurkhan.

Muhammad, the Khwarezm Shah, having united his forces to those of Osman, marched northwards against Kara Khitai. Near Taraz he met the Gurkhan general Taniko or Baniko, whom he defeated and captured, and afterwards put to death. The troops of Kara Khitai in their retreat committed great ravages, and when they approached Balsaghun found the gates closed against them. They attacked the place, broke their way in by means of elephants after a siege of ten days, and committed a great slaughter, in which 47,000 men perished. The Gurkhan’s treasury was empty, and fearing that some call would be made upon his hoards, Mahmud Taij, one of his generals, counselled him to replenish it by making the troops surrender the booty which they had captured in the recent fight with Kushluk. This so displeased his generals that they abandoned him, and Kushluk, taking advantage of the circumstance, returned and surprised him in his capital. This, we are told, was in the year 608.

Kushluk treated his captive with consideration, and left him the insignia and dignity of sovereignty. Chiluku survived his capture two years, and was succeeded in his honours and power by Kushluk. The Chinese account in the Liao-shi, tells us that Chiluku was surprised by Kushluk when hunting, and fell into an ambuscade of 8,000 Hoeihou or Uighurs, who had been planted to waylay him. Kushluk then appropriated the Gurkhan’s titles, and had himself proclaimed emperor, at the same time adopting the costume and customs of the Liau dynasty. He gave the title of Tai-shang-hoang to Chiluku, and that of Hoang-thai-hou, being the title borne by the empress dowager in China, to Chiluku’s wife, and so long as they lived he paid his respects to them daily.

During the next four years, we are told, Kushluk made himself too well known by his rapine and tyrannical conduct. He despatched various armies to attack the neighbouring districts which had broken away from their allegiance, and notably Kashgar. We are told that he released the son of the Khan of Kashgar who had been imprisoned by the Gurkhan, but on arriving at the gates of that city the young prince was massacred. To reduce the country of Kashgar more effectually, troops were sent to lay it waste at harvest time, and they burnt a large portion of the grain which they could not carry away. A famine was the consequence, and the citizens were by it in spite of the advice of the governor of the place constrained to submit, and it was no small sacrifice for true believers thus to subject themselves to idolators. Thereupon Kushluk went in person to Kashgar to enjoy his triumph, and advanced thence to Khoten, whose inhabitants were ordered to abandon Islam, and to accept either Christianity...
or Buddhism. Professing that he intended to show them the falseness of their faith, he summoned a great meeting outside the city walls which was attended by 30,000 people, and proclaimed that whoever wished to dispute with him about religion had only to present himself. Thereupon the chief of the Imams, Alai-u-d-din Muhammad Al Husain came forward, and defended his faith with warmth. Kushluk, hard pressed by his arguments replied with insult and contumely, in which he did not spare the prophet himself, whereupon the Imam prayed that Allah would close his mouth with earth. He was thereupon seized, and torments having in vain been applied to him to make him recant, was nailed by four nails to the door of a college he had had built, and thus perished after being exposed several days and nights, during which he encouraged his countrymen to abide by the faith. Kushluk forbade the public prayers and other services of Islam, which now passed under a cloud in that district.\(^{17}\)

We are told by Juveni, that at this time a brave and resolute man named Ozar,\(^{18}\) having secured considerable treasure, and a large following in these troubled times, managed to conquer a considerable district, including Almaligh and Fulad, i.e. Fulad, a town situated near Lake Sairam mentioned by Rashidu'd-din, and in more than one Chinese itinerary, and by the European travellers Haithon and Rubruquis,\(^{19}\) To protect himself from the attacks of Kushluk he would seem also to have submitted to Chinghiz, and according to Juveni, he went to visit that conqueror in person in 1211.\(^{20}\) Major Raverty, I don’t know on what authority, says he was well received by Chinghiz, and given a robe of honour and a thousand sheep, while Juchi sought his daughter in marriage.\(^{21}\) This goes to show he was no mere adventurer, but belonged to the old stock of the Khans of Almaligh. Kushluk marched against him more than once, and at length surprised him while hunting near Almaligh, and put him to death. The inhabitants of that town refused to admit Kushluk, as the rumour was abroad that Chinghiz was approaching.\(^{22}\) Ozar’s son, Siknak Tigin, succeeded him at Almaligh with Chinghiz Khan’s approval, and he married a daughter of Juhei.\(^{23}\)

Raverty says Ozar was a Kankali, which is doubtless a mistake. Erdmann says he was a Kurluk.\(^{24}\) In the Yuan-shi-lei-pen he is called Ganchor, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Yongku, and he is said to have captured Oli-ma-li, i.e. Almaligh.\(^{25}\)

After his campaign in China, Chinghiz determined to crush Kushluk, the son of his old enemy Tayang Khan, who had usurped so much authority, and he ordered his famous general Chepe to march against him with a tuman of troops, i.e. with 10,000 men. According to the biography of Te-hai, Dje-bo, as Chepe is there called, on his expedition to the West, crossed lake Kizilbash.\(^{26}\) He then apparently advanced by way of Bishalig, which was besieged and captured by Kopayu, a Chinese officer much esteemed by Chinghiz.\(^{27}\) The idikut of the Uighurs also accompanied Chepe in this campaign, and was doubtless reinstated by him.\(^{28}\) In the biography of Ho-sze-mai-li,\(^{29}\) in chapter 120 of the Yuan-shi, we are told he was a native of Gujso-wardo and a confidant of the Gurkhan. He governed the two towns of Kusin and Baze-ha.\(^{30}\) Having surrendered with the chiefs of those cities, he entered the advanced guard commanded by Chepe Noyan. Kushluk was then living at Kashgar, and when he heard of Chepe’s advance, he retired towards Badakshan. Chepe issued a proclamation offering liberty of worship, and the citizens proceeded to put to death Kushluk’s soldiers who had been billeted upon them. Kushluk was now pursued. Abughaxi tells us that Chepe having pursued Kushluk warmly, lost traces of him, when he met a man conducting a kush, who told him he had seen three men resembling those whom he described. He speedily went

\(^{17}\) Erdmann, pp. 333-341; D’Ohsson, vol. I, p. 171.
\(^{18}\) Erdmann reads the name Kunus, and says he was surnamed Merdi Shinja, or the Lion-hearted.
\(^{19}\) Bretechneider, Notices of Med. Geog., &c., p. 147.
\(^{21}\) Taboski-i-Nasri, p. 986, note. \(^{22}\) Erdmann, p. 339.
\(^{24}\) Taboski-i-Nasri, p. 983-4 note; Erdmann, p. 339.
\(^{25}\) Gaubil, p. 35.
after the fugitives, and having overtaken Kushluk, cut off his head, and returned to Chinghiz. 24 Other writers tell us Kushluk was captured by a party of hunters, that many precious stones, corn, etc., fell into the captors' hands, and that Chepe sent Kushluk's head to Chinghiz Khan as a trophy. 25 This is confirmed by the biography of Ho-sze-mai-lI already named, where we read that it was he who killed Kushluk, and Chepe ordered him to take the head of the victim and carry it through the cities of his Empire. 26 After this the cities of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan surrendered to the Mongols. 27 According to the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, Kushluk was overtaken and killed at a place called Salikhkun, the Salikhkun of the Huang-yuan. The Muhammadan writers generally call it Sarigh-kul, on the borders of Badakhshan. Erdmann has it Weradni, on the borders of Badakhshan on the Sarigh-kul road. 28 Minhaji-Siraj says on the boundaries of Jab and Kikrab, which is Ghuzistán, and the hill tracts of Samarkand. 29

When Chinghiz heard of Chepe's victory, he sent him word to beware of being inflamed by his success, for it was pride which had undone Wang Khán, Tuyang Khán, Kushluk Khán, etc. Chepe belonged to the tribe of the Baisut, called Yissut by D'Ohsson. It was reported of him that when Chinghiz Khan defeated the Baisut, Chepe and other warriors hid away to escape being put to death or being reduced to slavery. One day when Chinghiz was engaged in one of his great hunts, in which a large area of country was surrounded by a ring of hunters, Chepe found himself by chance encircled by the Mongol warriors. Chinghiz would have run him down, when Bughjurin, one of his principal officers, asked permission to be allowed to engage him in person. Chinghiz, at his request, lent him a horse with a white muzzle. 30 Bughjurin fired an arrow, but missed his opponent. Chepe, more adroit, killed his adversary's horse and then fled; but presently finding himself without resources, he offered his services to Chinghiz. Knowing his bravery, the latter offered him the command of ten men, and gradually promoted him to command

a hundred, a thousand, and finally ten thousand. When Chepe had brought his campaign against Kushluk to a successful termination, he wished to repair the injury he had done his master formerly in killing one of his horses, and having procured a thousand horses with white muzzles, he sent them to him. Chepe, in Mongol, means an arrow with a wooden point. 31 Van Hammer, I don't know on what authority, says that in memory of his victory over Kushluk, Chepe erected a monument on the river Konduya, with an inscription in Mongolian, 32 as a talisman against the Elie or winged spirit. 33

Kushluk had a sister named Asbeh, who had three sons, Yushmut, Uljai Abangan and Abaji. A fourth brother named Abuju Abangan had previously died, and left a son named Jantu. His mother was Naiman. He had four brothers, Nemjannar Shar, Taru Shar, Bamiyan Shar, and Tugmeh Shar. This word Shar, according to Erdmann, is undoubtedly the origin of the Russian word Tsar, and means also 'prince.' The Naimans belonging to this stock, i.e. to the Royal house, were also called Bede Timur. 34

While Chepe was sent to overwhelm Kushluk, Subutai was despatched to crush the Merki chiefs, who, after their defeat by the Uighurs had sought refuge among the Kankalis and Kipchaks,—nomadic Turks who lived in the steppes to the south-west and west of lake Balkhash, and who had been in alliance with Kushluk. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi tells us that Chinghiz ordered Subutai to pursue the children of Tokhtos, Khuta and Chilaun. Subutai followed them to the river Chi, caught them there, slew them, and then returned. 35 In another place, in the same work, we read that Chinghiz built an iron waggon for Subutai, and sent him in pursuit of the children of Tokhtos Khudu and others, and said to him: "Having suffered defeat at our hands, they fled like wild horses, with halters about their necks, and like wounded deer. If they find themselves wings and mount into the sky, be thou a falcon and overtake them. If they bury themselves in the ground like mice, be thou an iron pick-axe and dig them out. If like fishes they take to the sea, be thou a net and pull them out." 36

26 I. e. the empire of Kara Khitai.
27 Id. p. 41.
29 Tadbak-ti-Nasiri, p. 360.
32 I. e. Uigharian writing.
33 Gesch. der Gold. Horde, p. 73.
34 Erdmann, note 314.
he added: "For crossing high mountains and traversing broad rivers, employ the season when your horses are in good condition. Be careful of your warriors. Do not, unless it be necessary, waste your time on the way in hunting. Do not let your warriors bridle their horses or use backbands. They will not, therefore, be able to ride them at full speed. If any one disobeys your command who is known to me, bring him to me. If unknown to me, execute him on the spot. If by the favour of heaven you should overtake the children of Tokhtoa, kill them. When I was young three Merkit tribes tried to capture me, and thrice pursued me round the mountain Burkhan. This unfriendly race has now retired, using contemptuous words. I have made you an iron wagggon, and entrusted to you the task of pursuing them to the utmost limits. You will be far away, but it will be the same as if you were near me. Heaven will protect you on the way." This is dated in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, but no doubt wrongly, in the year 1205.

The Yuan-shi contains two special biographies of Subutai, which, like the other biographies in that work, are very unsatisfactory, and in fact contradictory. The notices of this expedition contained in them have been abstracted by Palladius. In one of them we read that, as the strong Melili would not surrender, Chinghiz, in the year 1216 (?) when he was in the Black Forest on the river Tula, sent Subutai against them. Alichia went in advance with 100 men, and pretended to run away. In 1219 (?) the Mongol army arrived at the river Chian and defeated the Melili. Their two leaders were taken prisoners. Their chief, Khodu, fled into Kincha, followed and defeated the Kincha in Juigu. The other biography says that in the year 1216 Subutai defeated the Melili at the river Chian, and followed their chief Juigu (?)

The Huang-yuan says that in the year 1217 Chinghiz sent the great chief Subutai-badu, having fitted with iron the wheels of his kibitka, to the tribe Myerki. Having united himself with the previously despatched division of 3,000 men under Tokhuchara, he reached the river Taian, met the Merkit chief there, and gave him battle; having completely annihilated the Myerki he returned.

This notice, as usual, corresponds with that of the Muhammadan writers. They tell us how Khudu or Khedu, the brother of the Merkit chief, Tukhta, with the latter's three sons, Jilau, Jiyuk and Khultukan Mergen, had collected a fresh army and were engaged in plundering. Thereupon Chinghiz, in the year 1216, despatched Subutai Bahadur, and as he had to traverse a very mountainous district, he supplied him with carts strengthened with iron. He was also joined by the Kunkurat Taghachar, who had been left by Chinghiz with a body of 2,000 men to guard his home when he set out for China. The two having united their forces, encountered Khodu and his nephews on the river Jem, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon them, in which Khodu and two of his nephews were killed. The third, Khultukan, who was a famous archer, whences his surname of Mergen, was captured and taken to Juchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz Khan. Wishing to see some proof of his skill, Khultukan shot two arrows, the first of which hit the mark, while the second split the former in two. Juchi, charmed with his skill, sent an express to ask his father to grant him his life, but he replied, "the Merkit race is of all peoples the most objectionable. The son of Tukhta is an ant who in time will become a serpent and an enemy of the state. I have conquered so many kings and defeated so many armies that we can well spare a man," and he ordered Juchi to put him to death.

When he heard of this defeat of the Merkits, according to the Muhammadan historians, the Khwarezm Shâh Muhammad set out for Jend, not far from which the fight took place. Having reinforced his troops, he advanced with them, and at length came upon a battlefield still cumbered with corpses between the rivers Kaili (?) and Kaimich, (?) among which was a Merkit who was still living, who informed him the Mongols had won the day and retired again. Muhammad went in pursuit and overtook them the following
day. He was about to attack them when the Mongol chief son of Chinghiz, sent him word that their two kingdoms were not at war, and that he had received orders to treat the Khuzestan troops he might meet in this district well, and offered him a portion of the prisoners and booty he had captured from the Merkits. Muhammad, whose troops were more numerous than those of his opponent, did not heed these friendly approaches. "If Chinghiz Khan has not ordered you to fight me, God has ordered me to attack you, and I shall deserve His favours in destroying the infidels." A struggle theropon commenced, the Mongols dispersed the left wing of the Khuzestanian army, and charged the centre under Muhammad, and would have also broken it if Jelaludd-din, Muhammad's son, had not rushed from the right wing, which had been victorious, to his father's succour, and thus restored the fight, which continued until nightfall. At night the Mongols having lighted some fires hastily withdrew, so that by morning they had covered two days' march. This encounter gave Muhammad a good notion of the manner of men they were whom he had so heedlessly provoked.

In the Yuan-shih-lei-chen we have an incident of this battle reported which is not named by the Western writers. We read that Pitu, the son of Yelii Linku who had been appointed king of Liau-tung by Chinghiz Khan, took part in this fight, on the side of the Mongols, as did his relative Yelii Kohay. The former was badly wounded, but seeing Juchi, Chinghiz Khan's eldest son, surrounded by the enemy, he rushed to the rescue, and both managed to force their way out.

While Chepe and Subutai were engaged in subduing the empire of Karo Khitai and the Merkit chiefs, Chinghiz Khan himself appears to have had another campaign against Hia or Tangut. Li-tsun-hien, called Li-tsun-sian by Hyacinthe, who had succeeded his father Li-

ngan-chuen, as king of Hia, was besieged in his capital, and eventually fled to Si-leang.

Chinghiz now sent his son Juchi to subdue the tribes of Siberia. The Huang-yuan and Raspid-dintell us that in view of the war with the Tumats, previously named, Chinghiz had sent to collect some troops from among the Kirghiz. They would not provide any, and even rebelled, whereupon he, in the New year, 1219, sent his eldest son Juchi against them. He crossed the Kem Kemuj and other rivers on the ice, and forced the Kirghizes to submit. Tuhun, surnamed Bukha, who commanded the advance guard having pursued the Kirghizes, returned from the river Heshim (i.e. the well-known tributary of the Irtysh, called the Ishim, which was doubtless beyond the frontiers of the Kirghizes, who had been pursued beyond their own borders).

The Kirghizes now sent three of their chiefs, named Urukha Alju, Albig Timur, and Atkenakh, with white-eyed falcons. The Huang-yuan says they pursued them to the river Imar and then returned. The eldest prince, i.e. Juchi, then crossed the river Kian at a ford and descending it subdued the tribes, Kergis, Khankhas, Telyanu, Keshidimm Khoim and the Urgan (?).

This interesting notice of the conquest of some of the Siberian tribes is given in greater detail in the Yuan-ch'iao-pi-shih, which has, however, apparently confused this with the earlier campaign against the Kirghizes. We there read that in 1207 Chinghiz ordered Juchi to march against the forest people, with the division of the right band, and commanded Bukha to pioneer the way. Khudukha-bek, the ruler of the Uirads, acted as his guide. When he arrived at the place Shikhsit, i.e. no doubt the tributary of the Kem or Upper Yens, called Shiksit, the Uirads and other tribes submitted.

These other tribes are thus enumerated: Bulia, Barkhun, the Ursu. The Khakhanasi, the

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35. Muhammad of Nissa and Bula-ul-thir say this chief was Juchi.
37. Gaubil, p. 36.
38. The modern Leong-chan-fu in Kansuh. This campaign is dated by DeMaillia in 1213. DeMaillia, tome IX, p. 84; Douglas, p. 88; Hyacinthe, p. 91; D'Ossoons, vol. I., p. 162.
39. Erdmann says Takha; Quatre-trempere, op. cit. pp. 411 and 12 notes; Erdmann, p. 362-3; D'Ossoons, p. 159.
40. i.e. The Kirghizes.
41. i.e. The Kishkhis.
42. i.e. The Kishkhis.
43. i.e. Turkomut.
44. i.e. The Telenguts.
45. i.e. The Uiradns.
46. Or Buria? the Buruts.
47. ? The Burkut of Raspid-din, so called, he says, from their living on this side, i.e. west of the Selings and the district of Barkhajin Tugrum. Erdmann, Temukchins, p. 189.
48. Doubles the Ursut of Raspid-din who, he says, were very like the Mongols, and were well acquainted with the medicines used by them. They were also, he says, called the forest people, as they lived in the forests on the borders of the Kirghizes and Komonkuts.—id. p. 191.
49. A corruption of the Kishthins or Kestims, who are named with the Ursut by Raspid-din—id.
Kankhasi, and the Tuba or Tubasi. These various tribes doubtless lived on the upper Irrish. Some of their names are probably corrupt; we have them preserved not in the text of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, printed by Palladius, but in the epitome of that work. When the text, of which we are promised an edition by Mr. Podsnycyef, is published, we shall be in a better position to criticise them.

To continue, however: on the arrival of Juchi and Bukha at the residence of the tribes of "Van Kirghiz," their ruler, Yediinal, with others, submitted and appeared before Juchi with a white falcon, a white net and black sables. Juchi subdued all the people living in the forest, from Shibir to the south. This is the first mention known to me of this famous topographical name.

There is a notice of this campaign also in the Yuan-shi, where we are told that Tutukha moved from Kholin, and reached in the spring the river Kian, along which he travelled for several days to the Kiligisni, and subdued all the five tribes. Well may Palladius, who quotes this passage, say that the accounts vary. The first mention of Siberia in a contemporary document must excuse a slight digression on this important name. On a later occasion, we are told in the Yuan-shi how the armies of Khubialai reached Ibir Shibir. Rashid speaks of the land as Arib u Sibir, and Arib u Sabir, and Quatremère connects the two names with the allied tribes of the Avars and Sabiri, who invaded Europe in the 6th century. The author of the Mesalek Alabasr speaks of the country of Arib u Abar, and tells us how a terrible cold prevailed there, the snow falling for six months consecutively, the plains and mountains being covered with it, the flocks being few and the means of subsistence scarce. In a passage of the Matla Alsaadaini, we read that the Mirza Alan'd-daulah lived in the country of Abar u Sabir, situated at the extremity of the land of the Uzbeks. Siberia is first mentioned in the Russian annals in January 1407, when we are told that Toktamish was killed in the Siberian land by Shadibeg.

Shortly after we get a longer notice in the pages of the Bavarian Schilhberger, whose romantic travels cover the years between 1394—1427. He tells us of a land called Ibisibur, whether the famous chief and king-maker among the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Idiku, retired. In that land, he says, is a mountain which is two and thirty days journey in length (? the Urals), beyond which, according to the report of the inhabitants, is a great desert, where nothing can live, reaching to the end of the world. In this mountain there dwell a wild people who lived apart from other nations, only their hands and faces being free from hair. They hunted wild animals in the mountains, and also fed on leaves and grass, and whatever they met with. The ruler of the country sent Idiku a wild man and woman, who had been captured there. The horses were of the size of asses. There were in that land dogs which drew carts and sledges, containing clothes. They were as large as asses, and were also eaten. Schilhberger reports the inhabitants as Christians, and makes their country the land of the Three Kings. The inhabitants of this land were called Uguris. It was customary in that country, when a young man died unmarried, to dress him in his best clothes, to hold a feast, lay his corpse on a bier, and then raise a canopy over it. This was carried in procession, accompanied by the young people in their best clothes, behind went the father and mother and other relatives making lamentations. When they reached the grave they held a funeral-feast, the young folk sitting round, playing, eating, and drinking, while the father, mother, and friends sat wailing until the food was consumed, when they were escorted home, &c.

Schilhberger reports these matters as having come within his own observation. They may be compared with the account given by Marco Polo of the dominions of King Conchi, and of the Land of Darkness, as described by Ibn Batuta.

"The Kemkenjut."
"Doubtless the Tuvahans of Rashidu'd-din, and chased by him with the Burkhut, perhaps the dwellers on the Tuba are meant.
"See Palladius, note 407.
"Karakorum.
"I.e. the Kem.
"Yuan-ch'ao pi-shi, note 406."

14 Palladius, op. cit. note 500.
15 Quatremère, op. cit. 413 note.
16 Id. 414 note.
17 Lehnberg, Alttäre Geschichtes Russlandsa, pp. 76, 77.
18 Ugrians.
Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

Continued from p. 91.

No. CXLI.

The Ilāḍ grant of Dādā II. was originally published by Professor R. G. Bhāngdārkhar in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. pp. 19ff. I re-edit it now, with a lithograph, from the original plates, which belong to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. They were found in the vicinity of Ilāḍ, in the Breach District.

The plates are two in number, each about 113/4 long by 63/4 broad. The edges were fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. There are holes for two rings; but only the left-hand ring, which had not been cut, was forthcoming when the grant came into my hands. It is about 3/4 thick, and of an irregular shape like the rings of the Valabhi grants. The seal on it is roughly circular, about 13/4 or 13/2 in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a device of uncertain nature, though it may possibly be intended for Garuda as a bird, and below it, in characters more legible in the original than in the lithograph, the legend Śrī-Daḍ[a][d*]a. The language is Sanskrit throughout; and, down to l. 18, the text agrees almost word for word with the text of the Umēṭa grant. In both of these grants, moreover, the description of Dadda I, in lines 1 to 6, is taken word for word from the description of Dadda II, in lines 25 to 31 of the two Kaira grants.

The inscription is of the time of Dādā II, otherwise called Prasāntarāga. It is dated in Śaka 417 (A.D. 495-50), at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyēṣṭha. General Cunningham gives, as the corresponding English date, Wednesday the 8th June A.D. 495, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun. But the eclipse occurred in Paris at 6.30 p.m. Therefore it occurred in Gujarat about eleven o'clock at night, and was invisible, and was, accordingly, an eclipse of which the Hindu astrologers would take no notice. Pandit Bhagvānlâl Indraji,—whose remarks against the genuineness of this grant, at pp. 72-74 above, must be borne in mind,—is disposed to consider that the forger of this grant obtained a genuine record of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyēṣṭha in the year 417 of the real era of the Gurjara grants, and referred the year to the Śaka era through ignorance of the era that it really belonged to. The results of the calculation made by General Cunningham on this hypothesis, have been given at p. 77 above.


82 Rashiduddin-din refers to a tribe Kestemi among the forest people. These were no doubt the Khishimis of the Russian writers, see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., ak. VIII, p. 127; Pallas, Voyages, vol. IV, 333 note. Gumelin in his
The charter is issued from the victorious camp at the gate of the city of Bharukachchha or Broach. And it records a grant of the village of Rādham, in the visīkha of Aṅkuleśvara.1 This must be another name, approaching more closely to the modern Aṅkuleśwara or Aṅkuleśvar, of the Akrūrēśvar of Nos. CXXXIX. and CXL. The village granted was bounded on the east by the village of Vāraṇā, which Professor Bhūjāṃdarākar identifies with the modern ‘Walner,’ about four miles to the north-east of Ilā, and eight miles to the south-east of Aṅkuleśvar; on the south, by the river Varaṇḍā, which he identifies with the modern ‘Wand-Khari;’ on the west, by the village of Śūṭhavāḍakā or Śūṭhavāḍaka; and on the north, by the village of Aṅrulūm. Śūṭhavāḍaka or Śūṭhavāḍaka is perhaps the modern ‘Suthawād’ in the ‘Chikhi’ Tūnkh of the Surat District; but I have no maps at hand to ascertain the position of this village.2 The villages of Rādham and Aṅrulūm remain to be identified.

Text.3

First plate.

[3] dhavala-yāsa[2]-pratāp[1]-āsthagita-nabāhī-mānadhî-nēka samara-sanakāta-pramukh-
[4] āsta-gaha-natā-sātrai-śīnma-bhul-prabhātasa-ma-
[6] raṇa-kamala-praṇām-ōdghūṣṭa-rahya-manī-kiṭi-ruchira-dī-
[7] dhṛti-virijita-makut-ōdghāṣita-sīrāḥ di(dī)na-s-than-ātuar-[ā] bhāyagat-[ā]rthi[han]-[ā]-chali-
[8] (khi)št̄a-paripūrita-vivaha-mānirath-ōpahilyamāna-tri(tri)vishata-
[9] pāi[ka]-saṁhāya-dharmma-saṁccharaḥ praṣṇa-parikupita-mānirijana-prāṇāma-pūrvamah-
[10] dhan(dī)n-va-cāhan-ōpapuddita-prāsa-dakṣiṇā(ki)ṣra-vīdṛdrī-vāma-
[12] Da[dī]na[1]s[a]-Taṣya su(n)[u] [y] samma-pratidvāṇḍvi-gaja-ghāta-
[14] kṛita-ubhāya-ta[v]-pran[ra]n(rō) [h]a[va](y)a[na]-ōd[ī]k̄[a]-vīrjita-nivānukṣa-ānma-pravā-

1 Apparently named after the god Śiva, one of whose names is Akna.

2 From the beginning of his paper, Prof. Bhūjāṃdarākar says that this grant was found in a village in the Surat District. But Ilā,—in the vicinity of which he says, at the end of his paper, that the grant was found,—is, according to the Pastoral Directory of the Bombay Circle, in the Broach District.

3 From the original plates.

4 Si-li is also the reading of the Umātī grant. Dr. Bührer has suggested that this mistake of si for ṣi probably arose from the original document, from which the engraver copied, being in current-hand characters.

5 Si-li is also the reading of the Umātī grant. But, in addition to the sense, the reading of l. 25 of the two Kaira grants shows that we must correct it into sajūla. The whole of the description of Dadda I. in this grant, as in the Umātī grant, is word for word the description of Dadda II. in the two Kaira grants.

6 Prat-pa is also the reading of the Umātī grant.

7 But, in addition to the sense, the reading of l. 25 of the two Kaira grants shows that we must correct it into pratipān.

8 Pl 4 is also the reading of the Umātī grant. Dr. Bührer doubted the necessity for correcting it into chchhāla. But the latter is distinctly the reading in l. 27 of the two Kaira grants.

9 In the Umātī grant also, the reading here is Dadda; but, as in the present grant, the name of his grandson is written Dadda. As Dr. Bührer has pointed out (Vol. VII. p. 61, note 4), the modern form of the name is Dēlā and Dēla. The writer in the case of the n of the first syllable must be followed by a double d. As a matter of fact, in the inscriptions the name is written Dadda everywhere, except in the present passage, and the corresponding passage in the Umātī grant, and in the legend on the seal of the present grant and perhaps on the seal of the Umātī grant. Prof. Bhūjāṃdarākar has made some remarks (Jour. Bo. R. Br. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 20, note *) on the prefix srimat, stating that he had never found it used as a prefix to the names of kings. It, however, does constantly occur in such a connection,—not only in the case of subordinate kings and feudatory chieftains, e.g. srimat-am-maḥ-śeṣ-rai-vāh: Ch: chandarastusṛ, in No. I. L. 10-11, (Vol. IV. p. 173); srimat-Garg-Permanjī- Bhavasakṣa-srimat-Udāy-dījātṛ, in No. II. L. 21-2 (id. p. 200); srimat-Udāy-drāma-tiśaṇ-ūrt, in No. LXXXVIII. 1. 31 (Vol. IX. p. 131); srimat Liśpatrapa, in No. CXXXII. 1. 7 (Vol. XII. p. 223); and srimat Permanjī-Mīrācchadhvan-ā, in No. CXXXIV. 1. 10-11, (id. p. 256); but also in the case of pyramount sovereigns, e.g. srimat-d-Te-ḍī-bhīn-ud-śaṇ, in No. L. 4-5, (Vol. IV. p. 179); srimat-Bhavasakṣa- mīrtvadā, in No. II. L. 10-11 (Vol. IV. p. 236); srimat-Trabhvamasūmnīlātṛ, in No. CXVII. 1. 5-6 (Vol. V. p. 130); srimat-Adityavardha, in No. CXIX. 1. 12-13 (Vol. VI. p. 67); srimat-Vallabhānamādātṛ, in the Miraḥ bōtās, in Vol. VIII. p. 15; srimat-Dēla-van śchātra, in Vol. CXL. 1. 34-4 (Vol. X. p. 130); srimat-Laudera, in No. CXXVII. 1. 63 (Vol. XII. p. 181); srimat-Am- gharsh-Nipatagāma, in No. CXXXVIII. 1. 16 (id. p. 219); srimat-Nityavrāhadā, srimat-Urvīvaravrāh ṁdā, and srimat-Vallabhānamādātṛ, in No. CXXXIX. 1. 16 (id. p. 251); and srimat-Kottiragāma, in No. CXIV. 1. 5 (id. p. 253); srimat-Akāvaravrāhādā, srimat-Am-gharsh-vāh, and srimat-Vallabhānamādātṛ, in No. CXXXVI. 1. 45-5, (id. p. 266); and srimat-Kakkalā- dā, in No. CXXXVIII. 1. 45, (id. p. 271).
Second plate.

Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.

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[*] ha-saṃpannato vimala-dīśaśīta-jīva-lōkaḥ parama-bhūda-samā (ma)nuṇṇa-vipulagurjara-ṃrj-opān (va)la-pradi (dī)patiṃ upagataḥ.

[*] samadhiṣṭapanaṃ chahamahāḥ sāmbha-māhārājādhirāja-ārīmad-Duddadh kuśali sarvāṇā eva

[*] rāṣṭrapati-viśnupati-grāmako (kū)ra-[ā]pya."yū

[*] ḍhauḥ-ṛgaṃ-saṅgha-ra-ṣṭha-[ā]māṇi pu (pū)rvatāḥ Vāranī (n)ra-grāmāḥ dakṣipataḥ

[*] Varaṇī-[ā]-nadiḥ paschimataḥ Shāhāva (vī) daka-grāmāḥ ut ([*] jaraṇaḥ

[*] Aralūmī-ṛgaṃ-[


[*] samastā-rajkīt (k) y (h) n[ā]m apṛavāśyaṇa (ṣya ṣ) chandrī-[ā]rka-[ā]ṛṣaṇa-vaṭhi-sarit-parvata-samāna-kalīna (h) putra-paṁtr-anvaya kram-ōpaḥhōga (h) pu (pū)rvaprat-tā-dāya.

[*] brahmā-dāyā-varjabhya-abhyantrā-siddhy [ā] Śakṣa-ṃripa-kāl-śtita-saṅkharāchhata (t)ra-saṭa-

[*] chatuvuiyapapta-saḍa-ādhihīkā Yē (ṛj) śttah-[ā]maṃ [ā]vaiy [ā] h [t]va [s] (u) ya-grāṇa-

[*] hō udak-āsītarīcā pratiṣātīnā (h) [śt] Yātāśaya-śītarīcā [ā] brahmādāyā-sthityā kṛṣhata-

[*] hō udak-āśītarīcā pratiṣātīnā (h) [śt] Yātāśaya-śītarīcā [ā] brahmādāyā-sthityā kṛṣhata-

[*] tō vā na vyā [ā]śadhaḥ pravartitavya [ā] [ā] Tathā-īgimbhir-āpi nripatībhir-asrāma-


[*] nirvīś (ā) śhō yām-asmad-[d] tyō nūmantavyāḥ pālāya-vāsya-ś [ā] Tathā chōktān [ā]

[*] Bahubhir-vasudhā bhūk(bī) ṛjābhīḥ Sagar-ādhibhīḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya
Chhachh, yamamānam-anumādāta va sa pañcha(ṛcha)bhir-mahāpāta
kair-upapātakaśe cha sañyukta[h] syād-itī [i] Uktaṁ cha bhaγavata veda-
vyaśē(ś). [ii]

na Vyāśe(ś)ṇa [i] Shashtiṁ varaha-sahasrāyī svargē tishtattai bhūmi-daḥ
aṣṭa-chchhēttā ch-anumantā cha t[ā]ṁnye-eva narāke vasāt | (i) Yān-īha
dattāṁ purā-

kō nāma sādhuṁ punar-adadita [i] Sva-dattāṁ paraddattā[ṁ] va ya-

[iv] tnād-rakṣaṁ narādhipaḥ [iv] mahīṁ mahīḥ(mātamāṁ sṛṣṭiṁ)śaṁ dānāṁ-chhṛyēṁ-
nupālanam [i] Likhitam-idaṁ samudhivigrah[ā]ṁdhi-kṣita-Rāvēṇa M[ā]ṁdhava-

[iii] Sri-Praśāntarāgga(ga)ṣya [i] [ii]

Translation.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp situated in front of the gate of (the city of)
Bharukacchha:-

(L. 1.)—(There was) the glorious Daḍḍa,—
—who covered the expanse of the sky with the
creeping plant of (his) fame, which was as
white as a waterilly awakened by the rays of
the moon when it has come out of a mass of
water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose
spotless sword was (always) being loudly pro-
claimed by the weeping in the morning of the
wives of the hostile Sūmantas who were slain
when they came out against (him) in the
dangers of many battles; whose head was
irradiated by a tiara that was decorated with
the lustrous rays of a crore of diamonds (in it)
which were scratched by performing obeisance
to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of gods
and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors;
who possessed a store of religion, the sole help
to (obtaining) paradise, that was (always) being
increased by satisfying the desire for wealth of
poor people and the helpless and the sick and
strangers and supplicants and people in distress;
whose clever and versatile nature was mani-
ifested by the favour, induced by (his) honeyed
speeches, preceded by respectful obeisances, of
passionate women who were made angry by
(their) affection (for him); (and) who cast the
dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of
the rays of (his) spotless virtues.

(L. 6.)—His son (was) Śrī-Jayasyaṁhaṅa,—
—who manifested the proud valour of a young

lion by the prowess of his sword, as by a
merciless leap, which destroyed the troops of
the elephants, infuriated with rut, of (his)
enemies; who displayed all the sporting quali-
ties of the elephants of the quarters by expedi-
tions in the forests growing on both sides of
the sea, and by an unstinted stream of libe-
rality as by an unrestrained flow of rut; (and)
who perfumed with the sandalwood-oil of (his)
fame, which was as white as crystal or as a lump
of camphor, the slopes of the high breasts,
which were as clouds, of Lakshmi, who was as
the sky.

(L. 9.)—His son, the glorious Daḍḍa, the
supreme king of great kings, who has attained
the pāchkanāhādaṁ,—who has dispelled the
dense darkness which, developed by the power
of evil, had pervaded the whole world; who has
illuminated the world of living creatures by
(his) pure precepts, perfected by (his) exces-
sive affection for (his) spiritual preceptor; who
has attained the supreme (true) knowledge;
and who has become the torch of the
extensive lineage of the Gurjara kings,—
being in good health, issues (his) commands
to all the rāṣṭrapatis, vishayapatis, grāmakāras,
āyu(k)tas, niyukta(k)as, ādhikārikas, mahattaras,
and others:—

(L. 12.)—“Be it known to you that, in order
to increase the religious merit and the fame in
the next world of (my) parents and of myself,
the village of Raśumān in the vishaya of
Akuḷēsārā,—the boundaries of which are,
on the east, the village of Vīraṇēra; on the

[iv] This mantra is a mistake.
[iii] Here, and in the Umētā grant, the reading differs
from the reading, puraṁ paraṁrāt, of the two Kaīra
grants. ** This Vīraṅga is a mistake.
[iv] Differing from the Umētā grant, the attestation here
is not in current-hand characters. See note 21, p. 84
above.

88 Vidhānā; see Vol. VII. p. 62, note 8, and p. 252,
90 The context is (L. 11) trumad-Daḏda ākulaṁ saṁyavana-
frēna. *** (L. 12) saṁjñāpantti. All the genea-
logical portion, down to L. 9, is of the nature of a paren-
thesis.
south, the river Varanā; on the west, the village of Śuṣṭhavaṇḍaka; (and) on the north, the village of Āralāmā, this village, thus specified as to (its) four boundaries, together with the udraṇa, and the uparikara, and that which is to be given (in kind) in grain and gold, and the (right to) forced labour as it arises; not to be entered by any of the king's people; to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth and the rivers and the mountains (may endure); to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and son's sons, with the exception of grants formerly given to gods and Brahmans; (and to be held) by the (custom of) abhyantarastidhi, has been given by me, with libations of water, in (the year) four hundred, increased by seventeen, of the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, at (the time of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of (the month) Jyeshṭha, for the purpose of maintaining the bali, the charu, the vaisnavāda, the agnihoṭra, the five great sacrifices, and other rites, to the Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, the son of the Bhatta Gōvinda, who resided at Abhichhaṭra, who belonged to the community of the Chaturvedīs of that (town), who was of the Kāśyapa gotra, and who was a religious student of the Bahvijīcha śākhā.

(L. 19.)—") Wherefore no obstruction should be caused to this (man) cultivating (this village) according to the proper condition of a brahmaṇḍa, or causing (it) to be cultivated, (or) enjoying (it), or causing (it) to be enjoyed, or assigning it to another.

(L. 20.)—") And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future kings whether of Our lineage or others, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, recognising that the reward of a grant of land is common (to him who makes it and to him who preserves it), (and) understanding that riches are as unsteady as a drop (of water, and are) transient, (and) that life is as fleeting as a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass. And so it has been said:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; he who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the reward (of this grant that is now made)! And he shall incur the guilt of the five great sins and of the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to its confiscation!"

(L. 23.)—"And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vīdas:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those ancient grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here, are like unused garlands (that remain from an offering to an idol); what good man would take them back again? O king! best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, (whether) by thyself or by another; preservation is better than giving!

(L. 26.)—"This (has been) written by the Suddhivigrāhādhikṛita Rēva, the son of Mahāvā.

(L. 27.)—"This (is) the sign-manual of me, Śrī-Praśāntaraṅga, the son of Śrī-Vitarāga.

No. CXLIII.

This is another of the grants that were found together with the grant of Nandaprabhaṣaṅjanavarmā, No. CXXXVIII. above, at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjām' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Graham to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The grant consists of three plates, each about 6½" long by 2½" broad. The edges of the plates are here and there fashioned slightly thicker; but not so uniformly or in so marked a way as to shew whether this was done intentionally, to serve as a raised rim to protect the writing. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ⅖" thick and 3¼" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about 1½" by 1½"; and it has, on a countersunk surface, the figure of

\[28\] Śūra-hasta. See, however, note 25, p. 118 above.

\[29\] No. 156 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate Grants. Noticed by me, ante Vol. X. p. 243, No. 2.
some animal; as the grantor was a worshipper of Śiva under the form of Gókarṇaspámi, and as the bull of Śiva appears on the seals of some rather later grants which are closely connected with the present one, we might expect this figure to be that of a bull, couchant to the right proper right; but it is much worn and very faint, and might now be taken just as readily for a boar, standing to the proper right. The weight of the three plates is 72½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 39½ tolas,—total, 112 tolas.

The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of the Mahärája Indravarmá, of the Gágá family, the lord of the whole country of Kalínaga, and is issued from the city of Kalínaganagara. And it records the grant of the village of Támaracheruva, in the vishaya of Varáhavartaní, to some Bráhmans.

The grant was made, according to lines 10–11, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on the full-moon day of the month Márghásira. In line 20 another date is given, in numerical symbols,—the fifteenth day of the month Chaitra, and the one hundred and twenty-eighth year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. This must be the date on which the charter was written.

There is nothing at present to show the era to which this date is to be referred, or to indicate the starting point of the era. But the years are probably those of the Gágéya era, which is mentioned in some grants of the Gágá family that I shall shortly publish. And it is possible that the Mahärája Indravarmá of this grant is identical with the Adhärája Indra, who is mentioned in the Gódvári grant of the Rája Prithivimulá,21 as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhaṭṭarka. This Indrabhaṭṭarka must be the Eastern Chálukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayaśimha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishvavardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591). This is the period to which the present grant, and No. CXLIII, and the 'Parla-Kimeči' grant mentioned below, may be allotted, on paleographical grounds, and on account of the use of numerical symbols in the date and the omission to specify the lunar fortnight of the month. And, with this to start with, the mention of the eclipse of the moon, in lines 10–11, may perhaps serve, on calculation, to determine the date of the grant exactly.

No. CXLIII. below, is another grant of the same Mahärája Indravarmá, dated in the same way, in numerical symbols, on the tenth day of the month Mágha, in the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty.

And another grant, closely connected with these two, has recently been found at 'Parla-Kimeči.' I have not seen the original plates of it yet. But the transcription that has been submitted to me suffices to show that it agrees closely throughout with the style of the present two grants, and is a grant of the Mahärája Indravarmá of the Gágá (or, probably, in the original Gágá family), the lord of Kalínaga, and is issued from the city of Kalínaganagara. It records the grant of the village of 'Kétāta' in the 'Devanna' pañchálat. And it is dated, in numerical symbols, on the thirtieth day of the month Mágha, in the ninety-first year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. The interval of fifty-five years between this 'Parla-Kimeči' grant and my No. CXLIII, renders it doubtful whether it is a grant of the same Indravarmá, or of a grand-father of the same name;—especially since, at the end, it seems to give Indravarmá the title of Rájasínha, which is not mentioned in my two grants. But, that the three grants are closely connected with each other is indisputable.

Text.*

First plate.

[1] Svasti Vijayavatō(tah) Kalínaga-nagara-vásakā[=*]
Mahändr-āchāl-amala-āikhara-prati-
śhita-.

[=] sya char-āchara-gurū[=]

[=*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmman-āika-sūtra(tr)a dhārasya bhagavatō

Góka.

21 It is to be noted that the vowel of the first syllable is long here and in No. CXLIII. below. Whereas, in the rather later grants, connected with these, that I have mentioned just above, it is short, and the name of the family is Gágá.


23 From the original plates.
GANGA GRANT OF INDRAVARMA.
THE 128TH YEAR.

1.

IIa.
SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

April, 1884.

[1] ṛṣṇasvāṁmināṁ—charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmaṇ-vigalita-Kali-ka-

Second plate; first side.

(dhyāya) ta[h]ā śīr.

[6] man-mahārāj-āñdravarmanā Bava[r]āhavartaṇi-vishayā̄ Tāmaracheru-gṝhagrate[m]aśī-

[7] ta[m] sarvā-kara-parihāraṁ-cha parihiṛi śīryā-āchandāṛkka-pratishtham-saggra-
(gṛa)hārin kṛitvā m[ā]tā̄.

[10] purāṅaśānakṣa cha puny[i]ga-ābhīvirḍhyāyā Marggaśira-paurṇamaśyāṁ sām-ōpa-
(pūbbhā[f] Vāja-


Second plate; second side.

[18] āṣaṃramma-Māṭriṣaṃramma-Kumā[r]āṣaṃramma-Māṭriṣaṃramma-Dēvaśaṃramma-Behn-


dharmarākra-vra-kkra[m]a-vkka[kkra]

[16] ṇ[ā]m anyata-yogād-evāpy[ā]jā mahāṁ-anusāsadbhir-āyanō-dānā-dharmnō-nupāla-
dattā rājābhik[h] Sagar-ādibhi[h]

[18] yasā yasā yada bhūmis-taṣa taṣa taṣā phalōṁ [1] Svā-dattāṁ para-
dattām-ba[v]a yatnā rakshā

Third plate.

svayam [1]


[21] Kṛitā ch[e]śyā-

[21] m=prāṣati=samayā-Dēvatchandra-sūnuṇā


Translation.

Hail! From (his) victorious (residence) situated at the city of Kaliṅgānamagāra, the glorious Mahārāja Indravāraṁ, who has had the stains of the Kaliage washed away by obesiance to the two waterlilies which are the feet of the holy Gōkaraṇsvāṁ, the religious preceptor of (all) things movable and immov-

able, the sole architect for the formation of the universe, who is established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahēndra;—who is the ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṅgās;—who has attained the supreme sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga by the quivering of the edge of his own sword; whose fame is stainless over the earth which

This is evidently the correct form of the name.

Conf. No. CXXXVIII, lines 10-12, ante p. 40.

Siva, as the lord of Gōkara, a place which is still of great repute and sanctity in the North Canara District of the Bombay Presidency.

A mountain, or range of mountains, said to be one of the seven principal chains (kulaśekhara) in Bharatavarsha or India, and sometimes identified with the northern parts of the Ghaus of the Peninsula;—Professor Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.
is girt about by the waves of the water of the four wide-spread oceans; whose feet are tinted with the mass of the clusters of blossoms which are the lustre of the crest-jewels of all the chieftains who have been bowered down by the prowess of (his) shouts of triumph produced by victory in the contests of many battles;—
and who meditates on the feet of (his) parents, —
having exempted the village of Tāmara-
cheru in the Varaḥavartanī viśaya, together with its hamlets, with exemption from all taxes, (and) having made (it) an agrahāra, established to continue as long as the moon and the sun may last, (and) having, for the increase of the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, accompanied (this act) with libations of water, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of (the month) Mārgasīra,—[issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators]—

(L. 11.)—"Be it known to you! (This village) has been given (by me) to Brāhmans of various gōtras and charayas, (viz.) to Narasini-
ghaśarmā, Behnuśarmā, Śivāśarmā, Māṭriśarmā, Kumārāśarmā, Māṭriśarmā, Dēvaśarmā, Behnuśarmā, Mahāśeśāśarmā, Māṭriśarmā, and Raviśarmā, headed by Kumārāśarmā and Dēvaśarmā of the Vājaśanāyya (sakhā). Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, tendering the proper shares of enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—And he makes the request to future kings, (that) this religious act of charity should be preserved by (all) who rule over the earth, which may be acquired by any one or other of the methods of religion or succession (by inheritance) or prowess.

(L. 17.)—In the songs of Vyaśa, there are (these) two verses on this point:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of the grant that is now made)!
O Yudhishthira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (of a grant) is better than making a grant!

(L. 19.)—The command is (by) himself.

The years of the augmenting victorious reign 100 (and) 20 (and) 8; (the month) Chaitra; the day 10 (and) 5.

(L. 20.)—This praiṣasti has been composed by Rahaśikā-Śaṅkaradēva, the son of the Amātya Dēvachandra; (and) it has been engraved by the Maṇḍ hē Aḍitya, the son of Vijayachandra.

No. CXLIII.

This, again, is another of the grants that were found together with the grant of Nanda-prabhaṇjanavarmā, No. CXXXVIII, above, at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Graham to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me, for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about 6½ long by 2½ broad. The edges of the plates are here and there fashioned slightly thicker; but, whether this was intentional or not, it is difficult to say. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ¼ thick and 2½ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about 1½ by 1½; it had some emblem, on a slightly countersunk surface; but it is almost entirely worn away, and it is impossible to say with any certainty what it originally was. The weight of the three plates is 53½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 14½ tolas,—total, 72½ tolas. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The characters are of the same class with those of No. CXLIII. above; but, in some of their details, they differ from the characters of that grant, and follow the characters of some other, rather later, grants of the Gaṅga family, that I shall shortly publish.

This is another grant of the Mahārāja Indravarmā, of the Gaṅga family, and is issued, like No. CXLIII, from the city of Kaliṅgaṇagara. It records the grant, to two Brāhmans, of the village of Tālamūla in the Koroṣṭaka pañchāti.

The grant was made, according to line 15, on the seventh day of the month Māgha. In
line 23, another date is given, in numerical symbols,—the tenth day of the month Māgha, and the one hundred and forty-sixth year of
the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. This must be the date on which the charter was written.

Text.*

First plate.

[Svasti
Jaladhi-jala-tarāñga-karapallav-ālāhita-śakala-Kalih-agani-tala-ti-
lakāyamānd-vijaya-Kalih-agani-nārakāśa-sakala-bhuvarnā-nirmāṇa-aika-satradhāraṇyā-sa
sakalā-saśānka* chūdamānd-śrīmah-āhi-bhūga-parikarasya
Mahāndr-śrīkara-nivāsinā
Gokarpāsāvālīna-na-nararata-pranāmānd-vigata-Kalih-kalaśa
sahaja-vanay-āpāst-āri-sahayagga-ōdaya
śakti-traya-prakar-āvanata-samasta
sāmanta-sirō-mukula(ta)-mañi-prabhā-pavallavī

Second plate; first side.

svadhigat-anēka-vidyā-kalā-kalā-prasād-āvāptā-śāhīrīvaka
prathita-vi
pulāma-Gāṅa-āvay-āmbara-sakalā-śaśāch-chasāṅkā
mātāpitrī-śrād-ā
nudhīvya(dhīvya)taḥ parama-māhēśvarāḥ Śrī-mā(ma)ḥrāj-āvadārmmā Korosakya-pa
śākalyāṁ
Tālāmula-ṛūma sarv[āṇ]* samavētāṁ kuṭumbāṁ samā
jñāpayat[āst]* Parīgatam[smatu] bhavadbhir-yaath-āyaṁ grāmāḥ sarva[va]-kara
bharam parihṛityāḥ-ā-chandur-ārka-paniṣṭham-agraha-[ārm] kṛtva mātāpitrī
dat

Second plate; second side.

raśmanas-cha pūnty-ābhivridhyā-arthaṁ Avarēṇa-Kalih-agni-kāt[ā] bhaya-sthā

na-vāstavyābhīḥ kauśakā-gūḍābhīhām chhandogṣa-sabrahmacābhiḥ Skanda
śarma-Lalitāśrammahāyāṁ Māgha-saptamayām ndaka-purvvaṁ saṃmāhiḥ
samprattas-tad-evaḥ buddhāy yathōchitaṁ bhāga-bhōgam-anpanaya
ntāḥ sukaṁ pravīṣasat-ēti [\*] Bhavahishyād-rājani[}],[hī]ḥ-ā-śaṁ dāna-dharmāṁ-nupā
lANyō [\*\*] Vyāsa-gītāṁ cha-ātra śloka bhavya[n]*nti [\*] Bahubhīr-vvasudhā

Third plate; first side.

datā bahubhīṁ cha-ānupātīḥ yasya yasya yadda bhūmis-ta
na taṣaḥ tadā phalam [\*\*] Sva-dattāṁ pada-dattāṁ vā yatnām rakṣa Yudhi
aśṭhirā mahī[m]\* mahīmatāṁ ārāṣṭha dānāṁ-chañhāyō-nupālanaṁ [\*\*] Shashṭi

Third plate; second side.

[\*\*] sahā(h)arāṇi svarggaṁ tiṣṭhati bhūmi-daḥ akṣhēptā ch-anumanta\* cha tāny-śeva na
[\*\*] rakō vaśād-iiti [\*\*\*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-śaṅvatārāḥ 100 40 6 Māgha di

[\*\*\*] Ajjñāmahamabhātara-Gaurīṣarm[\*\*\*] [\*\*\*] Likhitam-śadma-sāmāy[\*] A[\*\*\*]\*] ukaka[\*\*\*\*] desumā

Translation.

Hail! From the victorious city of Kaliṅga

ara, which is the ornament of all the land of Kaliṅga that is embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean, the

Mahārāj Śrī-Indravārma,—who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by unceas

ing obedience to Gokarpāsāvām, the sole architect for the formation of the universe, who has the full-moon for (his) crest-jewel, (and) who is clothed with the coils of great serpents, (and) who dwells on the summit of the moun

tain Mahāndra,—who, by his innate propriety of conduct, has prevented the development

\* From the original plates.
\* The lower part of this letter is cramped and badly formed, in consequence of being too close to the ring-
bole.
\* The lower part of the v is imperfect in the litho-
graph.
\* This word, asiti, is superfluous and meaningless.
\* This annesera is a mistake. \* Correct into voraha.
\* First and was engraved, and then it was corrected into nād.
of the six enemies;"—the water-lilies of whose feet are covered with young buds which are the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the chieftains who have been bowed down by the excess of (his) three constituents of power;—who Ḭas attained the proficiency of a holy teacher by the purity of all the numerous sciences and accomplishments that have been well mastered (by him);—who is the full autumn moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gāṅgās;—who meditates on the feet of his parents;— (and) who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvarā, issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators in the village of Tālāmūla in the Korosōṭaka paṇḍāt:—

(L. 11.)—"Be it understood by you that, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, this village, having been exempted from the burden of all taxes, and having been made an agrahāra, established to continue as long as the moon and the sun may last, has been given by us, on the seventh day of (the month) Māgha, with libations of water, to Skandaśarmā and Lalitaśarmā, inhabitants of the two places of Avaraṅga and Kalinagara, members of the Kautāsaka gōtra, (and) religious students of the Chhandōga (Śākhd). Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, tendering the enjoyment of shares in accordance with what is proper."

(L. 17.)—And this religious act of charity should be preserved by future kings.

(L. 18.)—And there are the verses sung by Vyāsa on this point:—Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (in grant) by many; he who, for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of the grant that is now made)! O Yudhishthira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (of a grant) is better than making a grant! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 23.)—The years of the augmenting victorious reign 100 (and) 40 (and) 6; (the month) Māgha; the tenth day, The command" is (by) the Mahāmahottara Gaṇrīśama. This (charter) has been written by Bhavālatta (?), the son of the Aṃdīya Aḥkākade (?), (and) engraved by the Bhōgika who is the Aḳkhaśālīka.

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MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.
Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.B.A.S., Principal, Gujarat College.
Continued from p. 61.

55. Sometimes silence is more efficacious than speech.

56. The error of a wise man is like a shipwreck in which the ship itself is sunk and others sink with it.

57. The gain of this world is the loss of another.

58. The things of this world which have the appearance of being good corrupt weak minds.

59. Be liberal in conferring benefits and largely extend your beneficence, for there will be a most certain treasure in the future and a most pleasant remembrance of them.

60. The love of the world is the cause of calamities.

61. The cause of hatred is envy.

62. The cause of fighting is litigation.

63. The armour of the pious is prayer.

64. The authority of a fool manifests his faults, but that of a wise man his good deeds.

65. He who willingly listens to foolish talking, is an abettor of the speaker.

66. The good administration of justice is seen in three things; in moderating strictness with clemency, in giving with the utmost impartiality to each what belongs to him, and in observing well a method so as not to turn to the right or left.

67. Enquire about a companion before you join him on a journey, and about a neighbour before you hire his house.

68. The gratitude of a true man is shown by his work, but that of a hypocrite by his tongue.

69. To be praised by the wicked is the worst praise.

70. The worst of men is he who does not care if men see him doing wrong.

71. The worst of rulers is he whom the innocent fear.

(To be continued.)

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66 See ante p. 56, note 19.
67 See note 45 above.
68 See note 56 above.
THE subjoined grant has been edited from an excellent photograph made over to me by Dr. Burgess. The grant consists of five plates measuring 9 by 7.5 inches, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only. The holes for the ring by which the plates were held together are pierced through the upper part of the plates which is rounded at the top and notched on both sides. The preservation of the plates is excellent. The originals belong to the Government Museum at Madras.

The grant contains 70 stanzas in various metres. Stanza 8 to 62 record that in Śaka 1558 or 1636 A.D., the year Dhātri of the cycle of Jupiter, Ashātha sudi 12, and before the idol Śrī-Vēkṣaṅgī, king Vēkṣaṅga of Karṇāṭa, who resided at Pūnugōṇḍa, granted the village of Koṇḍyāta surnamed Gopālaśīrpa to Rāṅga nātha, the son of Śrīgarāja and grandson of Lakkarāja, who was an ornament of Vēkṣaṅga’s court, belonged to the Kauśika-gotra, followed the Āpastambaśātra, and was engaged in the study of the Yajurveda.

As I shall prove afterwards, the immediate predecessors of Vēkṣaṅga II were Rāṅga II and Vēkṣaṅga I. The former issued the Devanājali grant dated Śaka 1506 or 1584 A.D., of which Mr. Rice has published an abridged translation, the other the Vilāpaka grant dated Śaka 1523 or 1601 A.D., a facsimile of which was furnished to this Journal by the Madras Government, and published with a note by the late Dr. Burnell.

The Vaiṣṇavam of the Koṇḍyāta grant (stanzas 3 to 33) names the following princes:—

- The Moon (3)
  - Budha (4)
  - Puruddravas
  - Āyu

1 Pūnugōṇḍa is situated in the Belur District of the Madras Presidency, lat. 14° 5’ N., long. 77° 38’ E. See the article Pennakonda in the Imperial Gazetteer, and the map in Mr. Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, p. 84 of the Introduction. It was at Pennakonda that the Vijayanagara royal family is said to have taken up its abode after their defeat by the Mugalman. It must not be confused with Pūnuqanda in the Godavari District.

2 This village must be situated in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency, to which one of the localities mentioned in the description of its boundaries, viz., Gudīyāta, belongs. See the article Gudīyāta in the Imperial Gazetteer.

3 Mysore Inscriptions, p. 262.
4 Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, p. 371. Dr. Burgess has provided me with an excellent photograph of this grant.
5 A king ‘Śrīvada Narsimha’ is mentioned among the successors of Bukka of Vijayanagara by Wilson, Arstic Researches, vol. XX, p. 7.
6 Stanza 1 to 19 of the Vijayanagara grant—stanzas 1 to 16, 18 to 20 of the Koṇḍyāta grant.
Veṅkaṭa I, who issued the Viḷāpaka grant of Śaka 1523. The Koṇḍyāṭa-grant mentions the reigns of both Raṅga II and Veṅkaṭa I, and continues the Vahāvālī from Raṅga III, the elder brother of Veṅkaṭa I, thus:

Rāma (25).

Veṅkaṭa II cannot have belonged to the fourth generation after Veṅkaṭa I, as the difference between the dates of their grants is only 35 years. If one supposes that the genealogist has confused Rāma I with Rāma III, the two branches of the Vahāvālī may be combined thus:

Rāma I (9 to 12; 25)

Tirumala.

Rāṇa (26).

Rāma II (16, 17; 27 to 29)

Tirumala (19 to 22)

Veṅkaṭaḍri (18)

Rāṇa (30 to 33)

Raghuṇātha

Pēḍavenkṣa or Venkaṭa*II

[Śaka 1558]

Veṅkaṭa II would then have been a very distant relation of Raṅga II and Veṅkaṭa I, the last two kings of Karṇaṭa of the other branch.

The earlier half of the Vahāvālī has scarcely any historical value, and is evidently compiled from different sources. The first or mythical part serves to connect the kings of Karṇaṭa with the Somavānsa or Lunar-race; hence Veṅkaṭa I and Veṅkaṭa II profess to be Atreya gotrajas or descendants from the race of Atri, the Moon's father. Nānda is the representative of the old dynasty of Pālaiputra, which was overthrown by the Maurya Chandragupta. Chāliṅka, after whom Veṅkaṭa I and II call themselves Chāliṅkachakravartins, or emperors of the race of Chāliṅka, seems to represent the celebrated Chāliṅka dynasty; Bijjaja the Kaḷachuris; and Bukka the princes of Vījayanagara. The Viḷāpaka and Koṇḍyāṭa grants throw no light on the confused accounts which we possess of the later kings of Vījayanagara. Although the kings of Karṇaṭa may have been related to the kings of Vījayanagara, it is impossible to say how they descended from those Vījayanagara princes whose inscriptions have been published.

Raṅga II is the first prince who is called king of Pēṇugonda in the Koṇḍyāṭa grant. He and his two successors Veṅkaṭa I and Veṅkaṭa II bear in their respective grants the titles 'lord of the town of Āraṇī,' and

Vīḷāpaka grant, 32; and Koṇḍyāṭa grant, 42.
Vīḷāpaka grant, 33; and Koṇḍyāṭa grant, 43.


* Mr. Fleet has given a list of the Vījayanagara inscriptions published by himself, and of other unedited ones, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S., vol. XII, p. 336. That passage of the Koṇḍyāṭa (and Viḷāpaka) grant which treats of the privileges granted to the donor (58 to 62) and the comminatory stanzas at the end of the grant (66 to 70) resemble literally the corresponding passages of a Vījayanagara grant published by Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 254.

† The only other prince who receives this title in the Vahāvālī is Pinnama II.
'lord of the town of Kaḷyāṇa.' Both the Viḷṭāpaka (stanzas 28 to 40) and Koḍyāta grants (stanzas 44 to 47) contain a long passage which praises in general terms, and enumerates the Sanskrit and Kannarese birudas of the two Veṅkaṭas. Of each of the two it is said that, having been anointed by the spiritual teacher of his family, Tāṭayārya, he vanquished the Yavana, i.e. the Muhammedans; and that he gained the throne of Kārṇaṭa by the strength of his arms, just as the kings of Vijayanagara, the Karnāṭa princes, ruled over smaller dignitaries, called Nāyaka or lieutenants. The Viḷṭāpaka grant seems to have been issued at the request of a certain king Liṅga of whom the king Ballāḷaśrīya was afraid, who resided in Nellaturi (probably Nellatur, between Madras and Chittoor), and was the son of Velurībhoma (or Bomma of Velur?) and grandson of Viratpa Nāyaka. A few inscriptions of the Balam Nāyakas have been translated by Mr. Rice; in one of them dated Śaka 1500 or 1578 A.D. Krishṇappa Nāyaka acknowledges king Raṅga II as ruling sovereign. Although the kings of Karnāṭa had their tributaries, their title, Mahālakka, or provincial chief, seems to imply that they were or had at least been at the time of the assumption of that title vassals to some other power, the inscriptions do not say to which. In any case it is nothing but an empty boast when Veṅkaṭa I says that he was 'praised by the kings of the Kāmbhojas (sic), Bhojas, Kāḷīganas, Kāranāṭas, &c., who were his doorkeepers,' and if it is asserted of both Veṅkaṭas that they were 'honoured by the Aṅgājas and Magadhins.'

The stanzas of both the Viḷṭāpaka and Koḍyāta grants were composed by the 'poet' Raṁa, the son of Kāmakoṭi and grandson of an unnamed Sāhāṣpati. The engraver of the Koḍyāta grant was Achyutārya, the son of Gaṇapārya and grandson of Veṅkaṭachārya, while the Viḷṭāpaka grant was engraved by Kāmavēṅkaṛa, the son of Gaṇapaya and younger brother of Viratpa, evidently an elder brother of Achyutārya.

The South-Indian origin of the author and the engraver of the Koḍyāta grant manifests itself in several peculiarities. The Visarga is very often omitted, especially before sibilants. For initial i, e, u we find yi, ye, vu (yava, stanza 23 and yitt, st. 54; yetāṇ, 15 and yekā; vuttarā, 56) and vice versa (tārītaka for tāṛītaka, 56); ri for ru (ṛiṛa, 9, drima, 25, ṭtṛitarat, 26, viṛīta, 30, viṛītaka, 28) and ri for ṛiṛi (iṛiti, 28). The aspirates are not seldom confounded with the unaspirated letters, i with s. In two cases s is doubled (kaṇamiyya, st. 32, and raṅganāṛiṇakā, 52) and several groups are assimilated (chāḍikka, 5; annā for ahnā, 6, abhihāchhamān, 20; anuvṛjijā, 31; chāḍikka and māṇikka, 43; savyuktaka and savyuktika, 59).

The alphabet employed in the Viḷṭāpaka and Koḍyāta grants is the Nandināgarī. The excellent preservation of the Koḍyāta plates enables me to give a few additions and corrections to Dr. Burnell's table of that alphabet. The new letters are—ñ, ñ, ai, ē, dhá, pha, ṛa; among the groups of consonants these are the most frequent.

Dr. Burnell, I. c., appears to have misunderstood the passage, as he represents Viratpa Nāyaka as the grandfather of Veṅkaṭa I. The name Viratpa occurs several times in the list of the Nāyakas of Madura found in Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pudaya, Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. vol. III, p. 241. See also Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 2nd ed. pp. 143 and 146 of the Introduction.
at the end the name of Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa (Vishṇu), the tutelar deity of the two Veṅkaṭas,7th in bold Kannarese characters, just as the name of Śrī-Virūpākṣa (Śiva) occurs at the end of the Vijayanagara grants.

Transcript.58

Plate I.

[ ] 99-अधिकृतकृत्याकृत नमः [I] यस्य संपर्कुण्येन नारीर- [ ] लगभूतिस्मलाः यदुवत्य तस्माद तस्माद- [ ] अन्य य [J] यस्य हिरष्टस्त्रावः परस्परः परस्परः विमे [ ] निरीक्ष भजन्त विद्वान्तो न तमाधये [ ] प्रश्ने तीर्थर- [ ] लोम्रीते संतुजम् हेतुः [ ] अवंतन चक्रोपलम- [ ] राज्यकरः महाः [ ] [I] पौराणिक पूर्ववर्त्तमानसत्यागराज- [ ] अन्नः [I] सदद्वे नन्द्वे यात्रित्वभन्नत्साच्छ पूर्ति: [ ] ततो भारतो भूम्भु नृत्यस्तस्वस्तकी श्रेष्टतुः [I] तत्सिद्धि वि- [ ] वायुयिन्यं वृहुवदभूत्स्नानस्तिश्शत: [ ] [I] नदस्त स्वाय- [ ] विभूति नमस्त: स्वायत्तकाम- [ ] लक्षम्ययवालो नानाद कामय कामयकाम- [ ] तत्तत्तमयवाले श्रीपतिसतिवर्मवाले नेर- [ ] तत्ता- [ ] लक्ष्यवेदने दशम इह नुषै बीहित्यहित्यहितालि- [ ] इत्यहि मुरारी कृतनिर्दिक्षम्भस्मय मायापुरी: [ ] [I] तत्सिद्धि वि- [ ] यथावते सततियतभीतापलो निभारितकामय- [ ] निभारितकामय सर्वो परिवर्तितातुः अने- [ ] केन सामिष्टिक्षुतिविरवृत्त अति सुती बीहि राष्ट्र- [ ] देवरामात्रत तत: श्रीपतिसतिवर्मय: [ ] [I] आरामकम- [ ] रीतिमोहभूमय सुकुलरावलयस्तु: [ ] वैन सारोऽ[I]- [ ] गृहालरेयस्त्र (रज्जा) मन्दिरमात्रमहासा विरीक्षुः [ ] [I] बालकामी नृत्यनुतुनातिबिरातिवस्तुः बुकाली- [ ]

Plate II A.

[ ] 50-पतिनिको भुजकल्याशकी कल्याणिनी कम- [ ] लक्ष्याने द्विष्लिष्यं बलाविकामुदवहुहाश्मय- [ ] सीलां [I] तुस्त तलनलक्ष्मापुरविभिन्नुपुरुषाय भावंकुल- [ ] भारिविध दूरपुलकल्याणात: कैथव्या अतीतममरम- [ ] श्रोतां शरीषसुत्रकुपार्चकुल मात्रति वहवलाम्बत सारम- [ ]

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57 Those two kings belonged to the Karnatka Vaishnavya Drees, about whose literature Dr. Kittel has given interesting particulars (Ind. Ant., vol. II, p. 397). The following names of Vishnu occur in the Koḍiyaka grant: Kuṭalakara, Murari, Sārāndhara, Sēpāghi, Śrīrāma, Śrīvekṣaṇa, Hari. 58 The abbreviation V. in the notes refers to the Viḷāpaka grant.

59 Plate I. Line 2, read "भुजकल्याशकी कल्याणिनी कम-" L. 11, read सत्त्रम: तत्त्वातीशिक्षेत्रोऽर्था V. L. 12, सत्त्रालीकरोऽर्था V. L. 13, शूरवस्त्र V. read शूरवस्त्रय: L. 14, नेत्रलीकनवर्मणम् V. L. 15, नेत्रलीकनवर्मणम् V. भार्तेन्द्र (read भार्तेन्द्र) L. 16, read भार्तेन्द्र V. L. 18, शूरवस्त्र V. पत्रिसुत V. read सारव- पुरनहरायण: L. 19, कृदन्त V. L. 20, कृदन्त V. L. 20, वालकामिः नृत्यनुतुनातिबिरातियताः बुकाली V. L. 21, पतिनिको भुजकल्याशकी कल्याणिनी कम- L. 12, सत्त्रालीकरोऽर्था V. L. 13, शूरवस्त्र V. read शूरवस्त्रय: L. 14, नेत्रलीकनवर्मणम् V. L. 15, नेत्रलीकनवर्मणम् V. भार्तेन्द्र (read भार्तेन्द्र) L. 16, read भार्तेन्द्र V. L. 18, शूरवस्त्र V. पत्रिसुत V. read सारव- पुरनहरायण: L. 19, कृदन्त V. L. 20, कृदन्त V. L. 20, वालकामिः नृत्यनुतुनातिबिरातियताः बुकाली V.

60 Plate II A. Line 1, कुष्ठ V. L. 2, इष्टि कुष्ठ V. read इष्टि वर्मणम: L. 8, इष्टि कुष्ठ V. L. 4, कृदन्त V. L. 5, बुकालीपुप्त V. read बुकालीपुप्त V. L.
Plate II B.

[2] निःहय स रामराबवर: | भरतभूमणीरयादि-...
Plate IV A.

[1] पुरातत्त्वाध्यक्ष: 
[2] अम्बेद्कर: 
[3] नागर: 
[4] नागर: 
[5] नागर: 
[6] नागर: 
[7] नागर: 
[8] नागर: 
[9] नागर: 
[10] नागर: 
[11] नागर: 
[12] नागर: 
[13] नागर: 
[14] नागर: 
[15] नागर: 
[16] नागर: 
[17] नागर: 
[18] नागर: 
[19] नागर: 
[20] नागर: 
[21] नागर: 
[22] नागर: 
[23] नागर: 
[24] नागर: 
[25] नागर: 
[26] नागर: 
[27] नागर: 
[28] नागर: 
[29] नागर: 
[30] नागर: 
[31] नागर: 
[32] नागर: 
[33] नागर: 
[34] नागर: 
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[36] नागर: 
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[39] नागर: 
[40] नागर: 
[41] नागर: 
[42] नागर: 
[43] नागर: 
[44] नागर: 
[45] नागर: 
[46] नागर: 
[47] नागर: 
[48] नागर: 
[49] नागर: 
[50] नागर: 

L. 7, read वेदः. L. 8, read हांसाविन्द. L. 9, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 10, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 11, read श्रीवास्तव. L. 12, read श्रीसुप्रति. L. 13, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 14, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 15, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 16, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 17, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 18, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 19, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 20, read श्रीमान्द्रि. L. 21, read श्रीमान्द्रि.
Plate IV B.

1. विद्या तृतीयधिकुली। [५३] आयुर्धीर्विषयोऽर्थं आयुर्धीर्विषयोऽर्थं

2. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

3. गृहोत्सवम्। [५३] गृहोत्सवम्।

4. तत्त्वरुपतिः। [५३] तत्त्वरुपतिः।

5. पालस्त्रीधिकुलीमाम। [५३] पालस्त्रीधिकुलीमाम।

6. चार्यम। [५३] चार्यम।

7. दशमांश। [५३] दशमांश।

8. दशमांशं। [५३] दशमांशं।

9. दशमांशं। [५३] दशमांशं।

10. दशमांशं। [५३] दशमांशं।

Plate V.

1. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

2. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

3. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

4. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

5. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

6. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

7. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

8. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

9. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

10. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।

11. श्रीमल्लिकासनं। [५३] श्रीमल्लिकासनं।
The three inscriptions from Kanheri of which I submit transcripts and translations are those mentioned in vol. IV of Archaeol. Survey of W. India, p. 64, l. 5, and p. 70, l. 3. My transcripts are chiefly made from excellent paper impressions by Dr. Burgess, but I have also consulted the eye-copies published by Dr. West in vol. VI of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society. The first of the three inscriptions is Dr. West’s No. 15; the two others, which formerly were considered as only one inscription, and which by Dr. West are given as No. 43, I denote by Nos. 43A and 43B. Portions of No. 15 and of No. 43A have been read by Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, whose translation is given in the Journal Bombay Br. R. As. Soc. vol. XIII, p. 11, and in Burgess, Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of W. India, p. 61 and 62.

No. 15 contains six lines. The first three lines are each 11 8” long; the next two each 17’ 7½”, and the last is 11’ 8½” long. The letters are about 2½” high; they are not carved very regularly, but broader and deeper than in the other inscriptions. The inscription is in a fair state of preservation.

No. 43A contains five lines, each of which is 7’ long. The letters are about 1½” high; though faintly cut, they are regularly and skilfully formed. Excepting the final portions of the upper three lines, the inscription is well preserved.

No. 43B, separated from No. 43A by two vertical lines, also contains five lines, each of which is 7’ 6” long. The letters are somewhat smaller than in 43A, and they are faintly and irregularly cut. To what extent the inscription has suffered may be seen from Dr. West’s copy.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit, and the alphabet employed old Devanāgarī. The forms of the letters are essentially the same as in the Śāmaṅgaṇaś copper-plate grant of Śaka 678, published at p. 110 of vol. XI of the Ind. Antiquary. As regards medial vowels, the signs used for a and å for the diphthongs may be seen from the following aśarhas taken from No. 15: ā pu; ā shū; ā me; ā ko; ā tai; ā ro; ā yo; ā guṇ. Each of the three inscriptions shows slight peculiarities as regards the shape of several letters; in No. 43A the stroke used for the medial å (and o) is drawn lower down than in No. 15; the r which is written above another consonant is angular in No. 43A and rounded in No. 15; the following upon a consonant is in No. 15 denoted by ∑ (∑ = ṭha), in No. 43A by ∑ (∑ = etha); such and other differences will be better seen from representations than from any verbal description which I might give here.

Each of the three inscriptions is dated; No. 15 Āsvina badi 2, Śaka 775 = September 12th, A.D. 854; No. 43A Śaka 799 = A.D. 877-8; and No. 43B, I believe, Saṁvatsāra (i.e. Śakasamvatsāra) 765 = A.D. 843-4.

The inscriptions record the erection of certain buildings at Kanheri and the grant of certain sums of money to be expended for the benefit of the monks of that monastery, and they are interesting chiefly as proving that Buddhism was by no means extinct in Western India during the second half of the 9th century A.D. Besides, they furnish for the reign of the Rāstraṅga king Amogha-varsha (Śarva, Ind. Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 180), the dates Śaka 765 (?), 775, and 799; for that of his vassal Pūlaśakti, the Silāha rā chief of the Kōkāc, the date Śaka 765 (?); and for that of Pūlaśakti’s successor Kapardin (II, Lāghun) the dates Śaka 775 and 799; and they mention Jagattunga (Govinda III) as the predecessor of Amogha-varsha, and Kapardin (the older), likewise a vassal of Amogha-varsha, as the predecessor of Pūlaśakti. It also deserves to be noticed that the name of the last-named prince is written pūlāśakti, not pūlāśakti as in the grant of Chittarkādeva. (Ind. Antiquary, vol. V, p. 277) and in the grant from Khārapātan (l.c. IX, p. 33). For the rest I refer the reader to Paṇḍit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Journal As. Soc. of Bombay, vol. XIII, p. 11-13; Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 35; Ges. der Wissenschaften, Göttingen.

1 An article in German on these inscriptions will be found in the January number of the Nachrichten der
the same scholar’s inscriptions in vols. XI and XII of the *Ind. Antiquary*; Bühler, l. c. vol. VI, p. 59 and vol. V, p. 276; and Telang, l. c. vol. IX, p. 33. For the capital of the Konka, Puric, mentioned in No. 43B see *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 278, Plate II.A, line 5, and vol. IX, p. 35, Plate III, line 64, and the notes of the editors of the inscriptions.

No. 15.

Transcript.

(1) ओ नामित शक्तिः प्रजा।
(2) मात्रिघोशस्वरूपीयर्यामः प्रभुः!
(3) नाविन्धायाय तस्मातः।
(4) मात्रिघोशस्वरूपीयर्यामः प्रभुः!
(5) भो दिन वृह ओमः

Translation.

O! Hail! On Wednesday, the second of the dark half of Āśīna in the Prajāpāti year, when seven hundred seventy-five years—in figures, too, 775 years—of the era of the Śaṅku kings had passed, on the aforesaid (second) lunar day of the said half of the said month and year; during the prosperous reign of victory of the supreme lord (Parama-bhāṭīraka), the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amogha-vārsha (Amogha-vārsha-deva),—who remembers the supreme lord (Parama-bhāṭīraka), the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the revered illusrious king Jagattunga (Jagattunga-deva); during the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious king Kapardin (Kapardin-rāja), chief among the great feudatories, who has attained the five titles commencing with ‘Great,’ and who remembers the revered illustrious Pallakṣi, chief among the great feudatories, who had attained the five titles commencing with ‘Great,’ the lord of the whole Konka (Konka-vallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amogha-vārsha) 11—

11 वृहि उपद्रवणि—only वृहि उपद्रवणि is quite clearly visible; about the v-stroke under नी I am doubtful.
12 वृहि मयस्य सी—may have been शी.

* The ekabhas which I have read आधिष्ठम at first sight be read माधिष्ठ, but a more careful examination shows that the first ekabha is really शी and the last नी; the नी also appears clearly under नी.
* The ekabhas following upon the last शी of this line is शी with the sign ओ above it; below it ओ appears to me to be visible.
* कोलिणीर्यामः—only वृहि and ओ are quite clear. Under ओ there are traces of another letter which I take to be र. Between उ and ओ I believe to recognise उ, ओ, and traces of ब under which another letter must have stood. See No. 43A, line 3.
* खेल्लि—Or खेल्लि only the lower part (खेल्लि) is quite clear.
* खेल्लि before अधिष्ठम may have been शी.
The deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Pattiyašaka named Yogo, and the Āchāryya of Chikhyallapaḷika. Religious merit to [the donor (?) and] the witnesses.

O, O, heavenly Buddha! (Let) fortune (attend)! Never are worthy recipients those who wrong the beings. To him, whose conduct is good, will I give; he may approach as a worthy recipient! To him verily shall be given, because sin is not found in him.

Whatever in the above may be deficient in letters, whatever may contain too many letters, all has authority.

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No. 43 A.

Transcript.

Translation.

Om! Hail! When seven hundred and ninety-nine—in figures 799—years of the era of the Saka kings had passed; during the prosperous reign of victory of the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amodhavarsha (Amoghavarsha-deva); during the prosperous rule of the illustrious Kapardin, chief among the great feudatories, the lord of Konkaṇa (Konkaṇa-vallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarsha);

Vishnu—may fortune be propitious to him!—gave* one hundred Drmannas to the monks of the worshipful community dwelling at the great monastery of the famous mount of Krishna, and caused to be built in the ground a hall-mansion suitable for meditation, where (the monks) shall receive clothes and other (gifts). Out of compassion with the worshipful monks this (hall and the endowment connected therewith) shall be preserved so long as the moon and the sun and the other (luminaries) retain their brilliancy. He who should fail to preserve them will be guilty of the five sins which carry with them immediate retribution, and shall suffer great pain in the Avidhi and the other (hells).

This deed has been approved of by the presence of the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Achārya Dharmākaramitra, the Gomin Avighnākara, (and) the Pattiyānapaka-yoga.

May we be saved through religious merit! May fortune attend!

No. 43 B.

Transcript. 69

* The two aksharas which I have read विष्णु look at first sight like विंचन or विंग, but I believe I am right in reading the first sign विं, and am certain that the second is neither विं nor विं, and that the lower portion of it contains a न. Compare (सं)विंस्विण्ड.. in No. 48B, lines 2 and 3. Between भवि and विं there appear traces of a Visarga.

69 ṇलोकविंधम्—I consider to be certain; besides there is under the य a sign which I believe to be य, and one under य in which I recognize य. कोणस्या नायिकिः—िः is certain, the following akshara somewhat indistinct; in what remains of the next four aksharas I believe I can recognize traces of नायिकस्य.

in Ajanta Inscriptions No. 4, l. 18; Burgess, Archaeol.Surveys, vol. IV, p. 125. 60 पिष्कण्डमिन्द्विः—has almost entirely disappeared; what is left of the following akshara looks somewhat like व, and may have been क्र. The final Visarga is very indistinct and the य preceding it looks like the modern य.

63 विं यह may have been विं. Below line 5 West's copy has five more aksharas.

64 Read देवविंद्वस्रिः.
65 Read सत्कारिः.
66 Read प्राप्तिङ्गः.
67 See Childers, q, p. 140.
68 Read पुरुष अविनाय.
69 Some of the aksharas enclosed in square brackets are very indistinct, and it may be doubtful whether I have read them all correctly; but I believe that the number of aksharas given by me will be found to be right in every case.
Translation.

Oṃ! During the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious sovereign of great kings, the victorious ruler, the lord of the earth (Prithvirajah), the illustrious Amoghaśvarāśa, the illustrious great king; while the illustrious [great ruler] Pulāśakti is governing Purī and all the other parts of the Konka country,—(Pulāśakti) who [remembers] the great feudatory, the [revered illustrious] Kāpardin, the lord of Konka (Konkaśāvallabha) [obtained] by him through the grace of (Amoghaśvarāśa);—

the old minister and devoted servant of (Pulāśakti), Vishu [ ... ],—may fortune [be propitious to him!—the son of the illustrious Hari, [the superintendent ... ], after having made obeisance to the illustrious worshipful community at the famous mount of Krishnā, out of great kindness twenty [Drammas to please] the illustrious holy one; three [Drammas for the repair of what may be damaged or ruined here in this monastery]. For clothes [of the worshipful community five [Drammas] shall be expended, [for books one Dramma]. The perpetual endowment (amounts to) forty [Drammas], forty, (and) a hundred and twenty Drammas [in gold. The disposition (as to the expenditure)] of these Drammas should be guarded like wife [and children]. In the year [765].

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 124.)

No. CXLIV.

The original plates containing the inscription now published were found by a Brāhmaṇa in digging the foundations of a wall for the compound of his house at ‘Pedda-Maddali,’ in the ‘Nārāvird’ Division of the Krishnā District in the Madras Presidency. They were obtained by me, for the purpose of editing the inscription, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about 6½” long by 3½” broad. The edges of them are raised, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, with the exception of a fold at the right corner and of a crack at the bottom of the third plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ½” thick and 4½” in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is oval, about 1½” by 1½”. It has, in relief on the surface of the seal itself, and not on a countersunk surface as is usually the case,—at the top, a moon; in the centre, the legend Śrī-Sa[r]a[v]uṣaṣā [ ... ]va-siddhi; and, at the bottom, apparently the remains of the name Jayasīhha, but the letters are almost entirely broken away and illegible. The weight of the three plates is 53½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 50½ tolas;—total, 104 tolas. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of the Mahādīja Jayasimhavallabha or Jayasimhāḷa, of the Eastern Chalukya family, and is issued from the city of Udayapura. It records a grant of the village of Peṣukapura, on the east of (the village of) Mardavali or perhaps Maddavali, in the viṣaya of Gudrahara. And it is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign, i.e. in or about Śaka 582 (A.D. 660-1).

Text.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrīmad-vijāy-Ódayapuraḥ bhagavapvi(t-Srā)mi-Mahāśāna-pād-ān-


[3] After kṛṣṇā some such verb as dvaratī presents must have stood.


[6] Specifically mentioned in other inscriptions. The total sum to be yearly expended was 29 Drammas, which according to the legal rate of interest would require a capital of about 200 Drammas. The fact that this capital is in the above denoted by the expression 40° 40° 120 Drammas, may be accounted for by assuming that (as e.g. in Naik inscription No. 10, Arch. Survey IV, p. 104) it was entrusted not to one, but to several persons or guilds.


[8] From the original plates.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

May, 1884.

The subjoined Nāgarī-inscription is transcribed from an ink-impression sent by Dr. Burgess to Professor Bühler. The former obtained it at Mahu in Mālwā. It is a Yant-2, or auspicious diagram, and consists of a large triangle divided into 21 smaller ones, each of which contains a name of the planet Bhu or Mars in the dative case preceded by the second type of the rest of the inscription. In the fourth aksara, it, seems almost impossible not to see the numerical symbol for 100.

The enclosed Nāgarī inscription is spoilt by the next letter, a (6), running into it.

This last line is quite unintelligible.
YANTRA PLATE
holy syllable Ōh, and followed by the word samaḥ ‘adoration.’ A number is attached to each invocation, No. 1 standing in the centre triangle, and Nos. 2 to 21 being arranged as on a dial-plate. The names Nos. 2, 11, 12, and 15 are synonyms of Bhauma (No. 13), and mean ‘the son of the earth.’ With the epithet riṣahārti ‘the destroyer of debts’ (No. 3), compare riṣuṁaka, a name of Mars, in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Yama (No. 17), is elsewhere used as a name of the planet Saturn.

On viṣṭakarṇī ‘the destroyer of rain’ (No. 20), see Varāhamihira’s Brihatsamhitā, chap. VI, where Mars is repeatedly said to cause drought by his appearance.

Transcript.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ओ मंगलाय</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ भूमिप्रसाय</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ वृकी</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ धनपाय</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ विशालनाय [न]म</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ महासाय</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ सर्वधिरवृद्धसाय</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ लेहताय</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ लेहतसाय</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ सामगानय  [व]पा [क]राय</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ धाराम्याय</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ कुषाय</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ मैषाय</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ मुखिताय</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ मूखमन्नाय</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ अंगारकाय</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ यमाय</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ सर्वरामचारकाय</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ विद्याय</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ वृहत्साय [व]म</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ सर्वनामाकलमदाय</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE ON THE SAME.**

**BY S. M. काव्या सिद्धि.**

This Yantra is better known by the name of Ashārama-yantra. Āṅgāra kā or Mars, the son of the earth and hence the name Bhauma, is the 3rd of the Navagrahīdh, or nine planets of the Hindu system. All these grikhas have good or bad influences on the horoscope of a person according to their positions. Āṅgāra kā (Mars) and Śani (Saturn), are the most dreaded for their malignant influences. Any person supposed to be thus afflicted gratifies these grikhas by describing their names in Chakras or Yantras in a copperplate, and worshipping these diagrams in his house.

**CHINGHIZ KHĀN AND HIS ANCESTORS.**

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

(Continued from p. 115 ante.)

XXV.

Chinghiz Khān was now the over-lord of the Nomadic world of Asia. From the Yellow Sea to Lake Balkhash he was accepted as undisputed master; so undisputed that within these limits we do not read that he had henceforward any rebels to oppose or civil strife to appease. This vast area, the nursing ground of so many invaders of the West, had not fallen into his hands bit by bit, but it had previously, as we have seen, been largely integrated into two or three important kingdoms, and when these fell, there fell at once into the conqueror’s power large bodies of disciplined men and large districts already organized. Further, Chinghiz had given crushing blows to the two settled empires of Eastern Asia, which bordered upon the steppes he loved so well. He had given such staggering blows to the Kin empire and that of Tangut, that there was little to fear from them if he determined to turn his back on the East and try a more venturesome campaign against a power of equal dignity with his own. He was now in fact to march his beardless, slant-eyed, yellow-skinned warriors across the fair plains of Irān, where men had patiently for centuries collected the treasures of Eastern culture in art and literature and were little aware that a master of shepherds was at hand, who was to sweep it all away; to trample down the cynosure of Islām and all its proudest monuments, and to leave

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*1 I am unable to explain this word. The first of the two nāsharas enclosed in brackets is read doubtfully, the second obliterated.*
his footprint in indelible characters there. The empire of Khvârezm, against which Chinghiz Khân was now to array his men, had been hastily conquered, and had had but a short term of greatness. It had succeeded to that of the Seljûk Turks.

This empire, like several others in South Western Asia, was founded by a Turk, who had been originally a slave.

The sovereigns of Persia were in the habit of purchasing young Turks, who were captured by the various frontier tribes in their mutual struggles, and employing them in their service. They generally had a bodyguard formed of them, and many of them were enfranchised and rose to posts of high influence, and in many cases supplant their masters. The founder of the Khvârezmian empire was such a slave, named Nushhtikin, in the service of the Seljûk Sultan Malik Shâh. He rose to the position of a chamberlain, which carried with it the government of the province of Khvârezm, that is, of the fertile valley of the Oxus and the wide steppes on either side of it, bounded on the west by the Caspian, and on the east by Bukhara. He was succeeded by his son, Kuthu’d-dîn Muhammad, whose service to the Seljûk rulers, Barkiârek and Sanjar, obtained for him the title of Khvârezm Shâh, a title which was borne by the rulers of that province before the Arab invasion. He was succeeded by his son, Ataiz, who, several times took up arms against his sovereign Sanjar, and became virtually independent of him. He was ruler of Khvârezm when Yelin Taishâ, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, entered his dominions, and having been defeated by him, he was obliged to become his tributary. He was succeeded in 1156 by his son Il Arslan who, on Sanjar’s death in 1157, conquered the western part of Khorasân. He left two sons, named Takish and Sultan Shâh, between whom a long struggle ensued. Takish was eventually victorious. He also conquered the Seljûk ruler Toghrul, and sent his head to the Khalif at Baghdad. By this conquest Irak Ajem was added to his dominions. With the deaths of Toghrul and Sanjar, the Seljûk dynasty in Persia came to an end, and Takish obtained the investiture of their States from the Khalif. Takish was succeeded in 1200 by his son, Alaiu’d-dîn Muhammad who, by the conquest of Balkh and Herat completed the subjection of Khorasan to the Khvârezmian empire.

Shortly after Mazanderan and Kerman were reduced to obedience. He then broke off his allegiance to the ruler of Kara Khitai, whose dependent in Transoxiana, named Osman, became his man. He also conquered a portion of Turkistan as far as Uzekend, where he placed a garrison. Some time after, having quarrelled with Osman, who had meanwhile become his son-in-law, he attacked and took him prisoner and afterwards put him to death.

He then appropriated his dominions and made Samarkand his capital.

In 1212-13 he annexed the principality of Ghur, and three years later attacked and subdued the country of Ghazni. When he captured its chief town he discovered proofs that the Khalif had been intriguing against him. He accordingly determined to depose him and marched a large army westwards. On his way he received the submission of the rulers of Azerbaijan and Fars, and at length entered the dominions of the Khalif, which at this time were limited to the provinces of Irak-Abad, and Khuzistan. Muhammad occupied the former province, and proceeded to divide it into various military fiefs, but this was the extent of his aggression in this direction. A terrible storm overtook his troops on the mountains of Asadalbad, and after losing many of them, the rest were attacked by the Turkish and Kurdish tribes and suffered terribly; a fate which popular superstition naturally assigned as the result of so unholy a war. Muhammad deemed it wise to retire, and his retreat was probably hastened by his quarrel with the Mongols. He gave Irak Ajem as an appanage to his son Roknu’d-dîn, the provinces of Kerman, Kesh and Makran, were assigned to Ghiathu’d-dîn; Ghazni, Bamiyan, Ghur, Bost, &c., which formed the old Ghur empire were assigned to Jelaln’d-dîn, while to his youngest son, whom he had fixed upon as his heir, was assigned Khvârezm, Khorasan, and Mazanderan. From this enumeration it may be gathered that Muhammad was a very powerful sovereign. He controlled an army of 400,000 men and his dominions at the invasion of the Mongols stretched from the Jaxartes to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus to Irak Arab and
Azerbaijan. Besides the empire which he inherited and carved for himself within the borders of Iran, the Khuärezm Shâh dominated also over a considerable stretch of the western part of the steppe lands of Turan, namely those occupied by the Kankali Turks. His father, Suljân Takish, had married Turkan Khatun, the daughter of Jinkish, chief of the tribe Bayaut, which was a section of the Yemeks, who again were comprised under the generic name Kankali. With her there passed into Khuärezm several of her relatives with their tribes, who joined Muhammed's service. Through her influence they exercised great authority in the empire and were even a menace to himself. She was a strong-willed woman, headed their faction, and exercised a power equal to his own. She acquired a large appanage, employed seven secretaries to do her work, and took the title of Khudâvand Jihân (i.e. sovereign of the world). Minhâj-i-Siraj calls the father of Turkan Khatun Ikrân Khan of Kipchak. In another place he calls her the daughter of Kadiring Khan, Khan of Kipchak. Muhammad's wife, as well as his mother, belonged to the Bayaut tribe. Through these connections, there can be small doubt that he exercised great authority in the steppes of the Kankaüs.

Two such rulers as Muhammad and Chinghiz Khan, both ambitious, both powerful, and both carvers very largely of their own fortunes, were hardly likely to live in close proximity without a cause of quarrel, and Chinghiz Khan, it must be said, had plenty of reasons to urge for his aggression besides the somewhat unprompted attack on his men who were pursuing the Merkit princes, to which reference has already been made.

The Musalmâns of Persia, both Tajiks and Arabs, were famous traders. From early times they had made enterprising voyages into various remote countries, and the trade with Siberia for furs and fossil ivory was largely in their hands. They permeated the East, no doubt, in all direc-

tions. We have seen that when Chinghiz Khan mediated his attack on China he had by him one of these western travellers, named Jafari, or Jafari Khoja, whom he employed as a spy. He was no doubt but a type of many others. Abulghazi expressly says that there were no towns among the Mongols, and that the merchants who traded with them for kumash (cloths) furs, &c., found it very profitable.

Minhâj-i-Siraj, the author of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, tells us that Muhammad, wishing to know the extent of Chinghiz Khan's power, and ambitions also of making conquests in the farthest East, sent the Sayid Bahaü'd-din Razi on a mission to the Mongol ruler, whom he found occupied in his Chinese campaign, as we have previously mentioned. On entering the presence of Chinghiz, the latter said:—'Behold, my affairs and my sovereignty have attained to such a pitch of grandeur, that the monarch of the empire of the setting sun has sent envoys unto me.' He seems to have treated his visitor well, and requested when he dismissed him that envoys on both sides, and merchants and caravans should constantly come and go, and bring and take away with them choice descriptions of arms, cloths and stuffs, and other articles of value and elegance of both empires, and that between the two monarchs a permanent treaty should be maintained. In his message he styled himself sovereign of the sun-rise, and refers to Muhammad as sovereign of the sun-set. He also sent the Khuärezm Shâh a rich present, consisting of 500 camels, laden with gold, silver, silks, khaz-i-khitai (i.e., Chinese silk brocade), kunudus (i.e., furs of some kind), zamur (i.e., sable), tārghū, raw silk, and other elegant and ingenious things of Chin and Tamghaj. This is the account as given by a contemporary, who tells us he had it expressly from the lips of the Bahaü'd-din himself, yet it is strange that no other writer refers to the latter as Muhammad's envoy at this time, and he was doubtless in a subordinate position. Juvani tells us the
Khuârezm Shâh sent three envoys, of whom he names two, namely Aljmâd of Khojend, son of the Amir Husain San, and Aljmâd Tajîjk (? the Tajik), and they took with them gold embroidered cloths, thick cloths, fine cotton stuffs, &c. Abulfaraj says they were met at the Mongol frontier by the Guards, called Karâkjâ, and taken to their master.

We are told that Aljmâd exhibited his wares before the great Khân, and asked him an exorbitant price for them; two or three gold balishes for things only worth ten to twenty dinars. Chinghiz was enraged, and said, "This man fancies that we have never seen such things before;" and he ordered the riches of his wardrobe to be displayed before him, and then had the merchant's goods confiscated, and had him put under arrest. When his two companions were introduced they diplomatically put no price on their goods, and merely said, "We have brought these for the emperor." This pleased him so much that he ordered a golden balish to be given them for each piece of golden tissue, a silver balish for every two pieces of fine cotton, and another for every two pieces of coarse cloth. He then summoned the merchant whose goods had been confiscated, and paid him after the same rate. The three traders were well treated, were supplied with food and also with white felt tents. On their departure Chinghiz ordered his relatives and the noyans and other grandees to choose two or three agents each, and to supply them generously with money, and then ordered the whole body to return with the merchants to the empire of Khuârezm to purchase some of its products, and no doubt also to report on the condition of the country. This caravan, according to Juveni and Rashidu'd-din, consisted of 450 Musalmâns. Abulfaraj says 150 Musalmâns, Christians and Turks. Muhammad of Nissa, who was a high official at the court of Muhammad's son, and is therefore very reliable, says their number was only four, all subjects of the Sultan, whom he names, Omar Khoja, of Otrar; Al Jemal, of Meragha; Fakhrur'd-din, of Bukhara, and Aminu'd-din, of Herat. They were probably the four leaders of the caravan. The caravan was apparently preceded by three envoys specially sent by Chinghiz, who were named Mahmud Yelvaj, of Khuârezm; Ali Khoja, of Bukhara; and Yusuf Gemriga, of Otrar. The caravan took with them silver bars, musk, jade, and tarkal, as presents for the Khuârezm Shâh, and they also bore letters which, we are told, were phrased as follows:—

"I send you my greeting. I know your power and the vast extent of your empire. I know that you reign over the greater part of the world. I have the greatest wish to live at peace with you. I shall regard you as my dearest son. On your part don't forget that I have conquered China, and subjected to my authority all the Turkish tribes north of that empire. You know that my empire is an ant-hill of warriors, a mine of wealth, and that I have no occasion to covet other realms. I fancy we have a mutual reason for encouraging commerce between our peoples." 15

This letter, it will be seen, breathed the arrogant spirit which pervaded all Mongol documents, and, although politely worded, Muhammad was given to understand that his correspondent was really his patron, and that in addressing him as his son he really meant that he should consider himself his vassal. Muhammad treated the envoys well, and in the evening he summoned Mahmud Yelvaj to him, and addressed him thus:—"You are a Musalmân, and a native of Khuârezm. Tell me the truth. Has your master conquered Tamghaj, or no?" 16 At the same time he gave him a costly stone from his casket. "As true it is as that the Almighty lives, and he will shortly be the master of the whole world," was the answer. "Oh, Mahmud," the Sultan said, "You know the extent of my empire and my widespread power. Who is this Khan of yours, who presumes to call me his son, and speaks to me in such an arrogant tone? How great is his army—how extended his power?" To which he replied; "The army of Temujin is to that of the Sultan as the light of a lamp beside the sun; like the face of a monster, compared to that of a Rumelian Turk." The result of this interview was the arranging of a treaty of peace between the two sovereigns. After which the envoys

11 Erdmann, p. 356.
12 Abulfaraj says the rich vestures which had been presented to him by the kings of Cathay.
14 Vide ante.
returned home to their master. Meanwhile the caravan proceeded, and arrived at Otrar. Otrar was governed at this time by an uncle of Muhammad, the Khânreiz Shâh, called Inaljuk, who bore the title Ghair Khân. He was an avaricious person, and stirred by the sight of so much wealth determined to secure it, and craftily sent word to his master that these were not traders but spies, and further that they greatly disturbed the people by covert threats of some great catastrophe that was to happen. He received orders to watch them, but this would not satisfy him. He invited them to a feast at his palace where he had them murdered. Only one person escaped, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the public baths, and managed to escape by the fireplace. This fortunate person fled to Chinchiz, and reported to him what had happened. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, p. 143, has the briefest reference to the embassy, and its results, and merely reports that the Khoikhoi, had killed Chinchiz Khân's envoy, Ukhun, and put to death a hundred men in all. In the account of the journey of Yelin Chutsai who accompanied Chinchiz Khân in his western journey, we read, speaking of O-ta-la or Otrar:

"One time the chief of this place ordered several envoys and several hundreds of merchants who were with them to be put to death, and seized upon their goods. That was the cause of the army being directed against the western people."  

The Yuan-shi merely says that in the summer of 1219, some envoys who had been sent by Chinchiz to the west were murdered. DeMailla says that Chinchiz having sent some of his officers into the Si-yu to summon its princes to submit, they cut off the heads of his ambassadors at Odala. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen says that the people of Si-yu massacred some people sent by Chinchiz Khân.  

When he heard of what had happened that irascible chief was naturally enraged, and sent off envoys to complain to Muhammad about his subordinate's treachery, to acquaint the Sultan that the greater number of the murdered envoys were Musalmâns, and to remind him of the very different treatment his subjects had met with in Mongolia. He demanded that Ghair Khân should be surrendered, and offered him war as the alternative of refusal. The bearer of the message was a Turk, named Bagra, whose father had been in the service of Sultan Takish. But Ghair Khân was too powerfully connected to allow the Sultan to surrender him, nor does he seem to have been pleased with the tone of the letter, for he put Bagra to death, and sent back the two Mongols with their beards cut. Chinchiz was so moved by this atrocity that he wept, and could not rest. He climbed a mountain, where, uncovering his head and throwing his girdle over his shoulder, he invoked the vengeance of God, and passed three days and nights fasting. Abulfaraj, to whom we owe the account, adds that on the third night a monk dressed in black and bearing a staff in his hand appeared to him in a dream and bade him fear nothing, that he would be successful in the campaign he meditated. On awaking, he repeated the dream to his wife, the daughter of Wang Khân, of the Kerais. She assured him that the monk was a bishop, who was in the habit occasionally of visiting her father and of giving him his blessing. Chinchiz Khân appealed to the Uighur Christians if they had any such bishop among them. They accordingly summoned Mar-Denha, who wore his black tiara, upon which Chinchiz said that although the bishop was similarly dressed to the apparition which he had seen that his face was different. The bishop then said it must have been one of the Christian saints who had gone to him. After this adventure, we are told, Chinchiz treated the Christians with especial consideration.  

It will be confessed that Chinchiz Khân had enough provocation for the invasion he made of the West, but he had other reasons than those I have enumerated. The Khalif, who had
grown jealous of the power of the Khuârezm Shâh, also made overtures to the Mongol chief. We are told that he summoned his advisers about him, and represented to them the danger the Khalifate stood in from the ambition of Muhammad, and that he was determined to enter into communication with Chinghiz Khân, whose vazîr, Mahmûd Yelvâj, was a Muhammâdan. The council, we are told, was much divided. The minority approved his suggestion, but the majority urged that it was impious and wrong to make allies of infidels in struggling with good Musalmâns. The Khalif, in reply, said that a Muhammâdan tyrant was worse than one who was an infidel, and that Chinghiz had numbers of Musalmâns about him, one of his chief ministers being one. His view prevailed, and a suitable envoy was chosen. In order that he might not be discovered in traversing the very crooked gauntlet he would have to pass, it was determined to write his passport on his bald head. Having given him the message he was to deliver they then tattooed his credentials in a few words on his head, in the violet colour called by them nil (i.e., Indian blue), in the manner De la Croix says they do to pilgrims at Jerusalem, and then sped him on his way. The envoy reached the chancellary of Mahmûd Yelvâj in safety. He was received in secret audience by Chinghiz Khân, and when asked for his credentials bade them shave his head. They did so, and found that the Khalif proposed that he and Chinghiz should attack the empire of Khuârezm on either side. At that time, it would seem that Chinghiz was not disposed to fight, and gave the envoy a diplomatic answer, but the Khalif’s invitation no doubt formed a considerable ingredient in the motives which afterwards moved him. This invitation, which eventually brought so much disaster upon the Musalmâns, has drawn much blame down on the Khalif’s head. Mirkhônd compares him to the three devout pilgrims in the fable, who one day met in the fields with a heap of rotting bones. They began to dispute about them, but could not agree as to what the animal was. They then determined to pray consecutively to God to revivify the animal. The first had hardly finished his prayer when a great wind arose and brought the bones together. When the second was praying the bones were covered with flesh, while in answer to the prayer of the third the object began to move with life. They then found it was a lion, who sprang upon them and devoured them. We can see from these facts that Chinghiz Khân had numerous motives impelling him to march against the ruler of Khuârezm. He was accompanied by Yelin Chu-tsai, whom we have mentioned as having been taken prisoner at Peking, and who had joined his service. He wrote an account of the great conqueror’s march, which is only extant apparently in an epitome or abstract entitled, “Si-yu-lu, or an abstract of a journey to the West,” which is found in the first chapter of the Shu-chaio-hiao-hio-ts’un-yüan, a work written by Yu-tze, during the Yuan dynasty. It has been translated and edited with elaborate notes by Dr. Bretschneider. He begins by saying that in the spring of 1218, in the third month, he left for Yün-chung (Ta-tung-fu west of Peking), crossed the Tien-shan mountain, the Ta-tai or stony desert, and the Shamo or sandy desert, and reached Chinghiz Khân’s ordur. He says that the next year a vast army was raised, and set in motion westwards. The way led through the Kien-shan range, i.e., the Echor or Chinese Altai. Here, he tells us, that even in the middle of summer the ice and snow accumulated on the mountains, and the army was obliged to cut its way through the ice. The pines and kui trees (?) larches) were so high that they seemed to reach heaven. The valleys abounded in grass and flowers. Ch’ang-Ch’un, who also crossed this range on his journey, says the mountains were very high and vast, with deep defiles and long slopes. He adds, there was no road for carts. The road over the mountains was planned and constructed by the third prince at the time the army went to the west. So difficult was the pass when Ch’ang-Ch’un crossed, that he tells us the hundred riders who formed his escort were ordered at difficult ascents to pull their carts by ropes, and to place drags upon the wheels when descending. During three days he passed three successive ridges, and then reached the southern or rather the southwestern side of the mountains. Dr. Bretschneider learnt from Captain Mutussofsky that

24 De la Croix, p. 138.
25 Bretschneider. Notes on Chinese Travellers to the West, pp. 111 and 112.
26 i.e., by Chinghiz Khân’s third son, Chagatai.
27 Id. pp. 27 and 28.
the Ek-tagh range is high, especially the northern part of it, which in some places is covered with eternal snow. It is traversed by four passes, only one of which, namely, that of Urgoqi, is practicable for riders. Dr. Bretschneider adds:—"I have little doubt that Chinghiz with his armies passed by this defile. In his march to the west with a numerous cavalry he was always obliged to choose such roads as presented the most abundant pastures." This pass leads to the sources of the Kiran river, an affluent of the Black Irtish, and the road leads down along the Kiran, on which river some years ago a new town, Tulita, was founded by Chinese from Kuirja expelled by the Tungans. It is situated in a fertile valley, with rich pastures. The valleys of the Irtish and its tributaries all present luxuriant pastures." It was in these pastures of the Irtish that Chinghiz Khan passed the summer of 1219. Rashid tells us expressly that he did so, and left for the west in the autumn of 1219. The Huang-Yuan says that in the year Si-mao (i.e., 1219), Chinghiz, at the head of his army, went to the western countries.

In the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un he tells us that in 1219 the emperor was in the Wu-li-do (i.e., ordu), of the Naimans, and Rashidu'd-din expressly puts the Naimans on the Irtish and the Ek-tagh Altai.

The Mongols were essentially an army of horsemen. Their horses were continually their first care, and it was always necessary they should find summer and winter quarters where forage was abundant. They found such quarters notably in these rich pastures of the Irtish, where they passed the summer of 1219. It was while he was there that Chinghiz sent to invite the famous sage, Ch'ang Ch'un, to go and visit him. We are told that he ordered his adjutant, Liu Chung-lu, to go and fetch him. Lui Chung-lu was a deserter from the Kin who entered the service of the Mongols when they invaded China, and he was valued by Chinghiz Khan for his skill in making arrows. He reported that he had received orders to go on this errand in the fifth month of 1219, when Chinghiz Khan was encamped at the ordu of the Naimans. Ch'ang Ch'un agreed to return with him, and chose nineteen of his disciples to accompany him. They set out in the early spring of 1220, and arrived at Yen or Peking in April. There he was received with great deference, and there he learnt that Chinghiz had already set out on his western campaign. Feeling afraid that at his great age he should not be able to bear such a long voyage, he wanted to stay till the great conqueror's return. He was also much troubled because Ching-lu had been ordered to escort in addition to himself, a number of young girls for Chinghiz Khan's harems, and he remarked, "Owing to actresses having been sent from the kingdom of Ts'i to the kingdom of Lu, Confucius left Lu (which was his native country). Although I am only a savage of the mountains, how can I travel in the company of girls."

Ching-lu therefore despatched a courier with a report, and Ch'ang Ch'un also sent an address to Chinghiz. He did not wait for an answer, but set off, and we shall revert to him presently.

It was apparently while wintering on the Irtish that Chinghiz Khan allotted sections of the peoples he had conquered to his mother, brothers, and children. He is reported in the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi to have said:—"My mother with me created the empire. Of my children the eldest is Juchi, the youngest is Ochigin. He gave 10,000 houses or families to his mother and youngest brother. She was not content with this number, but said not a word. He gave 9,000 houses to his eldest son Juchi; to Chagatai 8,000; to Ogotai 5,000; to Tulai 5,000; to his brother Khasar, 4,000; to Alchida, 2,000; to Belgutei 1,500. Chinghiz had an uncle, Daritai, whom he wished to destroy, since he had supported Wang Khan, but Boorchi and the other two said to him to destroy one's relatives is the same as to extinguish one's fires. This uncle is said to have been sent by Chinghiz to summon the sage, who asked him which he would prefer, honour and riches or a numerous posterity. He replied, After a hundred years honours and riches will be of no use to me, but I should wish my sons and grandsons to be prosperous, and continue my lineage. Ch'ang Ch'un replied, Your wish shall be realised, and it was, as Jabar died at the age of 118, and left many descendants. Bretschneider, Notices, etc. 50."
alone remains to you in memory of your father. It is true he is not wise, but for the sake of your father do not destroy him. Chinghiz was deeply touched, and his anger cooled down. He also assigned these relatives camping grounds, for it must be remembered that a nomadic chieftain has to treat his clans like a settled one does his acres, and these clans have often no fixed abode, but only definite pasturing grounds.

We learn from the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's journey that the camping ground of Ochigin, called Timur, lay along the Kerulon, and on lakes Kulun and Bayur. Elsewhere Palladius suggests that his camp was on the river Khalkha, which falls into lake Bayur. Rashidu'd-din says that the portion of Temugu, Ochigin, and his brother, Kachiu, was in Eastern Mongolia, near the Churchis (i.e. Manchuria), Kalachin Alt, the river Olkui, and the ancient country of the Inkirases. Kachiu is the Alchidai of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi. We have no express statement in the Chinese authors about the locality of Khasar's ords, but we read in the Yuan-shi that Chinghiz made the Kulerundurgin, i.e., the hills of the Kerulon, the boundary between the portions of Anchin and Khasar. Anchin was the brother of Chinghiz Khan's wife, Burteh, and with his tribe, the Kunkuraks, according to Palladius, lived in the modern province of J o-k h e. The portion of Khasar, according to Rashidu’d-din, was on the north-east of Mongolia, in the neighbourhood of the Arghun, of the lake Keule, i.e., the Kulun and the river Kailar. The chiefs of the modern Mongol tribes of Khorchin, Durbed, Khorlas, Durben, Keuked, Maominggan, and Urga, all claim descent from Juchi Khasar. A portion of these were doubtless subject to Ochigin, and were taken away when his family sided against Mangu Khan. The portion of Belgutei was between the Onon and the Kerulon to the south-west of that of Alchidai, i.e., of Kachiu. The Kalmuk tribe of the Khoshots, according to Pallas.

In regard to his sons, Chinghiz assigned in the customary fashion the homeland of the Mongols to his youngest son Tului, who was the hearth-child, and to whom the Mongols were left as a special appanage. The Uirads were left to his son-in-law, Khutuktu Noyan, the chief of that stock.

Ogotai, the third son, apparently succeeded to the Naimans and the Kirghises, with his headquarters at Imil, near the modern Chugachak.

Chagatai was left the tribes which nomadized between Almaligh and Kashgar, while Juchi, the eldest son, apparently dominated over the western dominions of the Gurkhan of Kara Khtai, with the tribes on the Chu, the Talas, and the Sari-su.

The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi goes on to say that Chinghiz, having given 10,000 houses to his mother Khulun, and his brother Ochigin, sent to her as rulers of the cities four nobles, Guchu and others; to Juchi, three nobles, Khunan and others; to Chagatai, three nobles, Kharshar and others; and as Chagatai was of a stern disposition, he ordered Kokossoi to speak to him often. To Ogotai he assigned Ilu and others; to Tului, Uchedaya and another; to Khasar, Chebke; to Alchidai, i.e. Kachiu, Chaurkhaya. This is as the account stands in the epitomized text published by Palladius. In the full text the names are probably set out.

On turning to Rashidu'd-din and Elbenegati, we find these facts set out in a general table of all the Mongol forces, which incorporates their version of the organization of the army of which we have given the version of the Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi in an earlier chapter. I will now set out Rashidu’d-din’s story at length as transcribed by Erdmann:—

I.—The Life guard Hazareh, under the emperor himself, with four adjutants. It was called the Great ordu, and was 1,000 men strong, and to it belonged the immediate bodyguards of Chinghiz, and the guardians of the ordu. Its commander was the Tangkut Ujghan, who had been adopted by Chinghiz as his fifth son when he was only eleven years old. All the couriers, runners, quartermasters, &c., were also under his orders. On Chinghiz Khan’s death he accompanied Ogotai to China, and left his command in charge of

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88 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 133 and 134.
89 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, note 504.
90 Bretschneider, Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers to the West, note 35.
94 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, note 509.
his deputy Bureh, who was also a Tangkut. These life guards were divided into eight companies:—

(1) The first, or great company of the emperor, immediately commanded by Ujeghan Noyan, and afterwards by Bureh Noyan; (2) commanded by the Sunid Itilimur, chief marshal and high steward of the empress's ordu; (3) commanded by the Durban Burgi and chief marshal of the grandfather of Bulad Akhn, an important general in the empress's ordu; (4) commanded by Ulidai Kurji, who was a Jelair, and administrator of four ordus; (5) commanded by Albigar, a Kerait, a chief marshal in the ordus of the empress; (6) commanded by the Merkit Jemal Khoja, brother of Khulan Khatun; (7) commanded by Kheneqkhidai, a grandee in the ordus of Bisulun Khatun; (8) commanded by Bisunuta, a Tartar, belonging to the empress's ordus.

II.—The centre, consisting of 101,000 men, of which details are apparently not preserved.

III.—The right wing, commanded by Burji Noyan, with his associate Buraghul Noyan. It consisted of 23 hazarehs.

(1) The life guards of Burji Noyan, the first of Chinghiz Khan's generals—he belonged to the tribe Urlat; (2) under Buraghul Noyan, of the Hushin Ordu; (3) under Jidi Noyan, of the Manckut tribe; (4) under Lengkhidai, an Olkhound; (5) under Tulai Kurji, by birth a Khunegkhidai, the son of Mengelig Igegh, who married Chinghiz Khan's mother; (6) under Sugatu Kurji, brother of the preceding; (7) under Bela Noyan, a Jelair; (8) under Argai Khesar Noyan, a Jelair, and relative of the preceding; (9) under Thugril, a Suldu; (10) under Sudun Noyan, a Suldu, and relative of the preceding; he lived till the time of Kubilai, and grew so old and foolish that he did not know his own wife; (11) under Sigi Khutukhu, a Tartar, saved as a boy when the Tartars were conquered; he called Chinghiz and his wife father and mother. Ogotai styled him Aka, and put him over Mangu Khakan; (12) under Du Yesukhah, of the Durban tribe; (13) under Mungkel Turgan, a Barin; (14) this hazareh comprised four Urad hazarehs, which were all subject to Khutukhu Bigi, who nominated the chiefs of the subordinate hazarehs; (15) this hazareh was very large, consisting of 10,000 men, mostly Barins, and was led by Bari Khurji Noyan; (16) commanded by Balughan Khalja, of the Berulas tribe; (17) commanded by the Olkhound Taiju Kurkan, a brother of Chinghiz Khan's mother, and father to the husband of Chinghiz's youngest daughter, Altalun; (18) under the Hederkin Mukhurkhuran; (19) under Yesun Tewatherki, an Uringkut, and brother of Yesubuha Taishi, who was appointed commander of a hazareh of Kurjis; (20) under the Sunid Khedan Katbaul; (21) under Mengelig Igegh, who married the mother of Chinghiz; (22) this hazareh comprised four hazarehs of Unguts or Onguts, and was commanded successively by Albubaka, Alakush Tigin and Shengui; (23) this hazareh also was very strong, and as it comprised 10,000 men, it was deemed a tumun. It was led by Gugi Noyan and Mugtu Khan, sons of Khian, of the Khiat tribe.

IV.—The left wing was under the command of Mukhuli Kiwang, and his subordinate Nayashka Noyan, who was a Barin. It comprised twenty-five hazarehs:—

(1) This was immediately subject to Mukhuli, who was a Jelair. As he was much esteemed by Chinghiz, the latter gave him command of all the Jelairs, from whom he made up three hazarehs; (2) commanded by Yesubuha Taishi, who was a Uringkut, son of Jelme Uhe. He was much troubled with the gout, and was moved about on a cart. His surname of Taishi, which was given to him by Ogotai, was derived from the Chinese, and means a great teacher; (3) led by the brothers Kehi Noyan, and Khujer Noyan, who belonged to the Urt tribe. This tribe was confided to them, and constituted four (minor) hazarehs; (4) commanded by Tutu Kurkan, of the tribe Angiras, who lived next the Kunkurads. He was one of Chinghiz Khan's fathers-in-law, and was by him placed over the whole tribe of Angiras, whom he divided into three hazarehs; (5) commanded by the Tartar Khutukhu Noyan, who was uncle to Chinghiz Khan's two Tartar wives; (6) headed by the five Kunkurad chiefs, Alji Noyan, Khutukhu Noyan, Nikhndar, Sengkhran, and Khia Butar. Chinghiz Khan's chief wife, Burteh, was sister to the first two, the others were his cousins, sons of Daritai, and brothers of Dal Noyan, the Padishah of the Kunkurads. This hazareh consisted of 5,000 men, and comprised the whole of the Kunkurad
tribe; (7) commanded by Khubuldan Sajan, of the Mengkuts, which tribe constituted his hazareh; (8) under the orders of Nayashkhha Noyan, who was by birth a Barin. It comprised all the Barin tribe, and was formed into three minor hazarehs; (9) led by Sulu Noyan, a son of Mengeling Ijegeh of the Kunegekhiats; (10) commanded by Jelairai Bisur, of the Jelair tribe; (11) under Ungur Noyan, of the Bayauts; (12) the two brothers, Ukhin and Kerju of the Jelair tribe, commanded this hazareh; they had formerly tended the sheep of Yissugei Baghatur; (13) the leader of this was Subutai Baghatur, of the Uriangkuts; (14) Dukhulku Jurbi, of the Arulats, and brother of Burghurjinn Noyan, was the commander of this section; (15) Udaji, of the Wood Uriangkuts, led this hazareh; with his people he kept watch over Chinghiz Khân’s grave, and did not take part in fighting; (16) led by Belgutei, the brother of Chinghiz; (17) this was led by Shenggu Kurkan, a Kunkurad, and the eldest son of Alji Noyan, who married Chinghiz Khân’s daughter, Tumalun. This hazareh consisted of 4,000 Kunkurads; (18) this section was led by the brothers Uger Kiljeh and Kudu Kilja, of the Barin tribe; (19) commanded by Ugeteh Jurbi, who was a Sunid; (20) led by Temudar Noyan, also a Sunid, and Kurji, father of Mubareg Khurji; (21) comprised two smaller hazarehs, and was controlled by the Jelair Taishun and another; (22) led by the Jajirat Khushakun Sukk, and his twin brother of the same name. It comprised three minor hazarehs; (23) led by Munga Khalja, of the Mengkuts, a son of Kubulder Sajan; (24) the leader of this was Uyar Wachi, of the Kara Khitais. He willingly submitted to Chinghiz, who nominated him commander of this hazareh, which consisted of 2,000 Kara Khitaisians; (25) led by Tughan Waishti, of the Jurchins, who also submitted willingly to Chinghiz, and was appointed commander of this hazareh, consisting of 10,000 Jurchis.

The army, thus constituted, consisting of a centre and two wings, Chinghiz entrusted to his youngest son, Tului.

I. To his eldest son, Juchi, he gave 4,000 men, forming four hazarehs:

(1) Under Mungiit, a Saljut, who, in Batu Khân’s time commanded the left wing, and was succeeded by Jerkes; (2) Kegemai Khuman Noyan, of the Kinkats; (3) Hushitai, of the Hurshins, a follower of Burji Noyan; (4) Baiku, who was in the right wing.

II. Chagatai also had 4,000 men in 4 hazarehs:

(1) Under Burlatai Kharajar, of the Berulas; (2) under Muger Noyan; (3) and (4), the commanders of these are unknown.

III. Ogotaï, also had 4,000 men, who were divided into four hazarehs, of whom we only know two of the leaders, Ilgai, the Jelair, and Ilegua, the Sudus.

IV. Chinghiz Khân’s fifth son, Kulkan, also had 4,000 men in four hazarehs, of which we know the names of the leaders of two only, Khubilai Noyan, a Berula, and Tughril, of the Jaurjas.

V. His youngest brother, Ochiggin Noyan, had 5,000 men in all, of whom 2,000 belonged to the Urmauts, 1,000 to the Baisuts, and the rest to the Jajirads, &c.

VI. Juchi Khasar’s sons and grandsons led a hazareh, which belonged to him.

VII. Iljidaï Noyan, the son of his brother Khausj, was given a command of 3,000 men, comprising Naimans and others. Its most distinguished commanders were Akh Sudai, and Ujighash Kiwang.

VIII. Ulun Egeh, Chinghiz Khân’s mother, also had a command of 3,000 Kuralas and Olkhounds.

These various sections with the main army under Tului formed altogether 230,000 men.

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MISCELLANEA.

THE TRUE DATE OF BUDDHA’S DEATH.\(^1\)

Oxford, Feb. 15, 1884.

I was much pleased to see in Prof. Peterson’s letter, published in to-day’s Academy, that Pandit Bhagavânâli, to whose careful researches we owe already so many useful discoveries, has brought new and important evidence in support of my opinion that the date 486 (A.D. 430) in the Kâvī grant ought not to be reckoned from the Vikrama era (see India, what can it teach us? p. 255). I had read Mr. Fleet’s objections to my theory, or, to speak more correctly, to Mr. J. Ferguson’s theory, in the pages of the Indian Antiquity

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\(^1\) From the Academy, March 1, 1884.
working hypothesis. Some scholars have accepted that date, others have doubted it, others, again, have advanced some arguments against it. I still hold to it, though not with such unreasoning pertinacity as to consider any modification of it impossible. Nay, I feel so conscious of the purely tentative character of all dates before Alexander's invasion of India that when my friend Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio brought me the following extract, which, in the most startling manner, seems to confirm the date which I assigned to Buddha's death, I said to myself, what I now say publicly, that it is almost too good to be true. However, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's translation ought to be published, and everyone may then form his own opinion.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio writes:—

"In A.D. 664, or a few years later, under the great Thân dynasty (A.D. 618-907), Tô-gu-en (De-sen), a Chinese priest and a contemporary of the famous Hinen-thang, compiled the Tô-hô-ten-ten-lin (Dai-tô-nai-ten-roku), or Catalogue of the Buddhist Books, in sixteen fasciculi [see No. 1483 in my Oxford Catalogue]. In fasc. 48, fol. 20a seq., under the notice of a work on the Vinaya, he writes: 'Shân-chien-phi-ko-shô-lij (Zen-ken-shô-da-shô-ritu), or Sudarshana-vibhâsâ-vimanyû, No. 1125), a work in eighteen fasciculi, was translated by the foreign Sâmaô Sanghabhadra, whose name is translated Chun-hsien (Shu-ken, lit. "company-wise"), in the reign of the Emperor Wu (Bu), A.D. 483-493, of the former Ta-ti (Sei) dynasty, A.D. 479-502."

"He then continues: 'There is a tradition, handed down from teachers to pupils, that after Buddha's Nirvâna, Xiu-po-li (U-ha-ri, i.e., Upâli) collected the Vinaya-pitaka. Then on the 15th day of the 7th month of that year, when he had received the Tzu-tze (Zi-shu, lit. "self-throwing off restraint", i.e., Pravrajya or Padvrajya, or Invitation), he worshipped the (MS. of the Vinaya-pitaka with flowers and incense, and added one dot at the beginning of the Vinaya-pitaka."

Thus he did every year in the same way. When Upâli was going to enter Nirvâna he handed it (i.e., the Vinaya-pitaka) over to his disciple Thosio-kî (Da-sha-ku, i.e., Dâsaka). When Dâsaka was going to enter Nirvâna he handed it over to his disciple Sû-chû (Shu-ku, i.e., Sauanka or Sonaka). When Sauanka was going to enter Nirvâna he handed it over to his disciple Sichî-ko (Shitsu-ga-va, i.e., Siggava). When Siggava was going

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* More correctly, A.D. 250, see ante, p. 77.—Ed. I.A.
* The Japanese sound of the Chinese characters is added after each Chinese name, whether it is a transliteration or an original.
* Padvrajya or Pavrajya, or Invitation.
* 397 B.C.
* 350 B.C.
to enter Nirvāṇa he handed it over to his disciple Mū-chen-lien-tsu' Ti-sū-mwu (Mokt-ken-ren-shi Tai-shu-moku, i.e., Maudgalyāyana-puṭra Tisaya, or Moggaliputta Tissa (see Dīpavaniṣa). When Maudgalyāyana-puṭra Tisaya was going to enter Nirvāṇa he handed it over to his disciple Chānto-pho-ah (Sen-dā-batsu-śia, i.e., Chandavagga) (see Dīpavaniṣa).

"Thus these teachers handed it over successively till the present teacher of the Law of the Tripitaka. This teacher of the Law of the Tripitaka brought (the MS. of) the Vinaya-piṭaka to Kwā-chen, or the province Kwang (i.e., Canton). When he was embarking homewards from there, he handed (the MS. of) the Vinaya-piṭaka over to his disciple, Sāṃ-kiō-pho-tho-lo (San-ga-batsu-da-ra, i.e., Sanghabhadra).

"In the 6th [read 7th] year of the Yūmi-miu (Yei-mei) period, a.d. 459, Sanghabhadra, together with the śrāmaṇa San-i (Ṣi-i, a Chinese priest), translated this Suddhārtha-vībhādha-vinaya, in the chu-lin-sz (chiku-rin-ji, lit. "bamboo-grove monastery," i.e., Venuvana-vihāra), in the province Kwang (i.e., Canton). He stayed there, keeping the An-chū (An-go, lit. "easy-living"). In the middle (i.e., the 15th day) of the 7th month of the 7th [read 8th] year of the Yūmi-miu (Yei-mei) period, a.d. 459, the cycle of which was Kāu-wu (Kō-go), when he had received the Tsz-tsz (Zi-shi, or Praudrana), he worshipped the MS. of the Vinaya-piṭaka with flowers and incense, according to the law or rules of his preceding teachers, and added one dot (to the MS.). In that year, a.d. 490, there were 975 dots in all, one dot representing one year.

"In the first year of the Tai-thū (Dai-dō) period, a.d. 533, under the Liān (Riō) dynasty a.d. 502-556, Chao Poh hau (Chio Hakù-ku, a Chinese) met Hūn-tu (Gu-do), a teacher of the Vinaya who was practising painfully at the Lu-shān (Lo-san, or the Lu-mountain, in China). From him he obtained this record of the dots having been added by holy men successively after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. The date in it (as marked by the dots) ended in the 7th [read 8th] year of the Yūmi-miu (Yei-mei) period, a.d. 490, under the Tahi (Sei) dynasty. Then Poh-hau (Haku-ku) asked Hūn-tu (Gu-do), saying; "Why do we see no more dots added after the 7th [read 8th] year of Yūmi-miu (Yei-mei) period?" Hūn-tu (Gu-do) answered: "Before that [year] there were holy men who entered on the path, and who added these dots with their own hands; but I, who am deprived of the path, being an ignorant person, might only take hold of and worship it (the MS. of the Vinaya-piṭaka), and should never dare to add a dot."

"Poh-hau (Haku-ku) (afterwards) counted the number following these old dots down to the 9th year of the Tai-thū (Dai-dō) period, a.d. 543, the cycle of which was Kwe-hū (Ki-gai), under the Liān (Riō) dynasty, a.d. 502-556, and obtained the total number of 1028 years.

"Following this number counted by Poh-hau (Haku-ku), Chhán-fan counted it from the 9th year of the Tai-thū (Dai-dō) period, a.d. 543, down to the present year, the 17th year of the Khāi-hū (Kai-kwo) period, a.d. 597, the cycle of which was Tsz-sz (Zi-shi), and obtained the total number of 1082 years.

"If so (only a little more than) a thousand years have just elapsed since the Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa. We are (therefore) not yet very remote from the time of the Sage (lit. still near to the Sage), so that we should heartily be glad and rejoiced. May we altogether diligently and sincerely promulgate the Law left (by the Sage)!"

It would follow from these statements, as translated by my friend, Mr. Bunyi Nanjio, that there was a MS. of the Vinaya-piṭaka in existence at the time of Sanghabhadra, say a.d. 490, which contained 975 dots, and that each of these dots was believed to mark one year. This would give the year 485 as the year in which the MS. was written by Upāli, immediately after the death of Buddha. The dots were counted by Chao Poh hau in a.d. 835, by Chhán-fan in a.d. 597, not very long, therefore, before a.d. 664, when the story was written down.

The objections to this statement, as written down in a.d. 664, are palpable. First of all, we do not know that Upāli actually wrote a MS., and we read in the Mahāvihāra that the Piṭakattaya and the Āṭṭhakathā were not written down before the year of a.d. 490, instead of the 7th year or a.d. 489, as the text reads, but also because the distance between two later dates, given in the text below, is exactly in accordance with this emendation.

800 B.C. 233 B.C.

The name of this teacher is not given, but he was evidently the teacher of Sanghabhadra, as seen below. This name is still used by the priests of the Shin-shih, and also some other sects, in Japan, for the summer term in the theological colleges. This term corresponds to the rainy season in India, when Buddha and his disciples are said to have lived or stayed together in one place, and discussed the law.

The 6th and 7th year (i.e., a.d. 488 and 489) must be changed into the 7th and 8th year (i.e., a.d. 490 and 491), not only because the cycle of the latter year, given in the text, corresponds to the 8th year of a.d. 490, instead of the 7th year or a.d. 489, as the text reads, but also because the distance between two later dates, given in the text below, is exactly in accordance with this emendation.

695 (a.d. 490) + 55 (a.d. 543) = 1048.

Ze a nan-ran was the compiler of a Catalogue of the Buddhist books in a.d. 597 (see No. 14 in appendix iii. of my Catalogue).

This word 'present' seems to have been taken from Chhán-fan's writing, because Dūn-eun was only about four years old in a.d. 597, and his catalogue was completed not earlier than a.d. 664.

10 a.d. 1028 (a.d. 543) + 54 (a.d. 597) = 1062."
reign of King Vaṭṭagānani, 88-76 B.C. (see my Introduction to the Dhammapada, Sacred Books of the East, vol. X, p. xiii). Secondarily, even if Upali wrote a copy of the Vinaya-pitaka it is not likely that that identical copy should have been carried to China. Thirdly, the process of adding one dot at the end of every year during 975 years is extremely precarious.

Still, on the other hand, there was nothing to induce a Chinese Buddhist to invent so modern a date as 485 B.C. for the council held immediately after Buddha's death. It runs counter to all their own chronological theories, and even the writer himself seems to express surprise that he should find himself so much nearer to the age of Buddha than he imagined. Let scholars accept the tradition for what it is worth. Whatever their conclusions may be they will all be grateful to Mr. Bunyu Nanjio for having brought this curious tradition to their knowledge. For the present, and till we get new materials, I feel inclined to agree with my friend Prof. Bühler, when in his Three New Edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 154), he says: "For all practical purposes, the date for the Nivṛata 477-78 B.C., fixed by Prof. Max Müller, by Gen. Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside termini for the beginning of Chandragupta's reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 310 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 163 A.D., must now be considered to be genuine, the Nivṛata must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the Nivṛata should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other."

F. MAX MÜLLER.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.
Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Principal, Gujarat College.
Continued from p. 124.

72. To be always wishing and never contented is the worst poverty.
73. The worst gift is that which is preceded by procrastination and followed by rebukes.
74. Take counsel before you apply your mind to anything and look carefully before you proceed.
75. Good advice keeps us from falling.
76. The friend of a fool is exposed to calamity.
77. Guard your fidelity from doubt, for doubt corrupts faith, as salt spoils honey.
78. To be silent until you are compelled to speak is better than to speak until you are told to be silent.
79. Lay aside your glory and put down your pride, and remember your grave; for thither you will go, and as you have sowed so will you reap, and as you have judged so will you be judged, and as you have given now so will you receive hereafter.
80. To seek too much gain is injurious to the mind.
81. Weakness of the eyes does not injure when the eyes of the mind are bright.
82. Life is wasted by the pleasures of hope.
83. The suspicion of a wise man is truer than the knowledge of a fool.
84. The victory of generous men is forgiveness, benevolence, and humanity, but that of the ignoble pride, insolence, and revenge.
85. Satan carries away the victory from him whom his own anger conquers.
86. To injure the weak is the height of injustice.
87. To injure those who submit to the command of another is the greatest sin.
88. To injure a benefactor is the greatest reproach.
89. The injustice of a man in this world is a proof of his misery in the next.
90. He errs in his benevolence who confines it on the unworthy.
91. He is acting against himself who rests content with this vanishing house (i.e. life), by substituting it for that which endures.
92. The goodness of man consists in this, that he keep himself from forbidden things and hasten to excellent virtues.
93. He becomes a sharer of exhilarating joy who turns away from the blandishments of the world.
94. You ought to pay attention to another life, then this world will be of little value.
95. You ought to use the advice of others, for this is the part of circumspection.
96. You should pay attention to sincere friends, for they are an ornament in prosperity and a help in adversity.
97. When poverty comes to an extremity there will be relief.
98. When poverty comes the virtues of men are shown.
99. In a time of public tumult the prudence of men is manifested.
100. When death threatens, the frustration of hopes appears.
101. I wonder at him who doubts about God when he sees His creatures.
102. I wonder at him who searches for a lost animal, and meanwhile lets his soul wander away without seeking for it.
103. Knowledge without action is like a bow without a string.
104. The slave of pleasure is viler than a man reduced to slavery.
105. To a sordid man it is easier to forgive many faults than to confer a few benefits.

BOOK


Pending the somewhat slow progress of the full translation of the Jātaka-book, several interesting additions to the English literature of folk-lore have recently appeared as the result of the publication of Professor Fausboll's admirable text. Thus, Mr. Tawney had already given us a specimen of his skill in translating Pāli, as well as Sanskrit, stories in his version of the Gāmanipanchadrājātaka, which appeared in the Journal of Philology, vol. XI. It is also a matter of no small congratulation to find the too small band of writers who give us real information about original texts, and not mere generalities on Buddhist thought, now joined by a scholar like Mr. Francis, whose position gives him facilities for research in collections of Indian Buddhist literature hardly to be paralleled elsewhere.

Both publications are primarily designed to call attention to the resemblance between this Jātaka and Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, a resemblance which, it seems, had also been noticed by Dr. Morris; both, also, cite at some length the Italian parallel to Chaucer noticed by Prof. Skeat.

With regard to the style of the translations, both are in eximiously readable English, though perhaps one may be excused for saying that, here and there, some of the peculiarities of Pāli idiom peep out. As in translating Greek, one of the great difficulties is to represent and duly coordinate all the varied shades of meaning expressed by participles, especially aorist participles, so in Pāli the excessive and sometimes rather monotonous use of the gerund in fæd and yād is at once characteristic, and often apt to carry the translator away from the usual form of English speech, and perhaps occasionally from the author's meaning.

Mr. Francis has added notes and illustrations which show a very careful consideration of the difficulties of language in the tale. Several suggestions are as ingenious as they are appropriate, by reason of their freshness and humour, to these freshest productions of the literature of India. Thus we read in Mr. Francis's Introduction—

"The moral is prominently brought forward in all the versions."

NOTICE.

Chaucer writes—
"My theme is alway con and ever was
Radix malorum est Cupiditas."

Almost the same words occur in the Latin version, and it would seem as if the devil could quote Scripture in Pāli as well as in other languages, for in the Buddhist story the robber who remains behind to guard the treasure says to himself, "Verily covetousness is the root of destruction," and immediately after the utterance of this moral sentiment, he conceives the project of murdering his fellow! Truly a veritable Oriental Pecksniff!"

In a note on the translation of the passage, Mr. Francis notices the possibility of taking the words as the sentiments of the author, and thus rendering, "It is said that covetousness." But I believe the translator's relish of the humour of his original has led him right here; for not only (as he observes) would kīra have been expected in that case, but the particles cha nāma gain greater point and emphasis. The occurrence of esa likewise favours the construction, so that we might paraphrase the sentence: "So this covetousness that these miserable fellows feel turns out nothing but (esa) the source of their ruin."

With regard to other remarks on the text in Mr. Francis's notes, passing over note 6, which is of course not to be taken au sérieux as an emendation; the correction of sānāhita or sānāhikita, (Fausboll, p. 255, l. 5), seems unnecessary. For the robber could perfectly well have girt on his sword and then have sat down, especially in the characteristic Oriental way expressed by the Pāli phrase ukkhitakāvā nīdati; moreover, loose belts seem to be no more uncommon in early sculptures than now.

In the last sentence, it seems neater and more symmetrical to take, with Mr. Tawney, the gerund unaddeed as referring to the nominative Bodhisattva like the remainder of the string of gerunds. In most other points, save a curious little difference of opinion as to where the moon rose on this memorable occasion, the translators agree, and, it may be added, agree in presenting a high standard of English translation from the Indian languages, which have so often suffered from bald representations, to all who would seek to reproduce something of the freshness and vivacity of Eastern story-telling. CECIL BENDALL.
KARṆĀTA GRANTS No. II.

A GRANT OF RAṆGA II, DATED IN 1644-5 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined grant has been transcribed from an ink-impression made over tome by Dr. Burgess, who received it from Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I. As the Korda grant of Veṅkaṭa II, this one consists of five plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only.

The grant was issued by one of the Rājas of Karṇāṭa, the unhappy successors of the famous kings of Vijayanagara. It records that in Saka 1566 (or 1644-5 A.D.), the year Tīravadi (sic) of the cycle, Phālguṇa (sic) śūdi 12, king Raṅga II of Karṇāṭa granted the large village Kāḷakurūrī surnamed Chinnamāṣeṭṭisamudra, which was situated in the kingdom of Tīravadi to the Brāhmaṇa Korda, the son of Yalla Kodaṇa and grandson of Māgni Maraja, who belonged to the Kaundinya-gotra, followed the Āpastamba-sūtra, and studied the Yajur-Śākhā. As in the Vīlāka and Korda grants, the composition of the stanzas is ascribed to Rāma, the son of Kāmakoṭi and grandson of some Sabhāpati. The engraver was Somanāṭhārya, the son of Kāmaya (who engraved the Vīlāka grant of Veṅkaṭa I) and grandson of Gaṇapayārya (who engraved the Devanahalī grant of Raṅga I).

Like other inscriptions of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, the Kāḷakurūrī grant is written in the Nandinagari alphabet. A few ligatures of Ṛṣṭha (plate III B, line 7) deserve to be noticed, viz. Ṛṣṭha (plate IV A, line 9), Ṛṣṭha (plate V, line 9), and Ṛṣṭha (plate III A, line 20). The latter Ṛṣṭha has a peculiar shape, which is found alternately with the usual one, Ṛṣṭha. Besides the common form of Ṛṣṭha, there occurs twice another one in which the characteristic stroke occupies a different position, Ṛṣṭha (plate II B, lines 8 and 12). The group Ṛṣṭha is also written in two different ways, Ṛṣṭha and Ṛṣṭha.

The Vasūdvālī of the present grant is identical with that of the Korda grant down to Veṅkaṭa II. In my former paper I tried to remove the difficulty, that according to the Vasūdvālī, Veṅkaṭa II would belong to the fourth generation after Veṅkaṭa I, while the difference between the dates of their grants amounts only to 23 years, by an artificial combination of the second part of the Vasūdvālī, with the first one. The word pūrṇas in stanza 28 of the Korda grant points to a much simpler explanation, viz., that this stanza does not relate to the same Rāma as stanza 27, but that the genealogist returns to Tirumala's elder brother Rāma in stanza 28 after he has treated of Tirumala's great-grandson Rāma in stanza 27. That Veṅkaṭa II was the grandson of Tirumala's elder brother Rāma, is proved by the Kāḷakurūrī grant in which Veṅkaṭadri is called the younger brother of Veṅkaṭa II's grandfather. The Kāḷakurūrī grant shows further that—just as the two brothers Raṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I had been succeeded by a distant relation, viz., Veṅkaṭa II—Raṅga II was again very remotely related to Veṅkaṭa II, his predecessor on the throne of Karṇāṭa. Of Raṅga himself the grant relates nothing but that he was a devotee of Śrīveṅkaṭasvāmī (Veṅkaṭa), like his two predecessors, was honoured with presents by the kings of the Bhogas and Magadhās, bore some of the traditional Birudas, reigned over Karṇāṭa, and 'ruled the whole earth.'

While the Karṇāṭa grants themselves contain little more than the kings' names, one important period of the history of the Karṇāṭa dynasty receives light from a grant of king

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1 Ante, p. 125.
3 Tīravadi is situated in the Cuddalore (Kāḷakurūrī) Tāluk of the South Arka District, lat. 11° 46' N., long. 79° 36' 33" E. See Mr. Sewell's, i. e., p. 212 (Tīravadi), and the Imperial Gazetteer (Tīravadi). [Mr. S. M. Natesa Śāstri states that there is a town named Tīravadi 8 miles north-west of Tanjore. In the South Arka district is a town called Tīravadi. But 'Tīravadīrīva' may not have any connection with the town. Tīravadi in Tamil means the sacred feet and in several Southern Vijayanagar Grants the country is called 'Tīravadīrīva,' meaning the kingdom of the sacred feet (i.e. of the king of Vijayanagar).—Ed. L.A.]
5 Mr. Rice's More Inscriptions, p. 292.
6 Stanza 1 to 30 of the Kāḷakurūrī grant = stanzas 1 to 9, 12 to 18, 22 to 30, 32 to 35 of the Korda grant.
7 Ante, p. 126.
8 Stanza 25 of the Kāḷakurūrī grant.
9 Stanza 31.
10 Veṅkaṭasvāmīrāma or Śrīveṅkaṭasvāmī himself is said to have accorded Raṅga II's birth to his parents, pleased by their austeritys. See stanzas 24 to 26.
Sadāśiva of Vijayanagara dated Śaka 1478 or 1556-7 A.D., the year Naṭa of the cycle. This grant was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, and is marked 5 No. 7. The following is an abstract of its Vaṁśavālī which serves also to complete the genealogy derived by Mr. Fleet from his Vijayanagara grant No. III.  

1. Timma, married to Devakī.
2. Īśvara, married to Bukkamā.
3. Narasimha or Nṛsiṁha.

a. by Tipājī:

b. by Nāgalā:

c. by Obā:

4. Nṛsiṁha or Nārasimha.  
5. Krishna (grants Śaka 1431 to 1449 or 1509-10 to 1527-8 A.D.).

6. Raṅga, m. to 6. Achyuta Timmā. (grants Śaka 1452 to 1641 or 1530-1 to 1539-40 A.D.)

7. Venkata. (grants Śaka 1496 to 1478 or 1544-5 to 1556-7 A.D.)

Of Sadāśiva the grant says that after the death of his cousin Veṅkata he was anointed as king of Vijayanagara by his sister's husband, king Rāma of Kāṛṇāṭa. This Rāma is identical with the second Rāma of the Kāṛṇāṭa Vaṁśavālī, the uncle of Raṅga I (grants Śaka 1497 to 1506 or 1575-6 to 1584-5 A.D.) and of Veṅkata I (grants Śaka 1508 to 1535 or 1586-7 to 1613-4 A.D.), and with the warlike Rāmrāja of whom Ferištha reports that he was put to death by the Musalmāns after the sanguinary battle of Tāликōṭa, Jan. 23, 1565 A.D.  

The grant of Sadāśiva and the account of the European traveller Cæsar Frederic show that Sadāśiva of Vijayanagara was a mere pageant in the hands of Rāma of Kāṛṇāṭa. This is the reason why Rāma himself appears as the sovereign of Vijayanagara in the writings of both Muḥammads and Hindūs.  

After the battle of Tālıkōṭa the Musalmāns pillaged Vi-
jayanagara, and the kings of Karnāṭa retired
to Pēnugonda and Chandragiri. It
was evidently because the Karnāṭa kings consid-
ered themselves as successors of the old
dynasty of Vijayanagara, that they were in-
duced to adopt, as they have done, the Som-
acavās, a number of Birudas, and whole stanzas
of the Vijayanagara grants. Although there
is no evidence from other sources whether the
kings of the Karnāṭa Vanśavali from the
great Rāma upwards are to be considered as
historical persons or as mere fictions of the
genealogists, it is worthy of note, that the
king Sāluva Nṛsīṁha 'whose rule was
made firm by,' i.e., who was the protégé of,
Rāma's great-grandfather Bukka according to
the Karnāṭa grants, may have been Sadāśiva's
grandfather Nṛsīṁha or Narasa of Vijayan-
agara.

Leaving out the mythical beginning, the
Vanśavali of the Rājas of Karnaṭa stands
at present as follows:

Pinnama I.
Somideva.
Rāghavadeva.

Pinnama II.

Bukka,
protector of Sāluva Nṛsīṁha (of Vijayanagara ?);
married to Ballā or Ballamā.

Rāma, married to Lakkā.
Rāṅga, married to Tirumalā.

Rāma,
moved to a sister of Sadāśiva of
Vijayanagara; killed 1565 A.D.

Rāṅga,
Raghunāṭha,
one of five brothers

Pedavenkata
Pinavenkata.

or Venkaṭa II.
(grant S. 1558).

Tirumala,
moved to Vēṅgaḷā.

Venkaṭādri
(stanza 31).

Rāṅga
(stanza 32).

Gopaḷa
(stanza 33s.)

Raṅga
(stanza 35 to 40;
grant S. 1566).

The following Karnāṭa grants were made over to me by Dr. Burgess, (No. 2 excepted):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Number of plates</th>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Saka year</th>
<th>Year of the cycle</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>Tārana</td>
<td>1584-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2. Venkaṭa I.</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>Vayya</td>
<td>1586-7</td>
<td>From Madura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>Heviḷambi</td>
<td>1597-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>Plava</td>
<td>1601-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>Krodhi</td>
<td>1604-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>Pramāḍhīcha</td>
<td>1613-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3. Venkaṭa II.</td>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Dhātri</td>
<td>1636-7</td>
<td>In the Madras Museum; <em>Ind. Ant.,</em> vol. XII, p. 371.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rāṅga II.</td>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Tārana</td>
<td>1644-5</td>
<td>The subjoined grant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The names Bukka, Rāṅga, and Venkaṭa are also found in both the Vijayanagara and the Karnāṭa Vanśavali.

This identification is supported by the first of the three lists of Vijayanagara kings compiled by Wilson, *Ind. Ant.,* vol. VII, where this king is called Sāluva Narśinaha.

Besides I have to hand (10), the three first plates of an incomplete grant of Venkaṭa I, and (11), an evidently forged grant on six plates of Achyuta dated Saka 1536 (for 1536 ?), the year Vēṅgaḷā; the writer of this inscription has copied with terrible blunders the genealogy down to Venkaṭa I, and simply substituted the name Achyuta in the last stanza.
Plate I.

[1] श्रीकेदासाय नमः । यस्य संपर्कम्यून नारीरः
[2] ब्रम्हूत्तेलिका । यदुरास्त्र सुदनां वद्युत्तेलिका
[5] लघुनीति स्वर्यसंबंधं हरेन् । आलंबनं चकारिताम
[7] स्त्रुद्यस्यस्मिना संक्षेपं नजः । य्यातिरेवमत्स्माब
[8] पूर्वकतः । तदम् भरती कम्यु नृपतिलंकतंतती नुः ।
[10] लास्पायोमोभूतसंज्ञानी नवमलस्य राजाविनिक
[11] क्षायिकस्ततप्रभुतिपद्निर्मक्कर्मवादः नैरेः
[12] देः । तस्यासीसिंहैप्रत्री दशम निह नृः धौरेवमा
[13] लिहारायणतात्त्वीकी मूलारी महततुद्धुमस्य
[16] पारितालु । अर्द्धेन स रोप्तितुद्विताक्षैव जनम
[17] मुलै (1) ध्रुवी राघवदेवराधिति तत्त्रष्टापनमोमुनाः । [6]
[18] आराजिनारिकविकोभुवस्य वुक्काशरणपितिसु
[19] तः । ये ये सात्यनूसिनहरावयम्ययमनमहस्य

Plate II A.

[1] स्यरिकृतः । [3] लक्ष्मिनिवलकुलकानित्विशिचापिंति (1) वृषः
[2] काव्याचदकलसी कुक्कुलथाशी । कल्याणकाणी कक्षणा
[4] व कलाशुपुषपसुभिलाविं मायापाकुमारार्थः श्रेष्ठ
[5] राखुलमानुष्यः: कंप्तया । जयंतमयाहरोपिका श्रावी
[7] रामातिशिष्यवर्ष तस्य विताणीरिवर्धिक्रमां । लक्षणी
[8] रिविशीस्तनयनस्य लक्षाबिकामुकष्य महाशताधिकी । [10]
[9] तस्यलिंगकस्रमवस्तपोमिलभीरंगाः जन्तुं विद्याद्व
[10] दिताध्यायी । आसास्वावृक्तत मानि यस्य चित्रः (1)
[12] को चारितलीपायाङ्करः प्रायः चित्रोपितिविविष्यवस्वति
[13] वस्त्रोऽह्यत्रः । हिमापरिवर्त राहिणी विद्याविन्दानां श्रुतः

20 Plate I. L. 6, read ॥ रामबुरी महः । L. 7, read ॥ तारुणः।
21 L. 8, read ॥ भृगुततागुरूः । L. 10, read ॥ नागरजस्वद्वीराधाराजन्।
22 L. 11, read ॥ भास्करसामाय । L. 13, read ॥ धर्मात्माधिकारः।
23 L. 13, read ॥ रामपुर्वः । L. 14, read ॥ नारायणज्ञानः । L. 15, read ॥ नृगूर्वः। L. 16, read ॥ विक्रमः । L. 17, read अनंतः ।
Plate II B.

[1]' य्याज्जल श्रीरंजनंदिराजककृति' लक्षमणाष्ठासूत्री: [1] [23]
[2]' य्याज्जलदूरकमेघनाद: कुर्वेन सुमित्रासयायनः
[3]' बं। [19] विषु श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी विज्ञामालिकाः
[4]' वाराहमणां तिहकलहनायुपती:। महाराजांगनातः
[5]' अन सुगतिरिमिको निजनाम् प्रभास्युपाती: स्वायते
[6]' तत्सुपूर्व तीर्थसिद्धि विषुः:। [16] यशस्विनिमांतस्य
[7]' श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी विज्ञामालिकाः।
[8]' देशीयक पुरस्त्रियार सवातः। [17] सामादश्व विधिमहादिव
[9]' समवाच:। [1] सामायुपायानात् विवा सामायुपायानात् राजा
[11]' या ब्रह्म:। [18] श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी
[12]' तपारतात:। श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी(1) विज्ञामालिकाः
[13]' तिमानन्दकेदिराजस्वामीनाथेन:। [19] श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी
[14]' गतो नीतिपत्रपापोऽदत्तसु दिसु प्रभासस्य
[15]' भिक्केक पेनुलार्गारस्य:। [20] अय श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी
[16]' योजनाः। अन्विताकल्तिकृत्यां दिसो स्वितियोपनात्। [21]
[17]' वत्कामापुरलक्ष्मणास्वरूपाराधिकाराराजार्थे:। [1]
[18]' जान्ति सिन्धुलराजसंस्थारागमयस्य
[19]' नयापिका:। अन्त: दशः दशःस्वरूपस्य
[20]' श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी लेघु पारस्य गिरामाहिष्टः।

Plate III A.

[1]' कविपुण्यानात्। रूपसु गौतमसर्वप्राच्यसंगमनात्। [24]
[2]' श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। दुर्विष्णु व्यासस्य। [24]
[3]' गौतमानुसार। श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। भर्तुरामानुषस्य।
[4]' भवतुभवतु पञ्च प्रपान्ताने। दशानि नीतिपत्रपापस्य।

36 L. 15, read "श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। दुर्विष्णु व्यासस्य। L. 16, read "श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। भर्तुरामानुषस्य। L. 17, read "सुमित्रासयायनः। L. 18, read "वाराहमणां। L. 19, read "कुर्वेन। L. 20, read "सुगतिरिमिको निजनाम् प्रभास्युपाती:। स्वायते। L. 21, read "तत्सुपूर्व तीर्थसिद्धि विषुः।। L. 22, read "श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। विज्ञामालिकाः। L. 23, read "श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। लक्षमणाष्ठासूत्री:। L. 24, read "श्रीरंजनांगकोषकुमारज्ञानी। अन्हीयस्त्रियार सवातः। विज्ञामालिकाः।"
Plate III B.

[1] आनियुडुतात्वूगंधरंकरिन्द्रतुष्किरस्वामीं (1) हर्ष-26
[3] श्रीरामतिस्त्विनिर्माणमणामाणिकि भूमिका। यद्याकारम्
[4] श्रीसुक्तोक्तानामाणिकिर्माणायभाजः। 1.1 धन्यः
[5] त्रिपदारामकीलिनी। 1.1 धन्यः
[7] राजा कल्याणःकरकरमक्ष्यायभाजः। 1.1 धन्यः
[8] ब्रह्मांडोकुमारकीलिनी। 1.1 धन्यः
[9] भुक्तानामाणिकिर्माणायभाजः। [33] धन्यः
[10] लामांडोकुमारकीलिनी। 1.1 धन्यः
SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. Fleet, B.c.s., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.,
Continued from p. 138.

No. CXLV.

The original plates containing the inscription now published were found at Māliyā in the Junagadh State. They are two in number, each about 11" long by 7½" high. The edges of them are raised into rims, and the inscription, though a little corroded by rust here and there, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. There are two rings, both of which had been cut when the grant came into my hands. One of them is a plain ring, about ½" thick, and is roughly circular, about 1½" in diameter. The other ring is of the same thickness; but the shape of it is not circular, in consequence of the ends of it being turned up into the socket of the seal. The seal on this ring is roughly oval, about 1¼" by 2½". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface,—at the top, the usual Valabhi bull, couchant to the proper right; and, below it, the legend Śrī-Bhadraś. The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, 12½ oz.; total, 3 lbs. 13½ oz. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This is a Valabhi inscription, of the time of Dharaśena II. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year 252, on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha. And it records grants made, in the padraka of Śivaśa, which seems to have been in some division of the country called Antaratra, the village of Dombhigrama, the village of Vajragrama, and the padraka of Bhumbhusa, to a Brāhmaṇ named Rudrabhatī, of the Vatsa gōtra, an inhabitant of the village or town of Umnata.

Text. 1

First plate.

1 Om Svasti Valabhitaḥ prasabha-pratāt-āmitrāyam Maitrakāśam =atula-bala-sāmpanna
manḍalābha-saṁśakta saṁprahāra-sātanālabha-pratāpah

pratāt : āpanata : dāna : mān : ārjāvān-pārjāpit-anurāgānurakta-manila-bhṛita-mṛgāl-bal-
avāpta-rājya-śril parama-mahēśvarah Śrī-sēnāpati-

d[\*] n-anātha-kripaṇa-jaṇ-opajivyamāna-vibhavaḥ parama-māheśvaro Śrī-senāpati-Dharaṣṇaṇā Tasya-anuṇjas=tat-pāda-praṇāma-praṇasatata-vimala
[\*] svayām-upahita-rājy-ābhāshaṁ kāla-maṁ śirō-rāja-rājy-śrīḥ parama-māheśvaro mahārāja-Drōpasīnāṁ[\*] śiṁhō iva tasya-anuṇjaḥ svajjvāja
[\*] bala-parākramēṇa paśu-gaja-għat-ānīkanāṁ ēka-vijayā śaraṇa-asīhāṁ śaraṇam-avavōdbhaśā āśāt-Ārtha-tatvānāṁ kalpataruḥ iva suhṛt-praṇāma
[\*] māyināṁ yathābhilaśita-kāma-phal-ābhāga-daḥ parama-bhāgavataḥ Śrī-mahārāja-Dhruvaśenaḥ Tasya-anuṇjas=tach-dhāraṇā-vārinda-praṇāmatra
[\*] vidhaut-kāśeṣha-kalmashaḥ suviṣuddha-bhaya(sva)-charit-ādāka-prakshālita-sakalā-Kalī
kālakāraḥ prasabha[n]-nirjīrāṭ-āratī-paksha-praṇātita-mahimā
[\*] param-ādityabhaṅkaraḥ Śrī-mahārāja-Dharaṇasāṭas Tasya-ātmajas=tat-pāda-sapārya-avāpta
pūṇy-ōdayaḥ[\*] śaśītṝṇaḥ prāhṛti khaṇḍa-vṛddhi-vāhur-e

[\*] va samāda-param-gaja-gḥat-āśāḥ-ṣaṭvakṣita-satvam-kahāḥ tath-prabhāva-praṇāt-āratī
cūḍārataḥ prabhā-saṃsakta-sahāya(vya)-pā
[\*] da-nakha-rāsmi-saṃhati[\*] sakalā-sūrītī-prālīta-mārgga-samyaśa-paripālana-prajā
hridaya-raja-rājanāṇaḥ-anvarthā-raja-sabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairya-
[\*] gambioṛya-buddhi-svādhīnamḥ Śvara-Sāśāṅk-kārdri(drī)raj-ōdadhī-Trisāhasiru-Dhanē-
[\*] [a]nitiśayāṇa(n)īḥ bhaya-pradānāṁ paraṭaya tripa-va
[\*] vad-apāst[ā] jāśeṣa-svā-kāryya-phałaḥ pādachārīva sakalā-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-
pramāṇāḥ parama-māheśvaro Śrī-mahārāja
[\*] ja-Guhaśenaḥ[\*] Tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayāk-saṃtāna-nirvṛttā-Jāhanī-ba-
[\*] sahaṁ-āpaṭīvyā-bhōga-samapta rūpa-lōbhaḥ-iv-aṛī(ěri)tas-sarasam-ābhīgāmikār-gupaḥ[\*] sahaṁ-sāktī-sikhā-śīśeṣha-viṣaya
[\*] pit-ākīlana-dhanurdhaṁ prathama-narapati-samātiśeṣthināṁ anupālayitā dharmvyam-
(rma)-dāyānāṁ pākārttikā

[\*] praṇ-āpaṭāta-kāriṇāṁ upaplavānāṁ darśayitā Śrī-Sarvasvātiḥ-ōk-ādīvīsaya saṃhat-
āratīt

Second plate.

[\*] paksha-lakṣmi-parikshōbha-daḵša-vikramaḥ kram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārthīva-śrīḥ
parama-māheśvaro mahārāja-
[\*] Śrī(śri)-Dharaṣṇaṇā ṣuṣala sarvṛvaṁ-ēva-yuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāgīka-mahattara-chāta-
bhaya-dhūrikaraṇa-śaṅkāśi-śakāśi
[\*] rājāstāṁya-kumārakāyā-dāni=anyāṁ-cha yathā-sambhādyamānākāṁ samajñāpayat=
Astu vaḥ saṃviditaṁ yathā maya mātā-
[\*] pitro[\*] pūṇya-āpyaṇyaṁ-ātmanāsaḥ-ah-ah-hik-āmsāstäya-yathābhilashita-phal-avāpattayē
Antarātāyātu Śiva-prakāra Vīraṣeṇa
[\*] dantika-pratvaye-pādārṭa-saṁsātāṁ ētasmaḥ-aparataḥ pādārṭaṁ paśchadāsa tathā
apara-sūmnī Skambhaśeṇā-pratvaya-pādārṭa-saṁsātāṁ viṁś-adhiṁkāṁ
[\*] pūrvva-sūmnī pādārṭaṁ daśa Dombhi-grāmā pūrvva-sūmnī Vardhaki-pratvaya-
pādārṭaṁ nava Vajra-grāmā-sūmnī grāmā-śikha-pādārṭa-saṁsātāṁ

\* The reading here is quite distinct. But in No. LX. line 6 (vade Vol. VIII. p. 302), the reading is maṇi[\*] instead of maṇir.
\* Correct into ārāhadī.</div>
The vowels of these two syllables are quite distinct, but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here which prevented the engraver from forming these two syllables properly, and induced him then to leave a blank space before väpi in the next line.
line 1 there occurs the sign of the Śiva temple, noticed by Dr. Bühler in the Jhārlārādhā inscriptions (vol. V, p. 181).

The inscription records the erection of a Śiva temple, accompanied by the grant of two villages, by a prince Śivagaṇa, son of Sāṅkuka and Drenginī (?), grandson of Chirantana, and great-grandson of Dhāvala (?), of the Maurya family, at Kauvāśārama ('Kunuswa'). It is dated 795 of the 'Lords of Mālava.' What era may here be referred to, I am not certain. It is to be hoped that other inscriptions from Rājputana will soon become accessible, which may throw light on the expression, and which may tell us something more definite about the chiefs mentioned in this inscription.

Abstract of Contents.

Verses 1—5 express adoration to Śiva and invoke his blessings.

Verses 6 and 7 praise in general terms the illustrious Maurya family, and the liberal, fearless, famous and mighty princes of that race.

Verse 8. One of those princes, who ruled over the whole earth, was a lord of men 'white of character and white with fame.' The name of the prince is not distinctly given, but from the epithets applied to him I conclude that it was Dhāvala.

Verses 9 and 10. He conquered his enemies on the battle-fields; from the defeats inflicted by him they have not recovered even now.

Verse 11. His son was Chirantana, 'the best of the twice-born,' a great warrior and known for other excellencies; even now the battle-fields are moist with the blood of enemies slain by him.

Verse 12. His son was the lord of men, the illustrious Sāṅkuka, pious, righteous, just, and kind to those that approached him.

Verse 13. Sāṅkuka's wife was Drenginī (?), the daughter of a twice-born, who bore to him a son.—

Verses 14 and 15. The illustrious lord of men Śivagaṇa, noted for his beauty and liberality, who in more battles than one defeated his enemies.

Verse 16. He ordered this temple of Parasmeśvara to be built.

Verses 17—19. in the Kauvā-hermitage (Kauvāśārama, 'Kunuswa', 'Kunuswa').

Verse 20. For perfumes and lights and for repairs he gave as a perpetual endowment two villages, the names of which are contained in the compound Sarvāḍāṭorānipradakau. I do not venture to dissolve this compound, as I am unable to identify either of the villages on the map in my possession.

Verses 21—23. Future princes shall take care of this temple and endowment; lasting fame and the blessings of the next world are secured by doing so.

Verse 24. The temple was built when 795 years of the 'Lords of Mālava' had elapsed.


Verses. 30 and 31. Conclusion.

Transcript.


नमः सत्करंसारानांगारोगरानां।

तमिलामार्मानं पत्तनं तमिलामानं सन्धियय।[2 1 1]

विभूतिविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

विभूतिविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

नमः सत्करंसारानांगारोगरानां।

[3] तद्यत्तोष्णी—

र्याय वामविकवैदिक अन्तमाय; पालु सामीवच ११।[3 1 1]

विभूतिविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

बाणिज्जयति नकारकिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

[4] धर्मानावं—[4 1 1]

नारायणेः। पालु मुनेर सर हि सत्करंसारानांगारोगरानां।

स्कंदज्ञोगीं यं कच्चाक्षाक्षित्रते कुक्कुल्ले।

पुरुष यज्ञोपवधीते काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

[5] जयस्वाध्याय—

तावं तावं व यत् तावं सत्करंसारानांगारोगरानां।

स्कंदज्ञोगीं यं कच्चाक्षाक्षित्रते कुक्कुल्ले।

पुरुष यज्ञोपवधीते काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

[6] वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

वर्ध्योऽद्वायस्य वास्वयमाविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः। काणिनेविद्धयः।

V. 4. Sragdharā.—Read मुनि: 'वक्तराट',

V. 5. Sragdharā.—Read मस्तोक्तान्। In the third line 1 read हस्तान्मुद्गमुर्मुद्दाराहुरभे।
V. 6. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read "प्रकृतियुक्तः".
V. 7. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read "दृष्टिकृतमः, विश्वभ्रमणः, सत्यः"; दृष्टिकृतं।
V. 9. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read निम्नस्थः; राहिल्लयथा।
V. 10. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read "मृत्युस्वरः।"
V. 11. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read "खऽखऽः"; दृष्टिकृतः।
The lower portion of the aksharas मः पार्शबः has disappeared.
V. 12. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa; म in सुन्दरः is used as a short syllable.—Read विवा।—The य in सवृष्टिः is very indistinct. The य of वनात्मक is doubtful, and the following four aksharas are entirely gone. Of the letters put in brackets in the last line only the upper part of निन्यं and the य of म are visible.

V. 15. The श of श in शिष्यी is clear, Anuvādīra and य are uncertain; compare the name Drangini, Vol. X, p. 35.
V. 16. Read सृष्टिकृतमः भौमिकाभिन्नः।
V. 17. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read "गोविजः"; माराधः। जातिः.—The Anuvādīra in राहिल्लयथा is very indistinct.
V. 18. Śārādāḷavikṛṣṭa.—Read दृष्टिकृतः; प्रसृष्टः।
V. 19. Śrādāḷavikṛṣṭa; दृष्टिकृतः।
V. 23. Read "सर्पः"; विसृष्टिः।
V. 24. The expression as-śorgala for अधिका I have not met with anywhere else.
BOMBAY DANCING GIRLS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

The Dancing or Nach Girls of Bombay are either Hindus or Mul皆amadans, and are known by the name of Kālā vātis,1 or women possessed of the arts or kālad of dancing and singing. Some call them Kulavantinis or 'women of gentle birth,' and Naikins,—a term applied to women who are born Naikins, and who have undergone the ceremony of ājā. While mere children the females are called Chēdās and the males Chēdās.

The ceremony of ājā is compulsory before a woman can style herself a Naikin. She places herself generally under the protection of some individual, as an ordinary married woman, and passes the greater portion of her time in dancing and singing. The money she earns is her own property, and her protector has no claim to it. But the money she earns by singing and dancing on Mondays, in the month of Śrāvaṃ (July-August) and on holidays is considered as charity money, to be applied towards charitable purposes, such as giving dinners to her caste fellows, or feeding Brāhmaṇas, and in case this latter is not attended to, excommunication follows. This is not made known to the party excommunicated till the heads of the caste, when invited for any ceremony, refuse to go to her house, and when asked the reason tell her what her offence was, and fine her from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200. On the fine being paid,

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1 V. 25. Read [vibhārati]; 'गुणा; स्वरूपम्, —The word काराक is unknown to me, and श्रद्धव गुण appears to be used in a sense which it does convey elsewhere; the former seems to mean 'active, energetic,' the latter 'learned, or 'eloquent.'

V. 26. Read [vibhārati]; 'मन्त्रम्, —I am particularly doubtful about the consonant of the fourth akshara (०) of the second line, and about the vowel of the following ०.

V. 23. Read [mukha] I have added.—भृत् might be read मादि.
the Sarkir. Under the Native Government the girl was restored with remuneration for the injury sustained, unless a compromise was entered into by the seducer. A purchased girl is under the orders of the daughters and manager of the house. Naikins may purchase girls, their age and number not being limited. All property acquired by them is taken by their mistress, though a purchased girl sometimes is heiress to her companion. The son or daughter performs the funeral obsequies, and in default, the caste—which also may purchase a girl and establish her as successor to an heiress Naikin, with the ceremony of lighting a lamp in the house. The property is not taken either by the caste or Government.

Among dancing girls, a boy is married, and a girl may either be married or introduced to her profession at her parents’ pleasure. Marriage is concluded according to caste custom, and the wife may remain creditably in private, under her husband’s protection. A girl born of such marriage is under the orders of her parents, and need not follow the profession unless from choice. Children of Dancing Girls are of their mother’s caste, and are entitled to inherit her property. During her life the mother has a right to the daughter’s gains. They have no claims on their fathers, though occasionally a girl’s husband or paramour will provide for her. But a son is heir in preference to an adopted girl. The latter is heiress, if neither son nor daughter is alive. Daughters inherit the mother’s property in preference to sons. They cannot inherit other property, but may acquire it. If one in a family die, leaving a young child, the rest provide for its maintenance until of age and understanding sufficient to conduct its own affairs. Partition is not customary among them, a daughter of ability conducts the affairs of the family, and sometimes a son is the manager. Should one of the family separate, the rest provide maintenance. In gifts, sales and pledges of property, it is customary for the manager to consult the Naikins before concluding the engagement. A family consisting of a mother, son, and daughter, on separation take fārkhat—the

The several performances of the dancing girls are:—nāch, or dancing with singing; baithak, or singing while seated; kerba, dancing in a male head-dress; jala, singing and sitting in turns; pachambā, singing while sitting at the houses of leading members of their own community; and phugadi, dancing in a sitting posture and jumping in circles, before the idol Ganapati.

The Hindu dancing girls are of four sects, viz.:—Naikins, Bhāvins, Murlis and Kasbins. Of these the first two belong to Goa and villages round it, being natives of that district; Murlis belong to Jéjuri in the Poona zilla; and Kasbins are recruited from all places.

The Naikins, otherwise called Goekārins, or women from Goa, are regarded as born for the purpose of singing and dancing, and this is supposed to be in keeping with the practice in heaven, where the Rāmabhās² are

² In the Harivamsa we read however of a pleasure party in which Baladeva, Krishna and Arjuna with their families spent the day in feasting, singing, and dancing. The Yadavas too are said to have not only allowed their wives and daughters freely to sing and dance, but them-

³ The names of some of these Rāmabhās are Mrunā, Tilātāmā, Mahendri, Pañchachūd, Kāveri, Ghritesh, Gajdak, Mahāmuni and Kalavati.
for the entertainment of Indra and the other gods.

In Goa and the places round it, none but these women have a licence to dance. In lieu of marriage they perform the ceremony of *séja*, or marriage with a dagger; and until they have done this, they are debarred from performing before the gods in temples. As everywhere else, the Portuguese laid their hands on some of these women when they took possession of Goa, and forcibly converted them to Christianity, and not content with such conversion they kept them as their mistresses. Their descendants have ever since been free from caste prejudices in respect to carnal intercourse with people of other than their own caste. They do not observe Christian rites, but Hinduism in all its details. Their sisters, who either escaped from Goa or screened themselves from the Portuguese, will not dine with them. These and the other Naikins come to Bombay with the express object of carrying on their profession, and when they have succeeded in making a fortune, they either return to their native country or establish themselves as permanent residents.

"Dancing girls as a rule are handsome, with open smiling countenances, large sparkling eyes, regular features and an intelligent pleasing appearance. They are fair, with a softness of face and features, a gentleness of manner, with a peculiar grace and ease, which one would little expect to find among them. A lady-like manner, modesty and gentleness, beautiful small hands and taper fingers and their ankles neatly turned so as to meet the admiration of the connoisseur,—they draw all eyes on them to the oblivion of all else; whilst they themselves are under the impression that they have taken to a most honourable profession, by following which they are honouring the gods and are appreciated both by gods and men."

They are brought up in schools, and read and write Marathi fluently. They not only sing but compose songs as well. They all speak Musalmani, and a few of them English also. Formerly when their lovers forsook them they had to go to *Pantojas* and pay them for writing letters. But now some of the dancing girls do the writing themselves, sometimes filling their letters with the most obscene expressions, ending with abuse of their mothers, sisters and daughters. Some of the older Naikins are of a religious turn of mind. They have Brāhmaṇ priests in their service, who read to them the sacred books, and in return for such services receive handsome gifts. They visit temples and mosques, observe fasts and feasts, and feed Brāhmaṇs and faqirs.

Excepting the head, dancing girls shave themselves clean, not allowing even a hair to grow on the temples near the ears. Like other Hindu women, they divide the hair in front along the centre, comb it from both sides backwards, and tie it in a knot resting loosely on the neck. They dress like others in a long robe and tight-fitting bodice, generally of English cloth, and sometimes of silk or other rich stuff with borders and trimmings of different patterns. When going out they muffle themselves with Kashmir shawls, and put on China velvet slippers. Except that it is costlier, the ceremonial dress of a dancing girl does not differ from that worn on ordinary occasions. The bodice is richly ornamented with gold, silver, and velvet, lace or pearls. The shawl is worked with flowers, birds and beasts in gold and pearls. As a rule they are wealthy and load themselves with jewellery. Daily they decorate the head with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers and perfume themselves.

The following are among their ornaments:—

For the head Chhândau, Mör, and Nápà; for the ears Bâlyá, *Ering*, Ká, and Kudí; for the neck Aidorá, Chīnchapati, Gâthle, Gôp, Pôt, Kûlîgâthi, Sâkî, and Vajrattâ; for the hands Bânglyà, Tôde, Jode, Pâlyà, Vela, Râ André, Gajre, and Nîlāchûpàlî; for the fingers, rings of sorts; for the feet, Sâkâ, and sometimes a Bâdî, and for the toes Sâlé. Except the feet ornaments, which are always of silver, no Hindu, excepting Râjas, who are considered incarnations of a god, ever think of putting gold on the feet,—the others are frequently of gold.

The food of the dancing girls consists generally of rice, pulse, vegetables, fruit, and butter; and of animal food—fish, mutton and fowls. Their drink is water, milk, coffee and sometimes liquor. They take two meals a day, one before twelve and the other before six P.M. In the night they are fed at the cost of their masters on spiced milk, fruit, and sweetmeats, betelnut leaves, and tobacco—for they are always chewing. They rub lime on the rough side of
betel-leaves and make them into small packets filled with betelnut, catechu, cardamum, cloves, nutmeg, mace, saffron, cinnamon, musk and almonds, and either spiced or simple tobacco. They smoke once or twice a day, and sometimes drink.

They speak Goanese, which differs from the language of Bombay, and on first arriving they are somewhat shy to sing in public, their pronunciation being strange; but they soon learn to sing both Marāṭhi and Hindustānī songs with taste, and it is difficult sometimes to distinguish a Hindū from a Muḥammādi dancing girl, from her voice. They are taught to sing and dance at the early age of five, the older girls learning after they adopt the profession. The lessons are given daily two hours before day-light, one of which is devoted to singing, and the other to dancing. In the evening after five the same time is given, so that each has to practice four hours a day, and in about three years she is supposed to have mastered both singing and dancing. By beginning their studies at the age of eight, these girls are able to appear at about twelve or fifteen, very rarely earlier. They practise the art till they are forty or fifty, if not previously rendered unfit by disease or premature old age.

Their dancing-masters are called Vastādjis, and are paid for teaching the girl from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500, with other presents according to his ability. A contract is made which is dependent on the wealth and position of the party. The dancing-masters belong to the same caste as the girls, and are the sons and brothers of other dancing girls, both Hindū and Musalāmān. They live by themselves, and are generally in poor circumstances. Their earnings they spend as fast as the money comes to hand, being addicted to drinking, smoking intoxicating drugs, and debauchery. They dress in tight-fitting, fine clothes, bright coloured turbans, carry sashes of fantastic colours, either on their shoulders or in their hands, and allow their hair to fall in ringlets on the back of the neck. They wear caps of silk and embroidery when they have not turbans on, English or native shoes, whalebone or other rich walking sticks, and gold or silver watches with Albert chains,—all the property of the

dancing girls or their masters. Like their mothers and sisters, they are good-looking and quiet, but timid. They seldom offer prayers to their gods, and are so expert in singing and playing music that should a dancing girl err, while performing before her guests, they put her right by their playing, ask her to go on, and with a nod of the head and smiling faces, encourage her to sing.

In so great esteem is a Naikin held by the Hindūs that it was a compulsory practice amongst them to have the marriage string, maṅgalastrā, strung by one of these women, for the reason that she is considered a married woman all her life, and the ceremony symbolizes the wish that the girl about to be married may live and die a married life.

The śēja alluded to above is the marriage of a Naikin with a dagger, from the age of eight to eleven, or before she arrives at puberty. But before the performance of the śēja ceremony the girl is taken to the temple of one of the following gods and goddesses, viz.:—Shāntā-Durgā, commonly known by the name of Śāṅkā-Cruz, Mahālakshmi, Vēṭāl Vīra, Ra-valanāth or Maṅgēśa, and there, taking a flower, she sticks it slightly on the breast of the idol and prays to be informed what she should become,—a married woman or a Naikin. If the latter, the flower falls to the right, but if the former to the left, and accordingly as it falls to the right or the left or does not fall, the omen is interpreted.

When a Naikin wishes to perform the śēja of her daughter, she consults a Brāhmaṇ priest as to the time and hour when the ceremony should be performed. The Brāhmaṇ consults his almanac, names the lucky day and hour, and a procession of Naikins dressed in rich clothes starts, accompanied by music, to the houses of their caste-fellows and friends, inviting them to the ceremony. On the śēja day, another girl, older than the one about to be married, is feasted and dressed in male attire, coat; turban and waist-cloth, and decked with jewellery to represent a bridegroom, and made to stand on a heap of rice with a dagger in her hand, the girl dressed in the garb of the bride is now brought and made to stand on another heap of rice in front of the

* It is left to the girl to demand whichever side she likes. Some stick two flowers on both sides of the image and demand that either the right or the left one may fall.
first with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers in her hands, and a cloth is held between them. The priest repeats verses from the \textit{Purānas}, and the guests throw on the heads of the pair a few grains of rice at the end of each verse. At the proper time the curtain is dropped, the bride throws the garland of flowers round the dagger in the quasi bridgegroom's hand and they are wedded. After exchange of gifts and distribution of betelnut and leaves, coconuts, and money to the Brāhmans, the guests leave. In the night a procession starts, accompanied with music, and a number of Naikins guests, generally in this order:—A bullock cart with a band of pipers and drummers, a row of carriages full of well-dressed children, buglers walking, a band of Muhammadan drummers, a band of Gujarātī drummers, two richly harnessed horses abreast ridden by little children in gay fancy dresses—the favourite sorts being English uniforms, and English, Pārsi, and Vāṇia ladies' costumes, a brass band of Goanese, behind the band dancing girls walking in a line, and immediately behind them the bride and the bridegroom, each on a richly caparisoned horse with gold and silver trappings, or in an English carriage and two, or even four, horses, on either side a couple of men wave silver fly-flaps, another couple fan them with silver or gold fans, and another holds over him a long-handled large red or green silk umbrella. After the couple walk the dancing girls and guests. On either side and behind the bride and bridegroom are the women guests, and wooden frames are carried with pots of artificial trees laden with fruit and flowers.

Should two such processions meet on the way the barbers lower the umbrellas, and hold them in front of the bride and bridegroom's faces, that they may not see each other. At each turn in the street coconuts are dashed on the ground to appease evil spirits, and then thrown away, and as they go, fireworks are let off.

In olden times, Naikins say, celestial choristers, from \textit{Svarupa}, who form the orchestra of the gods, came down to marry them, but since the \textit{Kali yug}, they do not expect these \textit{Gandharvas}, and hence their marriage with the dagger.

The marriage expenses generally amount to from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, and are shared by her mother, sister, or lover if she has already got a promise. Some of the well-to-do Naikins, besides their masters, have a gallant whom they feed, clothe and give monthly pay to, besides defraying their household expenses.

When a virgin is of age and first begins her profession, if Muhammadan, the ceremony of \textit{mиси} is observed, when cardamumps are distributed to the guests, turmeric is put on the girl's person, and a religious ceremony performed in honour of the \textit{Pān}. The \textit{mиси} (a powder made of vitriol), is applied by several Naikins, one of whom holds hereditary office in the caste, who takes the girl on her lap and presents her with a robe. The \textit{mиси} of adopted girls is performed after that of born daughters (\textit{pulakkamīda}), but in other respects they have equal rights with the born daughters in a manner analogous to adopted sons. The women of the community are invited to a feast, and they in turn dance and sing; but if Hindū, the \textit{garbhadrān} ceremony is observed.\footnote{Besides \textit{garbhadrān}, the Naikins perform the fifth and the twelfth day ceremonies of a newly-born child. The \textit{bhāt} ceremony and the birth of a female child are hailed by them with delight and the ceremonies are performed with great éclat, and at much cost.---\textit{Educational disabilities of the children of dancing girls in India} (Bombay, 1878). A member of the same community says, that the dancing girls are not married, because that would be offensive to their family deities.} The girl is made to sit by herself during three days, and in the evening her house is lighted, and she is dressed in rich clothes and her head encircled with garlands, and takes her stand in a window fronting the street. Musicians play, and offers are made for the hand of the maiden, the highest bidder being the winner. Offers sometimes are made beforehand, that is, when the girl is five or seven years old, and a score or two rupees paid in advance as earnest-money.

On the evening of the fifth day, dancing girls collect at the maiden's house, and the winner of the girl's hand sits by side with the virgin on low wooden stools, and the Brāhmān priest officiating, performs a short ceremony. Then they rub one another with sweet-scented powders, and drink from one another's hands silver goblets full of spiced milk, and he presents her with a rich suit of clothes, consisting of a robe and bodice, and if well-to-do or fast-going, with jewellry; and the girl, dressing in that suit, he lifts her up, taking her in his left hand, leads her into a room, and seats her on a bed spread with sweet-scented flowers.
Here he gives her the promised money, and she makes it over to her mother or sister; he then takes her to bed. Before closing the door, the mother addressing the lover says, “Sir, son-in-law (jāvaya jibāwā), the girl is made over to you, and you take care of her.” He has her in his keeping for a month or two, and if after that he wishes to retain the girl, he has to pay her from twenty to a hundred and fifty rupees a month.

A Naikin is sometimes as faithful as she is fascinating, and will help her protector in his difficulties. The following story is told in illustration of the faithfulness of Naikins:

The true one is the false one,
The false one true;
The Pāṭel the dog of the town;
The Rāja the ass of the crown.

There once lived a man who had a Naikin of great beauty. The man, doubting his wife’s integrity, one day took home a goat’s head covered under his waistcloth. On entering the house, he ordered his wife to lock the door after him. He then handed her a parcel containing gold and pearl ornaments and told her that he had robbed them from a child’s person, and cut its head off, and brought it home to be buried in an inner room to avoid detection. The husband begged her, and the wife promised him, to keep the crime secret. But, like a woman, she spoke of it to a neighbour, who was her friend, and the neighbour spoke of it to her husband, and thus the story spread until the man was apprehended by the Pāṭel and taken before the Rāja who ordered him to be hanged the next day. A batāki was beaten, and the inhabitants invited to see the tanāshā. The wife felt sorry, but she thought she had enough to eat for the remainder of her life, and therefore did not move in her husband’s behalf. But his Naikin, hearing of what had happened, repaired to the Rāja’s palace, and prevailed with him to suspend the sentence until inquiries were instituted. The result was the honourable acquittal of the supposed murderer.

The money usually paid to a Naikin for dancing during ceremonies and on other festive occasions varies from 30 to 60 rupees a night, and she pays her two fiddlers at the rate of two annas to each, and three annas to the drummer out of every rupee, the balance remaining to herself. Generally, Naikins in well-to-do circumstances decline accepting a Vīḍā, unless a condition is made not to demand their presence in processions. This objection is more from pride than—as alleged—that the evil eyes of the passers-by might not fall on them and cause them loss of beauty.

Dancing girls or Naikins live either in chālas or in baṅglās furnished after the European fashion, according to the means at their command. These women sing all night when disengaged, and persons who visit them to hear their singing pay from one to twenty or more rupees per night. On Saturday nights their houses are full of visitors. This night is called by pleasure-loving people the golden night, and Sunday the silver day, but Monday is called by them the black or the iron day, as on Monday they have to attend to business.

When a dancing girl is wanted for an entertainment, a person who is in the habit of frequenting their houses is employed to make an engagement, and he goes with a rupee from one house to another for a few nights, although he has already determined which he will favour. This he does for the purpose of hearing the singing in different houses gratis. At last he goes to the one he has fixed upon, and from whom he expects a commission, and gives her the rupee wrapped up in betel leaves which she accepts as earnest-money. This is called the giving of the Vīḍā. There are several kinds of Vīḍās, but the Vīḍā given to a Naikin means that her singing is beyond any money value.

If the engagement be for a thread or marriage ceremony, the girl so engaged attends the house for a few hours on the night previous to the ceremony, and this is called Muvirā, or singing by way of paying a compliment; for this purpose she sits down upon a carpet. On the day of ceremony she dances according to the appointment, and sings before the host and his friends. No females are present, the audience is entirely composed of males and children; but the females look through windows in the walls, which do not open but have holes or jālis. If the woman becomes ceremonially unclean after the receipt of the earnest-money, she does not attend, nor does she return the earnest money, but the party engaging her is left to make a new engagement with someone else.
Muḥammadan Dancing Girls.

The Muḥammadan dancing-girls are known by the name of Kasbīs and Raṇqīs, and come from Panjab, Gwāilīor, Sindh, and Haidarābād, the remainder being girls of Gujarāt, Musalman prostitutes, or else stray waifs from honest households. In Northern Gujarāt, living chiefly in the Gālīkhāvī's villages, are a tribe of prostitutes known as Pātars; in their own villages they are cultivators, possessing lands, and during the hot and cold seasons making tours in the neighbouring towns and Native States for prostitution. They do not pretend to be either good singers or dancers. Neither do they belong to the regular guild (jamāt) of other Musalman dancing girls, but form a community of their own. They speak Gujarātī and dress like Hindū women. Another community that swells the ranks of prostitutes is that of Mirāls.

The foreign Musalman prostitute is generally a dancer and singer. She is by courtesy termed dārā and tawafīj, and has from two to four naučīrīs or girls. It is not considered disreputable to be seen in her dwelling. Some of them are considered respectable, as they confine their favours to a single person, to whom they allow a pension. The girls in her house may either be her own daughters, or others obtained by doubtful means. They are taught to sing and dance, and their prostitution is not regarded as casting discredit on the head of the house. If the girls are her daughters, the tawafīj exercises more control over them, their love connections and their caprices, so as to preserve the prestige of her house. The first connection of a girl of the above description is celebrated as sari-prās-honā (to be exalted), or misī lagāna (to apply the black dye). There are, however, no very pompous ceremonies attending this event. A girl is considered to have attained her maturity on the first signs of puberty. She then waits for an offer from some well-to-do person, but if she has waited any length of time without an offer, her patron goes a round of the neighbouring Native States with her—the surest mart for barter of this kind. The price of the loss of virginity varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2000, according to the beauty and accomplishments of the girl. The master has a right to the company of the girl for two months, during which time he is expected to present her with clothes, jewellery and money. The celebration of the event begins eight days before it actually takes place. Dinners are given by the girl's relations and friends to people of her tribe, at nights they dance and sing at her house. The cost of the feast is defrayed by the master. That night the girl, richly dressed, is sent to the house of the master in a carriage attended by either a man or woman-servant, when she passes the night with him and returns home the next morning, when a sumptuous breakfast awaits her. On this occasion, near friends of the house are feasted. This concludes the ceremony. Pregnancy, childbirth, and other occasions of rejoicing are observed as among other Muḥammadans in the usual way.

There is a story among the Musalmāns to the effect that if faithful, a dancing girl is more faithful than a wife, and if false, she is so thoroughly; but she does not possess either quality beyond mediocrity. She is generally ready of wit, is more cultivated than a married woman, and owes much of her fascination to the fact that in a country where wives are not considered fit for society, she is a most charming and pleasant companion. Sometimes it has happened that a dashing, wicked dancing girl, has married and tamed down to the routine of Muḥammadan daily life, and taken the marriage veil with constancy. There are others of them who though admired, courted, or flattered for their beauty, music and dancing, have led a comparatively virtuous life.

The Muḥammadan naikās are the best singers of Muḥammadan and Marāṭhi songs, and are adepts in paying all respect and compliments to visitors. They sing Hindu-stāni songs with taste and delicacy, and their general demeanour at entertainments is most agreeable and cheerful.

With regard to the class of dancing girls who come from the Mufusal and Goa, a brief account may be given of the manner in which women of this sect come under the designation of Bāhīnā. These Bahīns, before they take the veil, are called by the name of

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* Gujardi Musulmane, p. 43.

* Musābī P. Latfūlla.
sil, and the men are zilgás. The term Bhávin is applied to women in the service of the idols in temples in Goa and places round about, and women from Goa who have forsaken their lawful husbands call themselves by that title, asserting as their reason that in olden times married women were in the habit of forsaking their lawful husbands and joining the service of the temples. Some of these women have been presented to the gods in infancy by their parents, as the Murká are in Jéjurí.

As a Naikin has to obtain the permission of her gods before she performs śéju, so also has a Bhávin to ask her gods whether she may take the veil. She has recourse to a flower omen, and prior to dedication her parents invite the head-men of the caste to a temple, and there tell them of their intention to offer their child to the god. A flower is stuck to the image in their presence, and the girl goes to the burning lamp, takes a handful of oil, and pours it on her head, and declares herself a Bhávin. The guests are presented with betel-nut and leaves, and they depart. The parents then take the girl with them to their house, and a feast to the castemen ends the affair. The girl from that time should place her full faith (bháva) in, and give herself to, the service of the god, and not practise prostitution, but live as an ascetic, and should the temple not be able to maintain her, she is fed at the expense of the caste.

The ceremony undergone by a married woman who forsakes her husband to be styled a Bhávin, is to go to a temple and take a handful of oil or dip her fingers in one of the lamps continually burning near the idols, then to place the same on her head, and declare herself by that act to have become a Bhávin in the presence of worshippers in the temple.

As a servant in attendance upon an idol her business is to attend to the temple lamps and to keep them trimmed, to sweep and cow-dung the floor, to turn the chaurí over the idol, to serve the huká to the congregation, to keep the furniture in order, and to serve the visitors to the temple. A Bhávin's name always ends with the name of the place of which she is a native, for instance, Emni-Pednekarí, i.e., Emni, inhabitant of Pedne. A Bhávin always trims a lamp with her fingers and not with small sticks as other Hindús do. The trim-

ming of a lamp with the fingers by any other than a Bhávin is applied to women in the service of the idols in temples in Goa and places round about, and women from Goa who have forsaken their lawful husbands call themselves by that title, asserting as their reason that in olden times married women were in the habit of forsaking their lawful husbands and joining the service of the temples. Some of these women have been presented to the gods in infancy by their parents, as the Murká are in Jéjurí.

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Bhāvins are descendants of pure Marāthas; but as they have degraded themselves to the post of 'temple cats,' they have seats allotted to them behind the temples, whilst a Naikin dances before the gods, and amidst the gatherings of the great, and has a seat allotted to her before the gods.

The Bhāvins, properly speaking, have only one dance, called the ghumat, which is accompanied by a kind of drum called the ghumat. This dance generally takes place in the month of Shiniga.

To celebrate this dance Zilgās* raise a sum of money by subscription and hire a place in the neighbourhood of their dwellings, where a canopy is erected, and on the floor is spread a carpet on which the members sit encircled by the spectators. At one end, one or more Bhāvins stand dressed in bodices and sūkis, which are so tightly worn as to display their forms; their hair is tightly twisted into a knot behind, and sweet-smelling flowers encircle it. Behind stands a drummer with the drum called ghumat, made of cloth, having one end small and the other large, covered with leather, a pakhioj and one sāj. On both sides stand Zilgās beating cymbals, and clapping their hands, and the women dance. The dancers are led by the drummer, for they move their legs up and down, according to the rhythm of the beats on the drum. The dancers jump frantically about, singing licentious songs. None but the Zilgās attend this entertainment, but if prevailed upon, a respectable person might enter the gathering, but only for a few minutes. For these dances subscriptions are raised by the Zilgās among themselves. The dancing girls are paid about five rupees per night, and the balance is spent on a feast. This dance is cultivated by the Zilgās for their own amusement.

A Bhāvin is as cunning as a fox, and will rob her protector of his last farthing, and be done with him as soon as she can, or when she finds him not so liberal as before, or his purse empty,—with a rod in her hand, she will show him out. She will be on terms of intimacy with some of her many visitors without her protector's knowledge, while he is by her side. In fact, they are a class of pick-pockets and cut-throats.

A certain Bhāvin possessed of an engaging form and face, it is said, attracted the notice of a householder, and attached herself to him. After some time he became aware of her infidelities, and giving her a large sum of money he ordered her out. The money was soon squandered and she applied for more, but was refused. She then told him that if he did not grant her a settlement for life she would burn down his house. He persisted in his refusal, and ordered her out. That night his house was burnt to the ground. He then quitted the place, and went some hundreds of miles away, and hoped he had done with her, but the woman followed him, and wearied out with her importunities for a settlement, he at length granted her an annuity for life. But she continued her supplications to be restored to his house. He, however, fell in love with a beautiful young countrywoman, who came to the place where he then resided. He proposed to her, and the wedding day was fixed. The Bhāvin heard of this, and forcing herself into his presence she asked him if the report were true. He replied in the affirmative, when venting her rage in curses, she imprecated tremendous disaster on his head and heaped on him every insult that language could command. At length he reminded her of his settlement on her of a sum sufficient to place her in affluence for the remainder of her life, and that her annoyance would provoke him to retaliation. She replied by declaring in fury he would die within six weeks of his marriage. She then quitted his presence. The singularity of the menace somewhat startled him, but it was soon forgotten. The day after his marriage he sickened, and before six weeks had passed he was dead. He fell a victim to slow poison administered by his personal servant, who, strange to say, was the Bhāvin's brother, and the day before the man died they both decamped and were never again heard of.

There is another class of Kasbina, the Murlis,* or girls wedded to Khaşōdba, the lord of Jājuri. If a low caste Hindū is childless, he

* The Zilgās are good-looking fellows, and generally hold employment in public offices as pateris and in cotton mills. They have a peculiar way of wearing the hair and dressing in caps or turbans cocked on one side, and tight-fitting polkas so as to show themselves to advantage. But the sons and brothers of Naikins dress in plain but tight-fitting clothes, and in a way to reveal at once who they are.

* The real Murlis are those barren women who become lean at the feet of the god Khaşōdba, with the object of getting children. Only low class women become Murlis,
and woman are considered as having become husband and wife. Hindu prostitutes who undergo the ceremony of Misi are supposed to have accepted Islāmi and are not re-admitted into their caste or society. But a Muslim woman performs the ceremony of Nikah as often as she likes, or becomes a prostitute according to her capricious fancy. A Hindu woman, if once expelled, is renounced for ever, and no offer of bribes or gifts can restore her to caste. It is to be understood that Muslim dancing girls have to undergo the ceremony of Misi, like theGovindārim, who undergo the ceremony of śiva, to be styled regular Naikins.

Besides these, there is another class of women in Bombay who come under the title of Kasbins. These are either the wives of husbands or were purchased in infancy by chiefs or persons in well-to-do circumstances in Goa. By caste they are Kumbās, and after their purchase they are considered as the permanent servant of the family. Their business is to attend to all household work, and to serve their masters as wives. The children they get are either provided for by their fathers or are left to earn their livelihood as they can. Some get their freedom, says a writer in the Literary Society's Transactions, from their masters, in consequence of good conduct, and occupy a separate house and cultivate on their own account. Others are inmates with their masters and their treatment is very good, they are clad and fed in the same way as the members of the family, scarcely any difference being observable, except in their taking their meals apart. They get pocket money on holidays, if they behave well, and their masters are at the expense of their marriages, which may cost a hundred rupees. The men labour in the fields, the women serve their mistresses and do all household work, cleaning rice, cutting vegetables &c., except cooking, and worshipping the family gods, and when unmarried are sometimes the concubines of their masters, or they are married to Marāthās. The present race are no doubt all home-born. Freedom is given them from religious motives for good conduct, and sometimes from their becoming burdensome; such persons take the name of Sindēs, and are looked on as inferior, and others rather avoid intermarrying with them. Boys are rarely brought
to market, but girls are frequently so, and if beautiful, are bought by the rich as mistresses, or by courtesans to be taught to dance and sing; they are sold for from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. The less-favoured ones are bought as servants in Brahmans families. Among Muhammadians too, a woman who takes to prostitution is called a K slave. They are raised from all classes of Musalmans and converted Hindus, either from their own children or by girls adopted or kidnapped.

There are six kinds of dances, three of which are performed by Naikins at houses on payment, and the others at their own quarters. When a dancing girl is not performing, she wears a saree, but when she prepares for an entertainment, she wears a short gown, or peacock, with short tight sleeves. As soon as the drummer and the two fiddlers commence to play, the former standing behind, and the fiddlers on each side of her, she puts on a thin embroidered muslin dupatta, in graceful folds and an embroidered bodice, or choli, and her neck is encircled with a gold and pearl necklace; on her wrists and fingers she wears rich jewels, and has a silk handkerchief in her hand; she has also two silver rings on each great toe. When called into respectable Hindu houses to perform before guests, they do not by speech or conduct offend in the slightest degree against propriety. Many of these women are of remarkable beauty, but they are as abandoned as they are beautiful, and "although generally accompanied by the most debauched of their sex, they are nevertheless continually engaged at large entertainments." But there can be "nothing more modest than their dress and demeanour," and in their movements they are considered unrivalled. "The great charm of their dances consists almost wholly in the elegant and graceful attitudes which they assume." "You see no violent swings of the arms, no unnatural curving of the limbs, no bringing of the legs at right angles with the trunk, no violent hops and jerks and dizzy gyrations. The nath girl advances gracefully before her audience, her delicate arms moving in unison with her tiny naked feet, and her footsteps making a soft music. She occasionally turns quickly round with a burst of song by which the loose folds of her thin short gown are expanded, and the heavy gold border with which it is trimmed opens into a circle round her neat little figure, showing for an instant the beautiful outline of her form, draped with the most becoming and judicious taste."

When dancing the Kurbd head (which is performed in male head-dress) she lets her long black hair fall on her shoulders and back and around her breast. She puts on a Maratha turban (as worn by sipahis in public offices), or a gold embroidered skull-cap, inclined a little to her left ear, and with her thin small hands imitates the flying of the kite, and her eyes are turned upwards. When performing this part of her dance her tightly knitted drapery shows the form of her round limbs. At times she rolls a part of her dupatta, holding one end between her teeth and the other in both hands, the fingers indicating playing on a flute. She does not exactly dance, but revolves in the midst of the audience, and sings with a charming simplicity, which is the supreme effort of these Muhammadian and Hindu women:

"She leaps forth with a burst of song
From the glittering crowd,
Like a sunny glimpse of autumn light
From behind a darkening cloud.

Her soft suspended foot doth throw
Its shadow on the earth;
And her burning eyes are turned to heaven,
As to the region of her birth.

That bound—that bound—when Venus sprung
Out of the waters, into light,
And round her breast her tresses clung
A garland of delight;

With lip and cheek, and eye, like thine,
And motion breathing music sweet,
She made the purple sea her shrine
The white foam lilies for her feet.

Once more! once more! the silver fawn
Of moonlight through the sapphire sky,
After the fading summer eve,
With lighter feet doth never fly.

Thy wreath of dewy blossoms shakes
Its perfumes rich around,
And thy bird-like footstep makes
Soft music on the ground."
Much excitement prevails among the audience when she dances the Kerbá. The promised money is then handed her by the head of the family, folded in betel-leaves. She respectfully makes salám and then retires.

These dances, which commence between 9 and 10 in the evening, last till 3 or 4 o'clock next morning, and sometimes till daylight.

The dance called the Jalsá (singing and sitting in turns) is performed at the houses of the Naikins themselves during holidays, such as the Gaṇapati festival and like occasions. Each girl assembles in numbers on such occasions, and each in turn sings a song or two. Invitations are always issued for these dances to friends and acquaintances, but strangers have free access to them. The dance commences generally at 9 p.m., the hostess opening the ceremony of the evening by singing herself a song which is a prayer to Gaṇapati to assist in carrying out the programme with success. A relation of the hostess prepares betel leaves, and distributes them with nosegays and rose-water to the audience. A silver plate is placed in front of the Naikin, who sits to sing, in which the moneys given by the visitors are placed. The money thus collected often amounts to Rs. 200 a night, and to this the hostess alone has a claim. The fiddler and drummer, if engaged by the night, have no claim to any of it, but if otherwise, the Naikin is bound to share with them at the rate above named. (See page 170a.) Visitors about to leave are treated to a cup of milk prepared with sugar and spices, supplied in an inner apartment, specially furnished for their reception.

Pachamba is a kind of Baithak, held in the month of Śrāvaṇ, on Mondays, in the houses of Naikins, the chief in the community. On this occasion they gather together in the afternoon. The hostess places on a raised stool a water pot and covers it with a cocoanut, and dresses it in a rich waistcloth and Bráhmaṇ's turban, and worships it in honour of Honāji, the founder of the tribe, with the help of the Bráhmaṇ priest. In the evening the men and women friends of the hostess meet at her house and sit singing by turns one or more songs each. Invitations are issued to the friends and acquaintances of the hostess, and the money paid by visitors and others is not appropriated by the hostess, as on Jalsá nights, but is applied to sacred purposes, such as feeding Bráhmaṇs, &c. &c. This Pachamba, like the rest of the dances, commences between 9 and 10, and is over by 6 o'clock or so next morning.

Phugadi is a kind of dance held at the houses of Naikins or their friends during the Gaṇapati holidays and sometimes during marriage and śéja ceremony. A few friends only of the hostess are invited to this dance, as it is solely for their own amusement. Their nearest relatives assemble and form themselves into a circle before Gaṇéśa, each carrying in both hands a brass drinking vessel and tambía, and another holds a metal plate full of bells, which she strikes with a small stick so as to enable the pebbles (ghagrya) to sound, and they dance up and down with violent swinging of the arms, and singing loudly most charming songs. The drummer alone beats his drum, as no fiddler is required for this dance.

In Madras, Tamil girls of certain castes are dedicated to some of the temples and brought up to the profession of dancing. They do not marry, but are permitted to live in professional concubinage; such practices in no way degrade them from the right to caste privileges, provided they do not form intimacies or cohabit with out-castes. Dási dancing girls are either the daughters of such, among whom, like other Hindú castes, the profession descends by hereditary succession; or, should these women have no children, which is more frequently the case, they adopt girls of tender age. All girls intended for the profession of dancing are connected with some Hindú temple, to which they dedicate their persons; and in confirmation of the same a nominal marriage ceremony is carried out for the marriage of the girl to the presiding deity of the temple.

Sometimes a Hindú vows in sickness or other affliction to give one of his daughters to some particular temple, to be brought up as a dancing girl, and the vow is scrupulously kept at the proper time.

In the selection of girls for adoption in this profession, good-looking, well-made girls are chosen. The art of dancing is said to be exhibited in six different ways: by the movements of the eyes; the action of the features; attitude of the breast and chest; position of the
hands; action of the feet; and by tumbling, somersaults, &c.

When attached to temples, dancing girls receive wages, the amount of which is dependent on the income, sanctity and popularity of the particular temple which they have joined. The salary they receive is nominal, seldom exceeding a few annas, and sometimes a rupee or two a month. The chief object in being paid the sum as salary is to indicate that they are servants of the temple. In addition to this, one or more of them receive a meal a day, consisting of a mess of boiled rice rolled into a ball. They are required to dance six times a day at the temple, before the god, while the priests are officiating, but this duty is performed by turns.

Their dancing dress consists usually of the short jacket or chōlī, a pair of raseke or string drawers tied at the waist termed paijānā—or pāvdaī,—both these are generally of silk—and a white or coloured muslin wrapper or sādī. One end of the sādī is wound round the waist, and two, three, or more feet, according to the length, is gathered and inserted into the portion encircling the waist, and permitting of a folding fringe or gathering of the cloth in front, while the other end, taken after the usual native fashion over the left shoulder, descends towards the waist, where the end or mundaṅī is opened out and allowed to drop in front, one end of it being inserted in the waist on the side, and the other left free. This portion of the sādī is usually ornamented with gold thread, tinsel, &c.—the free end descends to the middle or lower half of the thigh, the other free end of the sādī is then passed between the legs and fastened to the tie round the waist at the back, and the whole bound by a gold or silver waist-belt. By this arrangement a fold of the muslin sādī forms a loop round each leg, and descends nearly to the ankles, whilst the gathering hangs in front. At home they wear the chōlī and sādī with a petticoat or pāvdaī—this is their usual dress, except when about to perform they exchange the pāvdaī for the paijānā or sheri. The pāvdaī is made of chintz or silk, according to the means of the individual. A string of small brass bells is tied round each ankle.

The dancing girl caste have peculiar laws for adoption and inheritance. A dancing girl can adopt a daughter with the permission of the authorities of the pagoda to which she belongs, but she cannot adopt a son for the transmission of property, it being immaterial whether she have a son or not. The adopted girl cannot share her mother's property during her lifetime, and although she may be the heiress, she is not bound by the laws of caste to support her brother's widow. Among dancing girls, property descends in the female line first, and then in the male as in other castes. On the failure of issue, the property of a dancing girl goes to the temple to which she belongs. A simple recognition on the part of a dancing girl of a child as her daughter in the presence of one or more individuals is sufficient to constitute her claim to adoption.

Dancing girls are respected by the Hindu castes, and are allowed to sit in the assembly of the most respectable men, such honour not being accorded to their own wives and daughters. As a rule, it is seldom that these women have children of their own, unless when they live in concubinage with some single individual, consequently they are always anxious to adopt girls, not only to become their successors in the temple, but that they may likewise inherit their property.

Formerly, a large trade was carried on by kidnapping good-looking girls from large towns and remote villages, who were sold to these women. The practice of selling minor girls obtains largely under suppression. The recent famine in Gānjām, Orissa and Bengal, was taken advantage of, not only by abandoned characters, but also by immoral native princes, for the basest purposes. At a criminal session in Calcutta, two women were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment each, for having purchased a girl under sixteen years of age, for the paltry sum of one rupee ten annas.

In some stations there are said to exist two kinds of dancing girls. The dancing women differ from the pagoda dancers, and the latter are said, as a rule, to live in concubinage. These women are recognised as Dāsi and Dēvadāri. The Dāsi or dancing women belong for the most part to itinerant bands, and are frequently made up of women of low caste, who practise their professional accomplishments and prefer living in concubinage.

The Śaiva temple of the Suvarṇāmukhi
(Kalastrai) a zaminâr in North Árkâd district, maintains a large establishment of what is termed dévadâsi or temple dancers, forming a distinct community there, who live exclusively in concubinage. Their sons, who know no father, pass by the appellation of Nâgarî Kânnâda, or sons of the country, and are slaves to the zaminâr. Of the daughters, after supplying the vacancies in the temple staff, the remainder are brought as drudges into the palace.

The dancing girls when about to perform are accompanied by two men singers, termed Nâtûwan and Padoween, who while singing also play on cymbals. These instruments are of two kinds and sizes. While the cymbal is played with the right hand, the left hand open is generally applied to the left ear as they sing, bowing their bodies and swaying from side to side contorting their faces and making grimaces. In singing they scream as loud as they can; one or more old woman—superannuated dancing girls—join in and frequently clap their hands during the performance. Some of these girls are good-looking, handsome, with open countenances, large sparkling eyes, regular features and intelligent appearance. They are perfectly self-possessed and assured in manner, staring at onlookers with their large eyes. They possess much courtesy and polish, tempered with languid grace and unembarrassed bearing, having all the teaching which experience of the worst side of human nature gives, they know but one form of pleasure,—vice, in which their lives are spent; and their countenances often assume a sullen, pale, and unwholesome aspect. They seldom possess any conversational powers beyond the usual laugh and giggle and monosyllabic replies to common-place questions.

When their services are required outside the temple, larger sums of money have to be paid for them, the charge being increased according to the position of the girl, as some will not go to any one less than a Râja or great man. Some visit other districts when they are required by petty râjas or zaminârs, and they are engaged for as many days as they have to perform, and are well paid. Should they please the master of ceremonies, they frequently receive valuable presents in money, shawls, gold ornaments, which are bestowed during the performance. Every village of importance has a temple with some of these women attached to it, and in larger towns, having temples noted for sanctity, they are numerous.

__ON RASÂLû AND SÂLIVÂHAÑA OF SIÂLKOT.__

__BY CAPTAIN B. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.__

In a previous volume I have given a short tale regarding Lonâh, wife of Sâlivâhana, and have since chanced on a valuable variant of it in Griffin's _Panjâb Chiefs_, in his account of the descent claimed by Sirâdâr Gurâdî Singh Chamîâr. This family belongs to the Randhawâ tribe of the Panjâb, which claims, as usual, Râjâpât descent.

Randhawâ is said to have been a Yâdâ Râjâpât of Bikaner and to have flourished about A.D. 1150. From him have descended seven great Panjâbî families, viz., Dharamkot, Ghaniâkhi, Chamîâr, Dodiâ, Doranghâ or Talwaîdi, Kathunâgal and Khunjâ. Now-a-days Khunjâ ranks first, while Dharamkot, Ghaniâkhi and Kathunâgal have gone down in the world.*

Griffin gives accounts of the following:—Khunjâ, Talwaîdi, Chamîâr, Dodiâ, Kathunâgal and Isâpurî. We have, however, only to concern ourselves now with the house of Chamîâr.

The Randhawâ tribe seems to have emigrated to the Panjâb about A.D. 1540, and to have settled in or conquered Battâlî, near Amritsar, still an important town, and full of legends to the present day.*

About A.D. 1750 Sawâl Singh Randhawâ became a Sikh, and fought for the great Hirâ Singh Bhaîâ to some purpose, for soon afterwards "he became possessor of a large tract of country on the left bank of the Râvî, including Ajnâlî and Chamîâr, or Chamâyâr (both in

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* _Ate, vol. XI, p. 290._


* _Panjâb Chiefs_, p. 296.


* See footnotes to _Panjâb Chiefs_ at pp. 201 and 204. I have in vernacular some queer stories of the place.
the Amritsar District), from which last place the family took its name."" Sawāl Singh was succeeded by Nar Singh, who died in 1806, when that arch-robber, Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh took all he could lay hands on from the family, who were still further despoiled by his successor, Mahārāja Sher Singh, till very little but the name remains to them of their former grandeur.

Chamyāl is a very old town, and is connected by legend with the (in the Panjāb, ubiquitous Sālavāhana of Siālkot. I give the stories about it in Sir Lepel Griffin's own words. The contrast to the former tale of Lōnu given by myself is self-evident.

"Rāja Sālavāhana of Siālkot, who reigned about A.D. 90," passing with his retinue near the spot where Chamyāl now stands, saw a young girl drawing water at a well. Struck by her marvellous beauty he enquired her name and found that it was Chamba, and that she was the daughter of the Rājpūt Chief of the District. Sālavāhana asked the girl in marriage, but the father declined as the Rāja's name was a terror throughout the Panjāb to both parents and daughters, as he was accustomed to take a new wife every day, and maidens were becoming scarce in the land. But the Rāja was not to be denied. He swore that, if Chambā was only given to him, he would not marry for eight days, and to these reasonable terms the father consented. But by the eighth day Rāja Sālavāhana had grown so deeply enamoured of the beautiful Chamba, that he was content to divorce all his other wives, and to keep her only for life. To glorify his love and render it immortal he built around the well, where he had first seen her drawing water, the town of Chamyāl, which he called after her name."

"Another story asserts that Chamyāl or Chamyāl was named after the caste of Rāja

Sālavāhana's favourite wife, whose name was Lōnu, the daughter of Rāja Pipā of Papākhā, a Champāl Rājpūt. She was the mother of Risālī from whom Siālkot was formerly called Risālī. Lōnu was remarkable for her beauty, though not for her virtue, as the following story will show: —

Ichhrān, another of Rāja Sālavāhana's many wives, became the mother of a beautiful boy, who was named Pūran. The astrologers, who had assembled at the palace to draw the horoscope of the new-born infant, declared that the greatest calamities would befall him should he be seen by his father before his twelfth birthday. In those days astrologers were believed, and a high tower was accordingly built, in which the boy was carefully guarded till twelve years had come, as the attendants thought, to an end, when they brought him to his delighted father. But one day had been omitted from the calculation. The twelve years had not expired.

When Lōnu saw the lovely boy she fell in love with him at once. This was less her fault, than that of the stars, and at last, unable to control herself she caught Pūran in her arms, and told him all her love. He had not been taught the art of love in his solitary tower and only laughed at Lōnu's distress, and ran away while she, enraged at the repulse, and, her love turning to hatred, tore her hair and clothes, and when the Rāja came in, told him, with weeping eyes, that Pūran had attempted her virtue. The Rāja made no enquiries, but straightway ordered that the boy should be taken into the jungle, and there put to death. As the poor little fellow was being carried off by the executioners he begged hard for his life, but for long begged in vain. At length the men promised not to kill him, but they cut off both his hands, and threw them away a well where


Allusion to the Śaka era A.D. 78. All legends agree about this.

11 See ante, vol. xI, p. 209 and footnote 4, but see Tod, Rājasthān, orig. ed., vol. I, p. 72, which would make him a Sāmpāl Kachhwāhā Rājpūt. There was a tribe of Champāl Rājpūts among the hill tribes of Kīngār. See Sirūr 'Atar Singh's Śāhī Rostān Book, Benares, 1873, p. 78.

12 Pūran Bhagat, see ante, vol. XI, pp. 299-300, and footnote 6.

13 The same story is told of Risālī in more than one legend.
they left him to die. But the life of Pūran was miraculously preserved, and about two years afterwards the great magician, Gorakhnāth, came to the palace with his 12,000 disciples. One of these, drawing water from the well, saw the boy, and having taken him out, carried him to the magician, who by enchantments replaced his hands. Gorakhnāth then brought Pūran to the palace and restored to sight Ichhrār, who had become blind with weeping for the untimely fate of her son. Rāja Śālvāhaṇa, confounded by these prodigies, wished to resign the crown to his son, but Pūran would not accept the offer, and renouncing the world became a disciple of Gorakhnāth, with whom he remained until his death.13

The poem of Pūran Bhagat tells with much greater detail the above tale, and in a variant I have in vernacular MS. Pūran heeds coals of fire on Lomā's head by using his newly acquired magical powers to grant her a son, who should be learned and brave and holy, but who would not remain at home with her, so that she should weep as she had made Ichhrār (or Achhrār) to weep. This son was the great wanderer and conqueror Rāja Śālvāhaṇa. The great Panjābī Sikh family of Sālvāhaṇ-wāliā, of Rāja Śālvāhaṇ, near Amritsar, claims descent from Śālvāhaṇ of Siālkot. They are Sāsal Jātī, but with the wearisome regularity of all Panjābis of note claim a Rājpūts descent, and say they are Bhaṭṭīs from Ujjain who migrated under one Shāl, the founder of Siālkot. Griffin summarily rejects this tale, and what he says on the subject (pp. 12-13), is well worth recording here, if only as an indication as to the proper places to go to for a search into existing stories and traditions. Following local legends, he says in effect that Rāja Shāl (Śālvāhaṇa) was the son of Rāja Gaj of Jyāsalma, and that after the latter's battle with the king of Khurāsān he came to the Panjāb, destroyed Lāhor and built Siālkot. Here he settled and here were born to him 16 sons, “all of whom became independent, and from whom many of the hill princes have descended.” Griffin unfortunatley only mentions 6 of them by name, viz., Bāland, Pūran, Rīsālī, Dharamgaṇj, Rūpa and Sundar.14 The Sālvāhaṇ-wāliās say that themselves and the Bhaṭṭīs (1) are descended from Pūran, who, of course, is the great hero, Pūran Bhagat. Going down through Bāland five generations we come to one Jauhdar, from whom the great (some of them ruling) families of Pattīāla, Nabhā, Jhind, Maladhāur, Bhadur, Fārdīkot, Kaitial and Aṭṭārī claim a common descent.15 They are all, however, beyond question Sālmā Jātī Sikhs, who were successful in the struggle for power about 100 years ago.

In a footnote to p. 12 Griffin gives a local account of Siālkot. Its founder was Rāja Shāl, maternal uncle to the Pāṇḍavas, and his descendants reigned there many years, but eventually abandoned it. It was rebuilt by Śālvāhaṇa, “according to Panjāb chroniclers, about A.D. 90 (? 73 or 80), and according to the Bhaṭṭī chroniclers of Rājpūtaṇā, A.D. 16, supposing that Siālkot is the original Śālvāhaṇpur, the capital of Śālvāhaṇa,” Siālkot, he says, has been known also as Shālkoṭ, Shālkunt, (? Shālkūnd), Śākalpur and Rīsālīkoṭ from Rīsālī, the son of Śālvāhaṇa. He further says that the Śāls of Jhaig claim to have founded Siālkot, and “that they once settled there and built a fort seems certain, but the town was founded many years before their arrival in the Panjāb.”16

In the statement that Siālkot, Śākalpur, was founded by Shāl, maternal uncle to the Pāṇḍavas, we get a clue to the origin of all these fables. Pāṇḍa had two wives, Kunti and Mādri. Kunti was the daughter of the Yādava king Sūra, and her brother was Vasudēva, father of Krishna and Balarāma, and this does not help, except that Kunti was also the name of a North Indian race. Mādri was the sister of the king of the Madras or Bāhikas, whose capital was Śākaṇḍa, which has been identified as the Sagraḷa of Ptolemy on the banks of the Biyās, S.W. of Lāhor, and as the Sagraḷa of Alexander. Madras extended from the Biyās to the Chināb or Jhelam.17 The Mahābhārata

13 Still shown at Siālkot on the road to Kallowāl.
14 Gorakhnāth, however, was at least 8 centuries later than Pūran Bhagat. The above is the received legend of Pūran Bhagat.
17 Of note 7, supra.
18 Trumpp in his Adi Granth p. lxxxix, footnote, quotes some verses from the Vichāra Nāṭak by the 10th Sikh Gurdīr Singh (A.D. 1675-1708) — V. 291. Pījāk ekośī bāhīn śvam bhaśe, Madrasam kau jo le de.
19 'I took birth in the City of Pījāk. He (Gurdīr Togha-bhādūr 1666-73) took me (them) to Madrasā. ' Govind
mentions the Bahlkis as an impure race out of the law. So does Pāṇini. Our Rāja Shāl then becomes the brother of Mādrī and king of Śākala, and an aboriginal king ruling between the Bīyas and the Jhelam with his capital at the modern Sīlkot.

Let us now turn to the Śālivāhaṇa, father of Rasālū. As the son of the Yādū Rājpūt prince, Rāja Gaj of Jaysalmer, we in a sense get his date. From Tod's account of Rāja Gaj, it seems pretty evident that he and his father, Rāja Rijh (= Richpāl) fought the Muham-
madans sent towards India by the celebrated Ḥaṭṭāj-bin-Yūsuf As-Sakafī, who was a great man from 693 to 714 A.D. After his wars with the Musalmāns, and after his father's death Śālivāhaṇa founded Sāblāhanpur = Sīlkot, where he reigned 33 years. This makes him out as living circ. 700-740 A.D., and gives his son, Rasālū, a later date.

Fifth from Śālivāhaṇa, according to the Bhāṣṭi chronicles, came Rāo Kehar, whom Tod looks on as unquestionably a contemporary of the Ommiād Khalīfa Walīd, who flourished 705-714 A.D. He also takes it as certain that Kehar's foundation of Tannūt in A.D. 731 is correct. Previously, in annotating the annals which relate to the wars of Rijh and Śālivāhaṇa with Ḥaṭṭāj's people, he seems to think that the chroniclers had mixed up the Musalmān with the Greek irruptions, and that these heroes were contemporary with Antiokhos the Great. However, if the chronicle is to be trusted at all, and Kehar, fifth from Śālivāhaṇa, flourished 700-740 A.D., Śālivāhaṇa himself could not have been earlier than 600 A.D.

Tod also gives some inscriptions: one dated St. 597, shows that "the mighty warrior Jit (? Jaṭṭ) Sālindra," was reigning at Sālpura or Sālpur about 409 A.D. and that he was of the Sārya or Sārwy race. This Sālpur, another inscription dated 1160 A.D., shows as being situated in the Siwaliks. The descendant of Sālindra who put up the first inscription was called Sālicandras, and the second was put up by Kumārpāl Solānhī, to commemorate his victory over Sālpurī as late as A.D. 1160. Griffin, in his Rājas of the Panjâb (pp. 2 and 9), shows that one tradition places the Sālbāhan invader of the Panjâb and ancestor of the modern Siddhū Jaṭṭ families, as late as 1180-1200 A.D.

All my legends about Rasālū, and, I believe, most of those current about him in the Panjâb, make him a contemporary of the great Rāja Hodi. This hero's date the latest researches seem to fix as about 200 A.D.

Scythian kings, then, called Śāl or Śālivāhaṇa, seem to have ruled at Sīlkot from the epic times to the 8th century A.D.

To recapitulate. We have thus a Scythian tribe extending from the epic times to the present date called successively Śalwa, Śal or Shāl, Sārya or Sārwy and Śal, occupying a site called in successive eras Sākala, Śayyala; Śalū, Shālū, Shālkū or Šakalpur or Rāslūk; Sāblāhanpur, Sālpur, Sālpura, Śalūk, and ruled by a series of kings known as Śal or Shāl; Śālivāhaṇa or Sālbāhān, Sālindra, Śalindra, Rasālū, Rasālū, Sālū. And the succession of these kings seems to have been this:

Śal or Śalū; B.C.; Epic period.
Śālivāhaṇa; Vikramādiya's enemy; 1st century, B.C.
Śālivāhaṇa; Śāka era; 1st century, A.D.
Rasālū; contemporary of Hodūl; 3rd century, A.D.
Sālindra; 400, A.D.
Śalindra; 550, A.D.
Śālivāhaṇa, son of Gaj; 7th century, A.D.
Rasālū, his son; 7th century, A.D.
King of Sālpur; 1150, A.D.
Sālbāhan, ancestor of the Siddhū Jaṭṭ; 1180-1200 A.D.

That there were a series of Śālivāhaṇas, whose lives and doings have been all mixed up in legend and fable, I have no doubt, and some-

Siūgh was born at Pānā and passed all his youth at Amritsar, Bīrānpūr and Amānpūr Districts, on the Riḍīa. At that time the places connected with the Sikhs especially were Amritsar, Bīrānpūr and Amānpūr, Chhāmpur, Māhl, Kārtānpūr, which are respectively in the Amritsar, Bīrānpūr, Ambālā, Lūhsā and Jalandhar Districts. These then were the Madra country in the 17th century A.D.

80 Dowson, Dict. of Hindī Mythology, s. v. Sākala, Madra, Mādrī, Bābhila. Cf. also legend of Sāgarra and his avasaṃa sacrifice.


82 Ibid. pp. 192, 189-198.


84 Ibid. vol. I, pp. 88, 629, 630, 636.


thing will have been done towards clearing up the mystery if I have herein shown how they may be separated.

After the above had been sent to press, I was put in possession of Prinsep's admirable Settlement Report of the Siâlkot District. It contains (pp. 38-50), as might be supposed, a longer account of the history of Siâlkot town than is to be found elsewhere, and which curiously confirms much that I have above written.

Prinsep, giving the local tradition, says that Shân, Hûn and Dal were the three sons of Râja Râchôr (?) of Râjpûtâna, whose armies from Ujjayin and Indaur overran the Panjâb from Lâhor to Multân and from Kasûr to Siâlkot, and that their name is preserved in the Sandal Bâr (or Forest). Afterwards, in the days of Vikramâditya, the Shundals were the most powerful non-aboriginal tribe in the Panjâb. Siâlkot, he says, formerly called Salkot, was founded by Râja Sal of Pâñjûn renow, after whose dynasty it passed into the hands of the Kâshmir Râja Sîmdatt (?). Afterwards, when Vikramâditya reigned at Ujjayin, Râja Sal-wân built the fort and established the principalty of Siâlkot. This Râja Sal-wân belonged to the Sî (for Siîl) tribe, who are to be found to the present day.

Then follows a curious legend to account for Shâlivâha's birth. A Khatrâkân, when bathing in the Aik which runs past Siâlkot, was woosed by a serpent called Bâsak Nâq. She conceived and bore a son, called Salwân, who rose to be a great man of power and wealth, and through the assistance of the snake was made a king. It is said that Vikramâditya visited Siâlkot, and Salwân refusing to go and meet him, a severe battle was fought in which the former lost his life; and Râja Salwân exulting over his triumph caused the era to be changed to that of Siâ. This miraculous birth of Shâlivâha is merely the legendary way of saying that his father was of non-Aryan and his mother of Aryan descent, and the story of his establishment of his era in consequence of his victory over Vikramâditya is quite contrary to the usual legend, and very well worthy of remark.

According to the same account, Shâlivâha had two sons, Pûrân and Rîsâlhû, as Prinsep calls him. Pûrân became a fagîr, which so incensed his father that he had his hands and feet cut off and thrown down a well in Karaul (Kâlowâl), near Siâlkot, called Pûrân's well to this day, whither female pilgrims resort on Sundays and new moons for the removal of boils and the hope of offspring. The water of the well is very cold, and possesses healing qualities.

About 360 A.D. Râja Hodî, the Gakkhar (according to Prinsep), had established himself along the Indus between Kâlâbhâg (in Hazâri near Mârhi or Murree), and the fort of Aţâk. He took possession of the country west of the Jhelam and contracted an alliance with Rasîlû, who promised him his daughter. Rasîlû, however, did not fulfil the promise, and Hodî attacked Siâlkot. On this Rasîlû shut himself up in his fort, which Hodî besieged in vain for six months, and at last in revenge he plundered the country of the Shundals and the Jatts. This made them join forces and meet him at Saïgsâigh, about 14 miles S.E. of Lâhor, and the site of Seigala. The war was concluded by the young lady on whose behalf it had begun, for she eloped to Lam, near Lâhor, where Hodî was encamped, and managed to reconcile him to her father. Her name was Sâraîgî, and she was so called from the place of reconciliation, viz., Sâraîgî or Sarangîrî, the ruins of which are near Sauriâ, 12 miles N.E. of Lâhor. Râja Hodî after this gave his newly acquired territory to Râja Karm, Rasîlû's son, with the title of Mâlik-i-mulk, and Sâraîgîrî became an

down these legends as told in the Peshâvar District, in a late communication to the Folklore Society, also calls him Salwân. I have never seen this form of the name myself. He also gives the name of Pûrân Bhagat as Râja Pûrân.


31 Beale, Dict. Orient. Biog., s.v. Shilb'hân gives a curious note that he was the son of a potter, and lived at Paithan on the Godârvârî. His era is still used in the Dakhan, and its date is 73 A.D. — See Arch. Sur. West. Ind. vol. III, p. 55.

32 Observe the very modern form of this title!
appanage of the Śāl family. Rasīlū died in A.D. 400, after which Pāran cursed the country, and under the spell of the curse it lay 300 years, till in the year 790 A.D. Rāja Nirāwat supported by the Ghandauras of the Yūṣafzai country came and demolished Sārangir.

Putting together the legends collected by Tod, Griffin, Prinsep and myself, I have a suggestion to make, which, as it appears to me, it would be well worth the while of experts to follow up. It is well known that for many centuries one of the chief signs of independence or monarchy in India was the establishment of a mint, and it seems to me to be almost impossible that kings evidently so remarkable, and of probably so recent a date as Rasīlū and Hodi should have passed away without leaving a coinage behind them. I would therefore seek for Rāja Rasīlū and Śālivāhaṇa of Sālkot, kings of the Śāls or Śāls, in the Syālpati or Syāl of the coins. This would make them out at any rate as subsequent to the Mughal incursions into Sindh and Kābul or say about 800 to 900 A.D., confirming Tod's and Griffin's legends. With more doubt I would also suggest seeking for Hodi or Hodi in the Huvishka or Hushka of the coins.

If the above connections can be established we shall have all that we can expect to get regarding these monarchs—viz., their coin and their story.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.
BY S. M. NĀTEŚA SĀSTRĪ PANDIT.

I. THE STORY OF THE THREE DEAF MEN.

When any awkward blunder occurs in a person acting under a mistaken notion, there is a common proverb in Tamil to the effect that the matter ended like the story of the three deaf men—(Mūschēvīḍan kadayādy mudindadu. The following is the story told to explain the allusion:

In a remote village there lived a husband and wife. Both of them were quite deaf. They had made this household arrangement, to cook cabbage with tamarind and soup without tamarind one day, and cabbage without tamarind and soup with tamarind on the other. Thus on every alternate day the same dishes were being repeated. One day, when taking his meal, the husband found the tamarind cabbage so very tasty that he wanted to have it also next day, and gave instructions to that effect. The deaf wife did not understand the order. According to the established rule she cooked cabbage without tamarind next day. The husband when he sat down to his meal found his order disregarded and, being enraged thereat, threw the cabbage against the wall, and went out in a rage. The wife ate her belly-full, and prepared tamarind cabbage for her husband.

The husband went out, and sat down in a place where three roads crossed, to calm down his anger. At that time a herdsman happened to pass that way. He had lately lost a good cow and calf of his, and had been seeking them for some days. When he saw the deaf man sitting by the way, he took him for a soothsayer, and asked him to find out by his knowledge of Jōhyam where the cow would likely be found. The herdsman, too, was very deaf; and the man without hearing what he was saying, abused him, and wished to be left undisturbed. In abusing him the husband stretched out his hand, pointing to the neatherd's face. This pointing the neatherd understood to indicate the direction where the lost cow and calf would be found. So thinking, the poor neatherd went on in that direction, promising to present the soothsayer with the calf if he found it there with the cow. To his joy, and by mere chance he found them. His delight knew no bounds.

"That is a capital soothsayer. Surely I must present him with the calf." So thought he with himself, and returned with them to the

23 Gandapura, Cf. Tod, vol. II, p. 194 and footnote to p. 196. See also Hastings Regular Settlement of the Poohnav District, 1873, p. 42, quoting this inscription as being in the 9th century, A.D.

24 A native gentleman has lately promised to procure for me a MS. account of Hodi from Jodhpur in Rājputānad, where he says the legend is a universal favourite!

See Elliot, Hist. of India, Vol. II, pp. 421, 422 and 445, 496, and all the authorities there quoted. Coins now worn to illegibility, like those of Wilson's Sīrī Syālā.
deaf man, and pointing to the calf requested him to accept it.

Now it unfortunately happened that the calf's tail was broken, and crooked. The man thought the herdsman was blaming him unreasonably for having broken the calf's tail, while he knew nothing about it, and so by a wave of his hand denied the charge. This the herdsman mistook for a refusal of the calf, and a demand for the cow. The herdsman said, "How very greedy you are! I promised you only the calf, and not the cow." The husband said, "Never; I know nothing of either your cow or calf. I never broke the calf's tail. Some other must have done it." Thus they were quarrelling without understanding each other for a long time, when a third party happened to pass by. Understanding the subject well, and desiring to profit by their stupidity, he interfered and said in a loud voice, and yet so as not to be heard by the deaf husband, "Well, herdsman, you had better go away with the cow. The Soothsayers are always greedy. Leave the calf with me, and I shall make him accept it." The herdsman, much pleased to have secured the cow, walked home, leaving the calf with the third person. When the herdsman had gone the passenger said to the deaf man, "You see how very unlawful it is for the herdsman to charge you with an offence which you never committed. It is always the case with herdsmen. They are the biggest fools in the world! But never mind, so long as you have a friend in me. I shall somehow explain to him your innocence, and restore him the calf."

The husband, much pleased, ran home to escape from the supposed guilt. At the expense of the stupidity and deafness of both, the third passenger walked home with the calf.

The husband on his return sat down for his dinner, and his wife served him the tamarind cabbage. He happened to put his finger to the place where the cabbage without tamarind had previously been served on the leaf. On applying it to his mouth he found it so very sweet that he demanded that dish again. The wife replied to him that she had already emptied the pan. "Then at least bring me the cabbage that is sticking against the wall," said the husband; and the wife did accordingly.

Here ends the story. The latter portion is also said to be the explanation of a proverb that is prevalent in Tamil. —Śevuru kibraivai valichcher pođutiti ńuțikettu malī, meaning, "O thou feelingless deaf woman, give me at least the cabbage that is sticking on the wall." This proverb is applied to stubborn wives who would have their own way, and not obey their husbands easily among unrefined society.

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MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Gujarat College.

Continued from p. 152.

107. The unfriendliness of neighbours is more injurious than the stings of scorpions.

108. The height of religion is faith, the height of faith is persuasion.

109. The height of knowledge is to know oneself.

110. The riches of the pious are in God.

111. The aim of a wise man is to prepare for the day of judgment.

112. The riches of a wise man lie in his wisdom, but those of a fool in his possessions.

113. The wrath of kings is a messenger of death.

114. The love of a friend is shown in affliction, and the excellence of his consolation in poverty.

115. A grateful mind continues benefits, an ungrateful one causes them to cease.

116. Every king except God is a slave.

117. Every bird betakes itself to one like itself.

118. Every chest becomes tighter by that which is put in it except knowledge, which extends itself more and more.

119. How many are sad whose sadness tends to eternal life.

120. How many are joyful whose joy tends to eternal misery.

121. How will any one have leisure for another life whose heart is engaged in worldly things.

122. How will any one escape God who flies from himself? and how will any one who seeks destruction avoid it?

123. How will any one who errs lead another life?

124. A man has sufficient knowledge if he know his own faults.

125. Be contented and you will be rich, be confident and you will be powerful.

126. Be a defender of the oppressed, but an enemy of the oppressor.

127. Every day hastens to the morrow.
No. CXLVI.

ABOUT two miles to the north-west from Bhêlsâ, the chief town of the Tâhâl of the same name in the Ísâgadh District in the dominions of Scindia, there is the well-known hill of Udayagiri, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it. Among the numerous cave-temples on this hill, there is one which General Cunningham has named "No. 9; the Amãta Cave." There are four pillars inside this cave. And, on the north face of the pillar that is immediately on the left as one enters the cave, there is a short inscription which may be of some interest in connection with the controversy regarding the establishment of the Vikramâditya era. The characters are Dêvanâgârî, of the period to which the inscription belongs, viz., the eleventh century A.D., as recorded in the upper part of it. The language is Sanskrît, and it is very corrupt; I give the text just as it stands in the original.

The first three lines are evidently intended to record the visit of a pilgrim named Kanha to this cave. The fourth line contains the date of Saîvat 1093, or A.D. 1036-7, which is evidently the year in which he visited the cave. And the remaining four lines contain the really interesting part, viz., a statement that the cave was made by Chandragupta, and that the reign of Vikramâditya came after that event.

There can hardly be any doubt that the Vikramâditya here referred to is the great Vikramâditya, after whom the era which bears that name was named. And the other inscriptions at Udayagiri show that the Chandragupta here spoken of is Chandragupta II., the son of Samudragupta, of the Gupta family. We seem, therefore, to have here a record of tradition of the eleventh century, A.D., to be taken for what it may be worth, to the effect that the reign of the Vikramâditya, after whom the era was named, was at least subsequent to the time of Chandragupta II. of the Gupta family.

Translation.

Reverence! Śri-Kanha, the restorer of that which has become decayed, perpetually does obeisance to the two feet of (the god) Vishnî. The year 1093. (This) temple was caused to be made a temple by Chandragupta. Afterwards (there was) the reign of Vikramâditya.

No. CXLVII.

The original plates, from which the present inscription is published, belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and were obtained from 'Ahadanakaram' in the Madras Presidency. They have been presented by him to the British Museum. They are five in number, each about 8½" long by 2½" broad; one of them, however, is quite blank, having no writing on either side of it; it must have been intended as a guard-plate, though it was not needed, as neither the first nor the last plate has any writing on the outer side. The edges of the plates were raised, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring is a plain copper ring, about ½" thick and 3½" in diameter; it had been cut when the grant came into my hands; it probably had originally a seal attached to it; but none is forthcoming now. The language is Sanskrit down to line 17. From there to the end, it is Old-Telugu. The orthography is rather inaccurate; and I do not feel quite sure that this a genuine grant. It also seems to have been left unfinished.

The inscription is, or purports to be, one of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnûvardhana IV. or V.; but there is nothing

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1 Archaeol. Surv. of India, Vol. X. p. 52.

2 From the original stone.
in it to enable us to say which of the two reigns it is to be allotted to. It is not dated. I am not able to translate the Telugu portion, and have not succeeded in obtaining any

translation of it. But the inscription seems to record either a grant by Vishnuvardhana of the village of Prithivipallavappattana, or a grant by the inhabitants of that village.

Test.

\[1\] Svasti Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁ([a*]t)ūyamāna-[Māna*]yya-sagōtrāṇ([a*]ṁ) Ṣārī-
\[2\] ti-pūtraṁ Kō ([kauş]śī(śi)k-vara-prasāda-labdhā-rājya[nā[m*]ī] mātri-gaṇa-parip([a*]i)li-
\[3\] tānāṁ [Śrā]mi-Māhāś(śe)na-pād-ānak[nu] duḥ(dhyā)[nā[t]ā[m*]ī] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-
pra-
\[4\] sā-da-sada*+samāśādita-varā(ṛa)-varāhālācchha-[ā]kshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛi-
\[5\] t-[a*]raṭ(ṭi)-maṇḍalānāṁ aśvamēdī-āvabhrītha-ānāna-paviitrkṛita-vapush([a*]ṁ) Chā-

Second plate; first side.

\[6\] luguṇaṁ k(u*lam)alaukikarishaḥ[ḥ*] sv-[a*]si-dhārā-prabhāv-āvantī-jī-ārī(ō)ahamahil-
maṇḍala-
\[7\] aya Śrī-Vishnuvarddhanamaharājasya [paustaṛa*] bhru(bhrd)-bhā(bha)mātra-viḍhāta-
samā(ma)st-ākṛtī-maṇḍalasaṁ
\[8\] kārīna anōka-tulā-ḥṛita-sātakumbha-viṛāṇan-[ā*]vaḍāta-śari(rīr)̥aśya Śrī-Viṣa-
\[9\] yāditya-mahārājasya priya-panahavācha rakṣavaththi(ṛtti)-lakṣhaṇa-āpiṭāḥ Chakra-
\[10\] dhara iva Lakṣhmi(kṣaṁ)-vallabhaḥ iva ja-

Second plate; second side.

\[11\] gad-āhādana-karaḥ sura-gaja iva dāna-va[r*]ah jalanidhir-iva gambhi(mbh[v]la)ra-śatavāḥ
Yudhiṣṭhirāva
\[12\] Bhū(ḥh)maśena-śvavita Kāṭṭhi(ṛtti)kṛyāya iv-āpratihiṣata-śaktiḥ śakti-tray-āpiṭaḥ chatra-
srījaḥu nṛ-
\[13\] pa-viḍyāsaḥ vichakṣaṇaḥ yuddhēshu visham-siddhiḥ a[r*]thi-janā kāmabheduḥ
stria(trī) ahu Ma-
\[14\] karadhvaṣṭaḥ ripu-timira-viḍhvansanē pralay-ādityaḥ jvalat-pratāp-ānala-jvālāvālī(lī)-
\[15\] da(dha)-riṣṭa-riṣṭā(ḥa)s[ā]*īghra-pavanāḥ viṣaṅgi(g)ī[ph]u(ahh)rāddharmma-viṣayi(yīt) para-
ma-bramhaṅyaḥ para[mp]a*-mabhā.

Third plate; first side.

\[16\] śvāraḥ sarvvalokāravya Śrī-Vishnuvarddhanamaharājaḥ rāhāru(kū)ṭa-pramukhā'n ku-
ti(tu)mibhav sa-
\[17\] rrvan=ithham=āja(k)*payati [*] Vidita[m]a-sam sūma-bhiḥ Svasti Prīḥ(thī)hīl(thī)vī-
pat(īl)[vavatpata[n][n*]buna úr(rī)]-
\[18\] vāru Karigal[svadāva(vār)]riki(śi)ūri-svāmu ichchhā sti(ṭhi)ti Rṛṇḍu(ṛṇṇu)vāḍala-
pāṭāṇavārakū
\[19\] āriyadāgu teryu svēḥha[r]abu(ḥbu) daṇḍu(ṇṇu) daś(ś)-[a*]parāhāvena sarvva-
bdāda(dha)-pa-
\[20\] riyārva Ṟura dāya-śesi ichchī dinikavakraḥuḥ ēdu vachchina-vāsu gaḷareṇī āri-
sti(ṭhī)ti-
\[21\] dappināvāru dinikavakrābuḥ vachchhina-gačchhuru Rṛṇḍu(ṛṇṇu)va(vār)da eleμv-
 rulemulavē-
\[22\] si-nadiyu channu(?)viripayinādu(ṛu) varugaṁga eļemuvachesaṁ seynuṣana

Third plate; second side.

\[23\] mahanabiyaś narāḷōka-mahaaṣṭhavāvī vīravamahahaniy[ai]ḥ? gajāsab(ḥbu)m]*-
\[24\] ṛḷa(ṭhu)-n[ad]napuṇa śa[sa] maṣṭa-bhuvana-śrīye-kanadiraṇu-bedrapereya ṛṣi paninavasivara

* From the original plate.
* These two letters, anda, are an unmeaning repetition from the preceding side.
* The ṛ is formed here in an entirely exceptional way, being turned downwards, in addition to being attached to the top stroke of the ṣa.
* Here the ṛ is turned upwards; but it is again attached to the top stroke of the ṣa.
* This akṣara is a very anomalous one; but it cannot stand for anything except Ṛddh.
THE GAÑGA AND BĀṆA DYNASTIES.

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

Fresh light which adds to our knowledge of former times in India is always welcome, and for such we are indebted to the Rev. T. Foulkes. In an appendix to Mr. LeFauvist's Manual of the Salem District, he has given accounts of several inscriptions found in that part, among which are four containing grants by Bāṇa kings. From these we not only obtain a long and circumstantial history of the Bāṇa dynasty, but also particulars regarding the Gaṇga kings which go to confirm their genealogy as compiled by me, and supply new information regarding them.

A grant by the Bāṇa king Hasṭimallā, undated, but followed by one in the 15th year of the reign of the Chōla king Koppesarivarman who took Madura, made on the application of Māvali Vāṇa Rāya, contains verses thus translated by Mr. Foulkes:—"May the Gaṇga dynasty, chief of conquerors, flourish; of which the great muni Kaṇva was the founder, born in the illustrious line of Kaśyapa, and distinguished for his great austerities; and which derived increased importance from king Śivana-Nandi. There was a king named Koṅgaṇi, the most distinguished prince of all the Gaṇga race, of the line of Kaṇva, who dwelt in the great city of Kuvalaupura, the abode of the goddess of fortune; he was consecrated to conquer the kingdom of Bāṇa. While he was yet a little boy playing at big boys' games, he cut in two a great stone pillar at a single stroke with the supple sword which he held in his hand; and when the assembly of his enemies saw its principal great white-winged banner raised in the van of battle, they were filled with fear. In his line, illustrious for the birth of Śrī-Viśṇugopa, Hari, Mādhava, Durvinita, Bhūvikrama, and other kings, Prīthivaśā was born, the wealthy, the great hero Prīthivipati, the son of Śivama. He saved both Divakogeśa and Nāgagandha when they were affrighted, by giving them the assurance of his protection; the one from king Amoghavarsha, the other from the jaws of an unprecedented death. He, by whom his enemies' troops were slain in the battle of Vaimalaguli, cut a piece of bone out of his own body with a sharp knife, and cast it into the waters of the Ganges. He, who with his own arm conquered the brave Pāṇḍya king Varaguna in the great battle of Sripura, went to heaven by sacrificing his own life, when he had justified his friend's title of Aparājita. Śrī-Mārasimha was born as his son, lord of men, a bright light of the Gaṇga race, the sole abode of honour, and mighty as the sun in dispelling the darkness of the race of his enemies. He had a son, Kesa, of a placid countenance, honoured from his birth, a sure wishing-tree to his friends, and a destroying fire to his
enemies, named Prithivipati, the leader of kings, who bore in battle the blows struck by the enemies of the king of the Ahāiras. From him, who was the royal lion (Rājasimha) of the overflowing Gaṅga race, and seized his royal enemies with his claws in battle, a certain king received consecration," &c.

We hence learn that the following was the succession of the Gaṅga kings from Śivamāra, who has been assigned to A.D. 668, each being the son of his predecessor:—

Śivamāra.

Prithuyasa, Prithivipati, protector of Varaharāja, conquered the Pāṇḍya king Varagūṇa. (Māraśimha.)

Kāsari, Prithivipati, (Śri Siha Nandi), restored the Bāṇa dynasty.

According to the Hosūr and Nāgamaṅgala plates, Śivamāra also had the names Navakāma and Kōngāyi, and was the younger brother of Śrī Vallaṅhā. His son is not named, but his grandson was Bhimākopa, who would thus be the same as Māraśimha. He was followed by Raja Kāsari, the same doubtless as Kōsari above. Then comes the donor, Śrī Purusha or Prithuvi Kōngāyi, whose relationship is not stated, but who began to reign in 727 and made the grants respectively in 763 and 777. These accounts, therefore, seem consistent with one another, and with probability. Were the dates of Amoghavarsha, who must have been a Raṭṭa king, and of Varaguṇa the Pāṇḍya king, known, they would have helped to fix the chronology.

In taking exception to the history of the Gaṅga dynasty published by me,* as gathered from instructions which had come into my hands and other sources, and which is borne out by the present fresh evidence, the main ground upon which Mr. Fleet rests his objections* is that Māraśimha of the Gaṅga line, who, according to a stone inscription at Lakshmēswar published by him,* made a grant in Śaka 809, is there described as the younger brother of Harivarman, who, according to a copper-plate inscription also published by him†, made a grant in Śaka 169. From which Mr. Fleet draws the conclusion:—"There can be no doubt whatever that the dates of the copper-plate grants are spurious, and that the date of the Lakshmēswar stone tablet inscription is the true one for the third generation from the founder of the dynasty." We now know that there was a Māraśimha among the Gaṅga kings long before the one who made the Lakshmēswar grant; and as for the genealogy there given it is clearly not complete, while the expression tasyānuṣṭh, if meant literally, is, in the face of the superior evidence we have, simply wrong.

The Gaṅga history is not indeed clear of all doubts—of what ancient line can this be said?—but the main facts as deduced by me seem to be fairly attested and entitled to acceptance. There are, I may add, Gaṅga stone inscriptions in Mysore yet unpublished. At Śivārathu, which seems to have been called Mendimangala, there are two grants by Śrī Purusha, one dated in the 28th year of his reign, the other undated.10 There is another at Chikmagalur, dated in the 6th year after Mādhava Mahārājadhīrāja had enfeoffed Rācha-Malla.11

The Bāṇa dynasty is one of which nothing has hitherto been known beyond what was published by me12 in connection with the only two inscriptions discovered of theirs, at Gülgamode. But those now brought to light introduce us to a long and interesting account, which, while it bears out the details I had gathered from one or two meagre references, adds considerably to our knowledge of the early history of Māiser.

The grant by Vikramāditya contains

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† Perhaps Kakka I., if we may rely on the hypothesis suggested by me that the particular Raṭta titles ending in varha were in constant relation with certain names. Mr. Fleet at first opposed this idea (see vol. XII, p. 112), but has since allowed that "there is of course a good deal of force in it." (see vol. XII, p. 228).

2 Mys. Inc., Intro., p. xi.

3 The Dynasties of the Kannarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, p. 111; reprinted in Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 111.


5 Ind. vol. VIII, p. 212.

6 This may be indicated by the word epika, which is similarly used to show a break in the narrative in l. 18 and again in l. 22; also by the indefinite way in which the account of Māraśimha begins with heft.

7 Śrī Gaṅgūsi Mahārāja Śrī Purusha prithuva rāja vijaya samuṭala varṣadhiḥ etemanyagālu.

8 Śrī Purusha Mahārāja prithuva rāja geṣa.

9 Rācha-Mallana, veṣṭ oṣṭā ṣṭetā ṣṭetā varaḥā.

the following genealogy as translated by Mr. Foulkes:—"From him (Bali) sprung his son Bāṇa, the abode of virtue, and mighty in strength; who possessed the great pure favour of Śambhu; on whose head are the rays of the lustre of the crescent moon; with whose sword the armies of his enemies were slain; the foe of the Sūras. In his extended line Bāṇa-aḍhīrāja was born, as the cool-rayed moon in the milk sea; who hewed his enemies in battle with his keen-edged sword; of undiminished glory. When Bāṇa-aḍhīrāja and many other kings of the race of Bāṇa had passed away, then at length Jáya Nandaivarmā was born in that line, the chief abode of victory and wealth. That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Andhra country, cherishing it as a peerless bride of high birth; his feet were tinged by the head-jewels of kings. From him was born a son named Vijaya-dītya: the congregation of whose enemies was subject to him; and even on the field of battle his foes could not stand before him, but fled away seized with terror. From him a son was born, Śrī Malla Dēva, who was called Jagadēka-malla; whose arm was expert in cutting up the whole of his enemies; the source of undiminished merit and fame; who was as Anuṅaṅa to womankind. By him a son was born of his queen, Śrī Bāṇa Vidyā-dhara, incomparable and illustrious, as Shāṃukha was born of Pārvatī by Hara; he repelled the whole multitude of his enemies; he was very learned; and his pure fame was as a whiff to the ears of the elephants of the points of the compass; and his feet were worthy to be worshipped by kings. His son was Prabhā Mērudēva; who expelled all his enemies; whose mind was intent on the four branches of knowledge; unassuming; a fountain of irresistible valour and glory; courageous; and free from the sorrow caused by sin. From him a son was born, named Vikrama-dītya; of unequaled wealth; before whom a multitude of enemies bowed down; whose great fame was spread abroad; humble; a chief amongst the families of kings; whose heart was fixed on the two lotus-feet of the lord of Pārvatī. Of him a son was born, named Vijaya-dītya, whose enemies fled from him in battle, terrified at his overpowering strength; whose second name was Pakaḷa-vippavya-Gaṇḍa,13 unbearable to his enemies; the cloud-like elephants cleft asunder by his sword in battle, reared forth their blood like water. Of him a son was born named Vijaya-dītya, Viṣṭavahāru; who followed the path of righteousness, and was a chief lamp of the Bāṇa dynasty; before whom a crowd of enemies humbly bowed down; the dear friend of Kṛihaṇa Rāja," &c.

The grant by Hastimalla, after the pedigree of the Gaṅga kings already quoted, in which it is said of Kōṅgaṇi I that "he was consecrated to conquer the kingdom of Bāṇa,"14 continues as follows:—"From him (Kēṣarī or Prīthivipati) a certain king received consecration, as a boon of favour, to enable him to assume the position of lord paramount of the Bāṇas. It was that king who was suddenly taken possession of by a host of virtues when they were seized by Kali, in order to be free from the experiences of sorrow and joy, saying: 'This man is born of the race of Bali,' namely, heroism, charity, gratitude, amiability, sympathy, memory, patience, clearness, purity, tranquillity, dignity, benevolence, and justice dominated by mercy. He cleft asunder the kings of the hill-country as if they had been tender young leaflets (pallava); he was the friend of righteousness, whose hand always held a gift, the upholder of the earth, the brother of the goddess of prosperity, who was appropriately called by the second name of Hastimalla. This Hastimalla, the black-banneled, the king of Padanipati, whose crest was the bull, and who used the monster drama in battle, the lord of Nāndi, having upon his own humble petition received permission from king Parakēṣarī," &c., makes the grant.

We thus learn that the Bāṇa kings ruled a territory to the west of the Andhra country; that they were subdued by the Gaṅgas in the reign of Kōṅgaṇi; but that a succession of Bāṇa kings continued to rule, of whom we have the names of eight, and from the Gaṅgâpode inscriptions it may be inferred

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13 Or Pakaḷapya-varna-gunda. Cfr. the epithet Gāndā-padi-vāpa applied to Vīyala Vidyādhara in the first

14 Bāṇa—anulake-jṝṣya-kṛiḥ-dhīkṣethaḥ.
they were independent; that the last of these was the friend of Kṛishṇa Rāja, very likely a Rāṣṭra king; that the Chōla king Vīra Nārāyaṇa "suddenly uprooted the Bāṇas;" and that the line was at length re-established by the Gaṅga king Kēṣari, or Pithivipati, in the person of Hāstimalla. The titles of the new king, which were no doubt as far as possible a revival of the old ones of the Bāṇa kings, were Kṛishṇadāiva, Paitiparīgya-dīkṣita, vramaḥkara, paitīkādavan-dubhir-yugyati, Nandinātha.

Mr. Foulkes adds extracts from the Pratāpya-rudriya, indicating the power of the Bāṇa kings as late as the end of the 13th century, and from Trivikrama-sūtī, a Prakrit grammar of the 15th century, to show that Trivikrama, its author, claims descent from the royal race of the Bāṇas. I would also refer, for the beginning of the 16th century, to the Tekal inscription, which speaks of Gōpa Rāja as "the conqueror of Bāṇasura."

The existence of a line of Bāṇa kings is thus fully established; and they seem, from their family name, to have been descendants of the Mahāvali or Mahānamallā kings, supposed to have been the rulers of Mahāvalipura, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot's inscription, were subdued by the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I, in the 7th century. The statement that their territory lay to the west of the Andhra country, and the discovery of their two inscriptions at Gulgānpode, show that their kingdom was situated in the Kōlar District in the east of Māisur. The title of Nandinātha seems to refer to the town of Nandi, which is at the foot of Nandiguda; this hill-fort itself, however, must have been retained in the possession of the Gaṅgas, if, as is most likely, it is represented in the title some of them bore of Nandagiri-nātha. But possibly Nandagiri may refer to Nandagudi in the same neighbourhood. Nandi eastwards, and Tumba westwards, point out the general lie of the later Bāṇa kingdom as in the upper basin of the Pālir. The city of Padvipuri, or Pādvipuri, apparently their capital, has not been identified; but an old city to the south of Vellore, called Padvēārasa, has been suggested.

With all this information we are yet unable to fix absolutely the Gaṅga and Bāṇa chronology; when more is known of that of the Chōlaas, at present involved in so much uncertainty, it may be possible. But it has more than once occurred to me that perhaps the title of Gaṅga-konḍa assumed by one of the Chōla princes, and which reappears in the name of the city, Ganga-konḍā-Chōla-puram, may furnish a clue to the date of the overthrow of the Gaṅga kingdom by the Chōlas for the Hoysala king Visnuvardhana, with reference to a victory at Kachchī, is similarly styled Kāčhī-goṇḍa, the captor of Kāčhī.

DOORWAY OF A TEMPLE.

BY THE EDITOR.

The accompanying plate represents one of those very elaborately carved doorways that form so marked a feature of the Chālukya temples in the eastern portions of the Dāvarād district. Some remarkably fine specimens of this class are to be found at Gadag and Lakundī, but some have been reft from the temples to which they originally belonged, and where alone they were in keeping with the style, and built into modern clumsy erections.

The example here represented, from a native drawing in possession of Sir Walter Elliot, is now in the Madras Government Museum.

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18 As Prabhu Mēru now proves to be a proper name, my translation of the phrase krama ṣīva prabhu mēru beṣe must be altered accordingly, to "by command of Prabhu Mēru who was his governor," instead of "by command of the great lord who ruled him."

19 Mys. Int., p. 208. I remember seeing a note in the Mackenzie MSS. that there were grants, dated in the 13th century, by Mahāvali Bēla Mahādīva at Sreślīpūttrā. Mr. Sewell in his Madras Antiquities, p. 265, says there are two inscriptions there of grants in A.D. 1433 and 1476 by Vīra Viḷāvānśi Rēya. Could this be Śrī Mēvali Viṇā śeṣīrāya?

20 Seven Pagodas, p. 127; Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 76.
Unfortunately a portion of the band of scroll work containing figures, on the upper portion of the right-hand side, has been destroyed, and a restoration of it attempted in wood; but whereas the figures in each scroll in the stonework are different, the restored ones are all alike.

Nothing can exceed the richness of detail of the sculptures round these doorways. In this respect they far excel those of most of the older Jaina temples of Gujarât and southern Rajputana, which there can be little doubt formed the original models for the carving of the splendidly sculptured mîhrâb that specially distinguish the early Muḥammadan mosques of Ahmadâbâd.

This doorway must have been brought from the east of Dhrâwa or possibly from the Raichur Doāb. Like those at Lakkundi, Dambal, &c., it is carved in a very dark but not hard stone, the same as is used in so many of the old temples in Kannaḍa districts, especially for pillars, which in many cases have been turned in a lathe form by placing the pillar upright on a pivot upon a stone at the bottom of a pit (possibly filled with water) and then whirling it round against a harder polishing stone or tool.

VI. THE JAINA RITUAL.

In Jaina temples the pûjâ is performed thrice daily; in the morning, about noon, and in the evening. The first or morning service usually begins soon after half-past six, when the Pûjâri who performs the pûjâ and who is always a Śrâvaka, having already bathed or, if not, having at least washed the five members of his body—the mouth, two hands, and two feet—opens the temple. On placing his foot inside the door he exclaims in Maigadhe nissaṅi or nissarâhī (Sansk. nisara), 'be off,' meaning thereby that he leaves all worldly concerns behind while he is in the temple. By some this nissara is repeated several times and by others only once; properly it should be used thrice; when entering the maṇḍapa, when going into the Garbhagriham or shrine, and before commencing the Châitya-vandana prayer. He first sweeps the temple and lights a lamp, which he places on the right hand of the image of the Tirthânkara. To the left of the image he places an incense-stand—dhâpadas—with fire, sprinkling incense over it; and sometimes he waves a lighted incense-stick before the image. There is no fixed formula of waving this, as in the description of the Oḍâkaṇḍa by the Hindus.

After the dhâpa offering follows the vâsakhotya (Sansk. vâsakhotya), or throwing of the vâsā.

1 See Râmâvâram Ritual, Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 319.

2 Dr. Dymock informs me that Barâ or Bhâmasah camphor is distinct from common camphor. It is obtained from the Dryobolango aroma (Gâra), and is worth about Rs. 100 per pound. The odour is that of powder. This powder is made from sandal, bardâ or camphor, musk (kostârâ), amber, and saffron (kârâ). First, the sandal is rubbed on a stone with water, and made into a paste. It is then dried and reduced to a fine powder, to which are added the other three scents, bardâ, musk, and amber. A little saffron is dissolved in water, and this yellow preparation is poured over the scented sandal and the whole made into a paste which when dried and pounded becomes the sacred powder of the Jains, technically called by them vâs (Sansk. vâsana) scent.

After the dhâpa ceremony this vâs powder is taken by the Pûjâri between his forefinger and thumb and dropped either on the right toe alone, or on each of the nine members (âgâs) of the image. No mantras are uttered in the morning during the vâsakhotya. If he has not bathed, the Śrâvaka is prohibited from touching the image with his hand. After this ceremony the Pûjâri comes out of the shrine and with rice describes the Svatārika or Sâya on a small table or box (bhâdâr) in the maṇḍapa. Above the Svatārika he places three small heaps of rice with a crescent above them. This crescent is called Siddhasâlāya. On the Svatārika he places fruit, and naicâdiya on the Siddhasâlāya. The three small heaps of rice symbolize jñâna (knowledge), darâka (perception), and charâtra (conduct)—

camphor with the addition of pathâusu or ambgeris.

The nine âgâs are (1) the two toes, (2) the two knees, (3) the two wrists, (4) the two shoulders, (5) the crown of the head, (6) forehead, (7) neck, (8) the breast, and (9) the navel.
containing water to wash his feet before entering the maṇḍapa; he dries his feet on the mat outside and then enters the shrine, explaining nisāahi. He wears the ātikāśaṇa or upper cloth folded into eight plies, with the end of which he ties up his mouth to prevent his breath polluting the image.

On entering he washes the stone (Guj. orbniyō), on which the kéṣari is prepared. He puts new kéṣari on it and rubs it with a piece of chandan or sandalwood. Some bardas is also mixed with it, and the whole paste is collected in a cup. A part of this is also taken in a smaller cup, and from this the Pujāri marks the four parts of his body: forehead, neck, breast and navel. The larger cup of sandal paste he puts on a brass tray, together with incense, flowers, &c., and enters the garbagriham or shrine. There he puts the tray aside.

He then removes the old flowers, and dusts the image with a nisūrīchi (Sansk. maṇḍrapuchchha), a soft brush, formed of peacock’s feathers. Then he dips a cloth in water, and wipes the image to remove the previous day’s sandal paste. To places where the saffron adheres he applies a Vālakūśhi, or brush, formed of Uśtra roots.* Thus the idol is cleansed of all the saffron of the previous day. Pañchāmrita is then prepared of milk, curd, ghi, water, and candied sugar. This preparation is taken in a kalaka—a vessel like a teapot without handle—and poured over the image; on ordinary days a kalaka with one hole in the nozzle is used; on festival and other sacred days, one with a rose having 108 holes is employed. After pouring on the Pañchāmrita he takes pure water in another kalaka and pours it over the image with the Sanskrit mantra:

The tenth verse is repeated with the hands folded.

After this follows the pushpapujā, or the worship by flowers. The Pujāri takes the flowers from the tray brought with him, and
Next he offers naivedya on the Siddhāsālaya with the Gujarāti mantra:

हे नेदन नवरः कृष्ण बिमाहलीराय
भवनवित प्रभुमुखे करार विचित्रमुख शाय॥

Then follows the Chaitiavandana as in the morning pūjā, after which he retires saying, avissāhi, 'Let me enter' the outer world. Then the lamps are put out, and the temples shut.

The evening pūjā is a very short one. It begins between 5 and 6 p.m., when the pāćāri after his afternoon meal enters the temple pronouncing the indispensable nisāhi. He then lights the lamp and performs the dhārapūjā and dṛati—the latter consisting of the waving of a lamp of five wicks before the image. Then follows the waving of the maṅgaladīpa, a lamp lighted with oil and wick. Music is at this time played by the Bhājakas or others in the maṇḍapa. The pāćāri then retires saying, 'avissāhi.' This concludes the evening pūjā. Every time he comes in or goes out he strikes the ghanta for joy.

Of the sacred days of the Jainas, the Chhavvachchhāri or Pajjushaṇa begins on the 12th day of the Krishaṇapakṣa of Śrāvaka and ends on the 4th of the Śuklapakṣa of Bhaṇḍrapad. During the first 7 of these 8 days the Kalparātra or sacred code of the Jainas is read and explained to the Śrāvakas by the priests. The last day is confession-day, when it is considered imperative on every strict Jaina to make chhavvachchhāri or confession to a priest; hence this last day is so called from this. This confession is called Ālavāṇa (Sansk. alapana, to speak, i.e., confess). Ālavāṇa or confession with them, however, does not consist of any enumeration of special sins committed; but the Śrāvaka simply mentions the various classes of sins, and asks forgiveness in the following mantras:

आलवाण—

हस्ताक्षरण संन्दिसर्य महानव देवतिष्र आलवाण
हस्त॥ आलवाणम जै में देव लिपि॥ हृत॥

अष्ट सात लाख—

सात लाख पृथ्विविश्व काय॥ सात लाख अप नाय॥
सात लाख पृथ्वि काय॥ सात लाख बाह्र काय॥ द्वा लाख
प्रयाण वनस्यते काय॥ वे लाख देवी॥ वे लाख तेन्द्री॥
वे लाख चैरिरी॥ चार लाख देवता॥ चार लाख
same time, fairly accurate, if we except his views of its magnitude, which like all his predecessors he vastly over-estimated. On the other hand, he has the merit of having determined properly its general form and outline, as well as its actual position with reference to the adjoining continent, points on which the most vague and erroneous notions had prevailed up to his time, the author of the *Periplus* for instance describing the island as extending so far westward that it almost adjoined Azania in Africa. The actual position of Ceylon is between 5° 55‘ and 9° 51‘ N. lat., and 79° 42‘ and 81° 55‘ E. long. Its extreme length from north to south is 271½ miles, its greatest width 137½ miles, and its area about one-sixth smaller than that of Ireland. Ptolemy however made it extend through no less than 15 degrees of latitude and 12 of longitude. He thus brought it down more than two degrees south of the equator, while he carried its northern extremity up to 124° N. lat., nearly 3 degrees north of its true position. He has thus represented it as being 20 times larger than it really is. Tiši’s extravagant over-estimate, which had its origin in the Mythological Geography of the Indian Brāhmaṇas, and which was adopted by the islanders themselves, as well as by the Greeks, was shared also by the Arab geographers Mas‘ūd, Idrisi, and Abūl-fīdā, and by such writers as Marco Polo. In consequence of these misrepresentations it came to be questioned at one time whether Ceylon or Sumatra was the Taprobānē of the Greeks, and Kant undertook to prove that it was Madagascar (Tennent’s *Ceylon*, vol. I, p. 10 and n.). Ptolemy has so far departed from his usual practice that he gives some particulars respecting it, which lie out of the sphere of Geography, strictly so called. He is mistaken in stating that the tiger is found in Ceylon, but he has not fallen into error on any other point which he has noticed. It may be remarked that the natives still wear their hair in the effeminate manner which he has noticed. In describing the island geographically he begins at its northern extremity, proceeds southward down the western coast, and returns along the east coast to Point Pedro. “In his map he has laid down the position of eight promontories, the mouths of five rivers and four bays and harbours, and in the interior he had ascertained that there were thirteen provincial divisions, and nineteen towns, besides two emporia on the coast, five great estuaries, which he terms lakes, two bays and two chains of mountains, one of them surrounding Adam’s Peak, which he designates as Malaia, the name by which the hills that environ it are known in the *Mahawâlī*.” Tennent, from whom the foregoing summary has been quoted, observes in a foot-note (vol. I, p. 535) that Ptolemy distinguishes those indentations in the coast which he describes as ḍāyas (σῶμας) from the estuaries, to which he gives the epithet of ḍāyas, (λακών);* of the former he particularizes two, Pâti and Prasâdēs, the position of which would nearly correspond with the Bay of Trincomalai and the harbour of Colombo—of the latter he enumerates five, and from their position they seem to represent the peculiar estuaries formed by the conjoint influence of the rivers and the current, and known to the Arabs by the name of “gobba.”

Ceylon is watered by numerous streams, some of which are of considerable size. The most important is the Mahaveligāngâ, which has its sources in the vicinity of Adam’s Peak, and which, after separating into several branches, enters the ocean near Trincomalai. Ptolemy calls it the Ganges. He mentions four other rivers, the Soana, Azânos, Barâkas and Phasis, which Tennent identifies with the Dedera-Oya, the Bentote, the Kambukgam and the Kangarayen respectively. Lassen, however (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 21), identifies the Azânos with the Kâlîgângâ which enters the sea a little farther north than the river of Bentote, and is a larger stream.

The mountains named by Ptolemy are the Galiba in the north-west of the island, and the Malaia, by which he designates the mountain groups which occupy the interior of the island towards the south. He has correctly located the plains or feeding grounds of the elephants to the south-east of these mountains; malaia is the Tamil word for “mountain.”

The places which he has named along the coast and in the interior have been identified, though in most cases doubtfully, by Tennent in his map of Taprobânē according to Ptolemy and Pliny, in vol. I. of his work, as follows:—

On the West Coast beginning from the north:—

Margana with Mantote.

Igana with Aripo.

Anarismoundon Cape with Kudramali Point, but Mannert with Kalpany (further south).

Sindo Kanda with Chilau (Chilau from Salâhâna—the Diving, i. e. Pearl Fishery.)

Port of Priapis with Negombo.*

Cape of Zeus at Colombo.

Prasâdēs Bay, with Colombo Bay.

Noubartah with Barberyn.

Odoka with Hikkode.

Cape Orneçon (of Birds) with Point de Galie.

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* Tennent here seems to have confounded ḍōma, a haven or creek, with ḍōma, a lake. The words are, however, etymologically connected.

* This was no doubt a name given by the Greeks.
On the South Coast:—
Dagana with Dondra Head.
Korkobara with Tangalle.
On the East Coast:
Cape of Dionysos, with Hambangtote.
Cape Kétaion (Whale cape) with Elephant Rock,
(Bokana Yule identifies with Kambangan).
Haren of Mardos with Arukgam Bay.
Abaratha with Karativoe (but Yule with Apar-
atote, which is better).
Haren of the Sun with Batticalao.
Riaula Haven with Vendeloos Bay.
Oxeia Cape (Sharp point) with Foul Point.
Spatana Haven with an indentation in Trin-
kōnamalai Bay.
Nagadiba or Nagadina with a site near the Bay.
Pati Bay with Trin kanəmalai Bay.
Anoubingara with Kuchiavelli.
Moloutton with Kokelay.
On the North Coast:—
Month of the Phasia.
Talaky or Aakaté, with Tondi Mansar. Yule
places both Nagadiba and Moloutton on the north-
west coast, identifying the latter with Mantote.

With respect to places in the interior of the
island Tennent says (vol. I, p. 536, n. 2): "His
(Ptolemy's) Maṣagramum would appear on a
first glance to be Mahāgām, but as he calls it the
metropolis, and places it beside the great river, it
is evidently Bintenne, whose ancient name was
"Mahāyangana" or "Mahāwelligām." His Au-
rogramum, which he calls baxośi, "the royal
residence," is obviously Anuradhapura, the
city founded by Anurādha 500 years before
Ptolemy (Mahawddas, pp. 50-52). The province
of the Mołutti in Ptolemy's list has a close
resemblance in name, though not in position, to
Mantote; the people of Rayagamorite still
occupy the country assigned by him to the Rho-
gonandanoi—his Nagadihī are identical
with the Nagadiva of the Mahawddas; and the
isle to which he has given the name of Bassa,
occupies nearly the position of the Basses, which
it has been the custom to believe were so-called
by the Portuguese,—"Baxos" or "Baixos" "Sunken
Rocks." The Rho gonandanoi were located in
the south-west of the island. The sea, which
stretched thence towards Malaka, appears to have
at one time borne their name, as it was called by
the Arab navigators "the sea of Horkand." The
group of islands lying before Ceylon is no doubt
that of the Maldives.

Klaudios Ptolemy's Geography of
Central Asia.

Having now examined in detail the whole of
Ptolemy's Indian Geography, I annex as a suitable
Appendix his description of the countries adjacent
to India. The reader will thus be presented with
his Geography in its entirety of Central and
Eastern Asia. In the notes I have adverted only
to the more salient points.

Book VI, Cap. 9.

Position of Hyrkania.

1. Hyrkania is bounded on the north by
that part of the Hyrkanian sea which extends
from the extreme point of the boundary line
with Media as far as the mouth of the river
Oxus which lies in 100° 43° 5'.

2. In which division occur these towns:—
Saramannē, a town. 94° 15' 40° 30'.
Mouth of the Maxērē 97° 20' 41° 30'.
The sources of this river 98° 35° 20'.
Mouth of the Sokanda 97° 20' 42'.
Mouth of the river Oxus 100° 43° 5'.

3. On the west by the part of Media already
mentioned as far as Mount Korinos in which
part of Media is
Saramannē. 94° 15' 40° 30'.

4. On the south by Parthia, along the side of it described as passing through the range of
Korinos, and on the east by Margianē through the mountainous region which connects the
extremities referred to.

5. The maritime ports of Hyrkania are
inhabited by the Maxērēi, and the Asta-
bēnoi and below the Maxērēi by the Khēn-
dōi, after whom comes the country adjacent to
the Korinos range, Arasītā, and below the
Asta bēnoi is the country called Sirā-
kānē.

6. The cities in the interior are said to be
these:—
Barangē 99° 42°
Adrapa 98° 30' 41° 30'.
Kasapa 99° 30' 40° 30'.
Abarbita 97° 40° 10'.
Sorba 98° 40° 30'.
7. Śinaka 100° 39° 40'.
Amarosē 96° 39° 55'.
Hyrkania, the metropolis. 98° 30' 40'.
Sakē (or Salē) 94° 15' 39° 30'.
Azmoura 97° 30' 39° 30'.
Maisaka (or Mausaka) 99° 39° 30'.
8. And an island in the
sea near it called Talka 95° 42°
The name of Hyrkania is preserved to this
day in that of Gurkan or Jorjan, a town lying to
the east of Asterabd. Its boundaries have
varied at different periods of history. Speaking
CHINGHIZ KHÁN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY RENÉE H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 148 ante.)

XXVI.

Chinghiz Khán spent the summer of 1219 in the fine pastures of the Irtish, so as to get his horses in good condition for his great campaign in the west. Before he started, we read in the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shih, his wife, Yesni, and his son Dákyábhai Dhólsé Dalál.

* For the information contained in this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Dholas Hakam Chand Dalál, not, to observe these days. They also go to the Upáras or monasteries to hear the Aṅgas of the Kalpasūtra read.

They worship the Siddhachakra on these days. On a small silver or brass stand are four figures in relief seated cross-legged like the Jainas, one in the centre, and four round the circumference. Between the latter are the words Darśana, Jñāna, Chaitra, and Tapas. The five figures represent the five orders of Jain saints—first, the Arhat in the centre; second, the Siddha above; third, the Āchārya to the worshipper’s right; fourth, the Muni or Sādhu to his left; and fifth, the Upādhyāya below.

By the more rigid Jainas fasting is observed on these days. There are several kinds of fastings.—(1), Upavāsa, of which, again, there are two divisions—Chauvihar and Tēvihār—the former is abstinence from food and water, and the latter from food and taking water that has been boiled and cooled, during daylight after 10 A.M. and before sunset; (2), Ēkāśana, in which he may eat as much as he likes, sitting on one āsana. Vegetables, either cooked or raw are prohibited. He must eat only grain, cooked of course, and drink water that has been boiled and cooled; (3), Ambil, in which he eats his usual food, seated on one āsana, but must not taste oil and ghrl or fatty substances; (4), Nwē, in addition to Ambil, he may eat sour substances; (5), Bē-āsana, is the same as Ēkāśana, but in this he may eat twice; (6) Ōhhat—like Upavāsā, this is of two kinds—Chauvihar and Tēvihār; the former is abstaining from food and water for two days, and the latter is abstaining from food alone for the same period; (7), Affam, is similar to the preceding, but the abstinence continues for three consecutive days. And thus the fasts may be observed from 4, 5, 6, 7, &c., consecutive days to a month. A fortnight’s fast is called Pakšamaṇa. Fasting for a month is called Māsakamaṇa.
said to him, "You are going, O king, into far-off countries, beyond mountains and rivers, to fight. If it should happen that you should leave an unpronounceable name, which of your sons do you wish should be master. Proclaim this to everybody beforehand." Chinghiz said, "Yseni speaks with reason. Neither my brothers, nor my children, nor Boorchii, nor anyone else has reminded me of this. I also had forgotten." Then he turned to Juchi, and said, "You are the eldest of my sons, what do you say?" Juchi had not answered, when Chaadaai said, "Father, you have asked Juchi, perhaps you wish to give him the kingdom, but he sprang from the race of the Merki. Shall we then allow him to govern us?" He had no sooner finished than Juchi rising, took Chaadaai by the collar, and said, "My father has not yet selected me, and yet you speak such words. What talents have you, except a rough character? I will try with you who shoots the furthest, and if you beat me, I will lose my big finger." I will wrestle with you, and if you overcome me, I will lie down where I fall, and not rise again." The brothers thereupon took each other by the collar. Boorchii and Mukhali tried to separate and appease them. Chinghiz continued seated, and silent. Thereupon Kokososi said, "Chaadaai, why are you so hasty. The emperor has great confidence in you. Before you were born the universe was filled with strife, people fought with and robbed each other, and it was impossible for anyone to live peaceably. That was the reason your wise and glorious mother was kidnapped. When you speak as you do, you tear the heart out of your mother, who has shared the labours of your father in founding his empire. They brought up you children in the hope that you would become men. Your mother is glorious as the sun, her wisdom deep as the sea. How then could you speak of her as you did?" Chinghiz, intervening said, "Of my children Juchi is the eldest, in future speak not thus." Chaadaai smiling slightly, said, "There is no need for me to dispute with Juchi about his strength and talents. Of your sons he and I are the eldest; allow us both to show our zeal towards you. If either of us prove faithless in this, kill him. Ogidai has a great soul and a gentle character, let him succeed you." Chinghiz again appealed to Juchi, who said, "Chaadaai has already spoken. We will strive together and let Ogidai succeed you." Chinghiz said, "Do not strive together. The universe is large. Let each of you occupy a separate kingdom. But mind you carry out your promise, and do not let the people laugh at you, like Altan and Khuchar, who did not keep their word. What happened to them in consequence? Their children and grandchildren are here. Let them go with you, and act as a warning to you."

Chinghiz then asked Ogidai what he had to say. "Father," he replied, "You have designed to bid me speak. It is not lawful for me to say I cannot succeed you. I will act zealously and prudently, but I am afraid that my children and grandchildren will be people without merit, and unfit to occupy the throne. This is what I say." Chinghiz replied, "These words of Ogidai are just. He then asked Tulni, his fourth son, for his opinion. "You have already bid me, father," he replied, "remind my brother of that which he had forgotten; to awaken him when asleep; to go to battle for him when he sends me." Chinghiz Khân said, "As to Khasar, Alchidai, Ochigin, and Begutai, let their descendents succeed them in their offices one at a time, with their appanages independent of one another. Let one of my sons only inherit my rank." My words are unchangeable. I do not allow them to be broken. If Ogidai's sons and grandsons be all incapable, will there not be a rough clever one among all my descendents?" In these testamentary arrangements we are struck by the fact that contrary to the usual custom in the East, Chinghiz decided that his main inheritance was to pass to his sons, and not to his brothers. It would seem as if he felt himself entitled to thus dispose of what he had himself conquered, while it is probable that his brothers did largely succeed him in the old inheritance of

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1 A respectful way of referring to his death.
2 i.e. Chaadaai.
3 His mother, Burtah, it will be remembered, bore him after she had been made prisoner by the Merki, whence his birth was considered ambiguous.
4 i.e. the power of shooting with the bow.
5 It could not be Mukhali, who was at this time absent in China.
6 I.e. Ogidai.
7 I.e. be supreme chief.
8 Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi, pp. 143-145.
his house. As Palladius says, he seems to have contemplated the possibility of the succession passing out of the family of Ogotai, unless this clause was interpolated into the Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi, after the accession of Mangu Khan. His words imply that he desired the succession to pass to the most worthy, and the one to whom the government could be entrusted prudently, and Palladius adds that this limitation is also contained in Khubilai’s charter, appointing his son to succeed him. These regulations of Chinghiz Khan were most religiously observed, and treated with the utmost deference by his successors. Thus it is reported in the Yuan-shi, that In-Tsun on succeeding to the throne in 1321, when all the princes had assembled in the hall of Damindian, commanded Baiju to read aloud the priceless decrees of Tai-tau kept in the golden coffer. “The golden coffer in the iron chamber,” is the phrase by which the palace archives are referred to. In the notes to one of Guntai’s verses, it is stated that at the court of the Mongol emperors, it was usual on feast days for the men who looked after the palace archives to read out the decrees of former sovereigns, called Jasa, already referred to in a previous paper. Palladius explains the word as perhaps equivalent to the Sal of Chinghiz Khan.11

While still encamped on the Irrtish, Chinghiz sent to invite the Taoist sage, Ch’ang Ch’un, to pay him a visit. The latter set out, but Chinghiz had already departed, and he followed him.12 Chinghiz took with him the chiefs of the various subject kingdoms. Thus, we are told, he was accompanied by Barjuk, the Idikut of the Uighurs, by Arslan, chief of the Karlaks, and by Signak Tikin, prince of Almaligh.13 He was also joined by Pitu, the son of Yelii Liuko, the king of Lean-tung, by Uachen or Ganchin, prince of the Kunkurats, who was his brother-in-law.14 He was also probably accompanied by Poyaoho, son of Alakush, ruler of the Onguts.15 He also summoned the ruler of Tangut, who refused to go, and was afterwards visited with his bitter revenge. The Yuan-ch’ao-pi-shi tells us, in reference to this  

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11 i.e. Chinghiz Khaan.
12 i.e. the Yasa.
13 Rites or ceremonies of Sa.
14 Id. note 576.
15 Brete Schneider, Notes on Med. Chinese Travellers in the West, p. 17, &c.
17 Gaubil, pp. 36 and 40.
18 Id. p. 42.
19 i.e. the subjects of the Khwarazm Shakh.
21 i.e. China.
22 Tabaiat-i-Nasiri, pp. 972 and 975.
out several hundreds of banners were brought out, and a thousand horsemen were arranged under each banner. Every ten horsemen were directed to take three dried sheep, an iron cauldron, and a skin of water, and along with his hosts were despatched horses, mares, and geldings, without number, to supply them with milk, and for riding. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen tells us that he left behind him as his vicegerent his brother, Tiemuko, who had in his service an officer named Sakisee, who was a Hiei or Uighur by origin, and his family had settled in China, formerly he had been cupbearer to the prince, and afterwards became a distinguished officer. Chinghz Khán, we are further told, took with him several Chinese generals. He formed special corps, skilled in throwing stones at besieged cities. They were commanded by a Mongol, named Yemuluiy, and Saetalahay, who lived at Yenking, but was a foreigner by origin. Chinghz Khán was now ready to leave. We read that on the day when the sacrifice of the departure was celebrated, there fell snow to the depth of three feet. Chinghz, apparently deeming it an ill-omen, consulted Yeliu-chu-tsai, who replied, "This predominance of the god of the waters over the usual temperature of summer is an assured gauge of victory." Yeliu-chu-tsai accompanied the great conqueror, and it is from his diary that we are able roughly to recover his route. The first place he names is Bula. This is, no doubt, as Palladius says, the place called Bo-lo, in the narrative of Chang-ti's journey, in which we read that wheat and rice were cultivated there. On the mountains round it many cypresses were found, which did not grow vigorously, but tortuously between the stones. The dwelling houses and bazaars stood interspersed among the gardens. The houses were built of clay, and the windows furnished with glass. This authority places it south of lake Alakkul. The place is called Pulad by the Persian authors who place it near lake Sut. Haithon also mentions Phulat, as a town near Sntkul. It is also named by Rubruquis as a place where they dug gold, and made arms. On the Chinese map published by Palladius it is called Pu-la, and is placed between Emil and Almaligh. Palladius puts it on the river Bortala, which flows north of lake Sairam, and empties itself into the Ebi-nor. It was on the main route from Mongolia to the west. After passing Bula the invaders crossed the Yin-shan mountains, by which the Talki or Borokhor range, north of Kulja, is meant. These mountains are traversed by a famous defile, called the Iron Gates, through which Chinghz Khán and his army marched. About this we have an interesting passage in the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's journey. "We suddenly got sight," he says, "of a splendid lake, about 200 li in circumference, enclosed on all sides by snow-topped peaks, which were reflected in the water. The master named it the lake of Heaven." Following the shore we descended in a southern direction; and on either side saw nothing but perpendicular cliffs and rugged peaks. The mountains were covered to their summits with dense forests, consisting of birches and pines, more than a hundred feet high. The river winds through the gorge for about sixty or seventy li, with a rapid current, sometimes shooting down in cascades. The second prince, who was with the emperor at the time he went to the west, first made a way through these mountains, cut through the rocks, and built forty-eight bridges with wood cut on the mountains. The bridges are so wide that two carts can pass together." Palladius remarks that Yeliu-chu-tsai in his poems also speaks of these bridges, and of the splendid mountain lake. Dr. Bretschneider says that in the Chinese work, Sin-khiang-chi-liao, there is a reference to this defile, which affords additional corroboration for identifying it with the difficult road made through the mountains by the son of Chinghz Khán. That work, in describing the Talki pass, tells us that at the present time forty-two bridges have to be passed in crossing the mountain. Putimtoff, who went from Bukhatarminak to Kulja in 1811, states that the great high road from Peking to Kulja leading along the northern slopes of the Celestial mountains, passes by lake Sairam, and that

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30 Id. pp. 273 and 968.
31 I.e. Chagatsi.
32 I.e. regiments of balisters.
33 Oublot, p. 34.
34 Biography of Yeliu-chu-tsai, in Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, tome 2, p. 65.
35 Ll. Sairam.
37 Lake Sairam is doubtless meant.
38 I.e. Chagatsi.
39 I.e. Chinghz Khán.
between this lake and Kulja "a road has been made in ancient times through the mountain." 350 The country to the south of the pass, according to the narrative of Yeliu-chu-t'ai's journey, was overgrown with thick apple woods, which gave its name to A-le-ma, i.e. Almaligh, which we are told, had eight or nine other cities and towns dependent upon it. Grapes and pears abounded there, and the people cultivated the five kinds of grain, as was done in China. In the notices of Ch'ang-Ch'ün's journey we read that at A-lima, "there is a kind of cloth called tu-lu-na, which the people say is made from vegetable wool. This hair resembles the down enclosing the reeds of our willows. It is very clean, fine and soft, and they use it for making thread, ropes, cloth, and wadding." This, no doubt, refers to cotton. The people there also used aqueducts for artificial irrigation. "For drawing water they use a jar, which they bear on their heads. When they saw our Chinese pail for drawing water, they were much delighted, and said, 'You Tao-hua-shi' are very able men." 35 Schuyler identifies Almaligh with the ruined town of Alim-tu, on a stream of the same name, a little west of Kulja. 36 Even at this time it formed part of Chagatai's appanage, for, as we are told, Ch'ang-kung, his chief architect, invited Chang-Ch'ün to cross the Ili, close by, to inaugurate some temples on the other side. 37 After passing Almaligh the invaders crossed the Ili. They then no doubt followed the road along the north of the Ala-Tau chain past Alma-tu, which is perhaps the Chi-mur of Changti's narrative, and thus reached the valley of the Chu, and the capital of Kara Khitai which is called Hu-sze-wol-ud-o or Hu-sze-ordo in the Itinerary of Yeliu-chu-t'ai. We have already referred to it under its other name of Belasghun. In the biography of Hu-sze-mai-li, a native of the same place, there called Gu-dse-war-do, as given in the Yuan-shi, we read that he governed the two cities of K'o-san and Bā-sze-ha subject to Gu-dse-war-do, and that when Chinghiz Khán conducted his armies into Western Asia, he surrendered, together with the chiefs of these two towns. They were probably both situated in Ferghana, and are probably to be identified with the Kassan and Badam of Baber. 38 I am strongly disposed to place Hu-sze-or-do or Belasghun near the modern Togmak. The invaders followed the road north of the Alexandrofski range as far as Ta-la-sze, 39 the famous town commanding the entrance of the pass which connects Irán and Turán. This famous city, mentioned as early as the sixth century, is probably to be identified with the ruins of Tiume-kent, some miles below Ani-dats on the Talas. 40

Meanwhile let us turn to Sultan Muḥammad, who, having already felt the weight of the Mongol arms, and was conscious of their great strength, had retired to Samarkand, and was seized with unaccountable irresolution. Although the forces he could muster probably numbered 400,000, they were wanting in the discipline and other soldierly qualities of the Mongols, nor had they the latter's incentive to fight. To them victory would bring but barren honours, while to the Mongols it would open the gates to the rich treasures of Maveraun-nehr. Besides this, the Mongols were tolerably homogeneous, and bound together by common aims and an undivided allegiance, while many of Muḥammad's subjects had been too recently conquered to feel much attachment to him. His irresolution was also increased by the divided counsels offered by his generals, and the gloomy forebodings of his astrologers.

One historian suggests that he was also the dupe of Chinghiz Khán himself. We are told that a native of Otrar, called Bedru'd-din, whose father, uncle, and some of his relatives had been put to death by Muḥammad, had deserted the service of the latter, and joined the Mongols. He suggested to Chinghiz that he might take advantage of the jealousy and ill-feeling that existed between Muḥammad and his mother. Bedru'd-din, in fact, forged a letter in the names of the various Kankali chiefs who surrounded Muḥammad's mother, and addressed to Chinghiz Khán, and written in these terms:

We came with our tribes from Turkestan to join

35 Brethesenider, Notes on Med. Travellers, &c., p. 82, note 71; and pp. 71 and 72, note 65.
36 The Kirghis and other Turkish tribes still call an apple Alima.
37 Their name for Chinese.
39 Schuyler, op. cit. vol. II, p. 121.
the Sultan Muhammad, from affection for his mother, and by our means he has conquered several kingdoms, which he has appropriated. Notwithstanding this he is ill-disposed towards the Khutun, and repays her with ingratitude. She desires that we should avenge her. We are only waiting for your arrival, and we are at your disposal." It was arranged that this letter should be intercepted. The Sultan was misled by the stratagem, and becoming suspicious of his generals, determined to scatter them. It is possible also that Muhammad did not expect that Chinghiz Khan was going to make a permanent settlement, but only a temporary raid. At all events, instead of concentrating his forces, when he heard of the enemy's approach he scattered them in the various towns of Transoxiana and Khwarezm. Leaving the greater portion of them in Turkestan and Mavera-un-nahr he sent 20,000 men to Ghair Khan at Otrar, 10,000 to Benaket under Kutlug Khan, Ashtinu'd-din Kushli and his chancellor, Akhru Ali, surnamed Inandeh Khan. He retained 30,000 men at Bukhara under the command of Khamid Tanigu and other generals. He placed 10,000 under the command of his chamberlain Thujuanjuk, and the generals Azu'd-din, Hasamu'd-din, Masaud, &c., as a garrison in Samarkand, committed the defence of Termid to the Sijistan forces of Fakhrud-din Hasan, Sarrakhs to Muhammad Khan, Balkh to his nephews and their father, Jend to Asru Pehluwan, Jilan to Dagheljuk Malik, Kender to Berthaishi, Yargand to Aslebeh Khan. He himself retired to Samarkand. Chinghiz Khan, with his forces having reached Taras, crossed over the mountains, and then divided his army into several sections, one of which, under his eldest son, Juchi, with the Ulus Bede, he sent to secure the country on the lower Jaxartes. Juchi first assailed Sighnag, whose site is not well ascertained. Klapperth puts it, I don't know on what authority, on the Muskan, a tributary flowing into the Jaxartes on the right. S proper.'d-din speaks of Sighnag and Sabran, as two frontier towns of Turkestan, and says Sighnag was situated 24 miles from Otrar, while the biographical work entitled Tabakat-al-hanefiyet of Kosevi, speaks of it as being the town of Yassi. It was not impossibly on the site now named Kuk Chaganak, and placed in Colonel Walker's map on the Sihun or Jaxartes between the Aris and the Bugun, two tributaries of the Jaxartes, north of Otrar and south of Turkestan. In order to avoid bloodshed, Juchi, on nearing Sighnag, sent thither Hasan, the Haji, or pilgrim, who had long followed the steps of Chinghiz as a merchant, and was numbered among his officers. He urged upon the inhabitants the prudence of surrendering, and promised them their lives and property if they did so. But meanwhile the rabble in the bazar, who probably looked upon him as a faithless Musalmân to give such advice, fell on him with the cries Alla akbar, massacred him, and shut the gates of the town. Juchi, on hearing of this was enraged, he pressed the attack unceasingly, and in the course of a week captured it. It was taken in an hour, says Abulghazi, and 10,000 Musalmâns were massacred to revenge the death of Hasan. Mirkhond tells us that all the officers and soldiers, together with the chief men and half the citizens, were put to death. As they needed the town as a base the Mongols did not raze the town, and Juchi out of respect for the memory of Hasan Haji, had a splendid mausoleum built, on the best site in the place, and ordered funeral rites of the most elaborate kind to be performed over him. He was of the sect of the Safais. Hasan's son was given command of what remained of Sighnag. The fate of Sighnag overawed the neighbouring towns. Uzkend, called Usekan in the Yausshi-levi-pen, determined to surrender. Mirkhond says that when Juchi was two days' march off, the inhabitants in spite of the governor, sent their submission, whereupon he left the place with the garrison, and retired to Tonkat or Benaket. Thereupon Juchi treated the people well, merely levying a contribution of provisions, and moved on. This Uzkend had clearly nothing to do with the famous fortress.
in Upper Ferghana, but was doubtless a place situated on the Jaxartes below Sighnak, and I am disposed to identify it with the Uchkaik of Colonel Walker's map, which is the next station on the river below Kuk Chaganak. Juchi now attacked a place called Barkhalighkent or Barkhalikiet by the Muhammadan writers, and Ba-r-ch-li-hun in the old Chinese map published by Dr. Bretschneider. It is called Ba-r-jen in the Yuan-shi. Carpinii calls it Barchin, and says expressly it was situated on a great river. In the Chinese map it is placed between Sairam and Jend. It occurs as a mint place of the Golden Horde, and it was probably situated on the Jaxartes, not far from Sabran.

Juchi now attacked a place which is called Esnans by most of the Muhammadan writers, and Hanasa by Gaubil, but the name seems corrupt, and also occurs as Astart. Some writers would make it a corruption of Al-Shash, the old name of Tashkend, but this is quite too far off and in a wrong direction, inasmuch as Juchi's progress was down the Sihun and not up, and it now seems to me that the name is really a corruption of Yassi, the old name of the city of Turkestan, which is in quite the right direction. The very interesting remains of Yassi or Turkestan are described in picturesque detail by Mr. Schuyler. Juchi met with some resistance at Esnans, and its inhabitants were accordingly massacred. He now went on to Jend. It was a famous town in the East, having been the birth-place of several famous men. From it, according to Mirkond, twenty Skythian envoys went to Alexander the Great, praying if he were a god to show it by doing good to men, and if but a man to reflect on the uncertainty of his condition, instead of proceeding further with his design to rob them of their goods and peace. Jend seems to be the Kojend of Edrisi. He mentions it as one of the three cities of the Ghuz, on the lower Jaxartes. Māsādī, in a corresponding passage, which was probably copied by Edrisi, distinctly says Jend. M. Lerch, who has studied the

archaeology of Turkestan so diligently, fixes the site of Jend on the right bank of the Jaxartes between the fort of Kazalinsk, and that known as "Number two," where there are still some mounds of rubbish and some tombstones with Arabic inscriptions. The bricks have been largely used by the modern Kazaks to build their mausoleums with. At this time Jend was ruled by a petty dynasty. The name of the ruler was Kultugh Timur, whose father had submitted to the Khūārezm Shāh, and was a dependent of his. He was very rich, and on the approach of the Mongols thought it prudent to retire towards Khūārezm with his treasures. The inhabitants determined, therefore, to defend the place, and Juchi thereupon sent Chīn Timur, whose name is also given as Jai Timur, who afterwards governed Khūārezm on his behalf, and eventually became civil governor of Khorasan, to counsel them to submit, and to remind them of the fate of Sighnak. They would have killed him, but that he promised to persuade the Mongols to spare the city. When he returned he reported to Juchi the result of his journey, and the condition of the place. He suggested to Juchi that he should storm it on the side which the inhabitants deemed the most inaccessible, namely, where it was defended by a ditch. His suggestion was adopted. Three false attacks were made elsewhere, and the battering rams were planted at the weakest part of the defences. When the day for the assault had arrived the latter were attacked amidst shouts, and the sounds of cymbals, drums, &c. The battering rams were planted, and the Mongol slingers or archers drove the defenders from the walls. This was at dusk. When suspicion had been lulled, Chīn Timur put some bridges over the ditch, and put two ladders against the wall, one of which he planted himself. The walls were scaled, the gates opened, and the Mongols were inside before the garrison was properly aroused. As the assault cost them no men, they did not put the citizens to the sword. They were, however, ordered to leave the place, and to withdraw to a neighbouring plain, where they

20. "I. the Sihun.
23. Abulghazi, p. 113, note 1.
remained for nine days, and where a census was taken of them. The Mongols then plundered the houses, and planted a garrison there under the orders of Ali Khoja, who was a Muhammadan from Bukhara. Abulghazi calls him Ghaju-van. He had been employed as an envoy by Chinghiz Khan, as we have seen. The inhabitants were then allowed to return, except two or three who had abused Chia Timur in his conference with the inhabitants, who were put to death. Juchi now despatched a tuman to attack Yanghikent, a town situated on the Jaxartes, two days' journey from its outfall into the sea of Anai. Yanghikent simply means new town. Mr. Erskine tells us it is the Alkaria-al-jadidieh of the Arabian geographers. It is mentioned by Māsūdi under the name of Hadisse. He tells us it was situated "a farshah" from the Sihun, and two days' journey from the lake of Khvāresh, and tells us further it was the chief winter residence of the Ghuz Turks. Edrisi, in describing the course of the Sihun, tells us that after passing Sabran it entered the desert of the Ghuz, and passed at a distance of three miles from the town of Ghuza the New, and then fell into the lake of Khvāresh, at two days' journey from that town. He tells us it was the capital of the Ghuz, and the winter residence of their ruler, and that Musalmāns were found there. It was twelve days' journey from Khvāresh and twenty from Farab or Otrar. Carpini mentions the town under the name of Janckust. Abuelfada tells us Yanghikent was situated on a river which fell into the lake of Khvāresh. It was ten days' journey, he says, from Urgenj, twenty from Otrar, and twenty-five leagues from Bukhara. It is called Yang-i-kan in the Yaan-shi, the Huang-yuan, and the Yuan-shi-šei-pen, where we are merely told that Juchi captured it. In De Mailla, where it is called Yankian, Ogota is wrongly said to have captured it. Lechhine tells us that the ruins of Yanghikent are situated at a distance of an hour's ride from the Syr, and a day's journey from its mouth. In the last century it belonged to the Karakalpaks. Gladychew, who was sent on a mission to these people in 1742, found the town then in ruins, but its ramparts and towers still remained, and the Khan of the Karakalpaks lived inside the enclosure. It was afterwards occupied by the Kazaks, who reported that its primitive inhabitants had been driven away by serpents. M. Lorch explored the ruins of Yanghikent in 1867. He opened several of the mounds, and found various articles of pottery and household ware, but nothing which could enable the age of the ruins to be ascertained. Having conquered Yanghikent, Juchi also placed a deputy there. By this campaign he had become master of all Turkestan, properly so called, bounded on the south-west by the Jaxartes, on the north-east by the range of the Karstan or Alexandrof ski, on the west by the sea of Aral, and on the east by the river Aris. A district which was afterwards included apparently in the heritage of his eldest son, Orda, and became the focus of power of the so-called White Horde.

Let us now trace the doings of another division of Chinghiz Khan's army, which was deputed to conquer the country east of the river Aris. For this purpose Alak Noyan, Suktu, and Togai, or as they are elsewhere named Alanakha Noyan, Senkur, and Bukha, were selected. They were supplied with a force of 5,000 men. According to Mirkhend they were ordered to conquer Ilak and Khojend. The people in the two former places were surprised, and duly made their submission, surrendering many places without fighting, a fact which is not mentioned by D'Ohsson or Erdmann, but is reported by De la Croix. The two Mongol chiefs then marched upon Tonkat, also called Benaket or Fenaket, and which De la Croix says was dependent on Al Shash, and secured the frontiers of Ilak. It was a rendezvous for the merchants of these two countries, who chiefly trafficked

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60 Abulghazi, pp. 113 and 114; Erdmann, pp. 372 and 313; D'Ohsen, vol. 1, pp. 222 and 223; De la Croix, pp. 178 and 179.
61 Originally meaning 10,000 men, but used generally for a division.
63 i.e. the New.
65 D'Avenac, p. 513, note 2.
66 Brethesnezer, Notes of Med. Geography, &c., pp. 61 and 66; Gaful, p. 57.
70 Erdmann, note p. 234. Abulghazi unites the two latter into one person, and calls him Suktu-Baka.
71 De la Croix says 50,000.
72 i.e., the district of Tashkend.
there. It was rather a place of pleasure than of strength. Brooks watered almost every street, and the suburbs and country seats were well supplied with water, while it was graced by many gardens. It was garrisoned by a body of Kankalis, commanded by Ilegtu Malik, called Iyaltaku by Major Raverty, who was, says De la Croix, and as is probable from his title, "the natural lord of the place," i.e. the more or less independent ruler there. After three days' attack the walls were forced, and the inhabitants had to surrender at discretion. The garrison was put to the sword, the inhabitants were ordered out of the city while it was plundered. Ilegtu Malik himself escaped. The Mongols having made an arsenal of Bena- ket, advanced upon Khojend. Khojend was a large and well-built town, and situated on the Jaxartes. It had a considerable trade in musk and other odorous substances, and was famous both for its beauty and the bravery of its inhabitants. It was, moreover, governed by an intrepid and skilful soldier, named Timur Malik. According to Eastern writers he was an Admirable Crichton among soldiers, and Mirkhoud avers that Rustam, Sam, and Asfandiar would have blushed before him. He showed great energy in putting the place in a state of defence, and constructed a flotilla of boats to harass the Mongols on either bank, which were protected by shields of felt, covered with clay kneaded with vinegar. He had prepared a special acropolis on an island in midstream, which he garrisoned with 1,000 men. In vain the Mongols battered it for many days. At length they determined to make a solid causeway, a kind of dyke across the river, and thus to reach it. 50,000 peasants, we are told, divided into bodies of tens and hundreds, under Mongol officers, were employed in carrying stones. These had to be taken a distance of three leagues. The foot-soldiers, says De la Croix, brought the stones to the brink of the river, and the horse went and threw them in among the earth, and whole trees tied together, fascines, &c. Notwithstanding the many interruptions of the garrison the work was gradually completed, and Timur Malik saw that the end was drawing near, and determined upon a brave retreat. He first manufactured some fire ships with tar, &c., with which he set fire to the bridge of boats, by which one bank communi- cated with the other, so as to isolate the Mongols on either bank. The same night, having loaded seventy boats with treasures, and with his bravest soldiers, he entered them, and trusted himself to the current of the river. The Mongols, who soon learnt of his retreat, pursued him on horseback, and shot and received a great number of shots, and occasionally the rocks on the right bank compelling the boats to steer near the opposite shore, the fighting became close and severe. One struggle is especially mentioned which occurred where there was a ford, and where many men were lost on both sides. At Benaket the Mongols had fastened a chain across the river. This he succeeded in breaking through after suffering some loss. His pursuers were now joined by fresh troops sent by Juchi, who was not far off. They were posted strongly on either bank at Jend, where the Mongols had also built a bridge of boats to intercept him. Thus cornered he determined to land, and to trust to his horses. He accordingly disembarked at Khaliagent. He was eagerly pursued, and speedily lost most of his men, and was at length left by himself. He was still pursued by three Mongols, and had in his quiver three arrows, one without a head. With the latter he shot one of the Mongols in the eye and disabled him, upon which he bribed the other two to retire with some gold pieces, but other authors say that they were afraid of measuring themselves against him, and that when he warned them that he still had two arrows left they prudently retired. He arrived safely at the town of Urgenj, the capital of Khwarezm, whence he made a raid upon Yanghikent, and killed its Mongol governor. He afterwards fought bravely in the army of the Sultan Jelalu'd-din, and eventually adopted the habit of a Sufi, and retired to the borders of Syria, where he stayed some years. He then returned to Ferghana and settled at Aris, whence he visited Khojend once more to inquire about his family, and found one of his children still living. He was patronised by Batak Khan of Kipchak, by whom he was assisted in recovering some of his patrimony for his son. He was at length killed by the Mongol whose eye he had put out, and who accused him of not being respectful to his prince. Thus perished one of the bravest and most fertile in resources of the warriors whom
Asiatic history has produced,⁸⁸ As to Khojend, it fell the day after the brave Timur left it. While Juchi was conquering Turkestan and Ilak, the country to the east of it, a third army under Chagatai and Ogotai marched upon Otrar, whose turbulent governor, Ghair Khan, had been the main cause of the war. Its ruins are still to be seen a little to the south of the river Aris. It was a famous city in early times, and was known as Farab until the 13th century, when the name Otrar apparently first occurs. At this time it was apparently the capital of a small territory, for in the Itinerary of Yelun-chutsai, it is said, ten other cities were dependent upon it.⁸⁹ In Pegolotias land routes to Cathay, compiled in the first half of the 14th century, we are told Oltrarrre was forty-five days' journey with pack-asses from Almaligh, and thirty-five or forty days' journey with land waggons from Urgen.⁹⁰ The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi names U-da-rar as a town captured by Chinghiz. In the Yuan-shi we read that Chinghiz "captured the city of O-t'a-la, and the chief of the place, named Ha-ji-r-ji-lan-to, was made prisoner."⁹¹ The Yuan-shi-lei-pen says that Chinghiz ordered Ouotals to be attacked. It was captured, and its governor, named Achir, who had ill-used his people, was put to death.⁹² De Mailla says he laid siege to the town of Ouotals, which submitted.⁹³ In the Huang-yuan, we are told, Chinghiz left his second and third sons to invest Otolar, which was soon taken by assault. It is in the Muhammadan historians that we find the greatest details about its capture. Otrar, we are told, was garrisoned by 50,000 men, which seems a very exaggerated figure. Its garrison had been recently reinforced by a body of 10,000 horsemen under Karaja Hajib, the commander of Muhammad's bodyguards. Its walls were in good order, and it was well provisioned. Its commander was Inaljuk, styled Ghair Khan.

The Mongols invested it with great vigour. They proceeded to fill up the ditch, being much inconvenienced meanwhile by the incessant attacks of the garrison. When this was accomplished, they pushed up the battering rams and other engines of assault, which were so much injured by the stones and fire, and other missiles that were shot by the besieged, that the two princes and their councillors proposed to convert the attack into a blockade, but Chinghiz ordered them to press the attack, and in less than a month the walls and towers were breached and partially destroyed. The garrison behaved bravely, and the siege had now lasted four months, and the end seemed to be very near. At this juncture, Karaja Hajib let it be known among his troops that the capture of the city was inevitable, and that they had better save their lives by going over to the enemy. With Ghair Khan matters were very different. It was he who had murdered the envoys, and it was clear he had nothing to expect but condign punishment. Taking advantage of the darkness, Karaja repaired with his people to that quarter of the city where the gate of Dervaz Sufi which was in their custody, was. He sailed out by this gate, and went to the Mongol camp, where he reported the condition of the town. After exhorting this information the Mongols, with Draconic vigour, put him to death, with the other Khwarezmian officers, on the plea that they had been faithless to their prince. Some of the soldiers also were put to death, and all the rest were made slaves. Meanwhile the siege continued vigorously. The Mongols having learnt the weak part of the city from the deserters, made a considerable breach, and entered. The inhabitants were ordered to quit it, so that it might be the more easily plundered. Meanwhile Ghair Khan retired to the citadel with the rest of his troops. Here they defended themselves for a month until they were destroyed Ghair Khan himself and two or three of his companions still remained, for Chinghiz had given orders that he was to be captured alive. He at length retired to the roof with but two companions, who were killed at his side, and when his other weapons were exhausted he was showered down upon the besiegers bricks which were handed up to him by women. He was at length captured, and taken to the camp of Chinghiz, who was then at Samarkand. In punishment of the avarice which had led

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him to murder the envoys, he was put to death by having silver poured into his eyes and ears. The place of his punishment was the famous Gng Serai, where the great Timur afterwards built his palace. According to Petit de la Croix, probably here following Nissavi, the Mongols having razed the castle of Otrar, rebuilt the city walls, and permitted the old men, women, and children to return to it, and the garrison was forbidden to disturb them. Meanwhile the young and active men were sent on to share in the capture of Bukhara. While the three divisions just mentioned were overrunning the country north of the Jaxartes, Chinghiz in person, who had with him his youngest son, Tului, marched against Bukhara. The first town they stopped at was Zarnuk, whose inhabitants retired to the citadel. Chinghiz sent them his chamberlain, Danishmend, who thus addressed them:—"I am a Musalmán, and the son of a Musalmán. I come on behalf of Chinghiz Khán, to save you from destruction. If you make the least resistance your fortress and houses shall be razed to the ground, and your fields shall be flooded with your blood; if you submit you shall preserve your lives and goods." Shaking at these words, says the Eastern Chronicler, as a mountain shakes when torn by an internal earthquake, the inhabitants sent out a deputation with presents to submit to the conqueror's terms. Having carried off the young men, who were destined to aid in the siege of Bukhara, he allowed the rest of the inhabitants to return to their houses; the castle was razed. The name of the city was changed to Kutluk-baligh, i.e. happy city.

Chinghiz Khán now continued his march towards Nurata or Nur. Nur means light, and the place was so called because it included several shrines. A Tarkoman, a native of Zarnuk, guided the Mongols along a byway to Nur, which was afterwards known as the Grand Khán's route. At this time, we are told, there was at Nur a man named Zerks, who had extraordinarily sharp sight. He was posted as a look-out on a belvedere, and reported the approach of an enemy. When news arrived of the fall of Zarnuk they went to him, and he said that he saw as it were a wood moving towards them. This was a wood which the Mongols cut down near Zarnuk. Three days later a Mongol army approached under the command of Tair Baghatur, who, after Chinghiz Khán's death, commanded the forces on the Indian frontier. He summoned the town. The inhabitants, who had previously shown a bold front, were frightened, and sent a deputy with their submission. Tair having put to death Zerks, who had been captured by his men, and sent to Subutai Baghatur, to whom they surrendered the Kašbeh Nur, they also left the place as was usual, with their great and small cattle, with their furniture and agricultural implements, and necessary provisions, so that the Mongols might plunder it, who found little there, however. Meanwhile Chinghiz Khán having demanded some food, they sent out sixty men under the command of the son of Il Khoja, the governor of Nur, towards Debuseh, where Chinghiz then was, with a large supply of provisions, and he gave them presents. Having learnt that they had paid an annual tribute of 1500 dinars to Muhammad; he ordered the same sum to be paid to himself. One-half of the first year's tribute was made up, says Erdmann, in the funeral garments (Frauenvkleider), of their wives, but D'Ossion, with much more probability, says earrings. Chinghiz now advanced upon Bukhara.

Bukhara was an ancient and famous city, which, according to Juveni, derived its name from bokhar, which in the language of the Magi meant the centre of science, and he adds that the name resembles exactly that of bokhar which the Uighur and Chinese idolaters give to their temples. At the period of its foundation, however, it was called Mejeth. In the earlier days of Ibn Haukal it had two lines of fortifications, the inner one a farsak square, and the outer one 12 farsaks in circuit, within which were enclosed castles, parks, gardens, and villages. The river Sogd traversed its faubourgs. The citadel was in contact with the city, and although the surrounding country was very fertile, it did not suffice to feed the inhabitants.
It is called Pû-hua in the Itinerary of Yelü-chu-taes, who tells us it abounded in every kind of product, was richer than Samarkand, and was the residence of the Sultan. The capture of Bukhara is not mentioned in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, where the town is however mentioned, and called Bukhar. In the Yuan-shi we merely read that in the 3rd month of 1220 the emperor took the city of Buhus. This is all that we are told also in the Kung-mu, where the town is called Pu-har, and in the Yuan-shi-lei-pen where it is called Po-ha-eul. The Huang-yuan says that in 1221 Chinghiz marched in person with his fourth son, upon Bu-har, which he captured.

The Muhammadan historians have naturally much more detail. They tell us he pitched his camp at Gûlabad, near Bukhara, in Muharram 617 A.H. That town was then garrisoned by 20,000 men, under a Mongol deserter named Kuk-Khan and certain subordinate chiefs, such as Hamid Nur, Tatangu, Sunj Khan, and Kushli Khan. During the night they made a sortie. De la Croix says they intended forcing the Mongol lines and escaping, but they were overtaken near the Oxus, and almost entirely destroyed. Ibn-al-Athir says that the Mongols having attacked the place furiously for three days, the garrison, despairing of resisting them, withdrew towards Khorasan. This desertion caused great consternation inside the city, where the citizens under the advice of the Sayyids, Kâdhîs, &c., determined to open the gates and invite Chinghiz to enter. Ibn-al-Athir tells us the Haji Badru’d-din went with this invitation. Chinghiz entered the city on horseback with his son, Tului, went as far as the Great Mosque, and having reached the Maksura or throne, inquired if this was the Sultan’s palace. “This is the temple of the Great God and the Prayer House of the Muhammadans,” was the reply. He then dismounted, climbed two or three steps of the minbar or pulpit and bade the people find fodder for his horses, since the country round was wasted: so say Juveni and Mirkhond. Rashid’ud-din says it was Tului who thus mounted the pulpit, and addressed the people.

The Mongols thereupon opened the corn stores in the town, and used the boxes in which the Qur’ans were kept as mangers, while they trampled the sacred books under foot. They dragged their skins of kumiz into the mosque, and sent for the singing girls in the town to dance and sing for them, while the sayyids, imâms, ulemas, &c., held the bridles of their horses. Thereupon the Sayyid Jellâ’ud-din Ali ibn Husain Alzebedi could not refrain addressing the learned and illustrious Imâm Rukn’ud-din as follows:—“Malânah, what does this mean, wherefore dost thou not lift up thy prayers to God the Almighty, to deliver us from this trial?” The latter answered him with tears, and counselled submission to the will of heaven. “Keep silence, for the wind of God’s displeasure blows upon us, and this is not the time to speak. I fear that if I were to speak it would go harder with us. If you wish to save your life hold the bridle of the Mongol horses.”

Chinghiz’ soldiers thereupon broke open the corn stores, and desecrated the mosque.

After inspecting the town, he withdrew, and summoned its principal inhabitants to meet him in the Mosalla, an open place outside the city, where the inhabitants were accustomed to go for public prayer, and having mounted a kind of pulpit he addressed them in the Mongol language and told them how greatly God’s anger was kindled against them by reason of Muhammad’s treachery towards himself, how Otrar had already suffered in consequence, and that he himself was the Scourge of God who had been sent to punish them for their faults. His address was translated to them into Persian by Dânishmand Hajib. Having inquired who their principal men were, there were pointed out, 280, of whom 190 were citizens and 90 foreign merchants. He now assigned a bashak or commissary, a Turk or Mongol to each of these and bade them disclose all their hidden treasures, since those which were visible they could find for themselves, and he gave orders to his commissaries they were to do their work without violence, and not to be too exacting. The town would probably have been spared, but that a portion of the garrison had not surrendered; 400 Khwarezmian soldiers having taken shelter.
in the citadel, where they still held out. The able-bodied inhabitants of Bukhara were accordingly summoned, and employed in filling up the ditch of the citadel. "The infidels even used the pulpits and Qur'an boxes for the purpose." Says Ibn-al-Athir, "Verily we are God's, and to Him shall we return. Truly did God call himself the Patient, the Clement, else would the earth have swallowed them up at such a deed." The catapults and other engines were drawn up against it, and it was assailed with naphtha, &c. &c. Its commander, Kuk-Khan, fought very bravely, but the place was at length stormed and captured, and the garrison put to the sword to the last man. It seems that Chinghiz heard that some of the garrison were still harboured by their friends in Bukhara, he accordingly ordered the place to be fired, and the town, which was built of wood, was reduced to ashes, only the great mosque and some palaces which were built of brick escaped.

Ibn-al-Athir says that having dealt with the citadel, Chinghiz summoned the headmen of the town, and said to them, "I require of you the silver which the Khuarezm Shâh has sold you, for it is mine, and has been taken from my men, and it is now in your hands." They accordingly surrendered it. He then ordered them to go out of the city, and they went out without anything except the clothes they wore, whereupon the infidels entered and plundered it, and slew whomsoever they found in it. The Muslims were then surrounded, and divided among the Mongols. "It was an awful day, with the wail of men, women, and children, who were scattered far and wide, and torn asunder. They divided the women among themselves. Bukhara awoke, a heap of ruins, as if it had not been, yesterday." The women suffered the last outrage in sight of the men who were crying, defenceless against the fate which had overcome them. Some, unable to resign themselves, preferred death, and fought till they were slain. Among those who died rather than behold the fate of the Muslims were the Doctor and Imam Ruknu'd-din, Imam Zadeh and his son, who, seeing how the women were used, fought until they were killed, so did the Qâzi Sadr-nû'd-din Khan.

Von Hammer compares with force the accounts of the capture of Bukhara given by the Musalmân historians with the Byzantine description of the capture of Constantinople. It may be also, as in the latter case, that there was some exaggeration in the number of people actually put to death. It would seem that the 30,000 turbulent Kankalis were so, but it is hardly likely that a large proportion of the citizens were. The young men were sent to do sappers work at Samarkand, while the artisans were largely transplanted and settled in the towns further east. Bukhara remained desolate until Ogotaï, Chinghiz Khan’s successor, ordered Mahmud Yelvaj to restore it.

DID THE ARABS REALLY BURN THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY?

By E. Behatsek.

After having adduced the names of the writers who favour the belief in the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and controverted the arguments of those who do not entertain it, the Rev. J. D. Bate, M.R.A.S., says at the end of his paper on the subject: "The obvious conclusion from the facts thus brought together is, that the burden of proof rests with those who deny the story. The grounds on which Gibbon bases his scepticism regarding it, we have seen to be worthless; it would have been interesting to have learnt on what grounds so eminently careful a writer as Humboldt was, would justify the contemptuous term by which he characterizes it."

It must be admitted that if a source from which subsequent authors drew their information can be shown to be of no authority, on a certain special subject on which earlier authors had remained silent, all later writers who place reliance upon the statement concerning that special subject must likewise be untrustworthy. Accordingly, if we can show that Abu'l Farahigha, upon whose account of the burning the Rev. Mr. Bate relies, is not to be considered of any authority on this

"About this time (A.D. 642) also John, an Alexandrian, whom we call the grammarian, flourished among the Moslems. He lived till the time when 'Amruk b. al-Aasi conquered Alexandria. He waited on 'Amruk, who being fully aware to what degree he had risen in science, treated him very honourably, and listened to his philosophical discourses, to which the Arabs were not accustomed, and which astonished and amazed him. 'Amruk himself, how-
JULY, 1884.] THE BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

point, there will be no need of refuting the writers who have copied that account from Abu'l Farajus, nor the European authors who base their belief in the burning of the Alexandrian library upon that account.

Abu'l Farajus is the Latinized name of Abu'l Faraj, who was known by it as an Arabic, and by that of Gregorius Bar Hebraeus as a Syriac, author. He was the son of the physician Aaron, who had formerly been a Jew, and was born in 1296 at Melitene. In his youth he had enjoyed a distinguished education in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as in Christian dogmatics, in ecclesiastical history, and in medicine. His father having already been baptized, he was from his earliest youth educated in the Christian religion. In extensive journeys he perfected his scientific education more and more. He appears already in his youth to have enjoyed high consideration among his countrymen, because he was as early as the twenty-first year of his age appointed bishop of Guba, near Melitene, and consecrated Patriarch. Shortly afterwards he became bishop of Aleppo, whence he was transferred to the convent of St. Matthew in the vicinity of Mousai, where he occupied the position of a Mafrian of the East. The dignity of Mafrian was next to that of Patriarch, and therefore the second in the Jacobite Church. The dioecese subject to him embraced a large portion of Mesopotamia. His spiritual office was one of the most influential but also one of the most arduous, on account of the invasion of the Mongols under Hulagu Khan, at whose court Abu'l Faraj had on repeated occasions to plead for the interests of the oppressed Christians. He contended incessantly for the liberties of his co-religionists, and the success of his efforts can be ascribed only to his indefatigable activity, to his great experience in transacting business, and to his dexterity. It is expressly reported that his knowledge also and skill in practical medicine contributed not a little to make him acceptable to Hulagu Khan, who had great confidence in him, and most willingly granted him the immunities in the exercise of the Christian religion he had asked for. Above all, however, the reverence-inspiring dignity of his personal attitude and the deeply serious morality of his nature, won for him the esteem of the Mongols, and contributed materially to confer upon the Christians a respectable position in the Mongol empire. That Abu'l Faraj was, in spite of the great advantages which distinguished him above his contemporaries, nevertheless a child of his own times, and entangled in their superstitions, is evident from the circumstances said to have accompanied his demise. He was, as he also himself narrates, a zealous astrologer. His birth, his consecration as bishop, and also as Mafrian, had all fallen in the times of the conjunction of Saturn with Jupiter. Therefore he was firmly convinced that his death also would ensue when these two planets met again in conjunction. He attributed to them a decided influence upon his fate. Shortly before this position of the two planets again took place, he was attacked by a violent fever, and refused to accept medical aid, because the stars had announced his death; and thus he also died in 1386, as he had himself predicted.

The Syriac chronicle of Abu'l Faraj is to be considered his chief historical work. It is based on the diligent and partly critical use of a considerable number of Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Greek sources, many of which, as adduced by him, appear to have been lost. Of this larger work, which embraces secular and ecclesiastical history, he compiled, in the latter period of his life, a shorter extract in the Arabic language. This extract was edited by Edward Pocock in 1683, with a Latin translation under the title of "Historia Dynastiarum." The work, however, according to our text, is not merely an extract, but contains many a notice, chiefly of a literary character, which does not exist in the Syriac original. Whether these additions are interpolations of later copyists, or are really the work of the author, cannot be determined. As to the notice quoted from the Arabic extract in the second foot-note of this paper, concerning the burning of the library, or a library, of Alexandria, nothing whatever agreeing therewith is discovered in the Syriac chronicle.

and then the book of Allah is sufficient, and we need them not; or they contain something which contradicts the book of Allah, and also then we need them not.

Order them therefore to be destroyed. Accordingly 'Amru ibn 'u' 'Asi caused the books to be distributed among the baths of Alexandria for fuel, and thus the fire consumed them within half a year.'

This information concerns only the books preserved in the royal treasure, and not those of the library of Alex-

andria; it has never afterwards been referred to as pointing to the burning of the Museum library of Alexandria.

This information more is not contemporary with the event of the burning, but comes from a Syriac author, who wrote in Greek and Arabic, as late as the middle of the thirteenth century, and therefore about six centuries after the event described by him!
With regard to the absence of this notice in the Syriac Chronicon, says Dr. Kreidl, the assertion has been made that Abu'l Faraj had prepared his Arabic extract with a special view to the literary wants of the Arabs, and had inserted the story therein, because it was of a quite special interest to them. At any rate, this absence is highly surprising. But still more surprising is the circumstance that the same notice is wanting also in the Annales of Eutychius and of Al-Makin. The former was Patriarch of Alexandria, and died as such, in A.D. 940. He gives a circumstantial account of the conquest of Alexandria, and certainly made use of the best sources at his disposal, which, as he wrote in the very locality of the event, appear to have been tolerably abundant. Being a man of scientific education, the loss of the library, if it really existed when Alexandria was conquered, and no doubt contained many highly important and valuable Christian writings, must have been a sad event to him. There was nothing to hinder him from giving a circumstantial account of the burning of the library by the Arabs; but he failed to do so.

Three hundred years later, Al-Makin, likewise a Christian, also wrote in Egypt. He gives the very minutest details about the conquest of Alexandria, but says not a word of the destruction of the library by 'Amrū. The two authors just alluded to were closer to the locality where the event took place than Abu'l Faraj, who wrote in Mesopotamia, and in all probability drew his information from Byzantine sources, which are well known to have a very turbid tinge so far as the history of Islam is concerned. Byzantine authors have placed themselves in the strongest antagonism towards Islam by loading it with all the iniquities they possibly could. They imagined it to be their interest to represent the professors of Islam, who were their foes, as the greatest possible barbarians, hence it may with great probability be surmised that the whole narrative originated with Byzantines, unless perhaps Abu'l Faraj himself had erroneously applied to the conquest of Alexandria a report describing a totally different event. We are informed—of course likewise by later authors—that when Sa'd Ibn Waqqs, a general of the Khalifah 'Omar, conquered Persia, he found also many Persian books. Not knowing what to do with them, he wrote to 'Omar for orders how to dispose of them, and the latter replied that they ought to be thrown into the water or into fire. If the history of Abu'l Faraj be examined more closely, great exaggeration will at once appear. Four thousand baths are during six months asserted to have been warmed with the burning books! This is indeed a worthy side-piece to the account of Qutbuddyn on the destruction of the library of Baghdad by Hulagu. He is said to have ordered the books to be thrown into the Tigris; and their number is asserted to have been so large, that they formed a bridge over which cavalry and infantry passed; and the ink flowing from the books is stated to have been so abundant that it dyed all the water of the river black.

Now, if its exaggeration makes the narrative of Abu'l Faraj improbable, its further details contradict also other well authenticated testimonies. A portion of the letter written by 'Amrū, after the taking of Alexandria, to the Khalifah 'Omar is still in existence. In this letter he says:—"I cannot describe its treasures, but I content myself to inform you, that I have found in it four thousand palaces, forty thousand taxable Jews, four hundred royal theatres, and twelve thousand gardeners who sell vegetables." It is further reported that the Arabs wished to plunder the treasures, and that 'Amrū asked the Khalifah for orders on the subject. 'Omar categorically disapproved of the intention. The order to burn the library can scarcely be reconciled with this disapproval. 'Amrū enumerates in his report various costly objects and rarities which he had found in Alexandria; and could he, whom even Abu'l Faraj represents as a great friend and patron of learning, have remained entirely silent upon so great a collection of books? That is scarcely credible.

There are much earlier reports on the conquest of Alexandria than that of Abu'l Faraj, e.g. by Beladuri, Ibn 'Abdu'l Hakam and others; some of these reports enter into the minutest details of the events of the siege, communicate the number of the inhabitants of Alexandria very accurately, mention the number of baths, gardens, &c. in the town, describe very accurately what 'Amrū did after taking Alexandria, what capitulation-tax he imposed upon the Christian Copts, the Jews, &c., but remain completely silent about the burning of a library, as stated by Abu'l Faraj.

On the other hand, historians of great authority and of the first rank, such as Maqrizi, Hājī, Khulfa and others, who produced valuable works teeming with information on the history, civilisation and literature of Muhammadan countries, narrate also that when the Arabs conquered

* Conf. Notices & Extraits de Saçy, tome IV, p. 539.
Alexandria in the year 642 of our era, they burnt a vast library. The report of one of these historians, 'Abdu'l Latif, who lived in the 12th century, and therefore more than 500 years after the event he describes, is very brief, and the passage relating to the burning of the library is this:—"I believe this building was the portico where Aristotle, and afterwards his disciples, imparted instruction, and that this was the academy built by Alexander when he founded the town, and in which the library burnt by 'Amri ibn l'Asi at the command of 'Omar was situated." One portion of this statement is of course false, because Aristotle had never been in Alexandria, and the museum had not been founded by Alexander but by Ptolemy I. Lagus; and the other portion about the burning of the library is just mentioned incidentally, like any rumour of the credulous and uncritical mediæval travellers about the localities of Jerusalem, and this author having been more of a traveller than a historian, the historical notices here and there inserted by him in his work on Egypt are not deserving of implicit credit.

After having pretty closely followed Dr Kreil's dissertation on this subject, we terminate it, by giving also the history of the library from its foundation in nearly his own words:—

It is well known that the library was founded by Ptolemy I. Lagus, who assembled a circle of scholars around himself in his new residence at Alexandria, which he made one of the most flourishing seats of learning. Only the first beginnings of the library however date from his reign. The extension and increase of the collection and in general of the whole museum took place during the reign of his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus, about the beginning of the third century before our era, when the museum attained a world-wide fame, and became the habitation of the most celebrated professors of the period. Later times of course also boasted of yet other and similar great academies, as for instance, the large schools of Nisibis and Edessa, which were for a long time centres of Helleno-Syriac science, but none of them could in the magnificence of its institutions, in the magnitude of its endowments, in the celebrity of its professors and in the power of its influence, vie with the Academy of Alexandria. The library and the academy with its rich collections in natural science stood in close connection, and both were augmented from year to year, especially the library. The statements about its contents vary from 40,000 to 700,000 book-rolls, but are derived from later authors, who never addue any old authority as a voucher for their correctness.

Besides the library of the museum there existed also a number of other collections of books, such as that in the Temple of Serapis, the Serapeum, which still existed, according to the undoubted statement of Tertullian, in the third century of our era; further, there was a library at Sebastium, and some other smaller collections of books. It is not impossible that the number of seven hundred thousand may be referable to the total number of book-rolls which existed in the various libraries of Alexandria.

The real greatness however of the library of the Alexandrian museum cannot have lasted much longer than two centuries, because already in the second half of the second century before our era, the artists and scholars were, during the reign of the cruel Evergetes (114-117 B.C.) expelled from Alexandria, whereby decay was brought upon the museum, which must undoubtedly have suffered considerable losses in its contents also. Evergetes II appears indeed afterwards to have repeated of the errors committed by him in the beginning of his reign, because it is expressly stated that he not only devoted himself to the cultivation of the sciences but even became an author, composed a work on zoology, corrected the texts of the songs of Homer, and endeavoured to attract learned men to the museum. Scholars hesitated however to comply with the invitation, and never came. Aristarchus, the great critic and teacher of Evergetes, was, and remained, the last celebrated scholar whose sphere of activity was in Alexandria. After his time the notices about the academy and the library connected therewith become more and more scanty, till at last they cease altogether. During the interval of a century from Evergetes II till Julius Cesar nothing whatever is known about the condition of the museum. Accordingly the information of the 47th year before our era, in the time of Julius Cesar, becomes the more important that the museum had been consumed by fire, and that therewith by far the largest portion of the library preserved in it likewise perished. Some twenty years afterwards (24 B.C.) Strabo paid a visit to Alexandria, whose beauty he expressly describes, but says not a word about the library. It is probable that in his time the certainly very great gaps had not yet been filled. This appears to have been really done afterwards, because Suetonius clearly narrates in the biogra phy of Diocletian, that the latter had filled the desiderata which existed in the Italian libraries,
with copies of manuscripts from the Alexandrian library. During the time of the Roman emperors years of prosperity alternated with years of decay in strong contrasts. In the reign of Alexander Severus the academy of Alexandria began again to flourish after the city had recovered itself gradually from the scenes of horror under Caracalla, and we learn from Suidas that about the year 360 A.D. the museum really still existed. This is properly the last notice we possess about the existence of the museum. But after that time even the fate of the Serapeum and of its library is in complete darkness. We know that the temple of Serapis with which the library was connected had, in A.D. 388, been transformed into a Christian Church under Theodosius the Great. It is quite uncertain whether after this time the library yet remained in Alexandria, or was destroyed or transported to Constantinople; but the latter case is the most probable one, and the great collection of books founded by Theodosius II in the beginning of the fifth century, must probably have been formed of the libraries of Egypt and of Asia Minor.

If we now review the whole material at our disposal for the history of the Alexandrian library, we must consider it probable in the highest degree, that at the time when the Arabs conquered Egypt, either nothing at all, or but a scanty remnant of the Alexandrian library, which had been so celebrated in antiquity, and had so much contributed to the advancement of science, was in existence.

The adherents of the prophet have in their blind zeal undoubtedly destroyed many of the most precious vestiges of antiquity, but the verdict of not guilty will have to be pronounced decidedly with reference to the crime with which they are charged, of having also burnt the library of Alexandria.

[This paper was received in April immediately after the publication of the Rev. Mr. Bates on the same subject, but though set up immediately it could not be published till now, from want of space.—Ed.]

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.
Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Principal, Gujarat College.
Continued from p. 184.

128. How many there are who are tempted by the charms of praise conferred on them!

129. How can any one feel pleasure in death if the love of the world dwells in his heart?

130. Be one of the sons of another life and not of this, for every son will cling to his mother at the resurrection day.

131. There is a disease for every living being, and a medicine for every disease.

132. To everything there is a sweet or bitter end.

133. Learning will by no means profit unless it has understanding as its associate, nor will words ever suffice unless they are joined with deeds.

134. It is the duty of a shepherd to choose for his flock what he chooses for himself.

135. It is the duty of a king to rule himself before he rules his soldiers.

136. It is the greatest liberality to hasten rewards, and the greatest clemency to delay punishments.

137. Patience in adversity is one of the treasures of faith.

138. It is the nature of fools to be suddenly moved to anger in anything.

139. Only a wise man despises himself, and only a fool acquiesces in his own counsel.

140. Honour your seniors and your juniors will honour you.

141. That which is fated will come to pass, therefore be patient in seeking; you will never obtain what is too far off, therefore use well what you have got.

142. He is not truly wise who complains of his narrow circumstances before one who has no pity, nor truly prudent who is too open before an unfriendly person.

143. God does not enjoin on you anything dishonourable, nor forbid you anything but what is disgraceful.

144. That men may trust you speak the truth.

145. He who tries to deceive God is deceived.

146. The bitterness of sincere advice is better than the sweetness of a false persuasion.

147. The prosperity of fools is like a garden on a dung-hill.

148. The keepers of riches perish while they live, but the wise remain as long as day and night shall endure; their persons are regretted but their image remains in the heart.

149. Evil advisers are helpers of injustice and brothers of iniquity.

150. The piety of a faithful man is in his work, but that of a hypocrite in his tongue.

151. Woe to him who perseveres in his folly, but blessed is he who understands and allows himself to be brought back to the right way.

152. How foolish is an obstinate person, and careless of his own happiness.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

II b.

III a.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

III b.

IV a.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

IV b.
THE original plates, from which the present
inscription is edited, belonged to Sir Walter
Elliot, K.C.S.I., and were obtained by him,
through Mr. John Morris, from ‘Pāgānavaram’
in the Madras Presidency. They are now in
the British Museum, to which they were
presented by the owner. They are five in
number, each about 8½” long by 4½” broad.
The edges of them are raised into high rims,
and the inscription is in a state of excellent
preservation almost throughout. The ring, on
which the plates are strung, is about 3½” thick
and 5½” in diameter; it had been cut when the
grant came into my hands. The seal on the
ring is circular, about 3¼” in diameter. The
devices on it, in high relief on a countersunk
surface, are very much defaced; but it can be
seen that they were,—at the top, the sun and
moon, and a standing boar, facing to the
proper left; across the centre, the legend
Śrī-Trībhubanākuśa; and, at the bottom, a
floral device, and, apparently an elephant-goad.
The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This is an Eastern Chālukya inscription,
not specifically dated, of the time of Bhīma II.,
also called Chalukya-Bīhma, Vīshṇuvardhana,
and Gauḍa-Mahendrā. And it records the
grant of the village of Diggubārī in the
vīṣaya of Pāgūnavarā, to a Bhāraka
named Viddamayya, the son of Mādhava-
Sāmayājī, of the Gautama gōtra.

Text.

First plate.

[1] Svāstī Śrīmatāṁ sakal-bhuvana-saṃśtuṣṭāya(ya)mānā-Mānava-sagau(gā)-
[2] trāṇāṁ Hāriti-puṭraḥ Kaṇushī-kaṇa-prasādā-laabdhā-rājyāṇāṁ mā-
[3] tru(tri)-gaṇa-paripāti-lānāṁ Svāmi-[Mā]-hāsaṇa-pād-ānudhāyaṁ bhaṅga-
[5] n-ekṣāhaṇa-khaṇa-vaśikrit-ārati-maṇḍalānāṁ-aśvamēdā-āva-
[6] bhrūṭa(ha)-anāna-pavitrī(ri)-kṛita-vapuṣṭaṁ Chalukyaṁ[āṁ]- kulam=ala[n]-ka-
[7] rishāṅsā-Śatya-rāya-Valabhāndra-raya bhrāṭa Kubja-Visṇuvardhanaṇ-[a]-śatāṁ a
[8] varṣ[a]-u Veṣuji-maṇḍalā(λ)aṁ-anuvaṇ[a]-layat || Tad-[a]-maṇāj[jo]- Jaya[simha]-

Second plate; first side.

[10] Tad-anu-ji Maṅgūx(ī)-yaṇvarāja[h]- paṇiṣṭa-viṣṇuṣatam || Tat-pṛtrō Jaya-si
[11] mhas-trayaṇāṁ || Tsaya dvāmaṁtaraṁ Kokkiloconfirmation=apāṁ=māsān || Tsaya jyē-
[12] āṣṭō bhrāṭa Vīṣṇuvar[r[a]-ddhanas-sapta-tri(ri)ṃśatam || Tat-sutō Vīja-
[13] yāditya-bhaṭṭ[a]-rakō=ḥṣṭādaṇā || Tat-sūn[u]-[r[a]-Mvi[ν]-v]iṣṇuvardhanaṇ=ḥṣṭ-tri-[r[a]-]
[14] ṣatam || Tat-sun[u]-asht-ōttara-sāta-mita-narāṇḍr-ēs[r[a]-sara-karaṇa-ṣa-āri-
[15] viṣṭita-saṃprāpta-ki[k]-ṛt[i][r[a]-=mmunimā[n]=Dharmma iva Narēndram[ī]-[a]-ra[j]-jō || sah
[16] ḍa-vāra || Tat-sun[u]- Ka-li-Viṣṇuvardhanaṇ=ḥy-a[r[a]-ddha-varṣam || Tat-sūn[u]-[r[a]-=

Second plate; second side.

[17] nana-kīraṇa-pura-dahana-viṅghyāṇa-ki[ki]-ṛt[i][r[a]-=Gguṇaga-Vijaya[diṭya]=cha-
[18] tu[ī-cha]-tvāri[n]-ṃśatam || Tad-anu-ji-yaṇvarāja-Vikramadāitya-bhūbhrid-ā
[19] tmaṇa-Śalukya-Bīhma-bhūpālas-triṃśatam || Tat-pṛtrāḥ[s]=tad-ananta-
[20] rēṇa Vijaya[diṭya]= vij[i]-tye*[r[a]-havō || [[[ ]] svai[(s)]=aikēna ga-
[21] jēna vāraṇa(pa)-g-ha(ha)-ā[j]-ṛu(rō)-jā(ghā)=Ku[ku]=maṇḍaṁgāhūp[ā]-[
[22] ḍa]- || āru-
[23] hy=ōjij[*]=vala-hēma-kalpita-tulā-kētiṁ vādaṇyō || Jaya-stāmbhām

1 From the original plates.
2 Correct into Maṅgūxī.
3 Correct into Ṃaṇḍhī.
4 Correct into Maṅgūxī.
5 Correct into Maṅgūxī.
Third plate; first side.

[...] dītyāṃ krīta-kaṇṭhikā-pṛta-bandha-abhi(bhi)ahēkam || bālam=cbchātā

[...] Tāḥ-[ā*]dhipōpā másam=ekam || Ta[m*] yuddhi vinihatya punaḥ=Chāā

[...] Inkya-Bhima-bhūp-ātmajā Vīramāditya-rājaḥ || ēkādāśa mā-ā

[...] sūn=abhuvam=anvapālayat || Tab-bhītvā10 yuddhi Bhimā

[...] sānnibha-balō Bhi(bhi)mō=Mma-sūnō(nur)=bbhātās=san-mās-ā

[...] shukam=āvad-ōva vasudhān vyāpāda12 taṁ saṁyugē Tāhā-yēā

[...] shtha-sutō-tha Malla-āripatīs=sapt=ānvapād=vasara[ā*]n=utsāryy|=ā*]-

[...] tha tam=agrahit=kula-bhuvān paṭēna Bhimō nṛpiḥ |||| Taṣ-saiva vyasa-

Third plate; second side.

[...] nam=īha trayāṁ jataṁ13 sāstra-āstr-[ā*]bhyyasannam=aninditaṁ cha bhū-

[...] yaḥ saṁraṣkāh sakala-janasya sāstra-drīṣtya sandānaṁ budha-jāa

[...] na-sāt-krītaṁ sa-mānam || Mēḷāhāya[ā*] dyuti-nuti-mati-śrī-dhrī-

[...] ti-khānti[ā*]mā(ma)tyām=aty-ādityō jāgati Vijayāditya

[...] 14jījanad=yam Dharma-Endr-Āgri-Trinayana-Dhanāv-āda

[...] kē-ādi-dharmaṁ[ā*] or h* Sēnañathan=Tripuramathanaṁ Kanyakaṁ[ā*]yath=

[...] ṛḥūḥ(?) ||*||

[...] Mitṛ-ārvinda-prati-bhūdha-hētu[h*] pravṛvyati-nīhāra-vighāta-hētu-b

[...] yasya=cbchhir(chcbchhi)taṁ tēja ih=aijāte [kau] tējasvinas=tēja iv=ātipūta[ā*] ||*||

Fourth plate; first side.

[...] Yasmin-śasati vasudhān vasubhis=sa[ā*]pārma(ṛṣa)-sakala-janatā[ṁ] cha ||||

[...] rājani Dharmaṁ-tanūjē yathā-Manu-prōktā-dharmaṁ-saṁpanne |||| Sa saa(sa)-

[...] rvvālōkārṣya-Śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana-mahārāj[ā*]dhīrajāḥ=para[ma]-mā14

[...] hēvareṣa=parama-brahmā (hma)yō mātā pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-

[...] ś=Chāleka[yā]-Bhima-Gaṇḍa-Mahēndra[ā*] sīṁhāśā17 nā(ṇa)-maṁtārūṇa-ā

[...] h=Padunavara=viṣṇa=viśvaniṁ rāṣṭrākun(kū)ṭa-pramukhaṁ=sarvān=smā-

[...] huḥ(hūy)=ērttha(ththa)mājō[ā*]payati [1*] Viditam=astru vaḥ [1*] Śrīman=Gautama-

[...] gaun(gō)tra-

[...] jō dvija-vanė=sad-vartma-gaḥ=punya-bhāg=n-ādā(da)ttē vasudhān=api kahiti-

Fourth plate; second side.

[...] tal-ādhisās=va-saṁ-bhāṣa(dhha)vaiḥ datti[ā*]m Īrākkama-bhūsaraḥ krama-yu-

[...] taḥ khyātaḥ kahitaḥ sad-guṇa[h*] dhāṁ-ānanda-vihāyī-dāna-nirūtaḥ=pūj[ṛ*]ya-

[...] s-saṭaṁ sarvadā n(ī[m])18 Tad-ātmajā dik-pratīthō guṇ-āṅghai[ṛ*]=dvijēmaṁ-vaṁa-

[...] ā[m*]ba-

[...] ra-pūrṇa-chandaṛḥ anāma-dō(ā)dā-[ṛ*]cchita-bandha=chchitabandhu[ā*]-mitrō

[...] mahā-guṇaṁ(nō) Mādhava-śtūmāja(jī) n(ī[f]) Sutas-tadyāyō [g*]u-

[...] ni-brinda-vandaṛḥ kalā-kaḷāp,ā bha(cha) pāra-dṛṣṭa[y*]ā sṛuti-smṛiti-prōktē-sa-

[...] masta-vastra-viśuddha-dhīm[ā*]n=īha Viddamasyaṁ |||| Grihaṁ yadīyaṁ sva-

[...] grihaṁ sat[a[m*] yad-dhanāni yasya-ārth apya-yaṁ pātra-saṁprāṇāt-sa-

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1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 This second foot is a mistake.
3 This syllable has the long vowel, ā, in the original, though it has failed to appear in the lithograph.
4 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 Here the vowel ā has again failed to appear in the lithograph.
6 Correct into taṁ jīṭōt.
7 First dā was engraved, and then it was corrected into dāy by partial erasure of the ā.
8 Some correction or other is required here; probably we should read truyām cha jītam.
9 The vowel a here is lengthened by metrical license.
10 Here, again, the vowel 4 has failed to appear in the lithograph.
11 The name here has the short ो in the first syllable, though it has the long ो in lines 19 and 26.
12 Sthā was engraved and then corrected into s by partial erasure of the ō.
13 Correct into mānūp-dṛṣṭaṁ.
14 Here, and in line 53, the engraver has confused the final form of a with the double mark of punctuation.
15 These four syllables are repeated by mistake.
Fifth plate.

Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors.

By Henry H. Howorth, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 293.)

Chinghiz Khan having secured Bukhara, determined to overwhelm the other great city of Mavera-an-Nehr, namely, Samarkand. This was felt to be a great undertaking, and the various contingents which had been busy in securing the towns on the Sihun, converged on the doomed city. Ibn-al-Athir says, "The Mongols took with them from Bukhara the young men who had not been put to death, driving them on foot in the most wretched manner, and killing those who were worn out to walk. When they approached the city they sent forward the cavalry, leaving behind the foot-soldiers, prisoners, and baggage to advance successfully, so as to increase the terror in the minds of the Moslems. At the sight of this looming mass the people inside overrated its strength, and when the next day the prisoners, infantry, and train came on, every tenth captive carrying a flag, they imagined they were all fighting men." The Mongols had marched along the beautiful Zarafshan valley, and left contingents en route to besiege the forts of Sar-i-pul and Dabusah. Samarkand was then the capital of Transoxiana. It was a very ancient city, the Maracandes of Pliny, Strabo, &c. It was seventy furlongs, or three French leagues, in circumference. Its walls had twelve gates, made of iron, which were protected by towers, and had a deep ditch

girdling them about, which also formed an aqueduct, along which water was carried from the adjoining river in leaden pipes and distributed through the city, in each of whose streets was a rivulet of water. Each house had a beautiful garden. Besides this outer or great city, there was also an inner one, which had four gates, but the walls were defenceless. Within this latter city was the great mosque and the palace. Yakut reports, says De la Croix, that when you mounted the fortress to view the city you could see nothing but trees and the roofs of some houses, for within the walls were ploughed sands, fields, and many gardens, and even mountains and valleys.

One of its gates, called the gate of Kesh, had an iron plate on it with an inscription in the old Himyaric or primitive Arabic letters, and coins with Kufic characters were found there when Timur dug the foundation for his city.

In the itinerary of Yelii Chutsai who accompanied Chinghiz Khan, we have a description of Samarkand at this time, which is interesting. He calls it Sun-se-kan, and tells us the meaning of this name among the western people was "fat." Dr. Brete Schneider agrees with this etymology, Semis in Turkish means fat, and he reminds us the Nestorian bishops of the Middle Ages called the city Semisicant. The Chinese generally wrote the name Sie-mi-sze-kan. To revert to Yelii Chutsai's itinerary, we are told the city received

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50 Some correction or other is required here. Probably we should read fat-khiš-šiša-sanduskhair.
51 The mark over this 〈 is a fault or rust-hole in the copper.—not an assemero.
52 This visor gap is a mistake.
53 This repetition of the do is a mistake.
54 The 〈 of this syllable has failed to appear in the lithograph.
56 See Brete Schneider, Notices, &c., p. 56, note 32, and p. 116, note 22.
this name from its fertility, the country round being very rich and populous. They had gold and copper coins, which had not holes and rims as in China. Around the city for a great distance were orchards, groves, flower-gardens, aqueducts, running springs, square basins and round ponds in uninterrupted succession. The water-melons there were as big as horses' heads, and wine was made from grapes. There were mulberry trees, but not fit for the breeding of silk worms. All the clothes there were made of Kû-sûn.² Black was used as the mourning colour, while white, contrary to the Chinese custom, was considered of good omen, and universally worn.⁴ In the itinerary of Ch'ang-Ch'un, who was there two years later, we read that Sze-mi-sze-kan was laid out on the borders of canals. As it never rained in summer and autumn, the people conducted two rivers to the city and distributed the water through all the streets, so that every house could make use of it. Before the Sultan was overthrown the city contained more than a hundred thousand families, but after its occupation only a fourth part remained. Most of the fields and gardens belonged to the Muhammadans; but they were not allowed to dispose of them. They were obliged to manage their property in conjunction with Khitan, Chinese and men from Ho-si, i.e., the modern Kausuh. Chinese workmen were living everywhere.⁵ According to Juveni and Rashidu'd-din, the garrison consisted of 110,000 men. Mirkhond tells us that of these 60,000 were Turkomans or Kankalis, and 50,000 Tajiks, i.e., Persians. There were also 200 elephants there of the largest size. Nissavi says the garrison consisted of 40,000 men, Turks and Persians, under the best generals, while ibn-althir puts it at 50,000 men. He goes on to say that the Mongols surrounded the place, whereupon the strong and brave men sallied out, without any of the Khârezmians, whose hearts quailed with fear of these accursed men. They were confronted by the Mongol infantry, which gradually retired and drew on their eager assailants into an ambush, whence a body of men issued. Those who had made the sortie were attacked on both sides, and were slain to the last man, "dying as martyrs, God's grace upon them." There were 70,000 of them, says our author. This defeat dispirited the rest of the citizens, and especially the Kankalis, who said, We are of the same race as these men. They will not kill us. They accordingly begged for quarter which was granted them. They opened the gates of the city, the people being unable to prevent them, and went out with their families and property. The infidels said to them, "Deliver to us your arms and property, and we will send you to your kin." They did so, but the infidels, after taking from them their horses, weapons, &c., put them to the sword to the last man, and seized their goods, their beasts, and their women. On the 4th day they proclaimed in the city that all the inhabitants should go out, and that whosoever remained behind would be put to death. Accordingly all the men, women, and children went out, "and they did to the people of Samarkand what they had done to the people of Bukhara in the way of pillage, massacre, capture, and outrage." They entered the city and plundered all in it, burnt down the great mosque, violated the virgins, tortured the men in various ways in quest of treasure, and slew those who were not fit for slavery. This happened in the month of Muharram 617. Minhaj-i-Siraj tells virtually the same story. He says that about 50,000 Musalmans perished in the ambuscade, and that there were then 60,000 troops left inside, consisting of Turks, Ghoris, Tajiks, Khallajes, and Karluks, with all the Malikhs of Ghur, and that the city was taken on the day of "Ashura," the tenth of the month Muharram 617.⁶ Juveni and Rashidu'd-din⁷ say that Chinghiz pitched his camp at Kokserai, or the Blue Palace. Having planted his army about the place, he rode round the city a two days' ride, maturing his plans. On the third day Alba Khan, Sheikh Khan, and Berbella Khan made a sortie, in which they struggled till evening and killed a large number of the invaders,⁸ and themselves lost 1,000 men.

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² (i.e. cotton).
³ Breitenreid, Notes, &c., pp. 116 and 117.
⁴ By the Mongols.
⁵ These were doubtless emigrants who had followed in the wake of Chinghiz Khan. Breitenreid, Notes, &c., pp. 38 and 39.
⁶ Tábâkat-i-Nasiri, pp. 279 and 280.
⁷ The latter at this point does little more than copy Juveni.
⁸ Erdmann, pp. 344 and 356. In the Shahjâh-i-Atrak these chiefs are called Imtiaz Khan, Sheikh Khan, Bula Khan, Alif Jan, etc. (op. cit. p. 153). Bawbrey calls them Ilyâl Taâ Khan, Sarsheh Khan, Taqhal Khan, Ulak Khan, etc., and states, that as a result they had 20 elephants with them. Tábâkat-i-Nasiri, p. 278, note.
Abulfaraj says they also made a number of prisoners, whom they took back with them into the city and cruelly crucified. The next day Chinghiz Khan drew his men close up to the walls, mounted his horse, and blew the great trumpet, and the catapults and other battering-engines played merrily on the place. The besieged now lost heart, and on the third day the Kadhi, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and some of the chief ecclesiastics went out and were well received by Chinghiz, who offered them safety for themselves and their dependents. They thereupon returned into the city, and opened the so-called Prayer Gate. The Mongols then proceeded to overthrow the walls, and to drive out into the open fields the inhabitants, except the dependents of the Kadhi and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who are said to have numbered 50,000!!! They entered and proceeded to plunder the place, and to kill those whom they met with there. They then invested the citadel. Meanwhile one of the Turkish generals, Alba Khan, called Karsa Albi the Ashalu Khan by Raverty, finding himself hard pressed, put himself at the head of 1,000 horsemen, broke through the Mongol lines, and rejoined his master, the Khuarezm Shah. The rest of the garrison still held out, and the Mongols pressed the attack with vigour. They then length forced the walls, and entered the fortress. 1,000 of the defenders took refuge in a mosque, where they were assailed with stink pots and showers of weapons. It was fired, and its garrison captured. The prisoners were now sorted, the Persians being separated from the Kankalis, the latter were ordered to adopt the Mongol dress, to partially shave their heads, and to wear the Mongol pigtail. Having been lulled into security they were slaughtered to the number of 30,000, with their leaders Barsamas Khan, Tughai Khan, Sarsigh Khan, and Ulagh Khan, together with twenty other of the superior officers of the Khuarezm Shah. Chinghiz then separated 30,000 handcraftsmen, whom he assigned as slaves or servants to the different members of his family. 30,000 other men he made into light troops, while the rest of the inhabitants were allowed to ransom their lives at the price of 200,000 dinars. Two of the grandees of Samarkand, Tseketu-ul-Mulk and Amir Umid Buxurg, were appointed to govern the city. A portion of the light troops Chinghiz took with him, while he sent another section to his sons in Khuarezm. The elephants, we are told, were ordered by Chinghiz Khan to be let loose in the fields, and there perished of hunger. The slaughter of the Kankalis and the drafting off of so many young men, few of whom returned, caused a terrible gap in the population and resources of Samarkand. The former act was probably prompted partially by a dread of the turbulence of these mercenaries, and partially by revenge upon the subjects of Ghair Khan, who had so grievously wronged him. Ghair Khan was taken to Samarkand, and it was there, in the Kok Serai, or blue palace, that he was executed. The Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi does not mention the capture of Samarkand. In the Yuan-shi we merely read that in the fifth month of 1220 Chinghiz Khan captured Sân-sze-kan. The Kang-mu says that it was the beginning of 1221 when he took Sie-mis-sê-kan. The Huang-yuan says the same. The Yuan-shi-lei-pen is the only Chinese authority available to us which gives any details of the capture of Samarkand, which it dates in the fifth month of 1220. It adds that Pitu, the son of Yelü Linko, the king of Liau-tung, was dangerously wounded in the attack upon the town, where he greatly distinguished himself, as did his relative Yelü Kohay. Juchi, Chinghiz Khan's eldest son, had advanced almost alone against a body of Muhammedans, when Pitu, who was already wounded, seeing the prince in danger of being captured and killed, made a special effort, rushed to his rescue, and although surrounded they cut their way out and rejoined the army. From the account of the travels of Ch'ang Ch'un which we shall presently turn to, it would seem that the general superintendence of Samarkand after its capture was made over to the famous Yelü Chutsai, whom we have previously named. Perhaps Abulfaraj refers to him under the corrupt name of Taishphor the prefect, vide supra. Let us now turn once more two grandees of Samarkand, and Taishphor the prefect.
to the Khuárezm Sháh. When the Mongols advanced further into Transoxiana he left Samarkand, doubtless moved by the suspicions about the fidelity of his officers, and retreated towards Naksheb, telling the people on the way that they must—make the best terms they could with the invaders. He also sent messengers to his mother, Turkhan Khatun, who was at Khuárezm, to retire with his harem to Mazanderan. His counsellors now began to give very divided counsel, some urged that it was useless to try and save Transoxiana, and that he should confine his efforts to the defence of Khorasan and Iráq. Others advised him to retire to Ghazni whence, if unlucky, he might retire into Hindostan. The Sultan preferred the latter course, and was retiring towards Ghazni, when he was met at Bakh by Amad-ul-Mulk Sávi, the principal minister of his son, Rokn-ú’l-din, who then ruled over Iráq Ajém. The young prince had sent him on the pretext of advising his father in his difficult position, but really in order to rid himself of his surveillance, which he found very irksome. Iráq was his native place, where he had his family, and he urged on the Khuárezm Sháh that he should retire thither, collect an army and trust to God. Jelául-ú’l-din, the Sultan’s eldest son, did not at all approve of these counsels about retreating. He urged that they should defend the line of the Oxus. If his father was determined to retire towards Iráq he demanded that he might be entrusted with an army, with which to march against the enemy. “If fortune favour me, he said, I will carry off the ball of desire with the Chaúgan of divine aid; but if fortune favour me not, neither will the finger of reproach be pointed at us, nor the tongue of malediction curse; and the world will not be able to say: they have collected taxes and tribute from us for so long, and at a time like this they renounce our affairs and abandon us to be captive to infidels.” The Sultan treated the advice of his son as the mere babbling of a child. He took refuge in the fatalism which says that good and ill have their appointed turn, and said they must await a favourable turn in the position of the stars. Before leaving Balkh in order to follow the advice of Amád-ul-Mulk, Muhammad sent a detachment to Penjab, between Termed and Samarkand, to watch the movements of the enemy. News now arrived of the fall of Bukhara. His troops, which consisted not of his own men, who had been left to protect Transoxiana, but of some of his mother’s Kankalis, plotted against him. That very night he slept in another tent, and in the morning his old tent was found to be riddled with arrows. When they found that their plans were discovered, his treacherous troops deserted him and joined Chinghiz. Meanwhile Badrú’l-din, one of his ministers, also fled and joined the invaders, and went the length of forging letters as if they had been written by some of his officers to Chinghiz Khán, urging him to attack their master, and also forged replies, promising them aid. These letters were entrusted to a spy, who was ordered to let them fall into the Sultan’s hands. Muhammad now retired towards Nishapur. When he reached Kalat, near Tus, he was urged to make a stand, for the position was a strong one, it being a valley, seven miles long, surrounded by mountains, and was the place where a later day Nadir Sháh deposited his treasures. Some provisions were accordingly collected there and preparations made for a stand, but he abandoned the notion, and on the 18th of April he reached Nishapur, where he gave himself over to despair and to indifferentism. This mood was encouraged by his dreams, which were of a lugubrious nature; one night, according to Juveni, he saw a number of spirits with haggard faces, dishevelled hair, and black clothes, bruising their heads, while they raised a dreadful wailing. “On asking them what they were they replied that they were the betrayers of Islam.” On another occasion as he was on his way to the mosque he saw two cats, one black and the other white, fighting one another in the porch of the temple. He accepted this as a presage of the issue of the struggle between him and the Mongols. When the cat which he had chosen as his champion was defeated he heaved a deep sigh, and he then gave himself up to dissipation and surrounded himself with frivolities, the usual resource of despair. As he retired towards Nishapur he had told the

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20 Tubakát-i-Náširi, p. 276 note.
21 Tubakát-i-Náširi, p. 279 note; Erdmann, p. 390.
22 Erdmann, p. 391.
inhabitants of the various towns to make terms with the invaders, as he was unable to defend them. He probably thought that their invasion was only a temporary one, and that they would speedily retire again. The Mongol intelligence department was skilfully managed, and they were no doubt speedily made aware of Muhammad's flight and its direction. Thereupon, while the siege of Samarkand was progressing, Chinghiz Khan detached an army in pursuit of him. This was divided into two divisions, the first tuman was commanded by Chepe Noyan. This was followed by a second under Subuyai Baghatur. They were ordered to pursue Muhammad wheresoever he should retire. They were to put Shahnaha or governors in all the towns that submitted, and to destroy all who resisted. They were given three years in which to complete their task, and were ordered to rejoin Chinghiz by way of the Desht-i-Kipchak, after rounding the northern end of the Caspian. They set out and first went to Punjab, which means the five streams, and finding no boats there they made some large coffers of wood, which they covered with cowhides to keep out the water, and in which they put their weapons and goods, then led their horses into the water and held on to their tails, having first tied the wooden coffers to themselves. Thus, says our author, the horse drew the man and the man drew the coffer filled with arms and other necessities, and all crossed in a body. D'Oehsson opportunely quotes the similar description given by Carpini of the mode in which the Mongols crossed rivers. The friar adds, however, that they sat on the boxes, and steered themselves with two oars. Nicetas Khoniates makes a similar statement about the Pechenegs, whom he describes as crossing the Danube on bags of leather containing cork, and sewn so that not a drop of water could penetrate them. On these they sat, catching hold of the tails of their horses, holding above them their saddles and arms, and using their horses as shields and the leathern bags as boats. The Mamluk historians tell us nothing about the passage of the Oxus being disputed, but in the Yuan-shi lei-pei there is an account which seems taken from the biography of Ko-pao-yu in the Yuan-shi, which distinctly says it was. According to this account, the Muhammadans had lined the banks of the Gan-mu, i.e., of the Amu or Oxus, with their best troops, they constructed ten entrenchments, and put up a number of well-armed boats on the river. Ko-pao-yu was detached to attack these entrenchments and boats. He constructed a number of Ho-tsien, or fire arrows, which he threw among the boats, and thus set fire to them. The Muhammadans having been thrown into disorder, the Mongols attacked the entrenchments and forced them. The two chiefs now crossed the Oxus and entered Khurasan, which was then divided into four provinces, with Balkh, Merv, Herat, and Nishapur as their chief towns. They first approached Balkh, where at the instance of the magnates the citizens supplied them with food. Having left a Shahnaha there they moved forward towards Herat, Taishi Baghatur commanding their advance-guard. Herat submitted freely to them, and they then advanced to Zawar, whose people refused to open their gates or to furnish provisions. The Mongols were in too great haste to stop and besiege the place and were passing on, when they were piqued by the jibes and boasts levelled at them from the ramparts amidst the beating of kettle-drums. They accordingly turned aside, and after three days' attack captured the town, putting to death whom they met with, and burnt and destroyed what they could not carry away. The invaders then moved on towards Nishapur, obtaining news about Muhammad by applying torture to those whom they captured; they sent messengers into the various towns to announce the approach of Chinghiz Khan with the main army, and summoned them to surrender, threatening them with terrible penalties if they refused. Those which submitted received a Mongol governor, or Shahnaha, who was endowed with a special seal. The smaller towns which resisted they overwhelmed. The larger ones they passed by, not wishing to delay.

But Muhammad had not waited for them. Leaving Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ud-din Abul-Maali, his secretary, Siau-ul-Mulk Araz Suseni, and Majir-ul-Mulk Kufi-Rukbi, in command

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28 Tubahsi-i-Nasri, p. 988 note.
29 Ibn-al-Athir, ad loc.
32 Ganbil, pp. 36 and 37.
33 Tamgic.
of a strong garrison there, he appointed the eunuch Sherif-u’d-din to be governor of the town, and then under pretence of a hunting party retired towards Isferain, south of the Ala Tagh mountains. Sherif-u’d-din was at the time at Khûrâzim, and he died while on the way to take his command, at three days’ march from Nishapur. His death was concealed from his escort, for fear they should plunder his goods, until one of the regents came out of the town under pretence of going to meet him and took charge of it, but the escort, consisting of 1,000 men, refused to enter the city. It was afterwards attacked by the Mongols and dispersed. The Mongol advance guard under Talshí reached the city on the 19th rabi the first, i.e. the 24th of May. He had apparently sent on a small body of men with 14 horses and some couples of camels, who having come to blows with the garrison were all put to death. He now demanded provisions, and also that the town should open its gates. Provisions were supplied, but as to surrendering the town Majira-ul-Mulk replied that it had been entrusted to his care, and he bade them speed on after the Sultán on whose capture he would then become. Presently Chepe and Subntai having arrived demanded that the Mufti, the Kadi, and the Vizier should be sent to them. Three of the common people personated these three officials. To them the Mongol generals remitted a proclamation, written in Uighur characters, in their master’s name, and in these terms:—

“Commanders, great grandees, and commonalty, know that God has given me the empire of the world from the east to the west. Whoever submits shall be spared, but those who resist shall be put to death, with their wives, children, and dependents.” He also bade them supply food to the Mongol contingents which were following, not to oppose fire to water, nor trust to the strength of their walls, nor yet to their defenders, if they wished to escape annihilation. Muhammad having learnt that the Mongols were closely following him retired, according to Nissavi, to Bostam in Tabaristan, and having summoned the Amir Omar, one of his officers, who came from that province, he entrusted to him ten coffers sealed with the royal seal, and asked him if he knew what they contained. He answered, No. The Sultán replied they were full of jewels, some of which were of inestimable value, and added further that only two men in the whole world, who were both there present, knew what was in the coffers, and he ordered them to be taken to the strong fort of Ardahan, which Omar accordingly saw done. The retreating Sultán soon reached Rai, but a courier arrived to say the Mongols were close by, so he sped on again towards Farzand, some distance to the south-west of Kazvin. There, or as De la Croix says, at Maradanl Abad, his son, Rokn-u’d-din had got together an army of 30,000 men from Irãk. His other son, Ghiaath-u’d-din, with a portion of his harem had been sent to the fort of Kharendar, near Nissa, to Tajuu’u’d-din Tughan. Muhammad now summoned Nasretdin Hazarasp, Atabeg of Luristan, a crafty and skilful prince, to go and assist him with his counsel. When Hazarasp arrived, he prostrated himself seven times before the royal tent, and Muhammad did him the special honour of offering him a seat. When he had returned to his lodgings he sent his vizier, Amad-ul-Mulk, with two generals, to consult with him. He advised that they should seek shelter in the Shiran or Shurtran mountains, and as the Sultán hesitated, urged that they should cross the range separating Lur from Fars, and enter the Fars country. In the meanwhile an army of 100,000 Kurds, of the tribes Shebankiar and Shal, and of Lurs, with which he might garrison the mountain fortresses, and defy the Mongols. Muhammad suspecting that this was an intrigue to embroil him with Said, Atabeg of Fars, refused his assent, and determined to stay in Irãk. While he was still hesitating at Farzand, news came that the Mongols were at Rai. On leaving Nishapur their two commanders, sped on night and day, and stopped for nothing on their march, says Ibn-al-Athir, neither plunder nor slaughter. They thus effectually secured the line of Muhammad’s retreat, following like him the strip of fertile country bordering the salt desert of Khomsan on the

23 Erdmann, p. 394.
25 Nissavi in De la Croix, pp. 234 and 235.
26 See Erdmann, note 291.
27 Living in the mountains north of Khuzistan and Fars respectively.
north. They traversed the fertile district of Kumus, which from its many mountains was called Jebal by the Arabs, and approached Tus. The country to the east of this town was submissive, and was spared. The people of Tus itself having opposed them were duly punished, and a darughah or commissary was apparently left in the town. Thence they advanced through the beautifully wooded district of Radigan to Kabushan, or Kashan, which they also captured. Thence again onwards to Isfahan, which, as we have seen, Muhammad had passed through. Still they sped on to Bostam. Here the two roads bifork which lead respectively through Mazanderan and Kum. The two Mongol commanders accordingly separated, while Chepe swept through the lands bordering the Caspian on the south, and apparently laid a heavy hand on Amol and Astabad; Subutai marched along the southern side of the Elburz range, and subdued with considerable bloodshed Sarabad, Damesghan, and Semnan. The two commanders rejoined their contingents again at Rai whose ruins still remain near Teheran. According to Mirkhond there was at this time a terrible feud going on at Rai between the adherents of two rival sects. Those who followed the rite of Abu Hanifa had recently burnt a mosque belonging to the followers of the Imam Shafi.

The latter, who were naturally greatly enraged, sent the Kadhi and several notables to invite Chepe to go to them. At their instigation, after the city had been secured, in consequence of the Shafiya having surrendered two of its gates, the Mongols massacred the Hanifas, then being convinced they could not rely on the fidelity of those who had betrayed their co-religionists, they killed the Shafiya as well, and according to some writers, a million of men perished there.

After the fall of Rai, the two commanders again separated. Subutai marched upon Kazvin, and Chepe upon Kum, no doubt to cut off the Sultan’s retreat in the direction of Isphahan. Kum is situated about half-way between Kazvin and Isphahan, and still contains some splendid monuments, those of Shah Seif and Shah Abbas, the second being especially magnificent. At the approach of the Mongols a similar feud was in progress between the Hanifas and the Shafiya at Kum as at Rai. The latter told Chepe that the people of Kum were very mutinous, since they followed the doctrines of Abu Hanifa, and so incensed him against them that under pretence that one of his orders had not been obeyed he ordered the greater part of them to be killed or reduced to slavery, after which Kum was plundered.

Chepe then advanced upon Hamadan, a famous old city of Irak, and probably to be identified with Ecbatana, the capital of the ancient Medea. It was strongly fortified, and its fertile gardens were watered by the thousand springs that come from the neighbouring mountain of Alwand. At this time the governor of Hamadan was the Seyid Ala-ud-din-l, the Hamadani, or, according to others, the latter’s son, Majd-ud-daulat. He was very submissive, and supplied the Mongols freely with cattle, clothes, provisions, &c., upon which they spared the town. Some of Chepe’s enemies suggested that he had been corrupted. He now speedily reduced to submission the neighbouring towns of Dinavar, Zava, Holvan, Nihavan, &c., Chepe now apparently rejoined Subutai, who had captured Kazvin. The citizens there defended themselves in the streets, sword in hand, and killed many of the Mongols. Their desperate resistance was, however, unavailing, and a general massacre followed, in which 50,000 of them perished.

We have seen how Muhammad had retired to Farzand near Kazvin, where his son, Rokn-ud-din, had collected a considerable army. On the approach of the Mongols, however, this army rapidly melted away, while his prudent counsellor, the Atabeg of Luristan, returned home, and he was presently surprised by an advance corps of the invaders, and his people were dispersed. Rokn-ud-din fled towards Kerman, while Muhammad himself with his eldest son, Jelal-ud-din, went to the fortress of Kharendar already named, called Kurunduj by Miles and Karunduz by Major Raverty, situated between Kazvin and Tebris, and where he had already sent his other son, Ghiaht-ud-din, and part of his harem. In this struggle the Sultan had fortunately not been recognized, in consequence of
the smallness of his escort. He ran considerable risk, however, of being captured, since his horse was actually wounded. He reached Kharendar safely, but only stayed a day there, when having obtained some horses, he set out in the direction of Baghdad. When the Mongols reached Kharendar they laid siege to it vigorously, but having learnt that the Sultan had left it, they went on in pursuit. Meanwhile, however, he had changed his route, doubled on his pursuers, and gone to the strong fortress of Serjihan, situated on a high mountain, some leagues to the north-west of Kazvin. The disappointed Mongols, finding themselves at fault, put their guides to death, and once more went in pursuit. After a delay of seven days at Serjihan Muhammad passed into Ghilan, where one of the local chiefs, named Saaluk, called Toglu in the Shajrat-ul-Atrak urged him to remain, but he barely stayed a week when he again went on into the province of Sebender, where he arrived in sad plight, and lost the remaining wealth he had with him. He passed through Amol, and at length arrived at Istdareh or Astadad, which names probably refer to the town still called Asterabad. There, according to Muhammad of Nissa, he went regularly to the mosque, said the five daily prayers, and caused the Koran to be read to him by the Imam. He shed tears, and protested before God that if he recovered his power justice should reign in his empire. But the Mongols were closely following him. They were guided by Rokn-ud-din, prince of Kabud-Jamel in Mazanderan, whose uncle and cousin had been put to death by his order, while he had appropriated his principality. By the counsel of those about him he now took a small boat, and sought refuge in an island in the Caspian. The island to which he went was called Ab-Suknum, and according to Ibn Haukal was situated in the Caspian, opposite a town of the same name, which formed the port to the town of Jirjan in Mazanderan. When Muhammad retired from Transoxiana he sent word to his mother, Turkhan Khatun, who had been his regent at Khuarezm, to retire with his harem into Mazenderan. She had been on bad terms with him and had been approached by Chinghiz, who had, wishing to profit by their disunion, sent his chamberlain Danishmend to her, promising to spare Khurezm, and even to put her in possession of Khorasan. She did not respond to these insidious advances, but when she heard that her son had retreated, retired southwards with his harem and treasures, having at Khurezm, first put to death the various princes who had been imprisoned. Among them were two sons of Tughrul, the last Seljuk ruler of Irak, the prince of Balkh, and his son, the Lord of Termed, the princes of Bamian and Vakah, the two sons of the Lord of Signak, the two sons of Mahrud, the last prince of Ghur, and many other chiefs. She had them thrown into the Oxus, and only spared Omar Khan, son of the prince of Yazzar, whose knowledge of the country would make him useful. He served her well, but notwithstanding when she got near Yazzar she had his head cut off also. Marching by way of Dahistan she reached Mazanderan, and by the counsel of her son took refuge in the fort of Ial, one of the strongest in the Mazanderan mountains. The Mongols besieged her there for three months, and built a wall all round it, so as to effectually blockade it. After a while the place began to run short of water, although the country was so rainy that no provision for water-tanks or reservoirs had been made there. When it at length capitulated, for this reason it was deemed a supernatural visitation, since rain generally fell there every day, and the people deemed it a judgment of God for the slaughter of so many princes. They were confirmed in this by the fact that directly after the place surrendered there fell some heavy rain which even flooded the place. The Sultan might have escaped, if she had taken refuge with her grandson, Jelal-ud-din. She, however, hated him bitterly, and also his mother, Aigeak, and she preferred braving the Mongols rather than seeking help from him. She was taken with the vizier Nasiru-d-din and Muhammad’s harem to Chinghiz Khan’s camp,
then at Talikan. Nasir-ud-din and the boys were put to death. Two of the girls were given to Chagatai, who put one in his harem, and gave the other to his chief officer, Habesh Amid. A third was married to Danishmend, Chinghis Khan's chamberlain. Another of the princesses, named Khan Sultan, who had married Osman, prince of Samarkand, was, according to an improbable account, made over to a dyer at Imil. Muhammad of Nissa says more probably that she was married to Juchi, the eldest son of Chinghis Khan, and that she bore him several children. Turkhan Khatun herself was taken to Mongolia. Nissavi says she was treated with great indignity, and that Chinghis when at table used to throw her bits of meat as if she had been a dog. She died at Karakorum in 1233. We have seen how Muhammad had confided ten cases of jewels to one of his officers, with orders to take them to Ardehan, a lofty fortress, situated north of Rai, in the mountains separating Mazanderan and Irak, but the Mongols having appeared before the place, promised his life to the commander if he would surrender the jewels, which he accordingly did, and these treasures were carried off to Chinghis Khan. We have seen how the Khawrem Shah sought shelter at Absukan. We are told that he had barely embarked to go thither when a party of pursuers appeared on the bank and fired a volley of arrows after him, and some of them in their eagerness rushed into the sea, and were drowned. He was much distressed with the news that his harem had been captured, and his distress was increased by an attack of pleurisy. He contrasted his recent position as the master of an immense empire with his present one, when he had only a few yards of earth for a grave. He rested in a tent, and people came from Mazanderan and brought him refreshments, and in return he gave them fiefs, &c., the diplomats being often written out by the recipients of these favours themselves, since most of his suite had been sent on missions to his sons. Some years later, when Jelal-ud-din recovered a portion of his father's dominions, he carried out these dispositions, and any one who could show him a knife or a towel which had been given him by his father as evidence of some grant the transaction was duly respected.

Feeling that his end was approaching, Muhammad summoned his sons, Jelal-ud-din, Uzlag Shagh, called Arzalak Sultan by Raverty, and Ak Sultan. Having revoked the disposition by which, under his mother's influence, he had nominated Uzlag Shagh as his successor, he girded the sword upon Jelal-ud-din, saying that he alone was capable of saving the empire, and bidding his younger sons do him homage and obey him. A few days later he died. One of his attendants named Shamsh-ud-din Mahmud, washed his body and wrapped it in his shirt, there being no other linen to bury it in. His body was removed some years later by Jelal-ud-din, and buried in the fortress of Ardehan. Erdmann dates his death on the 10th of February 1221. D'Ossian says that the opinions of eastern historians are much divided in regard to Muhammad. Rashid and the author of the Jahan kushai represent him as irresolute, overcome with fear, putting too much trust in astrologers, and at the same time as given up to pleasure and debauchery. Even while the Mongols were pursuing him he was surrounded by dancing and singing women. Ibn-al-Atir, a contemporary, gives a more favourable account of him, and says he was well-informed, especially in law, that he loved the society of learned men, doctors of the law, and religious men, and that disciplined by hard work, he devoted himself to affairs of state and the good of the people. Zehebi describes him as active, vigilant and intrepid, but as having a criminal ambition. Whichever view is taken as to his general qualities, there can be no doubt that he showed great weakness in the presence of the Mongols.

On Muhammad's death Jelal-ud-din made his way to Mangushak on the eastern shore of the Caspian, and having sent on his two younger brothers, Uzlag and Ak Sultan, to report his approach, set off on his way to the kernel of the empire, namely, Khawrem, which was as yet free from the Mongol arms. Turkhan Khatun had retired some time before from there, as I have described with the Sultan's harem, but there still remained a garrison of

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44 D'Ossian, vol. i, p. 260; De la Croix, p. 276.
45 De la Croix, p. 276.
90,000 Kankalis, under the command of Buji Pehluivan, a maternal uncle of Uzlaq Suluan, Kujail Tikin, Ughul Hajib and Timur Malik, the intrepid defender of Khojend. These troops were no means favourable to Jalal-u’d-din. They were mostly Kankalis, and therefore favoured the pretensions of Uzlaq Suluan, whose mother was of their race, and whose claims they upheld; besides he was a boy of very ordinary intellect, and not likely to keep the tight hand over them that Jalal-u’d-din would, and they accordingly plotted to destroy him. The plot was disclosed to him by Inanj Khan, and the Sultan determined to leave the dangerous city, and accordingly set out with 300 companions headed by Timur Malik. The Mongols had placed a cordon of troops round the northern borders of Khorasan to prevent his escape in that direction. Jalal-u’d-din, however, sped on by way of Nissa to Shadbak Shadyakh. At Shadyakh, near Astushe Sabke, he had to cut his way through a body of 700 Mongols who tried to stop him, and this, says Muhammad of Nissa, was the first success won by the Musalmans over the Mongols. He managed to reach Shadyakh, where he delayed three days, and then went on to Ghazni. Hardly had he left Khuarezm when news arrived there that the Mongols were advancing upon the town. Uzlaq Suluan and Ak Suluan hastened after his brother to recall him. Near Kharendur, a strong fort close to Nissa, from which the historian, Muhammad of Nissa, took his name, they were met by the same body of Mongols who had tried to stop their brother, and who were making inquiries in which direction he had fled. The nephew of Muhammad of Nissa went out of the fortress to divert the Mongols’ attention from the young princes, but having learnt what they were, the latter pursued, captured and put them to death. Their heads were put on lances, and exhibited publicly. It is said that the jewels which were found on the clothes of the two princes and the other Khuarezmians were bartered by the Mongols, who did not know their value, to the neigh-

bouring peasants of Vesh, who were greatly enriched in consequence.

Let us turn once more to the Mongols. After the capture of Samarkand, and apparently when he heard that the sons of Muhammad had on his death retired to Khuarezm, Chinghiz determined to send a strong army there, and gave the command of it to his three eldest sons, Juchi, Chagatai, and Ogotai. The Mongols had already made a venture in that direction. After Juchi captured Yughkent, the Ulus Bede, or Uighurs, who were with him, were allowed to return home to Mongolia, and he replaced them by a contingent of 10,000 Kankalis under Ainal Noyan, called Tainal by D’Ohsson, and sent them against Khuarezm. Ainal having gone on with the advance guard, left a Mongol officer in charge of these Turkomans. They speedily killed him, whereasupon Ainal having returned, put many of them to death. The rest fled to Merv and Amu-yeh. Kurkanj, or Urgenj, was the capital of Khuarezm. Its ruins are still known as Kunia Urgenj. The Arabs called it Al Jorjania, and it is described by Mokadesi as a town of some importance. Like the other towns of Khuarezm it was situated on the Oxus, which corresponds to the Nile in watering a green strip of fertile land bounded on either side by sandy wastes. We have seen how Jalal-u’d-din and his brothers withdrew from the district. Abulghazi tells us that Khumar Tikin, a Kankali chief, and brother of the yirago Turkhan Khutan, had been appointed governor, and was assisted by Mogol Hajib and Feridun, and a great number of nankars and other officers. Erdmann, apparently from Juveni, adds the names of Buka Pehluivan and the Sepehshar Ali Murghani. Khumar put the place in a condition for a long defence. Before the siege fairly began, the garrison had a foretaste of disaster. A body of Mongols who were scouring the neighbourhood for provisions having approached the town, and carried off some horses and asses, were pursued by the Khuarezmians as far as Bagh-i-Khurram, where they fell into an ambush.
and the greater part of them were slaughtered. The pursuing Mongols chased them even into the town, some of them entering it through the Kabilan or Kalian Gate with the retreating crowd. Abulghazi says they advanced as far as the Tenureh Gate. Erdmann tells us that the best authorities calculate that 100,000 perished on this occasion, which must be an immense exaggeration." The main army of the Mongols soon after arrived, and proceeded to attack the city. They first summoned it, promising it easy terms if it submitted, Juchi telling the people that his father had made the place over to him, and he wished to prevent its being destroyed, and had given orders that his men were to refrain from pillage. The more prudent people were for submitting; more especially as the Khârezm Shah had sent them word from Absukun counselling them not to resist, but the governor notwithstanding sent back a defiant answer, encouraged no doubt by the fact that the town was garrisoned by over 50,000 troops. The Mongols accordingly planted their battering engines and pounded the city almost incessantly, using wooden balls soaked in water made out of the neighbouring mulberry-trees in lieu of stones, which were scarce there. Meanwhile they also plied the garrison liberally with threats and fair promises. Having tried ineffectually to fill up the ditch they determined to drain it by cutting a canal and thus lay it dry. The 3,000 men who were employed in this work were attacked suddenly by the garrison, and all perished, but the work went on, a guard was set over the workmen, and the ditch was at length drained and was then filled up with earth, straw, and faggots, but the garrison behaved bravely, assault after assault was given in vain, and great losses were sustained on either side. The prolonged siege, which had lasted more than six months, and the severe losses, caused trouble in the Mongol camps, and led to much disputing between the princes Juchi and Jagatai. On this being reported to Chinghiz he superseded them, and gave the supreme command to their younger brother, Ogotai, who, by his tact and discretion once more restored discipline. He then ordered a general assault, during which the houses in the town were fired by stink-pots. The garrison still kept up the fight in the streets, even the women and children taking part in it. This went on for seven days. Driven at length into three districts of the city and terribly harassed by the Mongols, they sent word that they were willing to surrender, and sent the chief of police out with a message, "We have suffered from your severity, it is time we should test the quality of your mercy." "How," said Juchi in a rage, "can they say they have felt our severity when by their resistance they have destroyed so many of our soldiers? It is we who have felt their severity, and will now let them taste ours." Orders were given for the citizens to go out of the place, and the artisans and handicraftsmen were put aside and sent off to Tartary, the young women and boys were divided as slaves, while the rest of the inhabitants were distributed among the soldiers and remorsely killed. Juveni and Rashid tell us each Mongol soldier had 24 Khârezmians to execute. After this butchery, they pillaged what remained of the town, and then submerged it by opening the dyke which restrained the waters of the Oxus, and all those who had hid away in their houses perished. In the sack of other towns, says Ibn-al-Athir, some of the inhabitants escaped, either by hiding away or fleeing or lying down among the corpses; but at Khârezm those who escaped the sword of the Tartars were drowned in the waters of the Jihn." Abulghazi adds that at this time there was at Urgen a celebrated Sheikh named Nadjmuddin-Kubra, son of Omar of Khiva. The Mongol princes sent word to him to leave the city with his family, so that he might not be trampled under the horses' feet. The Sheikh answered that he was not alone, but had relatives and servants with him. They told him he might take ten people with him. He said he had more than ten. They then told him to take a hundred. He replied he had not less than that, upon which they increased the number to a thousand. But his answer was, In happier days I knew this people, whose friend I was. How can I desert them now in their misfortune. The Mongols soon after arrived at his door, and, after sending several of them to hell, says

48 Abulghazi, p. 113; Abulfaraj, Chron. Syr., p. 488; Erdmann, p. 410 and note 315.

Abulghazi, he ended by winning the martyr's crown. "We belong to God, and we shall return to him." 10

Minhaj-i-Saraj reports a strange story that on the capture of Khuârezm the women were separated from the men. Having selected such of the former as they wanted, the rest were divided into two bodies and stripped naked, the Mongols standing round with drawn swords, told them they heard the women of the place were good pugilists, and made them attack each other with their clenched fists during a whole watch, when they fell on them with their swords and martyred them. "The Almighty reward them," ejaculates our author. 11

After the capture of Khuârezm, the three princes secured Kaf, Feraber, Dargan, Zamak-

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NÄTEŠA SÂSTRI PÅNDIT.

II.—WHY BRÄHMANS CANNOT EAT IN THE DARK.

Among Hindûs, especially among Brâhmans of the Madras Presidency—and I now see from personal observation that it is the same in the Bombay Presidency also—there is a custom, while taking their meals, of leaving their food uneaten when it so happens that from any cause the light is blown out. Of course this could occur only in the night-time. Such mishaps now-a-days take place only in poor families sitting down to supper with a single light. Hence the following story told as the origin of this custom is being forgotten. It runs as follows:—

In a certain village there lived a Brâhman who had an only daughter. She was deeply read in Säskrit and was of the most charming beauty. He procured a husband for her, as deeply read as herself. The betrothal had already taken place. Just after the girl attained her puberty a day was appointed for her nuptials; and the mahârîtta or auspicious time was fixed at the 10th ghâtikâd of that night. On that very evening the son-in-law went to a tank to perform his Sandhyâ vandana or evening prayers. It swarmed with crocodiles. People never went near it. The son-in-law, being quite new to the village, entered the tank without knowing anything of the danger. Unfortunately there was none near to warn him. He had set his foot in the water when a crocodile caught him by the leg and began to drag him. That very night was fixed for his nuptials and a crocodile was taking him to feast on his flesh. He was extremely vexed at the calamity, and said humbly to his enemy, "My friend crocodile! Listen to my words first and then decide for yourself. A wife, the only daughter of an old Brâhman is waiting for me to-night. If you eat me now you take me away without my seeing her, my father-in-law and other relatives. Their hearts may break at the news of my death on the very day of the wedding. They may all curse you. If, on the contrary, you leave me now, I shall go home, speak to my wife and others about the sad calamity that has come over me, and after embracing and taking leave of her will come to you for your supper at the 12th

10 Kuran, Surah 2, verse 151; Abulghazi, ed. Desmalsons, pp. 119 and 120; Erdmann, p. 412.
11 Tâbâkh-i-Nâtsî, pp. 1100, 1101.
12 De la Croix, p. 236.
13 i. e. the Anmi Daria.
14 i.e. Urgenj.
15 i. e. Urgenj.
16 Brecht,vol., p. 61.
17 Urgenj.
18 Probably, says Dr. Brecht,vol., a misspelt name.
19 The Yuan-chi-tei-pens says that the three princes captured Yulong and Kieshi, thus making two names out of Urgenj.—Gaubil, p. 38; id. 66.
15th ghatikā. Till then leave me." The cruel crocodile though very fond of human flesh and himself dying of hunger, spared him for a few ghatikās at his humble request. After extracting several oaths from him for his return in accordance to his promise the crocodile went into the water.

The son-in-law also went home. All his joys fled away; how could he be pleasant after his promise to the crocodile. Still, to give no uneasiness to the aged parents of his wife he underwent all the ceremonies and entered the bed-room at the 10th ghatikā. Only 5 more ghatikās remained for him to live in the world as he thought. He in a few words explained everything to his wife, and asked her permission. She showed no sign of sorrow, preached to him about the iron hand of fate, and that he must undergo what was written on his forehead. She most willingly gave him permission, and he returned to the tank even a ghatikā earlier and called the crocodile who came and seized him.

At this moment a certain light glittered before the eyes of the crocodile and vanished. It was a woman that did it. The wife, after consoling her husband and preaching to him about the supremacy of fate, had accompanied him unobserved with a lighted lamp concealed in a vessel. Just when the crocodile applied its teeth to the leg of her husband, she took the lamp out, showed it before the crocodile, and quenched it. Nor did it go without its intended effect. The crocodile left the husband to himself and said, "You had better go now. I will never touch you after a lamp was quenched when I began my meals to-day." The husband was astonished at the device of his wife and still more at the faithful observance of a rule in an unreasonable beast. From that day it was fixed that men, who are more reasonable, should never eat when the lamp is blown out.

Another story is told. In a remote village there lived a poor woman who laboured from morning till night in different houses and returned to her hut with two measures of rice. That quantity would serve for ten ordinary persons. Being extremely poor she used to keep no lamp, but cook her rice in the dark, only guided by the light of the fire. When she sat down for her meals even the light of the fire decayed. So she had to eat in the dark. Though she used the full two measures of rice that she brought every day her hunger was never satisfied. She was always in extreme want.

Now it so happened that she had a younger sister who was somewhat richer than herself. The younger came to see her elder sister. The former never used to be without light, and so asked her sister to buy some oil that night and light a lamp. The elder was compelled by necessity to do so; for that she devoted a portion of her two measures of rice and returned home with great uneasiness and perplexity of mind as to how less than two measures would furnish their supper that night, while full two measures were found insufficient on former occasions for herself alone. The lamp was set for the first time in her house and she cooked the remaining rice. The younger sister was astonished to see her using so much for two. The elder, thinking with herself that the younger would soon see her mistake, cooked everything. Two leaves were spread and they sat down to their supper. Not even a fourth part of the rice in the pot was consumed, but already they were satisfied. The younger sister laughed at the foolishness of her elder who now said, "I do not know what magic you have in you. Every day I took two measures of rice and fast the whole night, without finding them sufficient for myself. Now a fourth of less than two measures has satisfied both. Please explain the cause." The younger sister, who was very intelligent herself, wanted to find out the cause, and asked next day to serve the meals without the lamp. Instead of eating she stretched her hand in front and caught a lock of hair. She asked the other at once to light the lamp, which being done there was a devil sitting before her.

On being questioned how he came there he said that he was used thus to go to every one who ate without a lamp, and swallow his meals fast without leaving him a morsel. The elder sister perceived her mistake and used a lamp from that day. The demon ceased to come. She had abundance for herself and something to spare. So when the lamp is blown out devils are said to come and eat out of our leaves. Hence is the custom to rise whenever such mishaps occur.
A GEOLOGIST’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

BY PROF. V. BALL, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S.

The earliest traders in Indian commodities, of whose proceedings we have any record, were the Egyptians. According to Lenormant, the bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes represent the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu. “In the abundant booty, loading the vessels of Pharaoh for conveyance to the land of Egypt, appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to the soil of Yemen—elephants’ teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood, and monkeys.”

Again, “The labours of Von Böhlen (Das Alte Indien, vol. I, p. 42), confirming those of Heeren, and in their turn confirmed by those of Lassen (Ind. Alt. vol. II, p. 580), have established the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of the annals of humanity.” The principal commodities imported from India were gold, tin, precious stones, ivory, &c.

In the Mosaic period (1491-1450 B.C.), too, precious stones, which were to a great extent a specialty of India and the neighbouring countries, appear to have been well known, and were already highly valued. It is probable that some of the stones in the breastplate of the high priest may have come from the far East. The emerald, however, if then known, was probably derived from a mine in Egypt, to which reference will be made hereafter. At the same time there are grounds for believing that the word so rendered (Exod. xxviii. 18; Ezek. xxviii. 13) may not be correctly translated.

The next traders in Indian products were the Phoenicians, who for a time carried on their commerce with the ports of Aden, Cana, Haran, Yemen, and Musza, to which the commodities of India were brought for exchange by Arabian, and possibly Indian and Cingalese, ships. Somewhere about 1015 B.C., Solomon joined Hiram, King of Tyre, in a nautical and commercial venture of a more ambitious nature than had previously been attempted, “For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.”

These ships were the first which had ever doubled the southern parts of Arabia and then sailed straight for India. The first port in that country of which we have any mention is Ophir. The vessels were built of timber from Judea, at Elath and Ezion-geber, and they were manned by Phoenicians. They were called “ships of Tarshish,” because they were of the same form and build as those which had previously been employed in the trade to Tarshish, situated, as is now generally known, in the south of Spain.

It is needless, perhaps, to discuss here the many views which have been put forward as to the identity of Ophir. Lassen says it was on the site of Abhira, on the western coast, adjoining the province of Gujará. Others locate it in Ceylon; but General Cunningham’s researches place it also in the Gulf of Cambay. The name Ophir, or Sophir, he identifies with Sauvira, a name derived from that of the ber-tree (Zizyphus jujuba), which is plentiful in that region.

Since gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks are productions of India—and the Hebrew name for the last is derived from tukki, an Indian word—there is internal evidence that Ophir was situated in that country. It is not likely to have been in the more Eastern, Burmese, or Malayan countries, where, it must be admitted, the same commodities might have been obtained.

Passing the notices of precious stones to be found in the biblical books written during the course of the next five centuries, we find that Herodotos (fifth century B.C.) gives us some insight into the nature and extent of certain

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1 From the Presidential address to the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, March 19, 1888.
3 L. c. p. 301.
4 1 Kings, i. 22; also see ix. 23, &c.
6 Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 494-7, and 560-62.
7 Mr. Eastwick estimates that the gold which reached Solomon by way of the Red Sea amounted to 3,330,000 lbs. in weight, or 160 millions sterling. In his paper entitled, “Gold in India,” it may be added, he is inclined to locate Ophir in the Malabar country, in the neighbourhood of the gold-bearing regions of Southern India.
Indian mineral productions. Babylon obtained precious stones and dogs (probably Tibetan mastiffs) from India. In the enumeration of the nations and tribes which paid tribute to the Persian monarch, Darius, the Indians alone, we are told, paid in gold, all the others paying in silver. The amount of this gold was 360 Euboeic talents = £1,290,000. Herodotus pointedly, moreover, speaks of India as being “rich in gold”; and he relates the famous and widespread fable of the gold-digging ants, the origin of which has been fully ascertained. I shall only add now that the “horns of the gold-digging ants,” referred to by Pliny and others were, probably, simply samples of the ordinary pickaxes used by the miners. In Ladakh, and, probably, also in Tibet, these implements are made of the horns of wild sheep, mounted on handles of wood.

The portion of India conquered by Darius was probably situated chiefly to the northwest of the Indus. The Indus itself, as well as some of its tributaries, is known to be auriferous.

Many commentators on the above and other references by subsequent authors to the existence of gold (and silver), as indigenous products of India, object that mines of these metals are or were not known to exist in India. Thus Lassen says: “If the ancients speak of abundant gold in India, it is either only a false amplification of the early and true account of Northern India, the country of the Dards, between Kasmir and the Upper Indus, or a false conclusion, from the fact that the Indians used much gold for ornaments and other purposes.” Heeren, like Lassen, alludes doubtfully to Pliny’s statement (vide postea) as to the existence of abundant gold and silver mines in the country of the Nares; he attributes the quantity of gold which must have been in Ancient India to commerce with other gold-producing countries, namely, Tibet and Burma. He even suggests that African gold found its way to India in early as well as it is known to have done in later times. Our most recent knowledge of India, however, affords evidence that the amount of gold derived from indigenous sources must have been very considerable before the alluvial deposits were exhausted of their gold throughout wide regions.

When it is remembered that about 80 per cent. of the gold raised throughout the world is from alluvial washings, and when this fact is considered in connexion with the reflection that wide tracts in Australia and America, formerly richly productive, are now deserted, being covered with exhausted tailings, it can be conceived how these regions in India, and there are very many of them, which are known to be auriferous, may, in the lapse of time, after yielding large supplies of gold, have become too exhausted to be of much present consideration. More than this, however, recent explorations have confirmed the fact, often previously asserted, that in Southern India there are indications of extended mining operations having been carried on there.

Evidence exists of the most conclusive kind of large quantities of gold having been amassed by Indian monarchs, who accepted a revenue in gold dust only, from certain sections of their subjects, who were consequently compelled to spend several months of every year washing for it in the rivers.

The already-quoted facts taken from the pages of the Bible and Herodotus must be accepted as evidence that gold was an export from India, and that to so large an extent, that the suggestion that it was first imported may be safely rejected. A large amount, very probably, reached Northern India in the course of trade from Tibet; but it is incredible that the vast stores which, as will be shown on a future page, were in the possession of the princes of Southern India about 600 years ago, were, to any considerable extent, derived from extraneous sources.

Much uncertainty exists as to the date of the famous Indian epic known as the Śāṃśaya. By Wilson, however, it is supposed to have been written about 300 B.C.; but it refers to a time probably contemporaneous with Solomon. It represents India as abounding at that early period in wealth, which we cannot but conclude appear to be the same at present, as they were in the time of Herodotus. The name “Aurea” gold was possibly first given to the fragments of gold dust brought from Tibet on account of their shape and size.
was mainly of indigenous origin. In the description of the capital town of Ayodyâ, as quoted by Heeren,19 we are told "it was filled with merchants and artificers of all kinds; gold, precious stones, and jewels were there found in abundance; every one wore costly garments, bracelets, and necklaces." Again, "The present made to Sitâ consisted of a whole measure of gold pieces and a vast quantity of the same precious metal in ingots; golden chariots, golden trappings for elephants and horses, and golden bells are also noticed as articles of luxury and magnificence."

The Indika, by Ktesias, the Kudian (378 b.c.) was the first regular Greek treatise on India. The fragments of it which have been preserved by Photios and other writers have recently been brought together and carefully annotated by Mr. McCrindle,11 to whose work I am indebted for the following extracts bearing upon our subject. Ktesias's knowledge of India was all derived at second-hand from persons he came in contact with at the Persian Court, where he resided under Darius and his successor, Artaxerxes Mmemon.

Ktesias informs us that there is a lake in the country of the Pygmies upon the surface of which oil is produced. The Pygmies are described as being covered over with long hair. A tribe corresponding to this description has been reported to exist in Upper Burma, and there also are the only largely productive petroleum deposits, which, moreover, we know to have been worked since the earliest times.15 Silver also was and is found in this region. This report, however, it should be clearly understood, requires very distinct confirmation before it can be accepted. It is probably merely a fable; but the existence of sources of rock-oil and silver in Upper Burma is noteworthy, no other region being known to produce both, though silver is found in many localities in India, and rock-oil in Assam and the Panjab.

The elektron or amber of Ktesias, a product of trees, was certainly shellac, and the insects found with it, which yielded a red dye, were lac insects. As, therefore, this amber does not properly belong to our subject, I shall say no more about it at present. Gold, we are told, was only obtained on certain "high-towering mountains" inhabited by the griffins—a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers, except only on the breast, where they are red. Now, if we omit the word "birds," in the above, and for "feathers" read "hair," there is no difficulty in recognising the griffins as the Tibetan mastiffs, which are powerful, hairy, often black-and-tan-coloured dogs, specimens of which, by the way, appear to have been taken to the Persian Court as examples of the gold-digging ants, which were first described by Herodotus.15 We may, I think, therefore, justly conclude that the locality referred to was situated in Tibet.

Gold was also said to be obtained from a spring, being drawn from it in earthen pitchers in which it congealed. This story is obviously founded on the casting of ingots; but I cannot see that Lassen's view, that it shows that the Indians knew how to extract gold from ores, follows, since it may merely refer to the melting of alluvial gold dust. Silver is said to occur also in the above-mentioned country of the Pygmies, upon which Lassen remarks that silver is only known to occur in Ajmir. It has, however, a much wider distribution, as I have shown in my Economic Geology; but the only region in which it is regularly produced at present is Upper Burma.16

Iron is said to be found in the same spring or fountain as the gold; and Ktesias had two swords, made of Indian iron, given to him respectively by the King of Persia and his mother. This iron consisted, I believe, of ingots of wootz or cast-steel, from which Damascus blades have been made since time immemorial.17 The power of iron to ward off thunderstorms, which is referred to by Ktesias, suggests rather an early knowledge of the use

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13 Ball, Economic Geology of India, p. 138.
14 Herodotus (lib. I, c. 122) tells us, as pointed out by Lenormant, that India supplied Babylon with "precious stones and large dogs; and so great was the passion for the latter, that Tritania was inhabited to the Achaeumelians, had set apart four cities or large villages, exempted from all other taxes, on condition of maintaining his dogs."—Manual of the Ancient History of the East, vol. I, p. 496.
15 Economic Geology, p. 234.
17 The same wootz, according to Lassen, Ind. Alter. (vol. I, p. 259), is derived from the Sanskrit, from two words signifying diamond and thunderbolt, vajra.
of lightning conductors than of the properties of the magnet, which is the explanation offered by Baehr.

The Pantarba is a kind of stone which, when thrown into the water, had the power of drawing together other stones of various colours to the number of 77. It has been suggested by Count Von Veltheim that this was some kind of opal, which, on being put into water, exhibited a rich play of colours. Upon this I can offer no opinion: no more probable suggestion suggests itself to my mind. The sardine stone, the onyx, and other seal stones, are said to be found in certain high mountains. There is no further indication of locality. Possibly Ujjain in Malwa, or some of the other places where mines of Chalcedonic minerals occur, was intended.

Evidence of various kinds exists that in the time of the Indian monarch, Asoka, about 250 B.C., the mineral resources of India were well known and were largely availed of. Stone architecture on a magnificent scale, which is still extant, bears testimony to the skill of the Buddhist stone-masons of a still earlier period. The elaborate carvings on some of these prove the excellence of the tools which were employed; probably they were made of Indian steel or wootz. The famous Asoka monoliths of a later date, from 35 to 40 feet long, and about as many tons in weight, are, in their way, too, remarkable, though not exhibiting such ornate designs.

In B.C. 307, according to the Mahavansa, the King of Ceylon (or Lanka), Dewanampati- sasso, was installed, and shortly afterwards he sent an embassy to Asoka at Palibothra, the presents consisting of sapphires, lapis-lazuli, rubies, and eight varieties of pearls, which, we are told, rose miraculously from the earth and sea respectively on the auspicious occasion. Asoka's return-gift consisted of golden and other ornaments, and as an especial rarity, "costly hand-towels, which to the last moment they are used (are cleansed by being passed through the fire) without being washed."

Now, with reference to the above, I venture to think that the translator has made a mis-

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18 The chronology of the Mahavansa is in error by 60 to 65 years; this date should be about 245 B.C.—Ed. J. A.
19 A History of Ceylon for Twenty-four Centuries, from B.C. 543; translated by Tournier, p. 70.
21 Economic Geology of India, p. 519.
22 Ind. Ant., vol. VI, pp. 223-252, 323-349.
with the mention of elephas or ivory. The Greek name for it, kasmieria, is moreover said to be derived from the Sanskrit, kastira. That India produced tin in sufficient quantities for exportation is, I believe, most improbable. The tin which she did export probably came to the Indian ports from the Malayan countries or Tenasserim.

The fable of the gold-digging ants, already alluded to as having been related by Herodotos, is quoted by Strabo and Arrian from Megasthenes. Arrian further also refers to the account by Xerxes, who says that "he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort of ant which other writers declare to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp." But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves; only those in India being larger than foxes, make their burrows proportionally larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now, Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no more exact information to give, I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.

Pliny, in his list of the Indian Races, which is believed to have been mostly borrowed from Megasthenes, says:—"Next follow the Narees, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitallia. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver." Capitallia may certainly be identified with Mount Abu; and although the highest authorities are divided as to the identity of the Narees, the mention of mines of gold and silver compels me to believe that the Narees of Malabar were intended, as in Malabar and the neighbouring regions are situated not only the ancient gold mines which have attracted so much notice of late years, but there are also enormous ancient mines in the districts of Kadapa and Karrnul from whence argentiferous galena appears to have been extracted, and from this ore silver was, very probably, obtained. In another passage in this list of Pliny we find the following statement:—"Gold is very abundant among the Darda and silver among the Setu."

On this Mr. McCrindle remarks that the Setu are the Sata or Sataka of Sanskrit geography, which locates them in the neighbourhood of the Daradas. I was inclined to believe that the country of the Setu may have been the Wazir-i-rupi, or silver country of the Wazirs, i.e., Kulu, where argentiferous galenas undoubtedly do occur. Colonel Yule identifies them, however, with the Sanskrit Sekus, and he places them on the Bannas, about Jhajpur, south-east from Ajmir. There are extensive ancient mines from which galena was obtained near the Taragarh hill in Ajmir; but, so far as I can ascertain, there is no record of their having produced silver. Galena, known to contain silver, appears to have been mined for at Jodawas in Alwar, and at Jawar or Zawar in Udepur, but this latter locality was chiefly remarkable, indeed unique in India, for producing zinc.

Further on, in Pliny's enumeration above alluded to, we meet the following passage:—"Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyra, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocaus." This last, according to Mr. McCrindle, is identified with Karkalla, the district which includes Karachi; but Colonel Yule identifies the former two localities with Burma and Arakan, as will be mentioned below in connexion with Ptolemy's reference to the same subject.

About the year 30 B.C. Dionysios Perigeetes, in his Oikoumenes Perithesis, gives a rough indication of the position of the region from whence the diamonds which at that time found

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\[89\] These I believe to have been skins of the Tibetan mastiffs (or griffins), which, I understand, are still brought to India for sale.
\[90\] Vide Economic Geology of India, p. 232.
\[91\] Todd (Rajasthan, (Mad. ed.) vol. I, pp. 11, 236, 433); also Jour. A. S. Beng. vol. XIX. p. 212, has described this as being a tin mine, an error which has misled Lasen (Ind. Ant., vol. I, p. 230), who states that the large production from this mine may account for the fact that the Indian name of tin, already alluded to on a previous page, was at so early a period spread throughout the western world.
their way to Europe were derived. The adamas, he states, together with beryl, green jasper, topaz, and amethyst, were found in the river beds of the country lying to the east of Mount Parampanissus (i.e. the Hindu Kush) and Ariana. Although some doubt may be felt in this instance as to the true meaning of the term adamas, its applicability to the diamond, when used by Manilius a few years later, is indisputable. This latter author flourished during the Augustan age (B.C. 31 to A.D. 14), but the exact date of his poem is not known.

Pliny, A.D. 77.—In his Historia Naturalis, the industrious compiler, Pliny, has given an extraordinary amount of information regarding precious stones and metals, a large proportion of them being of Indian origin.

Reference has already been made to those passages which appear to have been derived from the older authors, more particularly to those referring to gold. A locality, namely the Ganges, mentioned by Pliny (lib. xxxiii., c. 21), may, perhaps, refer to known sources of the precious metal in the tributaries of the Upper Ganges. His remarks on the quantity of gold in India, lib. xxxiii., c. 21, are full of interest.

Regarding iron, he says the best is made by the Seres; some authors suppose them to have been an Indian tribe inhabiting Sarhind, the modern Ambala District, but the balance of evidence is certainly in favour of their having been Chinese. The next quality is from Parthia. Elsewhere he says (lib. xii., c. 8), that the Romans obtained steel, together with pearls, at Cape Comorin.

His account of the Murrhine on the whole bears out the view as to its nature, stated below, save that he records (lib. xxxvii., c. 7), that "a person of consular rank, who some years ago used to drink out of this cup, grew so passionately fond of it as to gnaw its edges"—a fact not consistent with it being a substance having the hardness of the Chalcedonic minerals.

Regarding amber, he quotes the account by Ktesias, which, as has been shown, refers to shellac, and alludes to the fable of amber being produced from the tears of the meleagrides (guinea fowl). Another statement of his which I cannot explain is, that the Indians polish amber by boiling it in the grease of a sucking pig.

Adamas.—Under this head the diamond appears to have been included, together with some other stones. "It is," he says (lib. xxxvii., c. 15), "the substance that possesses the greatest value, not only among the precious stones, but of all human possessions, a mineral which for a long time was known to kings only, and to very few of them." Where, however, he refers to its hexagonal and hexahedral form, he appears to have been alluding to some other mineral; but his mention of splinters as being used by engravers of other stones again points to the true diamond. He says it could only be broken after being steeped in the blood of a he-goat.

Smaragdus.—Twelve varieties are mentioned (lib. xxxvii., caps. 16, 17). Some of these may have been emeralds, especially those of the third rank, which are said to have come from Egypt. This locality is considered to have been Mount Zalora, in Upper Egypt, which still produces emeralds, and was probably the only locality for them known by the ancients. With reference to some of the other varieties, I feel no little confidence in suggesting that they may have been jade, but this mineral is also included in his account of Jaspis.

Beryls are said to be found in India, and rarely elsewhere (lib. xxxvii., c. 20). It is certainly true that they do occur in India, but I am unaware of their being now highly esteemed by the natives, as appears to have been the case in Pliny's time.

Opals, according to Pliny, were alone produced in India. I am not aware of any known source of precious opal in India. His reference is therefore, probably, to some of the common varieties.

Want of space prevents me from further analysing Pliny's catalogue, the more particularly as it does not add much to what is elsewhere given on previous pages.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Circa, A.D. 80-89 ?)—The author of this work, a Greek merchant, resident in Egypt, is not known to us by name. His statements of the Indian export and import trade are given with
a great deal of method and obvious accuracy. The following extracts are from Mr. M'Crindle’s translation. The principal ports mentioned are Barugaza, the modern Bharoch, on the Narmadā; Barbarikon, on the Indus; Mouziris (Mangalore), and Nelkunda (south of Mangalore), both the last being on the coast of Malabar. First, as regards the exports: Indian iron and sword blades were exported from Arabia to Adouli in Africa. Indian iron is mentioned in the Pandects as an article of commerce, and the Arabian poets celebrate swords of Indian steel—so well they might, since the material of the famous Damascus blades was wutte, which was manufactured in an obscure village in the Haidarābād territory. From the ports of Mouziris and Nelkunda gems in great variety were exported; but these, it is expressly stated, were not produced in India, but were brought from Tappobane or Ceylon. They probably consisted of the varieties of what we now call corundum, viz., sapphire, ruby, &c. Separately, the Alāmar is mentioned as being sent from these ports, and it seems probable that under this title we may understand that diamonds, the production of Indian mines, are referred to.

From Barbarikon, on the Indus, a stone called kallawez was exported. It has been suggested that gold stone or chrysolite was indicated by this name. I cannot think that this is likely to be correct. Chrysolite of value is not, so far as we know, a product of that region; more probably, as has been suggested by Dana, it was turquoise, or a related mineral now called callianite. If this identification be correct, it probably came through Afghanistan from Persia—the most famous known source of it being at Amsar, near Nishapur in Khorsān. Its occurrence anywhere nearer is extremely doubtful.

From Barugaza to Egypt vast quantities of ονιχθου were exported. They reached the seaport from Ozone and Paithana, the modern Ujjain in Mālwa, and Paithan in Haidarābād. These are still known as the principal sources, among many, where pebbles of onyx and other Chalcedonic minerals are obtained from the detritus of the Dekhan basalt. The famous Mouppry, which fetched extravagant prices in the Roman markets, was also obtained in Ozene and exported from Barugaza.

Regarding the identity of this substance, Hermann Müller, as quoted by Mr. M'Crindle, remarks:—“Six hundred writers emulously applying themselves to explain what had the best claim to be considered the Murrha of the ancients, have advanced the most conflicting opinions. Now it is pretty well settled that the Murrhine vases were made of that stone which is called in German flusspath (epato fliore).” In spite of a desire not to augment this intolerable number of opinions, I must register an objection to this judicial decision of Professor Müller. Fluor-spar happens to be, though so common a mineral in other countries, of the very greatest rarity in India, and there is no record of its occurrence in the Dekhan basalts. It is, moreover, a mineral which, while it is susceptible of being made into ornamental objects, is, from its softness, easily injured by wear and tear, and therefore possesses little durability. On the other hand, at Ujjain, a great variety of Chalcedonic minerals are found, and I therefore prefer to follow those of the six hundred writers who have identified one or other of its varieties with the ancient murrha. At the present day cups and vases of carnelian, agate, &c., are obtainable in Bombay; and I think it most improbable that the modern Aikis, or lapidaries, who are the direct descendants of those who made the murrhine cups 2,000 years ago, ever saw, much less worked, the mineral called fluor-spar.

Another argument in support of this identification has been urged by some writers: it is that stone cups and vases, and fragments of them which have been obtained in excavations at Rome, have, on examination, proved to be of this material. None of fluor-spar are recorded.

The Zasmepios was, we are told, exported from Barbarikon. If this were the true sapphire of modern times, its export from the most northern port, and, therefore, furthest from the recognised sources of the stone, would in itself be difficult to explain. It has been, however, clearly shown by King [Precious Stones] and Nero gave for one 300 talents, = 456.125. They were first seen at Rome in the triumphal procession of Pompey.
Dana [Mineralogy] that the Ἄρσενιος of Theophrastos, Pliny, and Isidore, &c., was what we now call lapis-lazuli. For Pliny says, “Sapheiros coruleus est cum purpura, habens aureos sparros.” Now lapis-lazuli is characterised by having scattered through the blue mass small crystalline particles of golden-coloured iron pyrites.

As further evidence in favour of this interpretation, there is the fact that there are very ancient mines of lapis-lazuli at Fergana in Badakshān (not Beluchiṣ, as has been incorrectly stated by some writers), and it might very easily have been brought by caravans through Afghanistan to Barbarikon. The mines alluded to are described by Wood in the account of his journey to the Oxus, and both Marco Polo and Tavernier refer to the occurrence of the mineral in that region. Captain Hutton, in 1841, found it on sale at Kandahār. He mentions several places in Afghanistan where it was said to occur.

The Ἰάουρθος, on the other hand, which was exported from the southern ports of Mousiris and Nelkand, is thought by some to have been the sapphire, as also was the hyacinthus of Pliny (lib. xxxvii, cap. 44), and its variety the asteria (id. lib. xxxvii, cap. 49). The γαριθ, as the name is now understood in India, is either a ruby, or the inferior spinel (more properly called λατ',), or even a garnet. According to Salmasins, quoted by Mr. M'Crimble, the Ἰάουρθος is the ruby, while according to Solinus it would appear to be the amethyst. This is a point on which Indian geology throws no certain light, as neither rubies nor sapphires appear to have been indigenous products.

In the Persian work on precious stones quoted hereafter, it will be seen that in the thirteenth century the same generic name was applied to the ruby, sapphire, and other varieties of corundum.

With reference to the imports which are of interest as indicating the requirements, if not of the whole of India, at least of that portion of Western India into which they were carried, we find the following enumeration:—

- Silver: Costly plate, from Egypt to Barugaza.
- Gold and silver coins, from Egypt to Barugaza.
- Gold bullion, from Arabia to Barugaza.
- Arsenic, from Egypt to Mousiris and Nelkand.
- Lead, from Egypt to Mousiris and Barugaza.
- Tin, from Egypt to Mousiris and Barugaza.
- Antimony sulphide, from Egypt to Mousiris and Barugaza.
- Copper, from Egypt to Mousiris and Barugaza.

The import of silver plate at this early period is remarkable. Whether it has been kept up in modern times, so far as the requirements of the natives are concerned, I cannot say, but the other substances are still largely imported. In four years recently, for instance, upwards of 200 tons of arsenic, in the forms of white arsenic, orpiment, and realgar, were imported; and the antimony sulphide, called surma by the natives of India, is largely used for anointing the eyes.

Ἀρεσνάδορ was also exported from Egypt to all four ports. It appears to be tolerably clear that this mineral was not our modern chrysoprase, but was the topaz, while the topaxion of Pliny was in part at least chrysoprase, as he says it yielded to the file and wore with use; but his mention of a statue, 4 cubits high, which was made of it, indicates a crystal of a size quite unheard of; probably this was either beryl or jade.

Ptolemy (A.D. 140-160). Diamonds.—The Adamas river of Ptolemy, according to Lassen's analysis of the data, was not identical with the Mahānadī, as I have suggested in my Economic Geology, but with the Subanrekha, which is, however, so far as we know, not a diamond-bearing river, nor does it at any part of its course traverse rocks of the age of those which contain the matrix of the diamond in other parts of India. This Adamas river was separated from the Mahānadī (i.e., Mahānadī) by the Tyndis and Dosaron; the latter, according to Lassen, taking its rise in the country of Kokkonaga (i.e., Chutia Nagpur), and to which the chief town, Dosara (the modern Doessa), gave its name. But, according to this view, the Dosaron must have been identical with the modern Brāhmaṇī, which, in that portion of its course called the Sunk (or Koel), included a diamond locality. I cannot regard this identification as satisfactory, as it does not account for the Tyndis intervening between the Dosaron and Mahānadī, since, as a matter of fact, the Brāhmaṇī and Mahānadī

... coveries of sapphires in the Himālayas, but there is no evidence that they were ever found there before.

Economic Geology, p. 90.
are confluent at their mouths. Lassen, however, identifies the Dosaron with the Baitarni, and the Tyndis with the Brahmapul. This destroys the force of his remark as to the origin of the name of the former, since at its nearest point it is many miles distant from Dooesa.

Another locality of Ptolemy's, said to be situated on the Ganges, in the country of the Sabara, may, perhaps, be identical with Tavernier's Sommepour on the Koel; it was situated some miles distant from the Ganges. Wherever it was, it produced most diamonds.

A third locality mentioned by Ptolemy has been variously identified with Sambhalpur and Wairagarh in West Gondwana, the position of which last was not correctly known to either Ritter or Lassen, though the fact of the existence of diamond mines there had been recorded by Firishta and Abu'l-Fazl.

Ptolemy stated that Ceylon produced the beryl, hyacinth (? = sapphire), and all sorts of metals; the last is, however, not the case, Ceylon being rather poor in metallic ores.

Under the name Bathana, a source of the onyx is mentioned by Ptolemy; this appears to have been a well-known locality at Paithan on the Godavari, which was alluded to as Plithana by the author of the Periplus.

The sardonyx mines of Ptolemy are probably identical with the famous carnelian and agate mines of Râjpipla, or rather, as it should be called Ratnapur.

The loadstone rocks of India, which attracted so much notice by several early writers, were known to Ptolemy; they may possibly be identified with certain hill ranges in Southern India which mainly consist of magnetic iron. Early writers connected their presence with the fact that many of the vessels and boats engaged in the Indian coasting trade contained no iron in their construction, and hence probably arose the well-known fable about the injury to shipping caused by the loadstone rocks. The surf boats, however, have no iron in their construction, simply because bolts or nails would render them too rigid; nor have the vessels of the Lakhdives and Maldives, because iron ores do not occur in coral islands.

The identity of Argyre (where, according to Ptolemy, there were mines of silver), Chrysê chersoneseus, Chrysês chora, and Chalkitis, have recently been discussed by Colonel Yule. The first he proves to be Arakan, where, however, there are no silver mines; and considering the geological structure of the country, it is almost certain there were no silver mines of this name. I have been recently informed by General Sir Arthur Phayre that Argyre is probably a transliteration of an ancient Burmese name for Arakan. It seems likely, therefore, that it was from putting a Greek interpretation to this name that the story of the silver mines owed its origin. According to Colonel Yule, the Arabs probably adopted their ideas from the Ptolemaic charts. With regard to the other localities, he says, "The golden Chersonese is specifically the protuberant delta of the Irrawaddy, Pegu, the Suvarabhumi, or golden land of ancient India, whilst the golden region behind is Burma, the oldest province of which, above Ava, is still formally styled in State documents Sonaparanta, "Golden frontier." Ptolemy's Chalkitis, also, or copper region, approximates curiously to the Tampadipa, or Copper Island of the Burmese State phraseology, "a region which embraces Ava and the ancient capital Pagan." These identifications remove from the region of probability what has sometimes been urged, that Argyre and Chrysê were countries which supplied India with large quantities of silver and gold.

Arrian (Circa, a.d. 146).—The first part of Arrian's Indika was founded on the works of Megasthenes, and Eratosthenes, and the second on an account of the voyage made by Nearchos the Kretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris. The parts of this compilation which bear upon our present subject have already been anticipated in the description of Megasthenes' writings, and need not, therefore, be repeated.

The authors whom I have consulted with reference to the Roman trade with India are: Robertson, Renaud, and Priault. This trade, which succeeded that of the Greeks,
came to an end in the sixth century. Besides what has already been independently quoted from the pages of Pliny and Ptolemy, there do not appear to be any records of much importance bearing upon the present subject.

An account of India, written for Palladius towards the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, makes special reference to the leadstone rocks, possibly quoting from Ptolemy. In the fifth century Hierocles speaks of the Brāhmaṇas as being clothed in garments made from a soft and hairy filament obtained from stones. This, it seems most probable, owed its origin to some mistaken notion as to the origin of cotton rather than to the use of woven asbestos, as has been suggested.

Under the Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, Cosmas (surnamed Indicopleustes), an Egyptian merchant, made several voyages to India, and recorded his experiences in a work called Christian Topography, in which some account of the export trade of India is given. He mentions how the Persians became rivals of the Romans at the Indian ports, and how the precious commodities were conveyed from thence up the Persian Gulf, and were distributed by means of the Euphrates and Tigris. Gradually the trade to Constantinople, the then seat of the Romans, was thus diverted.

Eighty years after the death of Justinian, Muḥammad published his new religion, and it was not long before the Arabs spread themselves as conquerors over the countries adjoining their own, thence spreading by sea and land over an ever-widening area. To a great extent they wrested the Oriental trade from the Persians; they established a mart at Basorah, which speedily rose to an importance scarcely exceeded by that of Alexandria in the height of the Greek and Roman period. So little is known of the details of this trade, that there is only barely sufficient evidence for the conclusion that, as regards the mineral productions, it did not differ materially from that which preceded it in the hands of other nationalities. The most important work giving an account of India at about this period is the famous voyage by a Muhammadan travel-

\[44\] First translated in A.D. 1718 into French by M. Benandot.


ler, with annotations by another, called Abu Seīd al Ḥasan of Girāf. Their account is confirmed by another Arabian called Māskīdī, whose universal history bears the fantastic title, Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels.

The effect of this absorption of the trade of the Red Sea was to deprive the European nations of that highway of commerce, and the requirements of Europe had to be brought to Constantinople from India and China by long and tedious overland journeys, which became especially arduous during the Crusades. This state of things continued till the discovery by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century of the long sea passage round the Cape of Good Hope. From various sources, however, we are enabled to pick up fragments of information referring to different centuries included in this interval. Thus a Sanskrit work called the Brhat Saḥhitas, which, it is believed, was written in the sixth century, contains a very detailed account of diamonds, their varieties, qualities, and attributes. Of especial interest is a list of eight localities where diamonds were found. Most of these I have succeeded in identifying with sites where diamond mines are known to have been worked. With regard to some of the localities, however, it is more than doubtful whether they ever produced diamonds.

The first Englishman who visited India appears to have been Sighelmas, Bishop of Shirburne, who was sent thither, in the year 833, by King Alfred, to visit the famous Christian Church named after St. Thomas. This Bishop, we are told, made his journey in comfort, and brought back with him "many splendid exotic gems and spices, such as that country plentifully yielded"—a fact in itself of so great importance, save that it is a link in the chain.

Somewhere between the years 1087 and 1081 Marbodius wrote a poem entitled De Lapidibus Preciosis, in which he gave expression to the then prevailing ideas as to the sources and qualities of the diamond. Far India is recognised as its native place, and the use of splinters of it for engraving upon other gems
is alluded to. Its hardness is said to yield to steeping in goat's blood—a fable already quoted from Pliny. How this idea originated it is not easy to say; possibly it may be connected with the sacrificial offerings which preceded the search for diamonds, as will be described on a future page.

In the eleventh century, according to Dr. Burnell, wealth must have abounded in Southern India, because it was then that the numerous Śāiva temples were built; and in the thirteenth century the great Vaishānva temples were erected. Regarding the famous inscription on the Tanjore temple, he has written as follows:—"The full importance in Indian history of Vira Chōpa's reign is only to be gathered from this inscription; but it contains other information also of great value. It proves, e.g., that in the eleventh century gold was the most common precious metal in India, and stupendous quantities of it are mentioned here. Silver, on the other hand, is little mentioned; and it appears that the present state of things, which is exactly the reverse, was only brought about by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. I submit that the great abundance of gold spoken of in the inscription can have arisen only from mines, and that in the terrible convulsions caused by the irruption of Moslem invaderers from the north and Europeans from the west, the position of these goldfields was lost sight of."

It has been remarked upon this, that the full significance of this statement as affecting Southern India can be understood only when taken in connection with the large areas which are known to have been worked by the natives. It seems to leave little room for doubting that the reefs and soils when first opened up were extremely rich, and that the soils as we find them now have been impoverished by repeated washings." In the year 1293, Ala'ud-dīn, afterwards Emperor of Dehli, took the city of Deogarh, but the citadel still held out. Subsequently Ala raised the siege, on receiving a ransom, the amount of which may well appear incredible, 15,000 lbs. of pure gold, 175 lbs. of pearls, 50 lbs. of diamonds, and 25,000 lbs. of silver, being enumerated among the items.

So much appears certain, that Ala'ud-dīn levied an enormous sum upon Deogarh, and that consequently it must at that time have been a very great city and rich emporium." It has been suggested that this wealth must have been acquired by working the ancient mines of Southern India.

Muḥammad bin Mansūr (thirteenth century).—The remarkable Persian work on Precious Stones by this author was translated first into German by Joseph von Hammer. The following facts are from an English version:

**Diamond.**—Seven kinds are recognised, namely, (1) white transparent; (2) the pharonic; (3) the olive-coloured, the white of which inclines to yellowish; (4) the red; (5) the green; (6) the black; (7) the fire-coloured. In spite of this elaborate classification, Muḥammad's knowledge of the habitat is very vague. He says:—"In the eastern parts of India is a deep ravine, inhabited by serpents, where diamonds are produced. Some people suppose that it is found in the yākūt mines." Here there is an obvious allusion to the diamond myth—to be described hereafter.

Corundum (Senbade), he says, quite correctly, is next in hardness to the diamond, and is of a reddish or bluish colour. The mines were situated in India, Zanzibar, Siwas, Kerma, Nubia, and Ethiopia. The best kinds were from Siwas and Nubia.

Yākūt.—Under this title are included six classes: (1) red (i.e. ruby); (2) yellow (i.e. Oriental topaz); (3) black (i.e. pleonaste); (4) white (i.e. white sapphire); (5) green (i.e. Oriental emerald); (6) blue, or smoke-colour (i.e. sapphire). Of these classes subdivisions into varieties are given. It is certainly a most remarkable fact that at so early a period the essential identity of these precious stones—a fact only comparatively recently ascertained by chemical examination—should have been known to the Persians. The hardness and other characteristics are correctly stated also by Muḥammad. The locality of the principal mines is stated to be the island of Saharan, which is sixty-two farsangs in diameter, and lies forty farsangs behind the island of Ceylon. The yākūts are found there in a high

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**Mines de l'Orient, vol. VI.**
mountain. This jumble is not easy to explain, the true locality being Ceylon itself, which is noted for its high mountains, culminating in Adam's Peak. Another locality is also mentioned, Tara, near Cairo, where mines were discovered A.D. 1270.

A stone, called by Muhammad the chamahen, should come here, if, as is stated, it is next to the diamond in hardness; but this is inconsistent with another assertion that, when rubbed on a hard stone, it colours it red. When broken, it divides into branches. The most beautiful is blackish-red; it is found in the district of Karak. But for the first statement I should be inclined to identify this as jasper.

Spinel (La’l).—Of this there are four classes, namely, the red, yellow, violet, and green. Of the red there are eight varieties. Muhammad only mentions one mine, that in Badakhshan, the capital of which, Balkh, gave origin to the term Bala. His account, which is as follows, was unfortunately not available to me when giving a précis of information regarding the locality 49:—“At the time of the caliphate of the Abbasides, a mountain at Chatlan was rent open by an earthquake, where there was found the la’l of Badakhshan, bedded in a white stone. It is very hard to polish, and it was a long time before it could be smoothed, till it was at length accomplished by means of the gold marcasite called ebrendake. Smaller stones are found in the bed round a large one, like the seeds of a pomegranate. The miners call this bed the Spinel maal. There were found in the mines first red, then yellow la’l, and it belongs to the kinds of the yagūt.” The discovery of these mines by a landalp finds a parallel in a recent discovery of sapphires in the Himalayas. 50 The white stone which formed the matrix is probably limestone. Wood, in 1837, stated that the matrix was a red sandstone or a limestone impregnated with magnesia, but he did not personally visit the mine.

Turquoise (Fīrūsah).—Obtained at Nishabar, Ghasna (? Ghazni), Irak, Kerman, Kwaresh, the first being the most valued. There is, therefore, no Indian locality; such seems to be still the case.

Talc (Sidrārah-zamin = star of the earth)—

Two kinds—one found in the air (? superficially), and the other in mines. Muhammad says—“Artificial pearls are made from it, and it does not burn or calcine with fire. If you dissolve it and rub the limbs with it, it makes them fire proof. Talc can neither be pounded in mortars nor broken to pieces with hammers. The way to dissolve it is to boil it with beans; to wrap it then in piece of linen. If dissolved talc is mixed with a little resin and saffron, and used as ink, it makes a gold ink, and, without saffron, silver ink.”

Rock Crystal (Bullār).—Of this two kinds are mentioned, one being clear, and the other dark-yellowish. The added statement that they can be melted like glass, and then coloured so as to imitate the yagūt, la’l, or emerald, is unintelligible, since rock crystal by itself is a most insubstantial substance. Perhaps what is meant is, that siliceous sand was used in the manufacture of the glass or paste of which false stones were made.

Muhammad says that at Ghasna, there were four crystal vessels, each of which could contain two skins of water. He mentions that crystals of other minerals and wood (probably crystals of tourmaline) often occurred enclosed in the bullār. Some fanciers, we are told, prefer the Arabian to the Indian variety.

Amethyst (Jemsh)—Four kinds: (1) deep rose-colour and sky-blue; (2) pale rose-colour and deep azure; (3) pale rose-colour and sky-blue. It was much esteemed by the Arabs. Muhammad does not refer to its occurrence in India, but states that it was obtained near the village of Safwa, three days' journey from Medina. Wine drunk out of a goblet made of amethyst does not intoxicate, upon which Muhammad's translator remarks:—“This opinion was also current in Europe, and the name jem or jemshid is connected with it. The Greek word amathos also means "unintoxicated," but it is originally derived from jemsh, as the jasper from yashh; hyacinth from yagūt; emerald from zumurrud; pearls (Margarita) from marvārād; turquoise from fīrūsh; lapiz-lazuli from lājvard; sardonyx from sard; talc from talq; chalk from kala.”

Emerald (Zumurrud).—Seven varieties or different shades are recognised. The mine

49 Economic Geology, p. 430.
was situated on the border of Negroland, in Egyptian territory. The matrix of the gem was tale and red earth. It seems probable that this was the source of the emeralds which went to India, and also supplied the Greeks and Romans. A soap-green emerald was also found at Hejas, in Arabia.

Owing to the fact that jade was not recognised as a distinct mineral until introduced into Europe from the New World, the older writers sometimes, on account of its hardness and transparency, spoke of it as emerald, while others applied to it the term jasper. There can be no doubt that jade is meant by the following, not jasper, as his translator has it:—

*Yashsh*, or *Nasiz.*—Five kinds: (1) white and light; (2) whitish yellow; (3) black-green; (4) transparent black; (5) dust-colour. Mūhammad adds that in China they make false *yashsh*, which is distinguished by its smoky smell, and that there are two mines in China called respectively Ak-Kash which produces light, and Kut-Kash which produces dark *yashsh*. It is found on the frontiers of Kashgar, Kerman, and Arabia.

*Kash* is the name for jade current in Eastern Turkistan, and *si* or *su* is the name by which it is known to the Chinese, who esteem it more highly than do the people of any other nation.*

**Chrysolite? (Sheberjed).**—This is said by Mūhammad to be obtained in the same mine as the emerald, of which it is a variety according to some authorities. If so, it cannot be what is now known as chrysolite, which is the transparent variety of olivine. Mūhammad mentions a number of other minerals, among them several ores. Of the magnet he says there are four kinds, namely, the iron, gold, silver, and tin, which attract these metals respectively, possibly by this it is meant to be conveyed that ores ascertainment to contain these metals exhibited magnetic properties.

The following statements, regarding the knowledge possessed by the Persians of the relative specific gravities of some precious stones, are of interest:—

"Abū Rīhan is said to have found by experiment that a miskal (= 1½ drachm) of blue *yaght* (sapphire) is equal to five dandr and a tāsh of red *yaght* (ruby), or to five dandr and two and a half tāsh of *ldi* (spinel), and that four dandr, minus a tāsh of coral, are equal in size to four dandr, minus two tāsh of onyx and crystal. The mode of discovering the size and weight is the following:—A vessel is filled with water, and the stones thrown singly into the water; the quantity of water which is expelled from the vessel by means of each stone is equal to the room it occupies."

**Marco Polo.**—A notable authority on the mineral production of India during this same thirteenth century is the famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. In reference to the diamond, he states that it was only obtained in what he designates as the kingdom of Mut-fil—in a name which has been identified by Colonel Yule with Mutupalle, a still existing port in the Guntur district of Madras. The proper name of the kingdom was Telingana, which therefore included the so-called Golconda mines of the Krishna Valley; but Marco Polo extended to it that of the town or post which he visited. It is noteworthy, as testimony of an early trade, that Marco Polo states that "those diamonds brought to Europe are, as it were, the refuse of the finer stones, which go to the Great Khan and the other kings and princes of India." He describes three methods as being followed in the search for diamonds:—

**First:** After the rains the beds of torrents from the mountains were searched; these localities were infested with venomous snakes.

**Second:** Pieces of meat were thrown down from the tops of mountains into inaccessible valleys; these pieces of meat were pounced upon and carried up to the tops of mountains by white eagles, and, when recovered, diamonds were found sticking to them. This story, made familiar to all by the travels of Sindbad the Sailor, is one of great antiquity. The earliest mention of it, according to Colonel Yule, is by St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, who, in the fourth century, wrote a treatise on the twelve jewels in the breastplate of the High Priest. The tale, as told by him, however, refers to the jacinth, not to the diamond.

A list of the authors who have alluded to

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*Economic Geology, p. 516, et seq.*
this tradition will be found in Colonel Yule's edition of Marco Polo. Its origin, as first suggested by me, I shall discuss in connexion with the account given by Nicolo Conti.

Third : This method, which may be described as a corollary of the second, consisted in searching the birds' droppings and intestines for diamonds which they had swallowed with the meat.

Marco Polo, in various parts of his book, refers to other precious stones, especially to the Balas rubies and "azure" or lapis-lazuli of Badakshan. The value of the former was kept up by a limit being imposed by the king on the out-turn. The latter, he says, occurred in a vein like silver, and was the finest in the world.

In reference to gold and silver there are several important facts recorded; among others, the enormous extent of the accumulation of gold in the treasuries of the princes of Southern India, upon which Colonel Yule remarks, after speaking of the spoil carried off by Alan'd-din, that "some years later, Muhammad Tuglak loads two hundred elephants and several thousand bullocks with the precious spoil of a single temple." And a further statement, given on the authority of Wassaf, is, that "Kales Dewar, Raja of Malabar, about the year 1309, had accumulated 1,200 crores of gold, i.e. 12,000 millions of dinars."55

Marco Polo distinctly mentions copper, gold, and silver as being imports into Malabar and Cambay from Eastern countries in his time.

Ferishta.—Our next authority is the Indian historian, Ferishta, who wrote in 1425. What he says on the subject is chiefly of importance as confirming other evidence of the great wealth possessed by the princes of Southern India in the form of stores of precious stones and bullion. It has already been partly quoted on page 238. He refers to new long-deserted diamond mines in the Central Provinces of India,57 which I have been able to identify as having been situated at Wairagarh, in the Central Provinces.

Nicolo Conti.—The last writer of what may be called the fabulous period, which closed with the fifteenth century—at least in so far as regards the diamond fable—was the Venetian, Nicolo Conti, an account of whose voyage is given by Baptista Ramusio58 in his book of Voyages and Travels, on the authority of Messer Poggio, Fiorentino. The locality where the diamonds were found was at Abnigaro, fifteen days' journey northwards from Bismagar.59 As to its identity, I am not yet quite satisfied. We are told that the mountain which produced the diamonds was inaccessible, being infested with serpents, but was commanded by another mountain somewhat higher. "Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit by means of machines which they construct for the purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and eagles flying to the spot, which seizing the meat for their food, fly away to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh." He then describes a different process, which is simply that of washing for diamonds in the beds of rivers. For as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, the diamond miners have all belonged to one or other of the non-Aryan or aboriginal tribes, who regard the mines as being the special property of the blood-thirsty goddess, Lakshmi, whose cruel nature requires much propitiation. To this day sacrificial offerings are made to her on the opening up of mines, of whatever sort, and occasionally the meat is placed on an altar-like scaffold; and in India, as a matter of course, vultures and kites, with other raptorial birds, would carry away and devour whatever portions of meat they could seize upon. Out of this custom it seems to me most probable that the tradition grew which has now attained to such a respectable antiquity. Lookers-on, unacquainted with the semi-savage rites, regard them as essential parts of the search for diamonds.

56 Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice: 1613.
57 These two names are so written in Ramusio's volume, but in a translation of the passage, published by the Hakluyt Society, they are given as Albonigara and Bisengullai.
UERTOMANNUS.—In the year 1503, Lewes Uertomannus, who is described as a Roman gentleman, travelled in Western and Southern India. The account of his travels contains some interesting particulars bearing on our present subject.⁶⁰ Of Cambaia he says (p. 381):

"In this region is also a mountain where the onyx stone, commonly called cornelia, is found, and not far from thence also another mountain where the sardonyx and diamant are found." If by diamant the diamond is meant in this passage, the fact is noteworthy, as the Ponnass of Ptolemy is probably identical with the modern Punna in this region. At the same time a doubt must be expressed as to true diamonds having been ever found there. Further on our author says, (p. 383) :—"Six miles from the city of Decan (?Bisnagar) is a mountain where diamonds are digged. It is compassed with a wall and kept with a garrison."

Uertomannus mentions that two European dealers in precious stones named respectively John Maria and Peter Antonie, resided at Calicut with the king's license. They had acquired a fair diamond of 32 carats, worth 35,000 crowns, a pearl of 24 carats, and 2,000 rubies, some of 1 carat, and some of 1½ carat. On their attempting to depart secretly with their treasures to Cannanore, they were murdered by order of the king.

Under the heading, "Of the Diamondses of the Old Myne," our author says (p. 424)—

"These diamonds are found in the first India in a kingdom of the Morres, named Decan, from whence they are brought to other regions. There are also found other diamonds which are not so good, but somewhat whyte, and are called diamonds of the new myne, which is in the kingdom of Narsinga (Lower Kishna). They of the old mine are not pollished in India, but in other places. There are made likewise in India false diamonds of rubies, topazes, and white sapphires, which appear to be fine, and are also found in the island of Zeilan (Ceylon). These stones differ in none other save that they have lost their natural colour." In another place he gives information as to the local prices of other precious stones, as rubies, spinel, sapphires, topaz, &c.

Next follow a group of authors, the accounts of whose travels are to be found in Baptista Ramusio's above-mentioned work. The first of them is Andrea Corsali, Fiorentino, whose letter, addressed to Signor Guilio de Medici, Duca di Fiorenza, is dated Cochin, 6th January, 1515; it contains only a few unimportant facts bearing upon this subject.

Another of these authors is Ludovico Barthema, whose information is almost identical with that already quoted from Lewes Uertomannus. The precise date of Barthema's work I have been unable to ascertain.

From the book of Odorado Barbosa, which refers apparently to a period about the year 1519, and to a voyage to India made by way of the Cape of Good Hope, we learn that at Bisnagar, i.e. Vijayanagar, jewels brought from Pegu and Ceylon were on sale in great abundance, as also were diamonds from Narsing. This author gives also a full account of the values, &c., of a number of precious stones, namely, rubies, spinel, diamond, sapphire, topaz, turquoise, hyacinth, and emerald, and mentions the localities where they were obtained, but these details are too voluminous for reproduction here.

GARCIA DE HORTO.—Our next authority is Garcia de Horto, a physician resident at Goa, who, in 1565, produced a work in Portuguese, containing a considerable amount of interesting and—much of it, though not all—obviously accurate information on our present subject.⁶¹ He tells us that there are two or three localities near Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) where diamonds were obtained, the industry being a considerable source of revenue to the king, as all stones above 30 mangelis (= 150 grs.?) became his property. Another mine also in the Decan produced excellent diamonds. It was situated in the lands of a native prince, near the territory of Imadiza (i.e. of Ahmad Shah). This last was probably identical with the mine at Wairagar, in the Central Provinces.

Garcia treats with scorn the old fable of the valley inhabited by serpents, and moreover points out that a Jesuit father, François de Tamara, who had repeated it, was therefore

not worthy of credence, when he stated that diamonds were to be found in Brazil. The statement is of importance when it is remembered that the first diamond mines in Brazil were not opened up till 1728, or more than 160 years later. It may be added that the version of the fable just alluded to is that one where the serpents guard the jewels, and while they are engaged eating the meat thrown to them, the diamond-seekers are enabled to pick up the stones. Garcia speaks of several large diamonds which were known to exist in his time; two weighed 140 and 120 mangilis respectively (i.e. 700 and 600 grs.) Far exceeding these in size was one which he had heard of from a native who had seen it; it was said to be equal in size to a fowl's egg; it weighed 250 mangilis, or 1,250 grs. This was, according to Tavernier, who wrote a century later, the form of the Great Moghul diamond when originally found. So that it seems quite possible that this casual notice by Garcia is the earliest mention of that famous stone.

Even in the time of Garcia it would seem that the tailings from earlier washings were sometimes reworked with good results. He states that Lispor, in the Decan, was a principal mart for the sale. (Can this have been Vizapar or Bijapur?)

The geographical limits of Balaghāt—a name used not only by Garcia, but also by some other writers—it would, probably, be impossible to closely define now. The name is still conserved as that of a particular district, but in early times it seems to have been applied to all the region in Southern India above the Ghāts, which was sometimes also called the Carnata, a name now, however, restricted to a district below the Ghāts.

With reference to other precious stones, Garcia states that a false smaragdas (emerald) was made of glass in Balaghāt and Binaugar. He distinguishes four varieties of ruby, as the true, carbuncle, balas, and spinel. Of sapphires he says two kinds were found in Calicutt, Cannanore, and several places in Binaugar. We have no knowledge of true sapphires ever having been obtained in these districts. Both hyacinth and garnet were found in Calicutt and Cannanore, the latter being distributed throughout the whole of Cambay and Balaghāt. Beryl was found in Cambay, Martaban, and Pegu, also in Ceylon; glasses and vases were made from it.

Garcia states that the Murrine cup was made of jasper; more correctly, perhaps, it was made of carnelian, as suggested on a previous page.

Cesar Frederick.—About the year 1567, a traveller named Cesar Frederick visited Western and Southern India. In a translation from his original account we find the following passage:—"The rubies, saphryes, and the spinels be gotten in the kingdom of Pegu. The diamants come from divers places, and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of diamants that is called chippes cometh from Bezeneger. Those that be naturally pointed come from the land of Delly and Iawa (by which we must understand Borneo), but the diamants of Iawa are more weightie than the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called balassi come,". The signification of chippes is uncertain. The naturally-pointed stones probably come from Chintia Nagpur, or Konkhor, as it was then called, since Tavernier describes the stones from that region as being of this character, and it is believed that they were taken to Dehli. The term "balas" was applied to the spinel rubies from Badakshan. Possibly, it may have been used for those diamonds which had a roseate tinge.

On another page Frederick says:—"Also, five days' journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get diamants. I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deep or how low they shall digge. Those diamants that are of a certain size, and bigger then that size, are all kept for the king. It is many years agoe since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdom."

Fitch and Newberry.—The famous traveller, Ralph Fitch, and his companion, Newberry, have left on record an account of their journeys in India, which refers to the years about 1583. In reference to precious stones, the

-- A translation of the account of his travels is given in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. II, 1599, p. 213.

following are the most important passages:—
Belleragon, the modern Belgaum, was said to
be “a great market of diamonds, rubies, sappi-
phires, and many other soft (i.e. precious)
stones.” We are told that a jeweller named
William Leades, who was one of their party,
remained behind them in the service of the
King of Cambay.

The next passage explains the use of the
name Iawa, or Java, by Caesar Frederick,
and others:—“Laban (i.e. Borneo, the name
being retained in Labuan) is an island among
the Iawas, from whence come the diamonds
of the new water, and they find them in the
rivers, for the king will not suffer them to
digge the rock.”

Speaking of Patanaw (Patna) on the Ganges,
below Banarés, it is said:—“Here at Patanaw
they find gold in this manner. They digge
deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth
in great bolles, and therein they find the
gold, and they make the pits round about
with brick, that the earth fall not in.” I can-
not but think that there is a mistake here, due
to an account of gold-washing in the country
to the south having been mixed up with a
description of the method of sinking ordinary
irrigation-wells in the neighbourhood of Patna.
It is not likely that gold was ever found in
sufficient quantity in the Gangetic alluvium,
near Patna, to repay the cost of searching for it.

**Abu’l Fazl.—** Here we may turn aside again
from European authorities to an Oriental
writer, who, being a Muhammedan like the
already quoted Ferishta, presents us with much
more useful and matter-of-fact statements than
are to be found in any works by Hindus.
Abu’l Fazl, the author of the *Atiq-i-Abhari,*
written in 1590, refers to the occurrence of
and working for several minerals, especially
diamonds, gold, and iron. The diamond mines
at Beiragarh, in Gondwana, which he mentions
as having been taken possession of by the
ruler of Kullem, or Chanda, were probably the
same as those already mentioned by Ferishta.
In any case, it is certain that Beiragarh may
be identified with the modern Wairagarh in
the Central Provinces, where traces of the
mines are still to be seen.

Gold was obtained, he says, in certain
streams in Kashmir by pegging down, under
water, the hairy skins of animals, which
served to arrest the auriferous dust in its
descent with the current. Long ago it was
suggested that such skins were the origin of
the idea of the skins of the gold-digging
ants, mentioned by Nearuchos and others, but
the explanation given on a previous page is the
more probable one. He alludes to the “steel”
mines at Nirmal, which can be identified with
a locality in Haidarabadh, where a high quality
of steel was prepared, most of which found its
way to Persia, for manufacture into the Damascens
swords, to which reference has already been
made.

The enormous salt deposits of the Panjâb
are noticed by Abu’l Fazl; and here may
be quoted a passage from Strabo, which
should have appeared on a previous page:—
“It is said that in the territory of Sopeithes
there is a mountain composed of fossil salt
sufficient for the whole of India. Valuable
mines also both of gold and silver are situated,
it is said, not far off, among other mountains,
according to the testimony of Gorgus, the
miner of Alexandria.” Since this salt crops
out at the surface, and in Kohat especially,
can be easily quarried, it is only natural that
it should have attracted attention in the very
earliest times.

**Goze.—** Recently I came upon a work, dated
1602, and entitled *Travels of Benedict Goze
from Lahore, in the Mogul’s Empire, to China,*
in 1602, which contains perhaps the earliest
account, by a European author, of the produc-
tion of jade in Kashgar. He says:—“The
commodity best for carrying from Hirakan
(i.e. Yarkand) to Katay (China) is a certain
shining marble, which, for want of a fitter
name, Europeans call jasper. The King of
Katay buys it at a great price, and what he
leaves the merchants sell to others at exceed-
ing great rates. Of it they make vessels,
ornaments for garments and girdles, with
other toys, whereon they engrave leaves, flow-
ers, and other figures. The Chinese call it
*tuache.* There are two kinds—one more
precious, like thick flints, which are found in

**B. xv, chap. i, s. 80.
*New General Collection of Voyages and Travels.
**In the original, Twace—a mistake, no doubt, for "Tu-

sha."
the river Kotan, not far from the city royal;" the other meander sort is dug out of quarries and sawed into slabs about two ells in breadth. The hill where they are dug, called Kosanghi Kasbo, or the stony mountain, is twenty stages from the same mountain. This marble is so hard that they must soften it with fire to get it out of the quarry. The king farms it every year to some merchant, who carries provisions for the workmen for that space of time."

Goez mentions (p. 647), that besides this jasper (i.e. jade), "diamonds of the rock," and azurite (i.e. lapis-lazuli) were carried as presents by ambassadors from the West to the Emperor of China.

As stated in my Economic Geology (p. 517), the mines of Kotan are mentioned by Chinese authors who wrote 2000 years ago; and the system of dredging the rivers of that region for jade is known to have been in practice for many centuries. Other mines are situated at Karaka, in the Kneelun range. These have been visited and described by several Europeans of late years.

Recently a rather general acceptance has been given to the view advocated at great length by Fischer, that the discovery of jade implements in Swiss lake dwellings is testimony of a pre-historic immigration of Asiatic tribes into Europe, as there is said to be now no known source of the material in Europe. This view has been, I understand, lately contested by Dr. Meyer, of Dresden, but I have not yet seen his work on the subject.

In the year 1609, De Boot published his famous work on precious stones. This, however, being merely a compilation as regards the information given about India, there is nothing in it which is not contained in the already quoted authors. It may also be added here, that the edition of De Boot's work, published by De Laet in 1647, only adds to his account facts derived from Methold.

JAMANGIR.—In the Turuk-i-Jahangiri (1616), an account is given of diamond mines in the Chutia Nagpur, province of Bengal, which I have shown to be identical with the Soumel.

poured, visited and described by Tavernier, as will be mentioned on a future page. There is no local tradition as to the precise site of these mines, which, therefore, remain to be rediscovered; but the search was certainly conducted in the bed of the Koel river.

METHOLD.—Our next authority is an English traveller named William Methold, whose account of a visit to the diamond mines, made by himself and others, is entitled Of the south-eastern parts, viz., Golchond, and other adjacent Kingdoms within the Bay of Bengal. The visit appears to have been made between the years 1622 and 1626, the latter being the date of the publication.

The mines were situated 108 English miles from Musulipatam; they had only recently been discovered by the chance finding of a valuable stone by a goat-herd; when seen by Methold they gave occupation, according to native report, to 30,000 persons, a large proportion of whom were engaged in baling out the mines by hand—a tedious operation still practised in some parts of India. The mines were furred out by the king for a sum of 300,000 pagodas, but he reserved to himself all stones of above 10 carats weight. In 1622 the mines were temporarily closed, owing to an ambassador from the Great Moghul having demanded a tribute of 3 lbs. weight of the finest diamonds. The locality was situated on the Krishnâ river, and was probably identical with the Gani or Conour of Tavernier, the exact position of which has only recently been satisfactorily fixed as being identical with the modern Kollur.

LORD.—In the year 1630, a clergyman named Henry Lord, who was attached to the English establishment in Western India, published a curious pamphlet, entitled The Discovery of the Banian religion. In it he gives an account of the Banians' ideas as to the first discovery of diamonds. It is attributed by them to the first progenitor of the Sûdras, or lowest caste of Hindus. Now the diamond miners throughout India, with rare exceptions, so far as I have been able to ascertain, still belong, and have forms, called naifes in India, as contrasted with "diamonds of the new mine," which were rounded pebbles.

* * *

* Translated by Blochmann, Jour. As. Soc., Bengal, vol. XL, p. 113.

always belonged, either to the Śūdras or the aboriginal tribes, with whom they are much mixed up. This fact I hold to be of much importance in connexion with the explanation which I have offered of the origin of the diamond mining fable in connexion with the accounts of it given by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti.

Tavernier (1665-1669).—In the accounts of his several journeys in India, Tavernier has given us a considerable amount of information, the value of which is, however, affected by the fact that these accounts contain a number of internal inconsistencies which it is impossible to reconcile with one another.

Diamonds.—Upon this subject the old jeweller naturally discourses at length.\(^\text{11}\) I shall only here mention that the diamond mines at Raolconda, Gani or Coulour, and Soumelpour have been identified by me\(^\text{12}\) with the modern localities, Rāmulkōṭa, Kolur, and a spot on the Koyil river in the district of Palaman in Bengal. Another locality which he mentions, namely, Gandiotta, has also been identified. If Tavernier’s statements regarding the discovery and cutting of the Great Moghul diamond are to be relied upon, then that stone must have been distinct from the koh-i-nur. When writing of their probable identity, I overlooked the independent evidence which exists as to the koh-i-nur having been in the possession of the Moghul emperors long previous to the time when, according to Tavernier, they acquired the Great Moghul.

Gold.—In reference to this metal Tavernier says:—“Towards the Tibet, which is the ancient Caucasus, in the territories of a Raja beyond the kingdom of Cashemir, there are three mountains close by one another, one of which produces excellent gold. . . . .”

“Here is gold also comes from the kingdom of Tipra (Tiperā on the borders of Asam); but it is coarse, almost as bad as that of China.”

If gold washing or mining was carried on in any part of Peninsular India at the time of his visits, it is certainly remarkable that he should have been unaware of it, especially as he had heard of its being worked for in Tibet and Tiperā. Still I cannot but suppose that there were washings in some remote regions of which he knew nothing.

Silver and Tin.—As for silver mines (he writes), there are none in all Asia, but only in Japan; but some years since at Delegora, Sañgora, Bordelon, and Bata (localities in the Malayan countries), have been discovered plentiful mines of tin, to the great damage of the English, there being now enough in Asia of their own besides (sic in English translation). The statement about silver is inconsistent with another made subsequently, that in Assam there were mines of both gold and silver.

Rubies, Sapphires, &c.—What Tavernier says on the subject of these stones shows that he was unaware of the existence of any source for them in Peninsular India. He says that they occur in only two places in all the east, and then forthwith mentions three. “The first is a mountain, twelve days’ journey, or thereabouts, from Siren (i.e. Siriam), toward the north-east, the name whereof is Capan. In this mine are found great quantities of rubies and espinels, or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphires, jacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours. . . . .” “The natives of the country call all coloured stones rubies, and distinguish them only by the colour; sapphires they call blue rubies; amethysts, violet rubies; topazes, yellow rubies; and so of other stones.” The ruby mines are described in the Economic Geology of India, p. 427. They are situated about seventy miles north-east of Mandalay, the capital of Ava. “The other place where rubies are found is a river in the island of Ceylon. . . . The people make it their business to search among the sands for rubies, sapphires, and topazes. All the stones that are found in this river are generally fairer and clearer than those of Pegu.” “Some rubies, but more Ballei’s rubies, and an abundance of bastard rubies, sapphires, and topazes, are found in the mountains that run along from Pegu to the kingdom of Cambaya.”

Whether by Cambaya Tavernier meant Cambodia, beyond Siam, is uncertain; but he can scarcely have meant Cambay. He says that it is an error to suppose that emeralds are found in the East. Those exported from the Philippines to Europe were first brought thither by Spaniards from Peru.

\(^\text{11}\) Proceedings, R. Soc. Dub., for 1880.
\(^\text{12}\) Economic Geology of India.
In the above-quoted paragraph on gold in the region beyond Cashemir, the other two mountains he mentions produced "granats" (i.e. garnets), and "azure" (i.e. lapis-lazuli), respectively. This reference is, doubtless, to well-known mines of the spinel or Balas ruby, and lapis-lazuli, which are situated in Badakshān. In 1673, a work was published on Asia by John Ogilby, which, as giving an epitome of the knowledge possessed in England of the mineral resources of India at that time, is not without interest. But some of the statements are not founded on fact. Thus, he says (p. 105) : "The Ganges is supposed to abound with gold and pearls, and from its bottom are fetched all manner of precious stones, on some of which are represented the shapes of beasts, plants, and other things." And again : "The kingdoms of Golconda and Decan afford the inhabitants excellent diamonds. India also produces topazes, beris, rubies (which the Arabians call yagul), hyacinths, granats, arsagas, chrysolites, amethysts, agats, Bezoar stones, and borax. Some places yield gold and silver and all manner of other metals."

Many of these minerals, it is believed, do not occur in India proper, and the term therefore is probably used in a very extended sense, and hence misconception has arisen no doubt. On page 157 he makes a remarkable statement, which might be used in support of the view contested in an early part of this Paper, namely, that India received all her gold from abroad. He says "Hindostan (by which, perhaps, only the realm of the great Moghul is meant) possesses great quantities of gold and silver; but all is brought thither by strangers, never returning out again, for they melt down the European or foreign coins, and recou them with the Moghul's stamp."

In a map, published by Wells in 1700, the positions of the diamond mines of Coulour and Raolconda are given with much greater accuracy than is the case in Rennell's map, published at the close of the eighteenth century. I was, however, confirmed in my conclusion as to the identification of the former by a manuscript map by Col. Colin MacKenzie, dated 1798, which is preserved in Calcutta.

In the maps of both Ogilby and Wells, Narsinga, a place often mentioned in the early accounts, is indicated as being situated to the east of Bissnagar (i.e. Vijayanagar).

Hamilton.—Captain Hamilton, who traded in the East Indies between the years 1688 and 1728, is our next authority. He informs us that iron was made into anchors at Balasore, apparently by European methods; if so, this was the first manufactory of that kind in India of which there is any record. He quotes a curious story as to mercury having been brought to Achen in Sumatra from the Andaman Islands by a native, who, having been held for some time as a slave, was allowed to visit his country on several occasions, and after each returned with some mercury which, he stated, was obtainable there (i.e. probably in the Little Andaman). This statement, together with a consideration of the geological structure, has led me to suggest the possibility of a future discovery of the metal in the islands of the Andaman group. In age and in character there appear to be several points of resemblance between some of the Andaman rocks and those which contain the valuable mercury mines of California.

"The diamond mines, being but a week's journey from Fort St. George, make them pretty plentiful there; but few great stones are now brought to market there, since that great diamond which Governor Pitt sent to England. How he purchased it, Mr. Glover, by whose means it was brought to the governor, could give the best account, for he declared to me that he lost 3,000 pagodas by introducing the seller to Mr. Pitt, having left so much money in Arcat as security, that if the stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the owner should have free liberty to carry it where he pleased for a market; but neither the owner nor Mr. Glover were pleased with the governor's transactions in that affair."

"Some customs and laws at the mines are: when a person goes thither on that affair he chooses a piece of ground, and acquaints one of the king's officers, who stay there for that service, that he wants many covets of ground to dig in; but whether they agree for
so much, or if the price be certain, I know not. However, when the money is paid
the space of ground is inclosed, and some sentinels placed round it. The king challenges all
stones that are found above a certain weight—
I think it is about 60 grains; and if any
stones be carried clandestinely away above the
stipulated weight, the person guilty of the
theft is punished with death. Some are for-
tunate, and get estates by digging, while
others lose both their money and labour."

The remaining two authorities among those
Europeans who personally visited the mines
they describe were, Mustapha," a Turk, who
traversed the diamond-bearing region of
Chutia Nagpur in 1758, and Motte, who
was deputed by Lord Clive in 1766 to purchase
diamonds at Sambhalpur, on the Mahnadi.
The facts they record are chiefly of interest as
proving the existence of the industry at those periods, and need not be further dwelt upon
here.

In recapitulation of the conclusions which I
have been led to as the result of this analysis of
the facts recorded by the above-quoted writers,
the following may be enumerated:—

_first_. The great antiquity of the knowledge
possessed by the natives of India with reference
to certain metallurgical processes, is, I think,
fairly established. The most notable of these is, undoubtedly, that by which woots or cast
steel was manufactured. Probably the method
of refining gold which is mentioned in the Ains-
tiwordi is also very old; but we have no
earlier record of it. I question the accuracy of
a statement made by Strabo, or at least its
applicability, even in his time, to the whole of
India, where he says: "The Indians, unac-
quainted with mining and smelting, are
ignorant of their own wealth."

-second_. Many ancient, long-forgotten mines,
the names of which, only, have survived in
more or less archaic garb, have, by the
methods here adopted, been identified with
modern sites. In most of these cases geologi-
cal evidence has established these conclusions,
and in some instances they have been further
ratified by local traditions acquired as the
result of personal inquiries.

-third_. Several fables of world-wide noto-
riety have been shown to have had their origin
_in facts_ connected with customs which were
formerly little understood, but, being still in
practice, are now susceptible of close exami-
nation and explanation.

Speaking generally, I venture to believe that
I have in this Paper placed within the reach
of historians a number of facts that serve to
elucidate several subjects hitherto manifestly
puzzling to those unacquainted with the results
which have been arrived at by the systematic
examination of the Geology of India.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 215.)

No. CXLIX.

The original plates, from which the present
inscription is edited, belonged to Sir Walter
Elliot, K.C.S.I., and have been presented by
him to the British Museum. I have no infor-
mation as to where they were found. They are
three in number, each about 8' long by 3'6" broad.
The edges of them are raised into high rims;
and the inscription is in a state of excellent
preservation throughout. The ring, on which
the plates are strung, is about 4" thick and 4' in
diameter; it had not been cut when the
grant came into my hands. The seal on the
ring is circular, about 3'4" in diameter. It has,
in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top,
the sun and moon, and an elephant-goad;
across the centre, the legend Śrī-Trībhuvan[dr-]ā-
skauṣā; below this, a standing boar, facing to
the proper right; and, at the bottom, a floral
device. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This is an Eastern Čāluṣya inscription,
not specifically dated, of the time of Amma
II., also called Vijayāditya and Rāja-Mahēndra.

And it records the grant of a field at the village
of Guṇḍugolānu, in the vishaya of
Veṅgi or Veṅghāṅḍa,1 to a Brāhmaṇ named
Vamanaśarmā, of the Bhāradvāja gōra, an
inhabitant of the village of Kaḷḷaṁu. The
grant was made by Amma II. at the request of
his wife's parents, Kāma and Nāyāmām bā.

1 Nāḍu is an Old-Canarese or Telugu word, of which
the modern form is ṣāḍu, meaning just the same as the
Sanskrit vishaya.
Text.

First plate.

Öm Svasti Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṃsthūyamāna-Mānava-sagotrā-pāṁ Hārīti-putrāḥ Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdhā-rājyāṁ-mātrī-gaṇa-pa-

ripiśātanāṁ Svāmi-Mahāśeśa-pād-ānudhyātanāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-pra-

sādā-samāsātītea-vara-vara-lāmehcha(chha)ṁ-ekhaṣa-kaṣa-vaśkṣīt-ārāti-maṇḍa-

lāṅkāma-svāmēdh-āvabhrītatha(tha)-suṇa-pavītṛ(prī)kṛita-vapūshāṁ Chalukyaṁ-kulam-a-

laṁkārīśvē-Śatāśraya-Vallabhēndrasya bhṛtā Kūbja-Viśṇuvarddhanān-śhādāśā var-

shānā[9][10]

Tad-ātmajō Jayaśiṁhas-trayas-triśūtattāṁ Tad-anuṣ-Endra-rāja-nandanō Viśṇuvar-

ddha-

nō nava (]]) Tat-sūn[r*]u=Māṅgī[ṛ]-yuvarājaḥ paṁcha-viśūtati[ṛ*]] Tat-putrō Jayaśiṁha.

Second plate; first side.

strayōdaśa (]]) Tad-avarājaḥ Kokkili[h*] nāṇa-māṣān (]]) Tasya jyēṣṭhō bhṛtā Viśṇuvarddhanam-
tam-u-

chhāṭya sapta-triśūtattā Tad-putrō Vijayaśiṁha-bhaṭṭarāko-śhādāśā (]]) Tat-

sūtō Viśṇu-

varddhanāh shāt-triśūtattā (]]) Tat-sūtō Viśṇuvarddhanī-varāṇāmtrigirajās-sāshtā-chatrā-

riśūtattā (][][*]

Tat-sūtō Kali-Viśṇuvarddhanō-dhy-ardda-varsham (]]) Tat-sūtō Guṇaga-Viśṇu-

tyiśa-chha-

tuś-chatrāriśūtattā (]]) Tad-bhrātṛ-varuvarājasya Vikramaśītā-bhūbhūha[j*] nandana-

śaṁśa[śa]-Kandaṛpa[h*] triśūtād-Varshāṇi Bhī(ḥh)[mm]-rāṭ (]]) Tat-tanaya[h*] shān-

māṇa Kollabī̄gaṇā-śhākṣara[h*] (]]) (]

Tad-agrā-nandanō-ṁbārāja-sapta Varshāṇi (]]) Tad-agrā-sūn[r*]r-bālō Viṣṇuvar-

ā[ṛ]*) pakhaṁ-

ekam (]])[*]

Tam-ākramya kārāgārō nidā(ḥh)a Chālukyaḥ-Bhīma[ṛ]-piṭīrvyām(vyō) Yuddhamall-

ātmajas-Tāla-nṛpē[ṛ]p)

māsam[ṛ*]kam (]])[*] Tad-anu Vikramaśītās-saṁvatsaraṁ (]]) Kollabīgaṇā-ṭanūjō 

Bhī(ḥh)maḥ Kā-

Second plate; second side.

rayiḷādāta-nām-tat dhādaṁ Varshāḥ[n*] Voṅgī[ṛ]-nāthō dāyāda-varī-ṭimīrām-

apāya (]])[*]

Tasya Lōkamahādaśāṁ[m] Amma-rāja-sūtō-sanī i viṃkramā-Amrjunō dharmē Dharmma-rā-

ja iśva[h*] (]]) Sa sāmasābhumānāraya-Śrī-Viśṇuvarddhanā-tāmārādībhrāja-paramēś-

ṛa[h*] rama-bhṛtārākṣaṁ prama-bhrāmaṇāḥ Veṅgī-ṇaṅgī-ṉīwaṁ rāṭrā-

(shtra)ku(kū)ta-pramukhān-ku-

ṭuṁbina ītham-śi[j*]payati (]]) Satyasya janaṁ-bhūṁīs-saj-jana-vaṁśīvatā-sarō-va-

thā[ḥ*] m(ḥ) viṃkrama-guṇ-aika-ḥāma nṛpa-Kāmāḥ pūjit-Ēśa-pada-kamalāṁ (]]) Ru(rū)-

pa-lāvān[ṛ*]na-

sa[ṃ]*]bhūga-satyā-dharmma-parāyāṇ Nāyamā[m*] bāṁgaṇā tasya sarōruḥa-dal-

ēkhaṇad (]])[*]

Ṭabhynā[m*]aṁśadīlyya(ya)-śvasu(śu)ra-śvasru(śrū)byā[m*] prāṛtvya(rṛṭhya)mānair-

amābhī[h*]

Kallūrur-ṛgaṁ[ṛ*]māṇvāya-

Bhārata[v*] jagaṇa-Viśāasanēya-V[ṛ*]manaḥbhaṭṭa-pantrāya. Śivvanbhaṭṭa-pratryā Va-

manāṁā

From the original plates.

2 This sentence is incomplete. The words Veṅgī-
dōtam-agaślaya require to be supplied.
3 This answer is a mistake.
4 This letter, su, was at first omitted and then insert-
ed below the line.
5 This letter, su, was at first omitted and then inserted, in rather a cramped manner, between the bh and the pr.
6 This answer is a mistake.
7 This answer, again, is a mistake.
8 This letter, ma, was at first omitted and then insert-
ed below the line.
9 This letter, sa, was at first omitted and then insert-
ed below the line.
TWO SANSKRIT INScriptions IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY Dr. O. BÜHLER, C.I.E., VIENNA.

The following two short inscriptions are in the cellars of the British Museum and were copied by the editor in 1881.

No. 1.

Transcript.

(1) ओ नमः। शिवाय। सोमः। सोमविहितापरस्तर:। सत्तुपये
(2) यो हृक्ष:। || सौम्य:। सामसूर्यसंसारीम्य:। सोमावशितसा
(3) मोहि:। || कैलासं कलाकाशिलासबु:। देव:। देवादितिष्ट:।
(4) लोकास्मभुलघु:। मन:। भावितका मंडित:। || गोरि
(5) गोमनिरो:। गंगापौर्य:। यशो:। || तिदेन:। सिद्धव:
(6) के:। शुभ:निधिपल्ल:। च। लोकापि:। || विशापादलिप्यना
(7) दिविलोकनिवार्ष:। साहर:। पुष्प:। य:। सत्त:। सामावित:।
(8) एक:। सोमास्तु:। अकामादधूँ कलापि:। सिद्ध:। सोनितका
(9) दीप:। सोम:। अकामादधूँ कलापि:। सिद्ध:। सोनितका
(10) रज्जन:। प्रतिकः। क्रमसमित:। यु:। अकामादधू:। नसंगद:।
(11) कुलजः। भूयोगच:। यम:। || तद:। तुमाबित:। मन:। सांस्कर:

Notes:

13 This letter, š, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
14 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, and was probably engraved by mistake for the omitted एवः.
15 First श was engraved here, and then it was corrected into श.
16 This anuvāra is a mistake.
17 Some correction or other is required here. Probably we should read rakaḥाक्ष:। युः। उरू-हस्त:। उभाय:।
18 This mark of punctuation seems to be unnecessary.
19 This letter, क, is very faint, and was perhaps intended to be cancelled.
20 This anuvāra is a mistake.
21 Correct into Dattāra:।
22 Correct into nāmas:।
23 Line 1, read [शिवाय]। L. 3, read वृह:। L. 4, read भावितका।। L. 5, read शिवाय। L. 8, read मुखार्द:।
Translation.

Om! Adoration to Śiśa!

1. May that Bhava, who, united with Umā (somaj) is praised by gentle Brāhmaṇas, the Soma-worshipping singers of Sāmanas, whose lips are sanctified by (draughts of) Soma-juice, and who are pure through their connexion with numerous Sāmanas—he who (is) lauded by the gods, the Daityas and the rest on Kaśyapa that abounds in flocks of sweet-voiced koilas—he whose body carries the moon-nectar and who grants devotion, protect all beings existing on earth.

2. May he afford protection who (himself) an ascetic and a treasure of great happiness, must constantly be worshipped devoutly with the flowers of abstract meditation, rendered brilliant through attachment (to him), by the best of ascetics, by the crowds of Gaṇas on the mountain, by the Yākshas in their home, by the Siddhas, whose strength consists in supernatural power, and by kings in (this) world, (and) by the Viḍyādharas whose might is derived from anointing the feet of (the goddess of) Learning and similar services rendered to her.

3. Vakulaśa, who even in (this) Kali (yuga) when ministers and princes are disregarded, and when (all) creatures are destitute of purity, (is) wise, truthful, a mine of good qualities, endowed with modesty, liberal, patient (of austerities), versed in (the doctrines) of Yoga, a hero against cruel men; gradually abandoned his family that possessed prosperity and spiritual merit and his riches, and turned to the practice of the famous Yoga (Śāstra).

4. With perfect devotion he built, in order to ward off misfortunes, this temple of Sambhu with beautiful and brilliant most excellent stones, where Śambhu-Jharaśvara, the giver of welfare, dwells together with the Gaṇas. All places of pilgrimage, even famous Pushkaras and the rest, are certainly concentrated in this (building).

5. If men in this world worship him (Śiva), after merely visiting this (temple), by conversations (regarding him), by lauding his name and so forth, by becoming united with or attached to (him), they will be freed from all guilt that causes dreadful dangers and be filled with spiritual merit. Sīnuvaṭ 783 on the fifth day (5) of the bright half of the month Chaitra the completion (?).

No. 2.

In the beginning of No. 2 three stanzas and a half in the Sārulavikṛtīśita metre have been lost; the last two Pādas of the fourth are readable in part only. Two letters of the first Pāda of stanza 4 are visible above the line which I have marked as the first in the transcript. The words which I have translated by 'ceased to be restored,' sughātitaḥ achāka radashīkrītmar mean literally 'caused to be made well fitted and high.'

The person who restored this temple of Śiva is the same who built the Devālayas, referred to in No. 1. The date 781 I take to be equivalent to 725 A.D., as the alphabet evidently belongs to the 8th century of our era.

Transcript.

(1) ——— या विनाशीर्दिश्यति ——— शूष्किति किरात[५] ———

(2) [——.]: प्रतितमन् शुद्धि याति समिकालप्रति या वेगिता न संभु]

L. 12, read शूष्क्यरो. L. 13, read संगमि. L. 13, read आया. L. 17, read प्रक्षिप्ययो; शमति.

1 Metre of the five verses, Śārulavikṛtīśita in honour of Śiva. A great many passages can be taken, and, no doubt, are intended to be taken in two or three ways. But the wretched composition is not worthy of a detailed explanation, as it yields not a single historical fact beyond what is plain already. The figures of the date closely resemble the Telugu numerals, except in the case of 5, which has clearly the older form na. The era is probably that of Vikrama, and the date equal to 726 A.D. The character of the alphabet which palaeographically is very interesting, points to this conclusion. I am not certain about the meaning of the last word naḥśam which I have translated conjecturally by ' completion.'
Translation.

4. obtain a purification of the heart which gives as its fruit the gain of final liberation (and) which (is highly esteemed by) Yogins; and in whose presence lions, tigers, hyenas, elephants, monkeys and even herds of deer, abandoning ... fearlessly roam.

5. A virtuous ascetic, called Vakula, who is assiduous in the worship of Isā, whose heart is filled with compassion for others, who is patient (of austerities) and desirous of emerging from the whole ocean of transmigration caused to be restored, with money obtained in a righteous manner, a temple of that Siddhāsvara, which owing to the length of time had become a ruin.

6. Devananda, who gladdens the learned, has composed (the above) five verses for divine Siddhāsvara who is worthy of adoration. Saṃvat 781, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Kārtika, the completion (?) Śrī, O(ū).
This is what the Ayyaṅgārs tell of the origin of their religion. Let us examine it. Notice the indecency attributed to the Saṅkarachārya in referring to the student to the buttocks of the monkey for a better comparison with the redness of Vishṇu’s face. Saṅkarachārya as an Advaiti had equal regard to Śiva and Vishṇu, and would not be guilty of the indecent comparison here attributed to him. And to say that he stopped to being rubbed with oil is next to nonsense. That a man like him, who had renounced the pleasures of the world, should take an oil bath is to a Hindū incredible.

In the Śmartas relation of the story, the former part is almost the same. At that time, i.e. in the middle of the 12th century, Buddhism and Jainism had made great inroads. People, not knowing what religion was, left one sect for another; the then Saṅkarachāryas used to go into the country and preach the Advaita doctrines which they professed. The mathams were resorted to by people to have their religious difficulties cleared up; so the Saṅkarachāryas, when absent, appointed some intelligent disciple in their stead. In accordance with this custom the Kāśchī Āchārya on one occasion appointed Rāmānuja to officiate for him. An opinion spread among the people that the real Saṅkarachāryas knew nothing, and that they owed their fame to their intelligent students. When this opinion reached the Kāśchī Āchārya he returned to his matham, dismissed Rāmānuja to his studies, and himself ruled over the sect.

Rāmānuja, having already tasted the sweets of power, ambition now burnt in his heart to start a new religion. He left the matham, went to the modern Vishṇu-Kāśchī, and there proclaimed that faith was supreme, and Vishṇu, the protector, alone was the real deity. On this he built up his Vaishnavism, and made known that he would freely accept converts into his religion without distinction of caste and receive them as Brāhmaṇas.

In all times people of other castes have looked up to Brāhmaṇism with jealousy, and when Rāmānuja proclaimed that he would accept men of the lower castes to an equality with Brāhmaṇa, people flocked to him.

Rāmānuja would speak to his followers about the necessity of the Vēdas to Brāhmaṇas, and ask them to study them, and himself would repeat portions of them to his disciples. As the majority of these could have no knowledge of Sanskrit, they would be at a loss when they heard him repeating portions of the Vēdas. The difficulties of pronunciation, the peculiarities of tone, would confuse the minds of the new members. "Our Āchārya, instead of asking us to get by heart the Vēdas, might as well ask us to fly in the air" one would say to another, and would be ready to fall back on their old religion rather than undergo the painful task of getting the Vēdas by heart. Rāmānuja would see the difficulty, and to carry out successfully his aim, the idea would at once occur to him to use the Tamil stanzas containing simple and lovely descriptions of Vishṇu, and so retain on his side the dissatisfied convert. He ordered some of the most eminent among them to sing the praises of Vishṇu in Tamil. Then it was that the Tiruvāyumolī of the Śrīvaishṇavas, the sacred book of the whole sect for three centuries, and of the Teṅkalai Ayyaṅgārs even to the present day, was formed. Some of the gifted men engaged in this work wereParaṁyas and Chaklers. When the book was finished, Rāmānuja said to his followers:—

"Let this be your Vēda: let this be more honoured by you than the Vēdas are by the Brāhmaṇa." From that day the Tiruvāyumolī was so respected by the whole sect and continued to be so till the time of Vēdāntasādāsika, who, perceiving the great defect of Vaishnavism, threw the Tiruvāyumolī into the background, and restored the Vēdas as the religious book of the Vaishnavas also, and started the new sect of the Vaṭakalais, who have as much faith in the Vēdas as other Brāhmaṇas. This, then, is the origin of the Tiruvāyumolī.

The next peculiarity of the Śrīvaishṇavas is the wearing of the laṅgōṭi (Sansk. kaupīna) throughout life, while the other Brāhmaṇa give it up after reaching their Grihäuserasa. While all the common Śmrítis deny the laṅgōṭi to a Grihastra, why should the Vaishnavas alone wear it? The sect originated from the dregs of the population, whose only dress was their laṅgō-

ti. They could not do without it. They laboured all day in the fields with their loin-cloth on. And when Rāmānuja talked to them about the Pañchakachchha of the Brāhmaṇa, and when they tried to wear their clothes in that fashion they would find themselves in an awkward con-
dition without it. An old habit is difficult to give up. They would cling to the laṅghaṁ, and Rāmānuja would allow the demand to his new adherents, and make it a rule that every Vaishnava from that day forward should wear the laṅghaṁ in addition to his Brāhmaṇik dress, and thus the laṅghaṁ remains a mark distinguishing the Vaishnavas from other Brāhmaṇas.

In times of joy and sorrow, at festivals and on sacred days, Brāhmaṇas eat in companies. The Viṣṇukalai Ayyaṅgār of modern days have of late introduced among themselves the custom of eating in company, a pleasure long denied to them by their forefathers, and not enjoyed even to this day by the Teṅkalai Vaishnavaśas. Indeed, in some families of the latter, the son and father do not sit in company at meals, a practice most repulsive to nature. The incongruity does not stop here. Suppose an old Teṅkalai Vaishnava Brahmāṇa who knows all the four Viṣṇas and does not know a single prabandha or verse of the Tiruvāyumolī; he is no Brahmāṇa in the eyes of his caste people; but the son of that old man, though he should not know a single syllable of Sanskrit, if only he has got by heart, even without knowing the meaning, a line or two of the Tiruvāyumoḷi is a Brāhmaṇa of the first water. The father and son do not eat together; the latter, deeming his Brāhmaṇism would suffer, sits to take his meals separated by a screen from his father. How arose this practice among the early Śrīvaishnavaśas? Rāmānuja would preach to his adherents about the necessity of Pāṅktibhōjanam, or eating in rows. They would agree, and when they sat down must have found it unpleasant to sit in company with those whom it was formerly revolting for them to see in the same row before they became Brāhmaṇas. They could not give up their scruples so easily as their religion. When a man of socially high position sat down in the same row with another of low position the mind of the former revolted; he would prefer to renounce the new religion rather than undergo this degradation. Rāmānuja would perceive this, and arrange that when parties wished to dine together, but did not care to sit side by side as orthodox Brāhmaṇas, they might use the separation of a screen.

To those that have not observed the Vaishnava namaskāra, a word is necessary about it here. When two Vaishnavaśas meet, each falls down simultaneously towards the other. The common Brāhmaṇa Śrīvīcaśa say that the younger should always prostrate himself to the elder. When Rāmānuja received other castes as Brāhmaṇas he would preach to his followers the observance of the namaskāra, and that the younger should prostrate himself to the elder. But suppose a man of thirty, of rather high position in society had become a Vaishnava; and another of fifty from a lower position had also become a Vaishnava. When the rule that the younger should prostrate himself to the elder was taught, a difficulty would here arise. A man of socially higher position would object to prostrate himself to one of lower standing, though older than himself. The old and lower caste man would expect that the younger should respect him according to the principles of the new religion. Rāmānuja solved the difficulty by uttering—


that when two Vaishnavas meet the god Viṣṇu himself comes and stands between them. So in the one prostrating himself to the other he does not respect the man before whom he falls, but worships as it were the deity between.

In the extreme south of Tinnevelly district is the small town of Nāṅgaṇēri, wholly inhabited by Teṅkalai Vaishnavaśas. Instead of gōtras, some of them classify themselves by a Tamil word Tiruvēnī, signifying the beautiful body, as equivalent to the Sanskrit gōtra. Some of the Tiruvēnīs they give are clearly enough significant of the original caste from which their forefathers were converted to Vaishnavism. One is Ėri irāyum tiruvēnī, which means the ascending and descending beautiful body, indicative that the progenitor of the family was a climber of trees, i.e., a Śāsām. Another is Vellaiyēlukkum tiruvēnī, which shows that their progenitor was of the washerman sect. Then we have Tuṭṭukkottum tiruvēnī, cymbal sounding, i.e., descended from musicians; and Ekapukkāṇṭā tiruvēnī, the barber. Thus a number of Tiruvēnīs have meanings which indicate the original caste of these Vaishnava Brāhmaṇas.

Among Brāhmaṇas, widows shave the hair from their heads. But Vaishnava widows, and now the Teṅkalai Vaishnava widows only, have
a different rule among themselves. These latter do not shave their heads, and, if asked, they say, "Are our females to bend their heads to barbers as well as to Áháras?" This is similar to the Malayan saying, when he is questioned why he blackens his teeth, "Should we have white teeth like dogs?" But let us see among whom this custom prevails now, and in olden times. It is now in vogue among the low castes, and was very prevalent among the Buddhists and Jains, and these sects may have supplied the bulk of the original converts.

When a Southern Bráhmaṇ goes to the north to travel, he is apt to be asked whether he does not wash himself in sacred rivers and tanks, and sully the waters. Sírváishnávas have been observed doing so, and the northern Hindú at once concludes that every Bráhmaṇ from the south does so. But it is only the Vaishnávas that do so, and are asked to do so by their religious codes. All other Bráhmaṇs wash only with lifted water, and never sully tanks or sacred rivers. This custom is one the Sírváishnávas have brought with them from the low castes from which they originated, and which they still retain. The practice, in small villages, of both sexes washing themselves at the village tank is one of the most disgusting peculiarities of the low castes in Southern India.

The Teśkalai Vaishnávas, especially in the Chingleput and North Árktá districts, which are the cradle of their religion, marry in the presence of some Vaishnava god. The rites are short, and have no non-Bráhmaṇik element in them. If the man is poor he may take water in the presence of the god, and accept the hand of the bride, and the marriage ceremony is complete; a practice which speaks for itself when we see that poor people of low caste in modern days do the same.

The Teśkalai Vaishnávas have no hómas in their ceremonies, which is almost the same as saying that the back-bone of the Bráhmaṇik religion is absent. Sometimes rice is measured out to the temple priest, who is ordered to prepare meals to feed a couple of Sírváishnávas. This also is a practice which we see among the lowest castes of modern times.

It has taken me several years of contemplation to arrive at the numerous features above noted, and to be convinced beyond doubt that the forefathers of the Vaishnávas were mostly other caste people, especially Buddhists."

Here my grandfather ended, and I said: "How do you account then for the Védik honour, the hóma observance, the shaving of the hair of the widows, eating in rows, &c., observed among our Vaishnávas friends," and he added as follows:

"Bear in mind that the original Vaishnávas were all one, without any distinction of Teśkalai and Vašakalai, as they now stand. By my former arguments, all of which apply now more to the Teśkalai than Vašakalai, we see that the original Vaishnávas had several non-Bráhmaṇik rites, and the Teśkalai Vaishnávas still retain the same. Védántadáśiká was born about the close of the 15th century, and in the former half of the 16th century made great changes in Vaishnavism. He perceived several flaws in his religion which separated it from Bráhmaṇism. The Védas and hóma, the warp and woof of the Bráhmaṇik religion, he found absent in the then Vaishnavism. He boldly taught his followers the defects, and remedied them by introducing several Bráhmaṇik rites in place of non-Bráhmaṇik ones,—e.g., he exchanged the Tiruvédýomośi for the Védas. Now Vašakalai Vaishnávas no longer read the former as the sacred book, but as one more purely literary than religious. Hómas were introduced; widows were compelled to shave their hair; and Bráhmaṇik marriage rites were introduced. Of course some liked the change, and joined it. These were named Vašakalai, the division giving preference to Sanskrit Mantras—from Vašamośi, a Tamil word, meaning Sanskrit. The original sect, from their preference for Tamil mantras,—Tenmośi, meaning Tamil,—were thenceforward called Teśkalai. These two sects are the bitterest enemies to each other. Whether the Védas or the Tiruvédýomośi should be repeated first in Vaishnava temples is the main cause of dispute between these sects, which every year feeds well the barristers and vakils in every law court of the Madras Presidency. Broken heads, stoppage of processions, murder and other crimes arise from these religious disputes among them."

Here ends my grandfather's story.

I have given his views in the hope that some one more learned may take it up, and do more justice to the subject.
FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PÂNDIT S. M. NÄTEŠA ŚÄŚTâ.

III.—THE SOOTHSAYER'S SON.

Thus a Soothsayer when on his death-bed wrote the horoscope of his second son, and bequeathed it to him as his only property, leaving the whole of his estate to his eldest son. The second son pondered over the horoscope, and fell into the following contemplations:

"Alas, am I born to this only in the world? The sayings of my father never failed. I have seen them prove true to the last word while he was living; and how has he fixed my horoscope! Jana praâhriti dāridryam! From my birth poverty! I am not to be in that miserable condition alone. Daka varâhâmi bandhanam: for ten years, imprisonment—a fate harder than poverty; and what comes next? Samudrâtivâ marâpam: death on the seashore; which means that I must die away from home, far from friends and relatives on a sea-coast. The misery has reached its extreme height here. Now comes the funniest part of the horoscope. Kinsiti bhâya bhavishtyati—that I am to have some happiness afterwards! What this happiness is, is an enigma to me: To die first, to be happy for some time after! What happiness? Is it the happiness of this world? So it must be. For however clever one may be, he cannot foretell what may take place in the other world. Therefore it must be the happiness of this world; and how can that be possible after my death? It is impossible. I think my father has only meant this as a consoling conclusion to the series of calamities that he has prophesied. Three portions of his prophecy must prove true; the fourth and last is a mere comforting statement to bear patiently the calamities enumerated, and never to prove true. Therefore let me go to Bânâras, bathe in the holy Gaûgâ, wash away my sins, and prepare myself for my end. Let me avoid sea-coasts, lest death meet me there in accordance with my father's words. Come imprisonment: I am prepared for it for ten years."

Thus thought he, and after all the funeral obsequies of his father were over, took leave of his elder brother, and started for Bânâras. He went by the middle of the Dakhâ, avoiding both the coasts, and went on journeying and journeying for weeks and months, till at last he reached the Vindhyâ mountains. While passing through he came to a peaceful place, with no sign of life or vegetation. The little store of provision with which he was provided for a couple of days, at last was exhausted. The chombu, which he carried always full, replenishing it with the sweet water from the flowing rivulet or plenteous tank, he had exhausted in the heat of the desert. There was not a morsel in his hand to eat; nor a drop of water to drink. Turn his eyes wherever he might he found a vast desert, out of which he saw no means of escape. Still he thought within himself, "Surely my father's prophecy never proved untrue. I must survive this calamity to find my death on some sea-coast." So thought he, and this thought gave him strength of mind to walk fast and try to find a drop of water somewhere to slake his dry throat. At last he succeeded, or rather thought that he succeeded. Heaven threw in his way a ruined well. He thought that he could collect some water if he let down his chombu with the string that he always carried nosed to the neck of it. Accordingly he let it down; it went some way and stopped, and the following words came from the well, "Oh, relieve me! I am the king of tigers dying here of hunger. For the last three days I have had nothing. Fortune has sent you here. If you assist me now you will find a sure help in me throughout your life. Do not think that I am a beast of prey. When you have become my deliverer I can never touch you. Pray kindly lift me up." Gaûgâdhara, for that was the name of the Soothsayer's second son, found himself in a very perplexing position. "Shall I take him out or not? If I take him out he may make me the first morsel of his hungry mouth. No; that he will not do. For my father's prophecy never came untrue. I must die on a sea-coast and not by a tiger." Thus thinking, he asked the tiger-king to hold tight the vessel, which he accordingly did, and he lifted him up slowly.
The tiger reached the top of the well and felt himself on safe ground. True to his word he did no harm to Gaṅgādāra. On the other hand, he went round his patron three times, and standing before him, humbly spoke the following words:—“My life-giver, my benefactor! I shall never forget this day, when I regained my life through your kind hands. In return for this kind assistance I pledge my oath to stand by you in all calamities. Whenever you are in any difficulty just think of me. I am there with you ready to oblige you by all the means that I can. To tell you briefly how I came tā here:—Three days ago I was roaming in yonder forest, when I saw a goldsmith passing through it. I chased him. He, finding it impossible to escape my claws, jumped into this well, and is living to this moment in the very bottom of it. I also jumped, but found myself in the first storey; he is on the last and fourth storey. In the second storey lives a serpent half-famished with hunger. In the third storey lies a rat, similarly half-famished, and when you again begin to draw water these may request you first to release them. In the same way the goldsmith also may request. I tell you, as your bosom friend, never assist that wretched man, though he is your relation as a human being. Goldsmiths are never to be trusted. You can place more faith in me, a tiger, though I feast sometimes upon men, in a serpent whose sting makes your blood cold the very next moment, or in a rat, which does a thousand mischiefs in your house. But never trust a goldsmith. Do not release him; and if you do, you shall surely repent of it one day or other.” Thus advising, the hungry tiger went away without waiting for an answer.

Gaṅgādāra thought several times of the eloquent way in which the tiger addressed him, and admired his fluency of speech. His thirst was not quenched. So he let down his vessel again which was now caught hold of by the serpent, who addressed him thus:—“Oh my protector! lift me up. I am the king of serpents, and the son of Ādiśeṣa, who is now pining away in agony for my disappearance. Release me now. I shall ever remain your servant, remember your assistance, and help you throughout life in all possible ways. Oblige me: I am dying.” Gaṅgādāra, calling again to mind the Samudrāṭa maraṇam—death on the seashore—lifted him up. He, like the tiger-king, circumambulated him thrice, and prostrating himself before him spoke thus:—“Oh, my life-giver, my father, for so I must call you, as you have given me another birth, I have already told you that I am Ādiśeṣa’s son, and that I am the king of serpents. I was three days ago basking myself in the morning sun, when I saw a rat running before me. I chased it. He fell into this well. I followed him, but instead of falling on the third storey where he is now lying, I fell into the second. It was on the same evening that the goldsmith also fell down on the fourth storey, and the tiger whom you released just before me fell down into the first. What I have to tell you now is—that do not relieve the goldsmith, though you may release the rat. As a rule, goldsmiths are never to be trusted. I am going away now to see my father. Whenever you are in any difficulty just think of me. I will be there by your side to assist you by all possible means. If, notwithstanding my repeated advice, you happen to release the goldsmith, you shall suffer for it severely.”

So saying, the Nāgarāja (serpent-king) glided away in zigzag movements, and was out of sight in a moment.

The poor son of the Soothsayer who was now almost dying of thirst, and was even led to think that the messengers of death were near him, notwithstanding his firm belief in the words of his father, let down his vessel for a third time. The rat caught hold of it, and without discussing, he lifted up the poor animal at once. But it would not go without showing its eloquence.—“Oh life of my life, my benefactor: I am the king of rats. Whenever you are in any calamity just think of me. I will come to you, and assist you. My keen ears overheard all that the tiger-king and serpent-king told you about the Svarṇataakaṛa (gold-smith), who is in the fourth storey. It is nothing but a sad truth that goldsmiths ought never to be trusted. Therefore never assist him as you have done to us all. And if you do you shall feel it. I am hungry; let me go for the present.”

Thus taking leave of his benefactor, the rat, too, ran away.

Gaṅgādāra for a while thought upon the repeated advice given by the three animals about
releasing the goldsmith, "What wrong would there be in my assisting him. Why should I not release him also?" So thinking with himself Gaņḍhāra let down the vessel again. The goldsmith caught hold of it, and demanded help. The Soothsayer's son had no time to lose; he was himself dying of thirst. Therefore he lifted the goldsmith up, who now began his story:—"Stop for a while," said Gaṅḍhāra, and after quenching his thirst by letting down his vessel for the fifth time, still fearing that some one might remain in the well and demand his assistance, he listened to the goldsmith, who began as follows:—"My dear friend, my protector, what a deal of nonsense these brutes were talking to you about me; I am glad you have not followed their advice. I am just now dying of hunger. Permit me to go away. My name is Māṇikkaśāri. I live in the East main street of Ujjaini, which is 20 kās to the south of this place, and so lies on your way when you return from Bānāras. Do not forget to come to me and receive my kind remembrances of your assistance, on your way back to your country." So saying the goldsmith took his leave, and Gaṅḍhāra also pursued his way north after the above adventures.

He reached Bānāras, and lived there for more than ten years, spending his time in bathing, prayers, and other religious ceremonies. He quite forgot the tiger, serpent, rat, and goldsmith. After ten years of religious life, thoughts of home and of his brother rushed into his mind. "Enough of the merit that I have secured till now by my religious observances. Let me return home." Thus thought Gānḍhāra within himself, and immediately he was on his way back to his country. Remembering the prophecy of his father he returned by the same way by which he went to Bānāras ten years before. While thus retracing his steps he reached that ruined well where he released the three brute kings and the goldsmith. At once the old recollections rushed into his mind, and he thought of the tiger to test his fidelity. Only a moment passed, and the tiger-king came running before him carrying a large crown in his mouth, the glitter of the diamonds of which for a time outshone even the bright rays of the sun. He dropped the crown at his life-giver's feet, and leaving off all his pride, humbled himself like a pet cat to the strokes of his protector, and began in the following words:—"My life-giver! How is it that you forgot me, your poor servant, for so long a time. I am glad to find that I still occupy a corner in your mind. I can never forget the day when I owed my life to your lotus hands. I have several jewels with me of little value. This crown, being the best of all, I have brought here as a single ornament of great value, and hence easily portable and useful to you in your own country." Gaṅḍhāra looked at the crown, examined it over and over, counted and recounted the gems, and thought within himself that he would become the richest of men by separating the diamonds and gold, and selling them in his own country. He took leave of the tiger-king, and after his disappearance thought of the kings of serpents and rats, who came in their turns with their presents, and after the usual formalities and exchange of words took their leave. Gaṅḍhāra was extremely delighted at the faithfulness with which the brute beasts behaved themselves, and went on his way to the south. While going along he spoke to himself thus:—"These beasts have been so very faithful in their assistance. Much more, therefore, must Māṇikkaśāri be faithful. I do not want anything from him now. If I take this crown with me as it is, it occupies much space in my bundle. It may also excite the curiosity of some robbers on the way. I will go now to Ujjaini on my way. Māṇikkaśāri requested me to see him without failure on my return-journey. I shall do so, and request him to have the crown melted, the diamonds and gold separated. He must do that kindness at least for me. I shall then roll up these diamonds and gold ball in my rags, and bend my way home." Thus thinking and thinking he reached Ujjaini. At once he enquired for the house of his goldsmith friend, and found him without difficulty. Māṇikkaśāri was extremely delighted to find on his threshold him who ten years before, notwithstanding the advice repeatedly given him by the sage-looking tiger, serpent, and rat, had relieved him from the pit of death. Gaṅḍhāra at once showed him the crown that he received from the tiger-king, told him how he got it, and requested his kind assistance to separate the gold and diamonds. Māṇikkaśāri
agreed to do so, and meanwhile asked his friend to rest himself for a while to have his bath and meals; and Gaṅgādāra, who was very observant of his religious ceremonies, went direct to the river to bathe.

How came a crown in the jaws of a tiger? It is not a difficult question to solve. A king must have furnished the table of the tiger for a day or two. Had it not been for that, the tiger could not have had a crown with him. Even so it was. The king of Ujjaini had a week before gone with all his hunters on a hunting expedition. All on a sudden a tiger—as we know now, the very tiger-king himself—started from the wood, seized the king, and vanished. The hunters returned and informed the prince about the sad calamity that had befallen his father. They all saw the tiger carrying away the king. Yet such was their courage that they could not lift their weapons to bring to the prince the corpse at least of his father; their courage reminds us of the couplet in the Child's Story:

"Four and twenty sailors went to kill a snail; The best man among them dares not touch her tail."

When they informed the prince about the death of his father he wept and wailed, and gave notice that he would give half of his kingdom to any one who should bring him news about the murderer of his father. The prince did not at all believe that his father was devoured by the tiger. His belief was that some hunters, coveting the ornaments on the king's person, had murdered him. Hence he had issued the notice. The goldsmith knew full well that it was a tiger that killed the king, and not any hunter's hands, since he had heard from Gaṅgādāra about how he obtained the crown. Still, ambition to get half the kingdom prevailed, and he resolved with himself to make over Gaṅgādāra as the king's murderer. The crown was lying on the floor where Gaṅgādāra left it with his full confidence in Māṇikkaśāri. Before his protector's return the goldsmith, hiding the crown under his garments, flies to the palace. He went before the prince and informed him that the assassin was caught, and placed the crown before him. The prince took it into his hands, examined it, and at once gave half the kingdom to Māṇikkaśāri, and then enquired about the murderer. He is bathing in the river, and is of such and such appearance, was the reply. At once four armed soldiers fly to the river, and bind hand and foot the poor Brāhmaṇa, who sits in meditation, without any knowledge of the fate that hangs over him. They brought Gaṅgādāra to the presence of the prince, who turned his face away from the murderer or supposed murderer, and asked his soldiers to throw him into the kāḍaṛiham. In a minute, without knowing the cause, the poor Brāhmaṇa found himself in the dark caves of the kāḍaṛiham.

In old times the kāḍaṛiham answered the purposes of the modern jail. It was a dark cellar underground, built with strong stone walls, into which any criminal guilty of a capital offence was ushered to breathe his last there without food and drink. Into such a cellar Gaṅgādāra was pushed down. In a few hours after he left the goldsmith he found himself inside a dark cell stinking with human bodies, dying and dead. What were his thoughts when he reached that place? "It is the goldsmith that has brought me to this wretched state; and, as for the prince: Why should he not enquire as to how I obtained the crown? It is of no use to accuse either the goldsmith or the prince now. We are all the children of fate. We must obey her commands. Daśavarhāṇi bandhūnan. This is but the first day of my father's prophecy. So far his statement is true. But how am I going to pass ten years here? Perhaps without anything to keep up my life I may drag on my existence for a day or two. But how to pass ten years? That cannot be, and I must die. Before death comes let me think of my faithful brute friends."

So pondered Gaṅgādāra in the dark cell underground, and at that moment thought of his three friends. The tiger-king, serpent-king, and rat-king assembled at once with their armies at a garden near the kāḍaṛiham, and for a while did not know what to do. A common cause—how to reach their protector who was now in the dark cell underneath—united them all. They held their council, and decided to make an underground passage from the inside of a ruined well to the kāḍaṛiham. The rat vīja issued an order at once to that effect to his army. They with their nimble teeth bored the ground a long way to the
walls of the prison. After reaching it they found that their teeth could not work on the hard stones. The bandicoots were then specially ordered for the business, they with their hard teeth made a small slit in the wall for a rat to pass and repass without difficulty. Thus a passage was effected.

The rat rāja entered first to condole with his protector for his calamity. The king of the tigers sent word through the snake-king that he sympathised most sincerely with his sorrow, and that he was ready to render all help for his deliverance. He suggested a means for his escape also. The serpent rāja went in, and gave Gaṅgādhara hopes of delivery. The rat king undertook to supply his protector with provisions. “Whatever sweetmeats or bread are prepared in any house, one and all of you must try to bring whatever you can to our benefactor. Whatever clothes you find hanging in a house, cut down, dip the pieces in water and bring the wet bits to our benefactor. He will squeeze them and gather water for drink; and the bread and sweetmeats shall form his food.” Thus ordered the king of the rats, and took leave of Gaṅgādhara. They in obedience to their king’s order continued to supply provisions and water.

The Nāgarāja said:—“I sincerely condole with you in your calamity; the tiger-king also fully sympathises with you, and wants me to tell you so, as he cannot drag his huge body here as we have done with our small ones. The king of the rats has promised to do his best to keep up your life. We would now do what we can for your release. From this day we shall issue orders to our armies to oppress all the subjects of this kingdom. The percentage of death by snake-bite and tigers shall increase from this day. And day by day it shall continue to increase till your release. After eating what the rats bring you you had better take your seat near the entrance of the kārāgriham. Owing to the several unnatural deaths some people that walk over the prison might say, ‘How unjust the king has turned out now. Were it not for his injustice such early deaths by snake-bite could never occur.’ Whenever you hear people speaking so, you had better bawl out so as to be heard by them, ‘The wretched prince imprisoned me on the false charge of having killed his father, while it was a tiger that killed him. From that day these calamities have broken out in his dominions. If I were released I would save all by my powers of healing poisonous wounds and by incantations.’ Some one may report this to the king, and if he knows it, you will obtain your liberty.”

Thus comforting his protector in trouble, he advised him to pluck up courage, and took leave of him. From that day tigers and serpents, acting under the special orders of their kings, united in killing as many persons and cattle as possible. Every day people were being carried away by tigers or bitten by serpents. This havoc continued. Gaṅgādhara was roaring as loud as he could that he would save those lives, had he only his liberty. Few heard him. The few that did took his words for the voice of a ghost. “How could he manage to live without food and drink for so long a time?” said the persons walking over his head to each other. Thus passed on months and years. Gaṅgādhara sat in the dark cellar, without the sun’s light falling upon him, and feasted upon the bread-crumbs and sweetmeats that the rats so kindly supplied him with. These circumstances had completely changed his body. He had become a red, stout, hag, unwieldy lump of flesh. Thus passed full ten years, as prophesied in the horoscope—Dasa-varshaśi bandhanam.

Ten complete years rolled away in close imprisonment. On the last evening of the tenth year one of the serpents got into the bed-chamber of the princess and sucked her life. She breathed her last. She was the only daughter of the king. He had no other issue—son or daughter. His only hope was in her; and she was snatched away by a cruel and untimely death. The king at once sent for all the snake-bite curers. He promised half his kingdom, and his daughter’s hand to him who would restore her to life. Now it was that a servant of the king who had several times overheard Gaṅgādhara’s exclamation reported the matter to him. The king at once ordered the cell to be examined. There was the man sitting in it. How has he managed to live so long in the cell? Some whispered that he must be a divine being. Some concluded that he must surely win the hand of the princess by restoring her to life. Thus they discussed,
and the discussions brought Gaṅgādhara to the king.

The king no sooner saw Gaṅgādhara than he fell on the ground. He was struck by the majesty and grandeur of his person. His ten years' imprisonment in the deep cell underground had given a sort of lustre to his body, which was not to be met with in ordinary persons. His hair had first to be cut before his face could be seen. The king begged forgiveness for his former fault, and requested him to revive his daughter.

"Bring me in a muhārta all the corpses of men and cattle dying and dead, that remain unburnt or unburied within the range of your dominions; I shall revive them all:" were the only words that Gaṅgādhara spoke. After it he closed his lips as if in deep meditation, which commanded him more respect in the company.

Cart-loads of corpses of men and cattle began to come in every minute. Even graves, it is said, were broken open, and corpses buried a day or two before were taken out and sent for the revival. As soon as all were ready Gaṅgādhara took a vessel full of water and sprinkled it over them all, thinking upon his Nāgarāja and Vyāghrarāja. All rose up as if from deep slumber, and went to their respective homes. The princess, too, was restored to life. The joy of the king knows no bounds. He curses the day on which he imprisoned him, accuses himself for having believed the word of a goldsmith, and offers him the hand of his daughter and the whole kingdom, instead of half as he promised. Gaṅgādhara would not accept anything. The king requested him to put a stop for ever to those calamities. He agreed to do so, and asked the king to assemble all his subjects in a wood near the town. "I shall there call in all the tigers and serpents and give them a general order." So said Gaṅgādhara, and the king accordingly gave the order. In a couple of ghatikas the wood near Ujjaini was full of people who assembled to witness the authority of man over such enemies of human beings as tigers and serpents. "He is no man; be sure of that. How could he have managed to live for ten years without food and drink? He is surely a god. Thus speculated the mob.

When the whole town was assembled just at the dusk of evening, Gaṅgādhara sat dumb for a moment and thought upon the Vyāghrarāja and Nāgarāja, who came running with all their armies. People began to take to their heels at the sight of tigers. Gaṅgādhara assured them of safety, and stopped them.

The grey light of the evening, the pumpkin colour of Gaṅgādhara, the holy ashes scattered lavishly over his body, the tigers and snakes humbling themselves at his feet, gave him the true majesty of the god Gaṅgādhara. For who else by a single word could thus command vast armies of tigers and serpents, said some among the people. "Care not for it; it may be by magic. That is not a great thing. That he revived cart-loads of corpses makes him surely Gaṅgādhara," said others. The scene produced a very great effect upon the minds of the mob.

"Why should you, my children, thus trouble these poor subjects of Ujjaini? Reply to me, and henceforth desist from your ravages." Thus said the Soothsayer's son, and the following reply came from the king of the tigers;

"Why should this base king imprison your honour, believing the mere word of a goldsmith that your honour killed his father? All the hunters told him that his father was carried away by a tiger. I was the messenger of death sent to deal the blow on his neck. I did it, and gave the crown to your honour. The prince makes no enquiry, and at once imprisons your honour. How can we expect justice from such a stupid king as that. Unless he adopts a better standard of justice we will go on with our destruction."

The king heard, cursed the day on which he believed in the word of the goldsmith, beat his head, tore his hair, wept and wailed for his crime, asked a thousand pardons, and swore to rule in a just way from that day. The serpent-king and tiger-king also promised to observe their oath as long as justice prevailed, and took their leave. The goldsmith fled for his life. He was caught by the soldiers of the king, and was pardoned by the generous Gaṅgādhara, whose voice now reigned supreme. All returned to their homes.

The king again pressed Gaṅgādhara to accept the hand of his daughter. He agreed to do so, not then, but some time afterwards. He wished to go and see his elder brother first, and then to return and marry the princess.
The king agreed; and Gaṅgādhara left the city that very day on his way home.

It so happened that unwittingly he took a wrong road, and had to pass near a sea coast. His elder brother was also on his way up to Bānāras by that very same route. They met and recognised each other, even at a distance. They flew into each other's arms. Both remained still for a time without knowing anything. The emotion of pleasure (ānanda) was so great, especially in Gaṅgādhara, that it proved dangerous to his life. In a word, he died of joy.

The sorrow of the elder brother could better be imagined than described. He saw again his lost brother, after having given up, as it were, all hopes of meeting him. He had not even asked him his adventures. That he should be snatched away by the cruel hand of death seemed unbearable to him. He wept and wailed, took the corpse on his lap, sat under a tree, and wetted it with tears. But there was no hope of his dead brother coming to life again.

The elder brother was a devout worshipper of Gaṅapati. That was a Friday, a day very sacred to that god. The elder brother took the corpse to the nearest Gaṅeśa temple and called upon him. The god came, and asked him what he wanted. "My poor brother is dead and gone; and this is his corpse. Kindly keep it under your charge till I finish your worship. If I leave it anywhere else the devils may snatch it away when I am absent in your worship; after finishing your pūjā I shall burn him." Thus said the elder brother, and giving the corpse to the god Gaṅeśa he went to prepare himself for that deity's worship. Gaṅeśa made over the corpse to his Gaṅas, asking them to watch over it carefully.

So receives a spoiled child a fruit from its father, who, when he gives it the fruit asks the child to keep it safe. The child thinks within itself, "Papa will excuse me if I eat a portion of it." So saying it eats a portion, and when it finds it so sweet, it eats the whole, saying, "Come what will, what will papa do, after all, if I eat it? Perhaps give me a stroke or two on the back. Perhaps he may excuse me." In the same way these Gaṅas of Gaṅapati first ate a portion of the corpse, and when they found it sweet, for we know that it was crammed up with the sweetmeats of the kind rats, devoured the whole, and were consulting about offering the best excuse possible to their master.

The elder brother, after finishing the pūjā, demanded from the god his brother's corpse. The belly-god called his Gaṅas, who came to the front blinking, and fearing the anger of their master. The god was greatly enraged. The elder brother was highly vexed. When the corpse was not forthcoming he cuttingly remarked, "Is this, after all, the return for my deep belief in you? You are unable even to return my brother's corpse." Gaṅeśa was much ashamed at the remark, and at the uneasiness that he had caused to his worshipper, so he by his divine power gave him a living Gaṅgādhara instead of the dead corpse. Thus was the second son of the Soothsayer restored to life.

The brothers had a long talk about each other's adventures. They both went to Ujjaini, where Gaṅgādhara married the princess, and succeeded to the throne of that kingdom. He reigned for a long time, conferring several benefits upon his brother. How is the horoscope to be interpreted? A special synod of Soothsayers was held. A thousand emendations were suggested. Gaṅgādhara would not accept them. At last one Soothsayer cut the knot by stopping at a different place in reading, "Saṁdra tīrē marāṇam kīchīl." "On the sea shore death for some time. Then bhāgyam Bhavishyati. There shall be happiness for the person concerned." Thus the passage was interpreted. "Yes; my father's words never went wrong," said Gaṅgādhara.

The three brute kings continued their visits often to the Soothsayer's son, the then king of Ujjaini. Even the faithless goldsmith became a frequent visitor at the palace, and a receiver of several benefits from the royal hands.

IV.—Raṇavitāsaṅga.

Once upon a time in the town of Vājaimānagar, there ruled a king, named Śivāchār. He was a most just king, and ruled so well that no stone thrown up fell down, no crow pecked at the new drawn milk, the lion and

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1 Classical name of Karūr, a small but very ancient town in the Köyambatür District of the Madras Presidency.
the bull drank water from the same pond, and peace and prosperity reigned throughout the kingdom. Notwithstanding all these blessings, care always sat on his face. The fruit which makes life in this world sweet, the redeemer to him from the horrible Naraka of Put, a Putra, he had not. His days and nights he spent in praying that God might bless him with a son. Wherever he saw pipal trees (Avvattharajus), he ordered Brahmins to circumambulate them. Whatever medicines the doctors recommended he was ever ready to swallow, however bitter they might be. “Eat even ordure to get a son,” says the proverb, and accordingly he did everything to secure that happiness, but all in vain.

Śivāchār had a minister, named Kharaṇadana, a most wicked tyrant as ever lived in the world. The thought that the king was without an heir, and had no hopes of one, awakened in his mind the ambition of securing for his family the throne of Vaṇjaimāṇagar. Śivāchār knew this well. But what could he do. His only care was to send up additional prayers to frustrate the thoughts of Kharaṇadana, and to secure for himself a good position after death, without undergoing the severe torments of the Put, hell.

At last fortune favoured Śivāchār; for what religious man fails to secure his desire? The king in his sixtieth year had a son. His joy can better be imagined than described. Lacs of Brahmins were fed in honour of the son's birth festival, Putrītaevam, as it is technically called. The state-prisons were opened, and all the prisoners let loose. Thousands of kine and innumerable acres of land were offered to Brahmins, and every kind of charity was duly practised. The ten days of the Svaṭīkagrīhavasa (confinement) were over. On the eleventh day the father saw his much longed-for son's face, and read on the lines of it great prosperity, learning, valour, goodness, and every excellent quality.

The cradle-swinging, naming, and other ceremonies were duly performed, and the prince grew up under the care shown to a king's son. His name the elders fixed as Sundara. The minister, whose only wish was to get the throne for his family, was much disappointed at the birth of a son to his master. The whole kingdom rejoiced at the event, and the minister was the only man who was sorry. When one is disappointed in his high hopes and expectations, he devises plans to take away the barrier that lies in his way. Even so Kharavaṇada said to himself, “Let me see how the affairs get on. The old king is near his grave. When he dies, leaving a minor son, myself must be his regent for a time. Have I not then opportunity enough of securing for ever for myself and my family the throne of Vaṇjaimāṇagar?” So thought he within himself, and was quiet for a time.

Śivāchār, who was a very shrewd man, on several occasions read the minister’s mind, and knew very well how his intentions stood. “This cruel devil may murder my only son. I care not if he usurps the throne. What I fear is, that he may murder him. Na daive asym Śaṅkarat para. No other god but Śaṅkara. And he must have his own way. If it is so written on the prince's head I cannot avoid it.” Thus sighed Śivāchār. and this sorrow (śoka), made him leaner day by day. Just ten years after the birth of Sundara, the king fell ill and was on his deathbed.

Śivāchār had a servant, named Raṇavirāsing, whom he had all along observed to be very honest and faithful. That servant the king called to his side, and asking all others except Sundara, who was weeping by his father’s pillow, to leave the room, addressed him thus: “My dear Raṇavirāsing, I have only a few ghāsikas before me. Listen to my words, and act accordingly. There is one God above us all, who will punish or reward us according to our good or bad acts. If by avarice or greed of money you ever play false to the trust that I am going to reposing in you that God will surely punish you. It is not unknown to you what great difficulties I had in getting this only son, Sundara; how many temples I built, how many Brahmins I fed, how many religious austerities I underwent, &c., &c. God after all gave me a son.” Here his sorrow prevented him from proceeding further, and he began to cry aloud, and shed tears, “Do not weep on my account, papa! We cannot wipe off what was written on our heads. We must undergo happiness or misery as is thereon scratched by Brahma.” cried the prince. Raṇavirāsing was melted at the sight. He took the boy on his lap, and with his own
upper garment wiped his eyes. The old man continued, "Thus you, my faithful Raṇaviraśāṅg, know everything. I now wish that I had not performed all that I did to get this son. For when I die at this moment, who is there to take care of him for the next? Kharavadana may devise plan after plan to remove my boy from this world, and secure the kingdom for himself. My only hope is in you. I give him into your hands." Here the aged father, notwithstanding his illness, rose up a little from his bed, took hold of his son's hand, and after kissing it for the last time, placed it in Raṇaviraśāṅg's, "Care not if he does not get the kingdom. If you only preserve him from the wicked hands of the minister whom I have all along seen to be covetous of the throne, you will do a great work for your old master. I make you from this moment the lord of my palace. From this minute you are father, mother, brother, servant, and everything to my son. Take care that you do not betray your trust." Thus ended the king, and sending at once for the minister, when he came he spoke to him thus, "Kharavadana! See what I am now. Yesterday I was on the throne. To-day, in a few minutes, I must breathe my last. Such is the uncertainty of life. Man's good acts alone follow him to the other world. Take my signet-ring. [Here the king took the ring from off his finger, and gave it to the minister]. Yours is the throne for the present, as long as the prince is in his minority. Govern well the kingdom. When the prince attains his sixteenth year kindly give him back the throne.

Sundara exercised a paternal care over him. Find a good and intelligent princess for his wife." Suddenly, before his speech was quite finished, the king felt the last pangs of death. The sage-looking minister promised him everything.

Sivāchāṁ breathed his last. After the usual weeping and wailing of a Hindū funeral, his corpse was burnt to ashes in a sandalwood pyre. All his queens—and there were several scores—committed saṁti with the corpse. The ceremonies were all regularly conducted, the minister himself superintended everything.

Kharavadana then succeeded to the throne of Vañjaimāṇagar. Raṇaviraśāṅg became the lord of the palace, and true to his promise exercised all care over his trust. He was always by the side of Sundara. That he might not lose the sweetness of boyhood in study and play, Raṇaviraśāṅg brought to the palace 20 gentlemen's sons of good conduct and learning and made them the prince's fellow-students.

A professor for every branch of learning was employed to teach the prince and his companions. Sundara thus received a sound and liberal education, only he was never allowed to go out of the palace. Raṇaviraśāṅg guarded him very strictly, and he had every reason to do so. For Kharavadana, as soon as he became king, had issued a notice that the assassin of Sundara should have a reward of a kāvūrā muhris; and already every avaricious hand was in search of his head. Before the issue of this notice, Kharavadana found out a good girl and married her to the prince. She was living with her husband in the palace, and Raṇaviraśāṅg strictly watched her, as she came from the minister. He would not allow Sundara to sleep in the same room with her. These strict watches and barriers to the sweet marriage-bed displeased the prince, even with his faithful servant. But the latter could not help it till he had full confidence in her. He used to advise Sundara not even to take a betel-leaf from her hands. But love is blind. So the prince within himself accused his old guardian; but he could not help following his orders. Thus passed on a few years.

Sundara reached his sixteenth year. Nothing happened about the transference of the kingdom; the prince, almost in imprisonment in the palace, had forgot everything about the kingdom. Raṇaviraśāṅg wished to wait till, as he thought, the prince had acquired better governing faculties. Thus some time passed.

Full eight years had elapsed from the death of Sivāchāṁ. Sundara was already eighteen, and still he had not received his kingdom. Nothing was neglected in his education. Though Raṇaviraśāṅg exercised all paternal care over him, still it was not to his liking; for he found in him a great barrier to the pleasures of youth. The only pleasure for the prince, therefore, was the company of his friends.

One fine evening on the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaśākha month of the Vasant season, the prince was sitting with his companions in the seventh story of his mansion.
viewing the town. The dusk of evening was just throwing her mantle over the city. People in their several vocations were at that time ceasing work, and returning home. In the eastern division of the town the prince saw a big mansion, and just to break the silence asked his friends what that was. "That is the Rājasthānī Kachéri, a place you ought to have been sitting in for the last two years. The wretched minister, Kharavadana, has already usurped your seat; for if he had intended to give you back the kingdom he would have done it two years ago when you reached your sixteenth year. Let us now console ourselves that God has spared your life till now, notwithstanding all the awards promised to the taker of your head. Even that proclamation is dying out of the memory of the people now."

So said one of his friends and ceased.

These words fell like arrows in the ear of Sundara and troubled him. The shame that he had been neglected brought a change of colour over his face which all his friends perceived, and they felt sorry for having touched upon the subject. The prince, perceiving that he had played a woman's part among his friends, resumed or pretended to resume his former cheerful countenance, and changed the conversation to some pleasanter topics. They separated very late that night. Before doing so, Sundara asked them all to present themselves in the durbar hall early next morning. At the same time he also ordered Raṇavirāsing to keep horses ready for himself and his friends for a morning ride through the town the next day.

"I was only waiting to hear such an order from your own mouth, Mai Bāb Chakravarti; I was thinking from your retired disposition that you were not an energetic man. I will have the horses ready," Raṇavirāsing at once issued orders to his servants to keep ready saddled and decked twenty-one horses for the prince and his companions. He also appointed a certain number of his men to ride in front of the party.

The morning came. The friends assembled as promised the previous evening. The prince and they, after a light breakfast, mounted their horses. The horsemen rode in front and behind. The prince with his friends marched in the middle. Raṇavirāsing with drawn sword rode side by side with him. The party went through the four main streets of the town. Every one rose up and paid due respect to their old king's son. When passing through the street where the minister's mansion was, Raṇavirāsing perceived that Kharavadana paid no respect to the royal march. This seemed a most unbearable insult to Raṇavirāsing. He bit his lips, gnashed his teeth, and wrung his hands. The prince observed all the mental pains of his faithful guardian, and laughed to himself at his simplicity. About mid-day the party returned to the palace. The friends dispersed, and Sundara after the ceremonies of the new-moon day had a slight dinner, and retired to rest.

The morning ride was deep in the mind of the prince. Though he laughed to himself at the simplicity of Raṇavirāsing when the latter gnashed his teeth in the morning, the insult had left a stronger and deeper impression in his heart. The day was almost spent. Sundara took a very light supper, and shut himself up in his bed-room before the first watch was quite over. Raṇavirāsing, as usual, watched outside. The prince found his wife sound asleep in her bed, and without disturbing her he went up and down the room. A thread-like substance attracted his attention in a corner of the bed-chamber. On examination he found it to be a thread ladder. He had not even time to think how it came into the bed-chamber. Just then Raṇavirāsing had retired for a few minutes to take his supper. "The old fool is off now to eat; and Paramēśvar has thrown this ladder in my way. Let me now escape." Thus thinking, Sundara came out unobserved by his old guardian, and ascended to the top of the seventh mansion. From that place he cast his ladder towards a big tree in the East Main street. On pulling it he found it tight. "Let me get down, and Paramēśvar will assist me." So praying, before the first watch was over, the prince got down from his palace, and was in a few minutes in the East street. The severe watch kept over him by Raṇavirāsing made it very difficult for him to go out when he liked, and now by the grace of God, as he thought, he escaped that dark new-moon night.

"Life is dear to every one. What can I do if any of the minister's men find me out now and murder me? Na dāivam Sañkarāt param. No god but Saṅkara, and he will now help me."
Thus thinking he walked to the nearest pyāl, and lingered there till the bustle of the town subsided. Nor was it in vain that he stopped there. He overheard while there the following conversation take place between the master and mistress of the house at which he lingered:—"Console yourself, my wife. What shall we do? Fate has so willed it on our heads. May Brahmā become without a temple for the evil that he has sent us. When the old king was living he appreciated my merits, and at every Saṅkṛānti gave me due ḍakshiṇā for my knowledge of the Vēdas. Now there reigns a tyrant over our kingdom. I was lingering here with the hope that the son of Śivāchār would one day come to the throne and relieve our sufferings. Now that such hope is altogether gone, I have made up my mind to leave this nasty city, and go to some good place where there reigns a king to appreciate our yōgyata (merit)." Of these words Sundara overheard every syllable, and these supplied the gīrī to the fire of shame and anger that was already burning in his mind. "Let me try to win back my kingdom. If I succeed, I save lives. If I die, I die singly. May Paramēśvar help me." So saying he walked out of the town, and passed the east gate. The night was as dark as could be, for it was a new-moon night. Clouds were gathering in the sky, and there were some symptoms of rain.

There was a Gaṇēśa temple on the way. As it was already drizzling, the prince went inside till the rain should cease. No sooner had he entered it than he saw two men, who by their conversation appeared to be shepherds, coming towards that same temple. They seemed to have been watching their flocks near an adjacent field, and had come to shelter themselves from the rain in the temple. Sundara when he saw them, trembled for his life, and crept in. The shepherds sat down on the verandah, and taking out their bags began to chew betelnut. An idle lizard began to chirp in a corner. To break the silence, one said to the other, "Well, Rāmakōn, I have heard that you are a great soothsayer and interpreter of bird sounds and lizard speeches. Let me know what these chits of the lizard that we heard just now mean. Tell me," Rāmakōn replied, "This is news which I would never have revealed at any other time. But as no fourth person is likely to be here at this time on a rainy night, let me tell you that the prince of the town is now lingering here in this temple. So the lizard says. Hence I said, 'no fourth person.' I am glad that no evil hand has yet been tempted, though such a high price has been set upon his head. The very fact that he has lived up to this time unhurt in a tiger's domain augurs well for his future prosperity.'" Rāmakōn had scarcely finished his speech when the idle lizard again made its chit, chit, and Rāmakōn now asked his friend, Lakshmaṇākon, for that was the other's name, to interpret those sounds. "This has rather a sad meaning for the prince. The Mantri and Pradhān are coming here in a few minutes (nimīhas), to consult on a secret topic. So says the lizard," said Lakshmaṇākon to Rāmakōn, and at once a light was discovered at a distance. "It is the minister's carriage. Let us be off. God only must save the prince." So saying, they both ran away.

The feelings of the prince inside were like that of a man who was being led to the gallows. The bitterest enemy of his life, the minister himself, was coming to that very place where he was hiding. "I foolishly accused my old guardian, Raṅgavīraśīvar, and now I see his good intentions. How I am to be spared from this calamity Saṅkara only knows." Thus thinking, he hurriedly fled to the inmost part of the temple behind the very image, and sat down there, still like a stump, without even breathing freely, lest his breath might reveal him. He had ample time there to admire the sound knowledge of the shepherds in interpreting the lizard chirps, their simplicity, their honesty and truthfulness; for had they been otherwise, they might at once have caught hold of the prince and made him over to the tiger minister. True to the interpretation of the second shepherd, a carriage stopped in front of the Gaṇēśa temple, and there came out of it the Mantri and the Pradhān. Excepting themselves and, of course, the carriage driver and, as we know, the prince behind the Gaṇēśa, there were no others there. Kharavādana and his subordinate chose that solitary place at the dead of night to hold secret consultations. The Mantri spoke first, and one could easily perceive from his words that he was in a fit of anger. "Why should the prince be
thus allowed to ride free through my streets? Of the innumerable servants who eat our salt was there not one to cut down that impertinent head?" roared the minister. The Pradháni replied, "My king, my lord, excuse me first for the humble words that I am going to speak before your honour. We have taken up a kingdom to which we have no right. If the prince had demanded the throne two years ago, we ought rightfully to have returned it to him. He never asked, and we did not restore it. He never troubles us with demands, but lives like a poor subject of the crown in his own quarters. Such being the case, why should we kill him? Why should we murder the only son of our old and much-respected king Siváchá? What I beg to suggest to your honour is, that we should no more trouble ourselves about his poor head." The Pradháni, as he discovered that these words were not to the taste of Khara-
vadana, stopped at once without proceeding further, though he had much to say upon that subject. "Vile wretch! Dare you preach morals to your superiors. You shall see the result of this, before the morning dawns," bawled out the minister. The Pradháni saw that all his excellent advice was like blowing a conch in a deaf man's ears. He feared for his own life, and so at once begged a thousand pardons, and promised to bring the head of the prince within a week. And as Khara
vadana wanted only that, he spared the Pradháni. They then talked on different subjects, and prepared to start.

The prince inside, behind the Gaņeshavigraha, was now almost stifled to death. The short breaths that he inhaled and exhaled were themselves enough to kill him. Add to that the horrible words that fell on his ears. For all that he continued to hide himself, Khara
vadana and the Pradháni finished their conversation and got into the carriage. Sundara called courage to his assistance, "Sañkara has saved me till now; he may so save me through-out." So thinking with himself, he boldly came out of the temple without making the least noise and sat behind the carriage, and, as it rolled on, thought again with himself: "I will follow these, come what may, and find out what more plans they devise against my life."

The carriage drove on to the opposite end of the town. It passed the west gate and entered a big park outside the town. The undaunted prince followed. In the middle of the park a fine tank was discovered. The banks looked like day, being lighted up profusely. In the midst of the tank a small island with a gaudy mansion was seen. Pillars of gold, sofas of silver and doors of diamonds made it the very Indrakíśá itself. A broad road with avenues of sweet smelling flowering trees connected the island with the bank. It was at that road that the carriage stopped. The prince, before that was reached, had got down and hid himself under the shade of a tree, to see unobserved all that passed in the mansion which he had every reason to believe was the destination of the minister. Khara
vadana descended from the bándhí and sent the Pradháni home. What most astonished the prince was the absence of male servants in that garden. At the entrance of the road twenty young females of the most exquisite beauty waited and conducted Khara
vadana through the sweet bower to the mansion. When it was reached, the minister sat down on a most richly furnished gold couch, and ordered the females there to bring the queen. Ten females arranged themselves on each side of an ivory palanquin, and started, apparently, to bring the queen in it. "These females themselves resemble Rambhá Urvalí, &c. A woman who has the beauty to be borne on the heads of these females must, of course, be of the most unimaginable beauty in this world. Let me see her." Thus thinking, the prince, Sundara, anxiously waited the return of the palanquin. In a few minutes it came. A female of the most charming beauty jumped briskly out of it. The minister came running to give his helping hand to her. Horror of horrors, what sees the prince! It was his own wife, the very girl that the minister had married to him a few years before, that got down from the palanquin. "Are my eyes deceived? Do they perform their functions aright? Let me look once more." So again and again wiping his eyes to clear them a little, the prince saw distinctly. It was his very wife herself. "Oh, I most foolishly accused that grey-headed guardian for a wicked fool, because he would not allow me liberty with my wife. I now see what he saw a long time ago. Perhaps if I had slept by her side I should have thus been brought in here by some secret way that these
devils seem now to have to the inmost parts of the palace. If I had taken anything from her hands I should have died that very day. My poor old man, my Raaviraising it is, who has saved me from all these calamities." These thoughts and a thousand more were passing through Sundara's mind when he saw his wife sitting down on the same couch with the minister. She accused him of the delay in murdering her husband, of his letting all opportunities escape during the morning ride. "Horrible! Did you, Kharavadana, marry me to such a faithful wife! Thank God and Raaviraising that I have not fallen into her snares," thought Sundara to himself. The minister offered a thousand excuses, related to her all that had taken place between himself and the Pradhan, and of what the latter had promised. Then they both retired to bed. At that moment the treacherous owl began to hoot, and one of the maid-servants, who happened to be a clever interpreter of owl-hootings revealed, to secure the favour of the minister, that the prince was lurking behind a tree in that very garden. Knowing the prince set on Sundara's head even female hands flew to cut it off. All ran with torches to search the garden.

These words, of course, fell upon the ears of the prince like thunder. Before the people there began their search he began his race, jumped over a high wall, and flew like a kite. Before the lady-racers and the minister had left, their sweet road to the tank-bank, Sundara found himself in the north street of the town. The news that the prince was out that night spread like a flame from the pleasure-park outside throughout the whole town, and before long avaricious persons were searching in the streets. For his valuable head, Sundara thought it dangerous to pass through the streets, and wished to hide himself in a safe place. Fortune conducted him to one. It was a ruined choltry, where food, during the days of his father, was distributed in charity to the beggars of the town, and which was now only resorted to by them to sleep, and not to receive rice. The prince entered it, and laid himself down in the midst of them, fortunately unobserved. He could hear from where he was the noise of the persons searching outside. In the garden the minister searched in vain, and accusing the female for her wrong interpretation as he thought, retired to bed.

Outside the north gate, at a distance of three "qhatiakas" walk, lived a robber. He used to start out on a plundering expedition once in seven years. In the houses and mansions he used to rob he took only jewels of various kinds, Gomeda, pahparada, (topaz) vajra, vaibhriyada, &c.; gold and silver he rejected as being too mean for his dignity. As he was a gentleman-robber, he used to take a coolie with him on the way to carry his booty. Of course that coolie never returned from the cave. He was put to death after his services were over, lest he should disclose the secret of the robber.

Unfortunately, that new-moon night happened to be the night of that cruel robber's plundering expedition. He came out, and when he saw people in search of the prince, thinking that he was not in his palace, he wanted to plunder it. Wishing a coolie he entered the ruined choltry to pick out one of the beggars there. Passing over these others he came to the prince. He found him stout and strong. "This beggar will do more good service to-day. I shall break my custom, and amply reward this man for his services." So thinking to himself, the gentleman-robber tapped Sundara with his cane on the back. The prince had just closed his eyes. In the deep sleep that ensued he dreamed that the minister's servants were pursuing him, and that one had caught him. At that very moment the gentle-man-robber's stroke fell upon his back, giving a sort of reality to his dream. He awoke with horror. "Tell me who you are," asked the unknown person. "A beggar," was the reply. "How does the night appear to you?" asked the robber. "As dark as dark can be," replied the prince. The robber applied a spot of kajjala to the prince's eyes, and asked, "How does the night appear now?" "As luminous as if a harid of stars were in the sky," answered Sundara. The robber applied tila to the intended coolie's forehead and addressed him thus: "I am a robber, now going to plunder the palace, from which the prince is absent. Follow me: I shall reward you richly. The kajjala has made the night a day to you. The tila takes you unobserved wherever you wish to go." So saying, and dragging the coolie on supposed
cookie by the hand the robber went off to the palace. Wherever he found a door locked he applied a leaf that he carried in his hand to the fastening, and behold, the lock flew back, and the door opened of its own accord. The prince was astonished. In a few minutes the robber opened one and all of the gates and boxes, and extracted all the precious stones. He tied them up in a bundle, and set it on the prince’s head, and asked him to follow. Sundara followed. He assisted in the plunder of his own palace, and carried the booty behind the robber, who, praised be his stupidity, never for one moment suspected he was a prince, but admired his cookie for the beauty of his person, thought of saving his life, and also of making him his son-in-law. For the robber had a beautiful daughter, for whom he had long been searching for a suitable husband. So with this thought he reached the cave, stopped before it, and taking the bundle from the prince’s head ordered him to go into a large cell, the mouth of which he covered with a big stone, which he lifted up by pronouncing an incantation over it. The robber went with the bundle to his wife, and described to her the beauty of the cookie, and what a fair match he would be for their daughter. The wife did not like it, and asked her husband to do with the cookie as was usual, i.e., murder him; and the robber, who, never in anything acted against the will of his wife, went in to fetch his weapon.

Meanwhile the robber’s daughter, an excellent girl, of the most charming beauty, overhearing all that took place between her parents, came running to the cave where the cookie was confined. She pronounced a single word over the stone lid of the cave, and it opened, and the prince, who had lost all hopes of recovery, now beheld a beautiful girl coming towards him. “Whoever you may be, my dear cookie, fly for your life for the present. You are my husband. My father has so named you, but as my mother does not like it, he has gone to fetch his weapon to murder you. Excepting we three, none, not even Brahman, can open the once-shut gates. After hearing you once called my husband, I must ever regard you so. Now fly, and escape my father’s sharp sword. If you are a man, marry me in kind remembrance of the assistance rendered. If you fail to do so you are a beast, and I shall die a virgin.” So saying she conducted out in haste the supposed cookie, who had only time to take a hasty embrace, whispering in her ear that he was the prince, and that he would marry her without fail. He now ran for his life. Fearing the robber would come after him he left the way by which he reached the cave, and passing through unknown fields reached the south gate of the town. By that time the search for him had almost abated, and the prince, praising God for his delivery, reached the south street. The night was almost spent. Before returning to the palace he wished to take rest for a few minutes, till he had recovered his breath, and so he sat down on the pyal of an old and almost ruined house.

That happened to be the house of a poor Brāhmaṇ, who had not even sufficient clothes to wear. As the prince sat down in a corner of the pyal the door of the house opened, and the old Brāhmaṇ came out. The old woman, the Brāhmaṇ’s wife, was standing at the door with a vessel containing water for her husband. Subhāṣāstrī, for that was the Brāhmaṇ’s name, looked up to the sky for a couple of minutes, after which he heaved a deep sigh, and said, “Alas, the prince, the only son of our former protector, Siváḥār, is not to remain for more than two ghritikas, a kālāsarpṇa (black serpent) will sting him. What shall we do? We are poor. If we could begin Sarpa homa now we could tie the mouth of the snake, sacrifice it in the fire, and thus save the prince.” So saying the poor Brāhmaṇ cried. Sundara, who overheard everything, jumped down in confusion, and fell at the feet of the Brāhmaṇ, who asked him who he was.

“I am a herdsman of the palace. Preserve my master’s life,” was the reply. Subhāṣāstrī was extremely poor. He had no means to procure a small quantity of ghrit even to begin the homa. He did not know what to do. He begged from his neighbours, who all laughed at his stupidity, and ridiculed his astrology. The prince in a hopeless state of anguish wrung his hands, and in wringing them he felt his ring. Drawing it off his finger he gave it to Subhāṣāstrī, and requested him to pawn it. The latter resorted to the nearest bazar, and awakening the bazarkeeper procured from him a little ghrit, by pawning the ring. Running home and bathing in cold
water the Brähmaṇ sat down for the hōma. The prince, fearing the serpent, wished to sit inside the house, but at a distance from the place of the ceremony. Just at the appointed hour a large black serpent broke through the sky, fell on the head of the prince, whom he was not able to bite, and gave up its life in the fire. "This is no feather, but the very prince himself," said the Brähmaṇ. Sundara rose up, and running circumambulated them thrice, spoke to them thus: "You alone are my parents and protectors. This night has been a most adventurous one with me. There was every possibility of my escaping every other calamity, and so I did. But no other power except yours could have averted this snake-bite. So my rescue is due to you alone. I have no time to lose now. Before daylight I must fly unobserved to the palace, and you shall before long see my reward for this." So saying, Sundara ran to his palace, and entered.

Rāṇāvirāsiṅg was almost dead. The rumour that the prince was out reached him. He was astonished at the way in which Sundara had got out. He searched the whole palace. To his astonishment all the rooms had previously been opened and plundered. "Has the prince been stolen away by some vile tricks from the palace," thought Rāṇāvirāsiṅg, and without knowing what to do he was buried in the ocean of sorrow, from which he gave up all hopes of recovering. What was his joy, then, when he saw the prince enter the palace just at dawn. "Māi Bābha Chakravarti, where have you been the whole night, throwing away the advice of your poor slave? How many enemies you have in this world, you have yet to know," said Rāṇāvirāsiṅg. "I know them all now, only listen to what I say, and do as I bid. I have won the crown without a blow. Thank the day that gave me you as my protector, for it was only yesterday that I had ample reason to verify your statements. My adventures would make your hair stand on end. Thank God, I have escaped from all of them unhurt. If you have a few men ready now, we have won the kingdom." So saying, the prince explained to him every point of his adventure. "If we catch hold of the minister now, we have done all." "I could never for one moment think that you in a single night could have seen and done so much. Now that heaven has shown you the way, I shall obey you," said Rāṇāvirāsiṅg, and Sundara accordingly issued the orders. He described the house with the pyal on which he had lingered for a while the previous night, and asked a servant to bring the owner of that house to the Rājasthānik office. Rāṇāvirāsiṅg brought in the Pradhāni, who was extremely delighted at the good intention of the prince. He was offered the Mantri's place. Two were sent to the shepherds. Twenty were sent to the pleasure-park to have the minister and his sweet paramour brought to the court in chains. The female servants were also ordered to be brought. The robber and his cruel wife were not forgotten. The prince minutely described the cave, and asked his servants to catch and imprison the robber by surprising him suddenly, without giving him time to have recourse to his vile tricks—lock-breaking leaf, kajjala, &c. The palace palanquin was sent for the robber's daughter, whom the prince had firmly made up his mind to marry. The palace elephants were decked and sent to fetch with all pomp Subbāśāstri and his wife to the court. Thus, without a single stroke, Sundara won the kingdom. Rāṇāvirāsiṅg was thunderstruck by the excellent and bold way in which the prince in one night went through the series of calamities, and successfully overcame them all. The Pradhāni's delight knew no bounds. He himself broke open the court and every one connected with the previous night's adventure was ushered in. The prince bathed, offered up his prayers, and attended the council. When Subbāśāstri came in with his wife the prince put them on the sīh-dāsana, and himself standing before them, explained to all his previous night's adventures, rewarded the poor Brähmaṇ and the shepherds, punished by banishment the maid-servant who, knowing that the prince's head was coveted, revealed his concealment, and ordered his wife, the minister, the robber, and the robber's wife to be beheaded. He rewarded without limit his protector, Subbāśāstri, and married the robber's daughter, being won over by her sincerity. The Pradhāni, as we have said already, he made his minister, and with his old guardian, the faithful Rāṇāvirāsiṅg, the prince reigned for several years in the kingdom of Vaṃjaimānagar.
To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—With the story of Zerka, the lynx-eyed watchman of Nur, given by Mr. Howorth in your number for July 1884 (p. 296) compare the following from Captain Playfair's "History of Arabia Felix."

"He informed Hassan Tobba (reigned in Yemen 237-250 A.D.) that he had a sister named Zerka-el-Yemama, married to one of the Jadisites, who was possessed of such a wonderful power of vision that she could distinguish objects at a distance of several days' journey; and recommended that each soldier should carry before him branches of trees to conceal the approach of the force. This advice was followed; but in spite of the precaution Zerka-el-Yemama descried the advancing army at a great distance; and informed the tribe that she saw a forest advancing, beyond which were the Hymyrites. No heed was given to this warning, and when, a short time afterwards, she declared that she saw a soldier step out of the ranks to repair his sandal, she was laughed to scorn; and no preparations for defence being taken until it was too late, the Hymyrites attacked and exterminated the Jadisites; only one escaped. Zerka-el-Yemama was taken, and deprived of sight. When her eyes were extracted, it was found that the eyeball was traversed with black fibres; and she avowed that she owed her wonderful eyesight to a salve of powdered antimony. It has been said that she was the first Arab female who employed kohl or collyrium. The province of Jân, the seat of the Jadisites, was subsequently called after her Yemama."

So far Captain Playfair, quoting Cassin de Percival, and I have seen the story somewhere else, with the remark that Zerka or Serca means "Blue-eyes" (?). Mr. Howorth's authority is apparently Petit de la Croix; but the original Arab story must have been carried up and localized at Nur by some professional story-teller; and afterwards laid hold of by De la Croix' authority.

Birnam Wood has certainly marched a good deal about the world in its day.

W. F. Sinclair.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Principal, Gujarat College.

Continued from p. 212.

153. Don't trust one who has no religion, nor be friendly with him who has no fidelity, nor associate with him who has no understanding, nor tell a secret to one who is not true.

154. Ask not from him whose refusal you fear.

155. Don't strive with one whom you cannot vanquish.

156. Promise nothing which you cannot give.

157. Have no dealings with him from whom you cannot expect justice.

158. Don't say all that you know, for there is enough of folly in it.

159. Don't repudiate a friend, though he may be ungrateful, nor believe an enemy though he thank you.

160. Don't disclose your secret to your wife or servant, for they will reduce you to slavery; do not exceed moderation in your desires and anger for they will disarm you.

161. Don't think little of an enemy though he may be weak.

162. Do nothing which may dishonour your reputation and good name.

163. Let not your desires reduce you to slavery, for God created you free.

164. Do not grieve for pardon granted to others, nor rejoice at punishment inflicted on them.

165. Do not associate too much with kings, or if you frequent their company for a long time they may get tired of you, and if you advise them they may treat you badly.

166. Don't associate with worldly people, for if you are poor they will despise you, but if rich they will envy you.

167. Don't rejoice over riches nor grieve over poverty and trials, for gold is tried in the fire and the pious man in afflictions.

168. Don't put the anxieties of a whole year into one day, let that which is appointed suffice for each day; for if you should live the whole year God will give on each to-morrow that which is destined, but if you should not live, what is the use of being anxious about what is not yours.

169. A wise man should address a fool as a doctor does a sick man.

170. There are foursigns of failing fortune, viz. bad management, base profession, little attention, and much sloth.

171. As there is no reward for your soul except Paradise, so don't sell it except for that Paradise.

172. Many men are tempted by ingenious words.

173. He who is contented with his own lot has enough.

174. He who sees and disapproves of the view of men and afterwards is himself pleased with them is very foolish indeed.

175. The glory of poverty is abstinence, the glory of riches is gratitude.
176. He who prolongs expectation spoils the work.
177. The value of a man is in proportion to his magnanimity.
178. His good actions determine the value of a man.
179. No one will go to Heaven whose inmost thoughts are not good and intentions sincere.
180. A wise man should be on his guard against the intoxication of riches and power and knowledge and praise, and the fervour of youth, for in all these there is an impure odour which takes away the understanding and lessens seriousness.

BOOK NOTICE.


This is a posthumous work by the late Professor E. H. Palmer. The MS. left imperfect at his death has been completed and edited by Mr. G. le Strange. At the head of the work stands Prof. Palmer's Simplified Grammar of Persian published in 1882, to which the editor has added a useful list of the irregular verbs and a set of rules and tables for calculating the year of the Hijrah.

The Persian-English Dictionary, by Prof. Palmer, which was published in 1876, has been taken as the basis of the present. Those who have had occasion to use that volume must have remarked the freshness and individuality that stamped each page, and must at once have acknowledged that the work, in the choice and rendering of words and phrases, was the direct outcome of much study and much experience in teaching.

The expectations we had thus been led to entertain respecting the English-Persian part have been fully realised. In some cases we should perhaps have wished to see some other Persian equivalent, and in some few instances the addition of one or more synonyms; but in a work of such small compass much thought must have been given to deciding what equivalents to insert or omit... In the course of a careful examination we have been struck with the fine judgment and scholarly instinct evinced throughout. We have noted many words and phrases for which we should have to look in vain in other Dictionaries, and many of these are of extreme importance for colloquial purposes; while we have been particularly pleased with the manner in which the various shades of English verbs according to the preposition used have been reproduced in their Persian renderings.

We confidently commend this work to Students and Travellers. They will find it invaluable as containing the words and idioms essential alike for writing and conversation, and every one may fully trust to the material that has been supplied him by so accomplished an author.

In a postscript to the preface, the following curious instance of plagiarism is exposed.—In 1880, Sorabehaw Bayramji Doctor, published a small Persian-English Dictionary at Surat, which, while professing to be his own composition, is "no more than an incorrect reprint of Professor Palmer's Persian-English Dictionary." "Here and there some pages are so altered as to imply that they were borrowed elsewhere, but there is no mention of the work of Professor Palmer, from which it has been copied at least nine-tenths, word for word, and in one passage an orthographical error has been ignorantly copied verbatim et literatim as is the manner displayed in the remainder of the work."


Into this small tract of 62 pages 12mo. Dr. Murray Mitchell has contrived to condense a remarkably full and lucid account of the Zend-Avesta and of the principal religious tenets and practices of the Parsis. It is rare indeed to find in so short a space so much information set forth so clearly and with such elegance of style and accuracy of fact. The author, to much personal knowledge of the system he describes, has also brought to his task an acquaintance with the writings of the most recent continental students of the subject treated of, such as Haag, West, Spiegel, Roth, Hovelacque, de Harlez and Darmesteter. For its fulness and accuracy this tract may be heartily commended to all who desire a short, readable, and correct popular account of Parsism.
No. CL.

At pp. 119 to 124 above, I have published two grants, and noticed a third, of the Gāṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, dated respectively in the years 125, 141, and 91, of some unspecified era. In the course of my remarks on those grants, at page 120, I mentioned some rather later grants connected with these three. I now deal with these later grants.

The present grant is another of those that were found together with the grant of Nanda-prabha-janavarman, No. CXXXVIII. pp. 43 ff. above, at ‘Chicaco’ in the ‘Ganjam’ District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Grahame to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me, for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. Sewell, C.S.

The grant consists of three plates, each about 7½ in. long by 2½ in. broad. The edges of the plate are here and there fashioned slightly thicker, but not so uniformly or in so marked a way as to show whether this was done intentionally, to serve as a raised rim to protect the writing. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about 4 in. thick and 3½ in. in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is oval, about 1½ by 1½ ; and it has, in relief on the surface of the seal itself,—not, as is usually the case, on a countersunk surface,—the figure of a bull-couchant to the proper right, with the moon above it. The weight of the three plates is 54½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 19½ tolas,—total, 74½ tolas. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and the style agrees closely throughout with the style of the three grants of Indravarman mentioned above.

The order recorded in this inscription is issued, as in the three grants of Indravarman, from the victorious camp or residence situated at the city of Kaliṅga-giri (line 2), by the renowned Dēvendra-varma-bhūya (line IV.),—who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of Gokarṇasvāmi (line 4),—who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśiva (lines 9-10);—and who is the son of the Mahārāja Anantavarman, the glory of the family of the Gāṇgas (lines 10-11). It is addressed to the Kṣitindersvara residing at the village of Tamaracherry in the Varahavartanī viśaya (lines 11-12),—evidently the same village with the Tamaracherry that is the subject of the grant of Indravarman of the year 123. The passage that follows is incorrect as it stands. But with the emendations that I have proposed in the text, it records that, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun (line 15), and after performing libations of water before Gokarṇasvāmi on the summit of the mountain Mahendra (lines 14-15), the said village of Tamaracherry was given by Dēvendra-varma to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of the Vaiśākha-vāsa (line 13). The boundaries of the village are defined in lines 15 to 19; but this passage contains nothing of importance. Lines 19 to 22 contain two of the usual beneficent and imperatric verses. In lines 22 and 23 there is given, in words, the date of the fifty-first year of the augmenting victorious reign of the Gāṇgas lineage. And lines 23 and 24 record that the inscription was written or composed by the Śāntaka Nāgarāja, and was engraved by the akṣara-Śyāmaditya Sarvadhāna.

I have two other inscriptions, closely connected with the present one,—The first of them, from the Vizagapatam District, is issued from the city of Kaliṅga-giri by the glorious Dēvendra-varman,—the supreme lord of the whole of Gāṅga; the most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśiva; the ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṇgas; and the son of the glorious Mahārāja Anantavarman. It records the grant of some villages in the Dārakam Varmanā viśaya by Dharmahādā, the

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1 No. 129 in Mr. Sewell’s published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, ante Vol. X. p. 243, No. 4.
2 Usually the sun and moon are both represented. We have another instance, in which the moon alone appears, in the seal of No. CXLIV. p. 137 above.
3 No. 130 in Mr. Sewell’s published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, ante Vol. X. p. 243, No. 6.
maternal uncle of Dévendravarmā. And it is
dated, in words and figures, in the year 254
of some unspecified era, and on the first day of
the first fortnight of the month Phalguna.
This inscription is in characters of the same
type with those of the inscription now published
in full, but at the same time considerably more
archaic in form, and approaching in that
respect far more closely to the characters of the
grants of Indravarmā.—The second of them
from Chicacole,' is issued from the city of
Kaliänganagara by the glorious Satyavarmadēva,—the supreme lord of the whole of
Kaliṅga; the most devout worshipper of the
god Mahādeva; and the son of the glorious
Mahārāja Dévendravarmā, the ornament of the
spotless family of the Gaṅgas. It records the
grant, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun,
of the village of Tārurgrāma in the Gālā
vīhāra. And, like the present grant now
published in full, it is dated, in words, in the
fifty-first year of the centuries of the Gāṅgēśa
lineage. This inscription is in characters of
the South-Indian Nāgarī type, differing alto-
gether from the characters of the grants of
Indravarmā and Dévendravarmā.

These three grants of Dévendravarmā and
Satyavarmā are shown, by the characters in
which they are engraved, to be of later date
than the three grants of Indravarmā. Conse-
quently, the fifty-first year, which is quoted in
one of the grants of Dévendravarmā and in
the grant of his son Satyavarmā, cannot be
referred to the same epoch with the dates of
91, 128, and 146, of Indravarmā. And, partly
because of this, and partly because in each
instance the year is mentioned without any
specification of the month and the lunar day,
I am inclined to look upon it as some conven-
tional expression, which cannot be just now
explained, and to consider that only the year
254, in connection with which we have the
specification of both the month and the lunar
day, is a correct date for Dévendravarmā, and
that it may be referred to the same era with
the dates of Indravarmā, whatever that era
may be.

Dr. Burnell* has mentioned some inscrip-
tions of the tenth century at Jayapura in the
‘Ganjam’ District, belonging to a dynasty

which seems to have been established by fugi-
tives of the Veṅgi family in the seventh cen-
tury, and to have risen to power again for a
time, with Kaliṅganagara as the capital, during
the anarchy that existed from A.D. 977 to
1004. From these inscriptions he gives three
names,—Jayavarmā; his son, Anantavarmā,
in A.D. 985; —and his son, Rājendravarmā.
In my three inscriptions, Jayavarmā is not
mentioned; and we have the three names of
Anantavarmā; his son, Dévendravarmā;
—
and his son, Satyavarmā. When I first noticed
these inscriptions, I was inclined to identify
the Anantavarmā of the two sets, allotting
him two sons, Dévendravarmā and Rājendravarmā. But, if Dr. Burnell's date of A.D.
985 for Anantavarmā is correct,—which, how-
ever, I have no means of testing,—I do not
now think that this can be done; for the
date of Dévendravarmā would thus be A.D.
1010; and then, referring the recorded date of
the year 254 for Dévendravarmā to the same
era with the dates of 91, 128, and 146, for
Indravarmā, the result would be to bring the
grants of Indravarmā to a later period than is
indicated by the palaeographical standard of
them. I have already suggested that, on his-
torical as well as palaeographical grounds, Indravarmā may be referred to about Śaka 579
to 582 (A.D. 657-58 to 660-61). Taking 136 as
the mean between the two certain dates of
Indravarmā, and taking this as equivalent to
Śaka 580,—this would bring Dévendravarmā
to about Śaka 696 (A.D. 774-75). And this
is about the latest period to which, on paleo-
graphical grounds, his grant of the year 254
can be referred.

As regards the dynastic name used in these
inscriptions,—in the three grants of Indravarmā, it is written ‘Gaṅga,’ with the vowel
of the first syllable long,—No. CXLII. 1. 4,
ante p. 121; No. CXLIII. 1. 8, ante p. 123;
and, as I have now satisfied myself by personal
inspection of the original plates, in l. 5 of the
‘Parla-Kimedi’ grant,—in l. 8 of the grant of
Dévendravarmā of the year 254, the same
form occurs, ‘Gaṅga.’—In l. 13 of the grant
of Satyavarmā of the fifty-first year of the
centuries of the Gāṅgēśa lineage, the form
that is used is ‘Gaṅga,’ with the vowel of the

* South-Indian Palæography, p. 53.
* ante, p. 126.
first syllable short, as in the present inscription. And the same form, 'Gaṅga,' is used in ll. 11-12 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of Anantavarma, otherwise called Chōda-Gaṅgadhēva, of Śaka 1003, and in l. 57 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of the same person of Śaka 1040, and in ll. 7-8 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of the same person of Śaka 1057. The origin of the name, as well as of that of 'Gaṅgēya-rashā' or 'the Gaṅgēya lineage' which is used in the dates of the grants of Dēvendravarma and Sātyavarma, is, professively explained in ll. 16-19 of the grant of Śaka 1040 mentioned above. This passage occurs in the mythological genealogy, anterior to Vīraśīṅha, the alleged historical founder of the family. After mentioning Turvasu, the son of Yayāti, it proceeds,—

Transcription.13

First plate.

[1] Œm Svasti Amara-pūr-ānu-kāraṇa[h *] sarv-a[r *] tu-sukha-ramaṇyaḥ-dvijaya-
[2] vata[h *] Kaliṅgā[hu]-nagardhivāsakā[r *] Mahēndr-āchāl-āmāla-śikhara-pratishtitha-
[3] sya sacharāchāra-gurū[hr *] sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇa-aika-sūtra-drāhāra-saśā-
[4] ūka-chūdāmaṇi[p *] bhagavatō Gōkarpā-svāmīnāśa-charaṇa-kaman-yaug-
[5] la-prañām[hr *] vīgata-Kali-kalaṃkō-nēk-aḥava-sankshēbha-ja-nita-ja-

Second plate; first side.

[1] manja[hr *] ri-punja[hr *] raṇjī[du *] nija-nistriśa-dhār-ōpārīta-vara-čaraṇa-sīta-kumud-
[2] nd-ēndu-vadā[hr *] yaśā[hr *] dvāhast-ārāti-kulāchalā naya-vinaya-dāyā-dāna-dākshi-
[4] śvarō mātānītr[hr *] pād-anudhyātō Gaṅgā-āmala-kula-tīlakā-mahārāja-
[11] śrīmā(mad-A) nantavarmadēva-sānu[h *] Śrī-Dēvendravarmadēva[h *] kuśali(l) Varā-
[14] nyān(uñ)-mā′ma-vishaye Tāmarachheru-nāma-grāma-nivasānaṁ kuṭumbinaṁ samā-

Second plate; second side.

[1] jnā(jā) payaṭi Vīditaṃ-catu dhba(bha) vataṃ grāmō-yayām Vājasanāya-charaṇa-nā-
[14] nā-gōta-vraḥ(bh) ṣanā-satya-tray[āya *] Mahi(h) ndra-ākharair Gōkarpā-bhāttārakā-
[1] daka-pūvakaṃ kri(kri) tvā sū[r *] jya-grah-ōparāgē datam[18] [[[ *]] Atra si(ṣ) ma-liṅgā-
[11] ni bhavanti pūrvamāṇi diṣṭi pura(va)ma-rājīkā vara-vadhun(hū)-pāṣāṇā[h *] pu(p)-
[17] na[h *] vāna-rājīkā dakhisphāyam diṣṭi vāna-rājīkā Tentat puṇa[h *] vāna-rājīkā-
[18] paśchimamāṇi diṣṭi vāna-rājīkā vā(va)ma-lika[m *] ut[hr *] aṣāya[m *] diṣṭi vāna-

10 No. 213 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants.
11 See No. 219.
12 See No. 215.
13 From the original plates.
14 First prā was engraved, and then it was corrected into pā by partial erasure of the subscript r.
15 First ma was engraved, and then it was partially erased and it was engraved over it.
16 Correct into kund-endvavāda.
17 Here, and in some instances further on, we have a form of a which is entirely different from that which is used in the earlier part of the inscription.
19 Correct into datāhr.
20 This anūṣāra is a mistake.
21 This anūṣāra, again, is a mistake.
PAPERS ON ŚATRUŅJAYA AND THE JAINAS.

VII.—GACHCHHAS, ŚRIPUTHAS, YATIS, NUNS, &C.

1. The Jainā Gachchhas or Castes.

The Jainā Gachchhas are 84 in number, but only 8 of them now exist in Gujarāt:—Vīśā Usva, Daśā Usva, Vīśā Śrimālī, Daśā Śrimālī, Vīśā Pūrva, Daśā Pūrva, Vīśā Māru, and Daśā Māru. In Kāliśwād the Vīśa Gachchhas intermarry with the Daśa Gachchhas; but in Āhmadābād Vīśas marry only with Vīśas, and Daśas only with Daśas. Each caste has its own Dēvī or goddess. There are also two goddesses for each family—a Jāṭīdēvī or caste goddess, always worshipped in the houses, and a Kuladevī or family goddess, worshipped in separate temples; sometimes these latter goddesses are also placed in the temples of the Tirthānkaras.

The Kuladevī or family goddess of the Vīśa Usvas is Uṣ or Uṣḍevī, seen on the right-hand side of the entrance of Ḫat:testing's temple at Āhmadābād.

Every Tirthānkara has two female attendant spirits, one a Dēvī, and the other a Yakṣī or Yakṣāṇī. To each also a sacred tree (vrikṣa) is assigned, and a Yakṣa. The following is a list of the vrikṣas, yakṣas and yakṣāṇis belonging to the several Tirthānkaras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vrikṣa</th>
<th>Yakṣa</th>
<th>Yakṣāṇi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭa</td>
<td>Gomukha</td>
<td>Chakrāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāla</td>
<td>Mahāyaksha</td>
<td>Ajitabālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayāla</td>
<td>Trimukha</td>
<td>Duritāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyaṅgu</td>
<td>Nāyaka</td>
<td>Kālikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāla</td>
<td>Tumburu</td>
<td>Mahākālī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatra</td>
<td>Kusuma</td>
<td>Śyāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śirāha</td>
<td>Mātaṅga</td>
<td>Śāntā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāga</td>
<td>Vījaya</td>
<td>Bhṛikuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālī</td>
<td>Ajita</td>
<td>Sutārkākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyaṅgu</td>
<td>Brahmayaksha</td>
<td>Āśokā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanduka</td>
<td>Yakṣēta</td>
<td>Mānavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭala</td>
<td>Kumāra</td>
<td>Chandā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāmbu</td>
<td>Shāyukha</td>
<td>Vīdita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśoka</td>
<td>Pāṭala</td>
<td>Viditā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadhiṇaṇḍa</td>
<td>Kiṃnara</td>
<td>Aṅknā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandi</td>
<td>Garuḍa</td>
<td>Kandarpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhilaka</td>
<td>Gandharva</td>
<td>Nirvāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambā</td>
<td>Yakṣēta</td>
<td>Balā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśoka</td>
<td>Kubēra</td>
<td>Dhārīṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champaka</td>
<td>Varuṇa</td>
<td>Dharamapriyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakula</td>
<td>Bhṛikuti</td>
<td>Naradattā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṭasa</td>
<td>Gomēṭha</td>
<td>Gāndhāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhāṭakā</td>
<td>Pārvayaksha</td>
<td>Ambikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāla</td>
<td>Mātaṅga</td>
<td>Padmavatī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For these and other details, See Raināstra, bhāg. Spp. 796ff.
Sarasvatī is called the Śāsanādevī of all the Tirthaṅkaras.

2. Śrīpājyas.
Every Gachchha has a Śrīpāja or head priest. For those Gachchhas which exist only in name there are no Śrīpājyas; but all existing Gachchhas have head priests. These are appointed by the previous Śrīpāja during his life-time, or in case this is not done, he is appointed by the Śrāvakas. Formerly only Saṅvēgis were chosen as Śrīpājyas. But the office now-a-days carries much pomp with it, the head priest having a regular establishment of horses, attendants, &c. For this the Saṅvēgis despise the office, and now only Jatis are chosen to the position. The duties of a Śrīpāja are to buy Brāhmaṇa boys, and instruct them in the Jaina religion, rearing them as Jatis, and to send them to preach the Jaina religion to the public. These Śrīpājyas themselves go in circuit, discourse with the Śrāvakas, and convert people.

3. Saṅvēgis and Jatis.
The Jatis or Jatis are ascetics or devotees, analogous to the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsis. There are two classes of these among the Jainas—
Saṅvēgis and Jatis.
Saṅvēgis are Śrāvakas or born Jainas, who, in old age, or at any time they like, renounce the world and become Saṅvēgis. They do not receive ordination, as the Jatis do, from their Śrīpāja or head priest. They themselves become so at their pleasure. The Saṅvēgi is initiated thus:—He is conducted out of the town by crowds of Śrāvakas with music and joy; he is placed beneath a tree having milky juice, generally the Baniyan, Vad or Ficus Indica, and there, surrounded by a circle composed exclusively of Saṅvēgis, who pull out the hairs of his locks in five pulls; applying camphor, muk, sandal, saffron, and sugar to the place. He is next stripped naked and placed before another Saṅvēgi who pronounces this mantra in his ear:—

करीमित्व वेलसाहिभाय, साहजम्बो वेलकालामाथ आ नस्तिं विवेदिभिरिविशिष्टं मणिभो वायाय, काराचिम न करीमिति, न काराचिति तस्म भवति परिकालामाथ, निदालाम गरिहामाथ, अयापाण वातिरामाथ, विह एः।

9 In the Parvavatadha Charita, Parvavatadha is described as tearing five handfuls of hair from his head on becoming a devotee. Conf. Delamarina, Trans. Roy. Asiatic Soc. vol. I, p. 433.

These Saṅvēgis avoid all pomp, live on alms, put on dyed clothes, have no fixed dwelling places, but wander about the country, preaching to the public about the Jaina religion and making converts.

After becoming Saṅvēgis, they pull out hair from their heads in five locks also once a year, on the day of Chharaśchxcari; and they may do so at any other time they choose. These Saṅvēgis are the only Jaina Sannyāsis in the true sense of the word.

The second class—Jatis, are more numerous than the former. The Jatis are sometimes the children of Wāṇyiyas or Kupibi, who often devote them from their infancy; now-a-days the children of poor Brāhmaṇa are bought largely for this purpose; and occasionally they are dedicated in consequence of vows made by Wāṇiyas without children, who promise their first-born to their Śrīpāja or head priest, in hopes of obtaining further posterity. Whilst young the Jati is placed under a Guru, for whom he performs many domestic services. At a proper age he is initiated in the same way as the Saṅvēgi, only his hair is not pulled out in five locks. His Guru takes only five hairs for form's sake, and his head is afterwards clean shaved. Instead of a Saṅvēgi, his Guru pronounces the initiation mantra in his ear. He then receives the cloth of a Jati—a pure white cloth (Guj. chalota, Sans., chosar)—of a yard and a half for his loins, one of two and a half yards for his head, a kambali (Sans. kambala) or country blanket for his body, a trīpuṣi or waterpot, a plate or pātra for his victuals, a cloth to tie them up in, a black rod (daṇḍa) to guard himself from hurt but not to injure others, and a rujukaraṇa or besom (Guj. ṃkha), to sweep the ground with. He does not return to his Guru's residence till the next day. He lives on charity, and procures his food ready dressed from the houses of Śrāvakas, Brāhmaṇas or others. He may purchase dressed food, but may not dress it for himself; he must not eat or drink while the sun is below the horizon; he must abstain from all roots, as yams, onions, &c., and from butter and honey (mādīghu, madhu, makha, and mad). The Jatis wear loose clothing, with their heads bare, and their hair and beards clipped; and

9 This same mantra, except the part enclosed in brackets, is repeated daily by every Śrāvaka before beginning his prayers. For the bracketed portion he substitutes—स्वामन्, वस्तुसाकामि, प्रक्ष्यतिविविष्टं ||
they ought never to bathe; but now-a-days they do so. Sometimes they live together in pôsaras (pôsadâdas), and ever after a Jati has left one of these, he yields a sort of allegiance to the Gurûji or head of the Pôsala.

The Jatis are not Sannyásins in the real sense of the word. They are fond of pomp, silver and bronze vessels, and cloths with ornamental borders. Many of the Jatis are traders, and always carry money with them. They neglect pûja; though it is their duty to read and expound the Jaina Sûtras to the Srâvakas at the temples, they never perform any of the religious ceremonies. Some Jatis have concubines, whom they seclude in villages, but do not bring into the larger towns. Morally they are not a good lot.

4. The Girîs.

Girîs or Sûbdhîras are the nuns of the Jainas. A girl, according to their Sûrutis, must at least have attained the age of nine to become a Girî; but practically the age at which they become nuns is between 15 and 17. They become Girîs with the permission of their guardians; if married the woman must obtain the permission of her husband, in which case the latter can marry again; but these rules are not always observed. Thus a girl, a married woman, as well as a widow, may become a Sûbdhîrî. If once she becomes a nun, she must continue so throughout life.

The place where the nuns live is called an Upâsara. According to the Sûtras not less than three nuns must occupy an Upâsara; but when there are only two nuns, the rule is not considered broken. There is a head nun in every Upâsara, called the Pravartini. She is appointed by the Aâchârya. One of the Girîs is chosen to that post on the ground either of long residence in the Upâsara, or of learning, or of austerity. The Girî appointed Pravartini on account of her learning is called Sutathavirâ, (Sansk. Srutasthavirâ); if on account of age, Vayathavirâ; if on account of austerity, Tapathavirâ. The Girîs wear four cloths, an outer one called kapada, a nether cloth called sûda, a laâkya or laâkgûthi, and a chaukâ or bodice. Kambalas, or woollen blankets, and dûnas they carry for covering themselves and sitting upon. They also carry a stick called dañda or dàndo.

When they go out they wear a mohopî (Sansk. mukhyopî), or mouth-band. They perform Pratikrama, or the repetition of prayers twice a day; go and listen to the Aâchâryas discourses; examine their clothes twice a day, and carefully remove any vermin. This is called Padâla. When one of them perceives an insect she must not blow it out, lest it die, but remove it carefully, so as not to endanger its life. This they do before cowsries called Aâchâryasthâpanas (or acting Aâchâryas). They beg their meals, and may not cook,—for touching fire is strictly prohibited. The five elements are supposed to have life, and fire being an element has also life. Hence the objection to touch it.

When going to beg they carry three or five vessels placed in a wallet hung round the wrist. A cloth, folded more or less, according to the season, is thrown over the wallet. This cloth is called Palla; in summer it is folded into two, in the dewy season into four, and in the rainy season into five. They beg every day, except on fast days. In Ahmadâbâd they beg only from Srâvakas' houses. In Northern India at any house. They receive hot water cooled from Srâvakas for their drink. If anything is left after their meals, they mix it in sand, in order that it may not rot and breed insects.

Their bed is called Santara. It is made either of straw or a kambala. In the rainy season they sleep on planks. Their night is divided into three parts, yâmas or watches. In the first watch they talk with the Srâvikas. In the second yâma they sleep; and in the third yâma self-contemplation or Saññâdâhana (Sansk. Savâdhyayana dhyâna) is performed. This however is very rarely done, except by the most learned; but in place of it they devote themselves to the recollection of what was taught them the previous day by the Aâchârya.

5. The Eternal Tirthamkaras.

Like the Chiranjitês, or eternal existing sages of the Brâhmaṇa religion, the Jainas also believe in Sâvata or eternal Tirthamkaras. But while the Hindus have seven the Jainas have only four. Their names are:

1. rîkhabhabhând Rîkhabhabhânda.
2. chandranând Chandrânanda.
3. vârîkhêna Vârîkhêna.
and 4. vâdhamân Vâdhamân.

Kamaṭha, a sage, was practising austerities between the Paśchāyana or five fires, on the banks of the Ganges at Bānāras, when Pārśvanātha went to visit him. Pārśvanātha by his Avasaṭīṣṭhāna, perceived a serpent half-burnt in the flames. He took out the log in which it was, and pronounced one naukāra over it. The serpent died at once, and became Dharaṇīḍra of Pāṭāla. Kamaṭha by his austerities became Mēghamālā (cloud-garland). The rescue of the serpent by Pārśvanātha displeased Kamaṭha, and when Pārśvanātha was engaged in the kauśyāya meditation, Kamaṭha in the form of Mēghamālā, raised a fierce wind, with rain and hail. The flood reached to his nostrils. Dharaṇīḍra, in remembrance of Pārśvanātha's previous favour, came and over-canopied his patron's head with his sevenfold hood. The goddess Padmāvatī took the form of a lotus, and raised Pārśvanātha up to the surface of the water. Dharaṇīḍra assumed also a different shape and drove Mēghamālā away. The difficulty was thus removed, and Pārśvanātha reached Kevalajñāna, when Kamaṭha came to him, and confessed his sin. He was pardoned, and afterwards became a Jaina.

This legend resembles that of the temptation of Buddha by Mara. It is often represented in the Jaina Caves of Elura.*

7. Ōkāra and Hrūkāra.

The Ōkāra or the syllable Ōḥ among the Jainas, they regard as made up of five separate letters, a + ə + u + ə + ō—these being the initial letters of the five sacred orders among them;—

A is Arhat; Ā, Āchārya; S, Siddha; U, Upādhyāya; and M, Muni. The sandhi by which they get Ōḥ is a + ə = ə; ə + u = ō; ō + ō = ōḥ. Thus Ōḥ is obtained without reference to the fact that ə + u can never become ə. Some substitute another ə in place of ə, and explain it as the initial letter of Aśārā, a synonym of Siddha.

Hrūkāra is a symbol, belonging to Pārśvanātha. Hṛ is composed of the three letters ha, ra, and i., ha meaning Pārśvanātha, ra—Dharaṇīḍra,* and i—Padmāvatī.

These syllables or symbols are often represented in coloured marbles inserted in the walls of the maṇḍapas of their temples. On the lines of the symbol are carved small figures in rock crystal and yellow and black stone of their saints. The symbols are thus written—

\[
\text{and } \text{ } \text{ }
\]

On the dot of the Ōḥ, which is of black marble is a figure of an Arhat; on the crescent, of yellow stone, is the Āchārya; on the upper bar, of dark red stone, is the Siddha; on the second bar, of yellow stone, is the Upādhyya; and on the lower turn of the symbol, of black marble, is the Muni.

On the Hṛūkāra symbol, the whole twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are represented in their appropriate colours. Thus on the anusvāra are two small squatted figures in black; on the yellow lunule are two in white; on the upper horizontal stroke are two in red; on the next two bars are six each and one at the curve on the left, all yellow; on the short horizontal stroke of the ṛ is one, another at its junction with the downstroke, and a third in line with these two on the downstroke of the ḫ; and lastly there is one on the vertical stroke of the ı, opposite the upper bar, and another opposite the lower horizontal stroke of the ḫ;—

in all twenty-four.

Among the Hindūs, the syllable Ōḥ is the bijakṣara, or mystical symbol for Brahma; Hrūḥ and Hṛūḥ for Śakti; and Ōḥ for Gaṇapati.

I have just received from Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Pekin, a sketch of a Chinese copper medal, a little over 3 inches in diameter, with a foursided figure, filling the centre, the sides slightly curved inwards, and on each side of this a Sanskrit symbol; that above is Ōḥ; and below is Hṛūḥ, to the right is Hṛūḥ; and to the left Gṛūḥ. The accompanying representation shows the position and forms of the symbols on the medal:—

* There are three kinds of Jhāna, or knowledge, according to the Jaina—Mūlajñāna, or common knowledge; Ṣruta-jñāna, or book knowledge; and Avasaṭiṣṭhāna, or foreknowledge. The latter is said to be the special possession of Tīrthaṅkaras.
* See Cave Temples, p. 496, and pl. lxxvi.
* For these names see preceding note on Pārśvanātha.
The same syllables appear on both sides of the medal, and Dr. Bushell thinks it is probably Buddhist; and this can hardly be doubted. It is well known that the Buddhists, like the Hindús and Jainas, attach importance to these mystic syllables. A full explanation of them would be most interesting.

Pañḍit Bhagwânâlî Indraji, Ph.D., suggests that it is a yantra of the Tantric Baudhâ system, the four characters Ōm, hrûâ, hrûb, hrûsh representing the four Jîjâna Buddhás usually figured on the four sides of a stûpa, the fifth (Vïarôchana) being supposed to occupy the centre, and as he is unrepresented on the stûpas, so the symbol hrûb is omitted on the medal. He reads the syllables on it grûb, hrûb, hrûsh, hrûb, and supposes the first to be a mistake for hrûm, which is the usual syllable.

The medal may belong to about the eleventh century A.D.


Jalajâtra or the water festival, is performed on one of the three following occasions:—1, at the consecration of a new Tîrthañkâra; 2, at the putting up of a new dhvajasthamba; and 3, on the prevalence of a plague. The main ceremony of the festival is to bring water to bathe the Tîrthañkâra.

On the day previous to the Jâtra 108 pits are made in the sandy bed of a sacred river or near a tank; the water of the river or tank is made to flow into these holes. On the Jâtra day a procession starts from the place where the Tîrthañkâra is to be bathed, to the river or tank. Men and women in their gayest dresses, the former wearing red pegaâdis, with children seated on richly caparisoned horses to adorn the procession, go to the river with a large pot. Into this pot water from each of the 108 pits is poured. With music and in procession the pot is brought to the place from which the procession started. Then 108 married females with 108 small kalais come and receive, each in her kalâka, a part of the water from the large pot. These 108 small kalais are used in performing the Abhishâka of the Tîrthañkâra that is to be consecrated, or to the already consecrated Tîrthañkâra if the Jâtra is performed in honour of the putting up of a new dhvajasthamba, or to avert a plague. Ceremonies are also performed by the priests, accompanied with mantras in the Mândapa of the temple.

VIII.—Jaina Marriage.

Among Jainas, as among Brâhmans, it is strictly prescribed that girls should be betrothed before puberty. The average age at which they are thus given away is about ten years.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the parents or other near relatives of the bride and bridegroom invite their friends, and on the morning of the marriage-day a band of married women, mostly the relatives of the bride, start from her house. One woman heads the procession, carrying in her hand a brass tray containing one cocoanut (îrîphala), seven betelnuts, seven dried dates (karjûra), and a wooden cup containing kuâkuma. She takes this tray on her left shoulder supporting it on her hand; over the right shoulder she lays a new sâdî, called ghâhâdî. The party thus headed and with music playing before, go to a potter’s, where the leading woman makes a tilaka mark on his forehead, and takes from him the earthen vessels required for the marriage ceremonies. The vessels commonly taken are seven varagudis or small painted pots, seven râma-pûtras or cups, one mafli or big pot for the Ganâbêsodava or setting up of Ganapati. The party then returns to the house of the bride, and is received by a lady of the house. The latter meets them with kuâkuma and akshatâh in her hand, marks the forehead of the head-woman, and receives them all into the house. This reception is called vadhâva.

Next comes a Brâhman priest to perform the ceremony called Ganapatisûja. A square spot is already chosen for it in the house where the mafli or big pot brought from the potter is placed by the Brâhman. A square cloth is tied up as a canopy over the place. Two small earthenware cups perforated in the bottoms which are placed against one another, are suspended by a string under the middle of this square cloth, and four cords attach it to the corners of the cloth. This is called the tying of the fasî. At the corners are also fastened two dried seeds, one of mîndhùl and the other of maîdânak. Into the mafli or big

* Môndhal (in Sans. Madana; Marjhi Gejphâlo), is the fruit of the Randia dumetorum (Lam.), and is also used in medicine as an emetic. Mîndhâna (Sans. Varahan); Marjhi, Maru(jâsâgâ), is the twisted pod of the

Heilòtes Lora (Linn.), which is also used medicinally. See Dymock’s Materia Medica of Western India, pp. 335, & 91.
pot placed below, the Brâhmaṇ puts akehatërkh of yava (rice), betel nut, money, karjûra (dried dates), kamalabâdkâta (dried lotus seed), and a red cotton string. The meaning of this is not known. The Brâhmaṇ priest repeats some mantras or ślokas at his pleasure. At the end he repeats the Sanskrit mantra:—

śumuhāṇi, śulam, śivāṁ kātaṁghaṁ, ātāmghaṁ, navach℃

meaning, “May the marriage end happily without any obstruction in an auspicious muhûrta, lagna, conferring happiness and health on the pair.”

This mantra is repeated after every rite connected with the marriage, and is, in fact, the only mantra known to the Jainas proper. The other mantras the Brâhmaṇ priest repeats at his pleasure. He then receives a dakhshā or fee. Here ends the Gâpepatipâjya. The visit to the Kumbhâra and the Gâpepatipâjya are also performed by the bridegroom’s party at his house.

After this pûjya the setting up of the Mâṇikya-stambha, which answers to the Muhûrtta-stambha of the Brâhmaṇs takes place. In the latter case the Muhûrtta-stambha is planted several days or even a month before the marriage; but among the Jainas the Mâṇik thamb is only placed on the morning of the marriage. To a log of a cubit’s length of the Khadira tree (Acacia catechu), is tied a mîndhal seed and betel leaf, by a red cotton string, technically called nādu; this is placed on the right side of the house with the same mantra, Sumuhûrttam &c., as before. The priest then leaves, having received his dakhshâ.

Two Pândâną—wives of Pândja, a class of inferior Brâhmaṇs among the Jainas, similar to the Bhôjaks—are then sent from the bride’s house with two large pots, one containing butter and the other milk, with silk cloths tied over their mouths. The quantity of milk and butter sent depends on the wealth of the bride’s father. The Pândâņas go with their pots to the bridegroom’s house, and place them before him. All these ceremonies take place in the morning.

Before the noon meals begin a woman, often a relative of the bridegroom, leaves his house, taking a pair of silver anklets of the Mârādi form, puts them on the bride, and takes her to the house of the bridegroom. But when they are not related this latter visit is not paid.

After putting on the anklets a lady goes from the bride’s house with a large bambu basket containing odd numbers of all the sweetmeats, cakes, &c., prepared for the guests. She also carries with her a vessel containing milk and sugar (Guj. Kacchirasó), one bronze tray containing scented powder, one sakhā or vessel full of ghâ, and a kâmsiyâ or brass spoon for dipping out the ghâ. A brass stool is placed for the bridegroom, who is made to sit on it. Before him the lady places all that she brings with a certain amount of money, which, again varies according to the circumstances of the bride’s father. The lady, after doing this, returns to the bride’s house. The meaning of this they do not seem to know; perhaps, as among the Brâhmaṇs, it is merely an invitation to meals given to the bridegroom.

Then the mid-day meal is eaten. Later in the afternoon the bridegroom’s procession takes place. He is dressed in a jama or rich gold-cloth, covering his whole person, an uttardasana or upper garment made of gold-cloth, a kâla or cloth-worn in the form of a Yajûpavatā, a châs or head-dress of the Surati fashion, and a veil of gold-thread called akechhâb. His shoes are also of gold-cloth. Thus dressed he mounts a horse richly caparisoned, and rides slowly through the bañkar to the bride’s house. His relatives and friends and the guests invited, male and female, go in advance of him, with music playing before. The females sing as they proceed. With these rejoicings they reach the bride’s house, where they are received and seated. Then sripalas or cocoanuts are distributed to all invited. To married men and the rich two sripalas are given to each. To bachelors only one. In case of a scarcity of cocoanuts, three paisa are given in place of each cocoanut; but if possible cocoanuts alone are given to males. At this point the guests if they chose may leave, but the relatives on both sides remain.

In the court-yard of the house a spot has been already chosen where the Jôshi Brâhmaṇ or priest prepares the chaityâ or square for the pair to sit in. Three bambu posts are planted at each corner of it, and it is canopied by a cloth; between the three posts in the corner
are placed seven māṭliś or large pots. They are put one over the other, and tied with cotton thread to the poles. Thus there are in all twenty-eight vessels at the four corners. Rich men use copper and sometimes even silver vessels; but the poorer earthenware ones.

The bridegroom is now received in the porch of the bride’s house by a lady relation of the latter having a pestle, yoke, churning stick, and spindle (dāśar, māśar, ravañyā and trāk). Each is covered in a part of the ghāṭaḍī cloth, and waved before the bridegroom. She puts a kūhūkuna tilaka and vṛihi or unhusked rice on his forehead. Four small balls of cooked rice and ashes are tied in four bits of cloth waved before the bridegroom thrice, and thrown on the ground, two before and two behind, to avert the evil eye. Two cups placed mouth to mouth (sāmpūrṇ) and tied with a red cotton thread are placed in the middle of the threshold. The bridegroom must place his foot on the cups, and break them before entering. He then goes into the house.

Next the pair come and sit in the chaũkī, the bridegroom on a brass stool set for him, and on his left upon another sits the bride; on his right is the Jāshi Brāhmaṇ. First the ceremony of hastamāla or joining of hands is performed—the right palm of the bridegroom being placed over the left hand of the bride, with the mantra—Samuhūrītam, sulāgam, &c. A mahīgalasūtra technically called varaṁḍāla, is next tied by the Brāhmaṇ round the necks of the bridegroom and the bride. This ends the hastamāla ceremony.

The Kuladēvataḍayā or worship of the family goddess follows. It is also called Māṭipūjā. A māṭliś or large pot is placed, in which the Brāhmaṇ places akshatāḥ, betel leaves, phala, or fruit. A lighted lamp is also placed in the pot, and the bridegroom is asked to put in some rupees, which he does according to his means. Naivedya or food is offered before the goddess. The food prepared for the guests is always used for this naivedya. And the quantity here varies according to the supposed taste of the goddess.

The bride and the bridegroom next come to the square (chaũkā) in the court, and sit facing the east. The priest orders the father of the bride to bring a pestle and mortar, a bamba basket, and a lighted lamp suspended on a chain. He bids the pair walk four times round the fire, which has been lighted in front of them. They then hold their hands in the hastamāla position. The brother or some relation of the bride fills the cavity between the hands with akshatāḥ, which the pair throw on the east side of the fire. During this act certain ślokas, especially from the maṅgalādēṣṭuka, are repeated.

Then a lady, often a relative of the bride’s, now brings a large brass stool called bhaiḍat, and places it before the pair. A thāḷī or vessel with water is set on it. She puts kauvār or sweetmeat made of wheat-flour also upon it. The woman who carried the ghāṭaḍī on the bride’s part in the morning comes and serves some of the sweetmeat in a dish. The pair pretend to eat, after which the woman washes the hands of the bridegroom and retires. As she does so the bridegroom catches hold of her cloth and demands money which is given by the relatives of the woman, according to their means. Then the Kuladēv is again worshipped as before inside the house. At this time the sūtra, or red marriage thread, is tied round the wrist of the bridegroom, and over the bracelet of the bride. A ghāṭā (sāḍī) is placed on the head of the bride by the woman that carried the ghāṭaḍī of the bridegroom in the morning. The bridegroom now goes out, leaving the bride, who pays respect to all her relatives and receives their blessings. She goes into the inner apartments and changes her clothes, and the bridegroom then returns, and demands his wife, and leading her out enters a palanquin, when the procession marches to the bridegroom’s house. There they are received with salt and water waved before them by a lady of the house. Here the maṅgalasūtra tied on the neck of the bridegroom is taken off by the Brāhmaṇ priest, that tied on the bride’s neck being left.
Numerous Hindu pilgrims frequent it to perform their Mātrigayā Śrūḍdha. This ceremony is attended to by every Hindu to satisfy the departed spirit of his mother. Of course only those who have lost their mothers perform the gayā; those who have lost their fathers have to perform a corresponding ceremony at Prayāga, or Allahābād. In the latter case a pilgrimage to Bānāras or Vārānasī is compulsory. One should go there, bathe in the Ganges, and then proceed to Prayāga to perform the Pitrigayā; but for the Mātrigayā ceremony a pilgrimage to Vārānasī is not necessary. He should go direct to Siddhapuri, and there perform his mother's gayā.

The following is a brief description of the ceremony:—When a pilgrim wishing to perform the gayā arrives at the station, several purūkha, who call themselves Tirthādhibhārī or persons having the (sole) authority over the place, receive him. Each priest brings an old moth- eaten note-book in which are written the names and designations, the village and district of all former visitors. That priest in whose note-book any trace of visitors related to the person in question is found has the sole right to officiate as head priest or guru to the pilgrim, who is then called his īshya. The mere fact that the present īshya belongs to the same village or district from which a former īshya came is caught at and given as an authority for taking up the duty of officiating priest to him. When this is once settled, the other priests finding that they have lost their game slowly return home with faces in which one may perceive an expression of dissatisfaction. The guru then lets loose all his formal phrases of hospitality. "This house is yours. What do you want? What do you want?"

"ह पर दुसा—कृपा पादि—कृपा पादि—"

The īshya is lodged in part of the guru's house, or in a separate house, as he likes. The priest himself supplies all the requisite vessels, provisions, &c., of course, expecting payment for everything in the end. The only article for which the guru hesitates to take the price, and even refuses, is takra, or butter-milk, or chāch, as it is commonly known in Hindustānī.

When the pilgrim is not an official, or otherwise has no objection to spend more days than are required for the ceremony, the first day is allowed for rest. If the latter, the first day is devoted to the Tirthādhibhārī, or ceremony in honour of the sacred river Sarasvati, and the second day for the Mātrigayā. Soon after the īshya is lodged the guru comes and gives him an item of expenditure for the Tirthādhibhārī and the gayā. The smallest sum he is expected to spend is Rs. 25. Rich persons are compelled to devote some hundreds and thousands even for these ceremonies.

The Tirthādhibhārī, or authorised priests of the place, keep a strict guard over the rites. They never give out a word of it to the curious īshya if he wants to write them out. When the latter takes his own priest to perform the Śrūḍdha according to the custom of his place, the Tirthādhibhārī never allow that priest to do anything. In fact, the pilgrim and the priest that accompanies him find themselves in such a position that they have no other resort but to obey the guru.

The Tirthādhibhārī is a very simple affair. With a couple of coconuts and money in hand, the īshya goes to the river Sarasvati, accompanied of course, by the guru. After a short prayer and a sañkalpa he bathes in the river with coconut in hand, distributes money to the poor Brāhmaṇas on the shore, and sits down to be shaved. If he has lost his father also, his moustaches are shaved clean off. If not, these are spared. But Dravidian pilgrims alone shave clean their moustaches also although their fathers are alive, as is the custom of their country. After the sahaṇa, or shaving ceremony, the īshya is made to bathe and to present his clothes to the guru and some fee to the barber. This bath is called sahaṇa, or bath with cloth. After this he puts on dry clothes and performs puja on a high scale to the river Sarasvati, throwing into the water flowers, milk, curd, ghee, kuṭkuma, or red powder, and several other things, each with its mantra. Here ends the Śrūḍdha ceremony, and if the īshya has lost his father he performs a Hiranygrūḍḍha also.

The second day is devoted to the mother's gayā. This is performed in the Kapilārama, or hermitage of Kapila, two miles west of the town. Everything, even fuel, has to be carried on a mazūrī's head from the town to the hermitage. The pilgrim with all the necessaries of the ceremony goes early in the morning, accompa-
nied by the officiating priest to the hermitage of Kapila. There are three sacred waters there, the one a well, called Jānavāpikā, and the other two small tanks, Alpasāravāra, and Bindusāravāra. It was by bathing in the last Bindusāravāra and using its water for Śraddha purposes that Parasārāma is said to have been purified from the sin of his having murdered his mother; and from that day it was fixed that every Hindū, to satisfy his mother's spirit, shall perform this ceremony here. On reaching the hermitage in the morning, the śiva bāthes with coconuts in hand in the three sacred waters, with certain mantras. Each time he gives some dakṣiṇā, or money, to the Brāhmaṇas waiting on the shore. His wet clothes at the three bathing places he presents to the guru.

By the time that the śiva returns from his bath, food, curstuffs, mashāpāsa, black or gram-cakes, &c., are cooked and ready for feasting the Śraddha Brāhmaṇas, who are invited early in the morning or the previous evening. These are always Marāṇi Brāhmaṇas of the place. The priests or Tirthāṭihādīras are Gujarāti Brāhmaṇas, and are considered inferior, so far as eating with them is concerned.

A regular Śraddha ceremony is performed thus:—After feasting the Brāhmaṇa, sixteen pipās or balls of rice are offered to satisfy the spirit of the mother. This offering of sixteen pipās is the only difference between the mother's gayād and the mother's annual festival. When each pipā is offered, a śloka in Anuṣṭubh metre is repeated, describing the pains, the anxieties, &c., of the mother in bearing the son in her womb. I give these ślokās here with my translations:

1. In contradiction to Bishṇigarbha the impregnation by Bishis, in which the embryo is said to develop in one day. So it is all the pain of one day in this case.

\[\text{[October, 1884.]}\]

\[\text{THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.}\]

1. \[\text{In contradiction to Bishṇigarbha the impregnation by Bishis, in which the embryo is said to develop in one day. So it is all the pain of one day in this case.}\]

2. \[\text{Which, of course, was a source of very great trouble to the mother, is to be understood.}\]
(6). She drank bitter drugs and repulsive decoctions; for their alleviation I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(7). If the body of the mother becomes exhausted (while bringing forth) there is no doubt that death will ensue; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(8). Every night the son was crushed in the womb of the mother by urine and ordure; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(9). Day and night the mother with her husband enjoyed (were delighted at) the pregnancy; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(10). At the completion of the tenth month the pains of the mother become excessive; for their alleviation I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(11). While the son was in his infancy the mother took light meals; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(12). At the loss of fire (digestion) after bringing forth she somehow protects herself for three nights; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(13). The mother trains her son daily, ever looking at his face; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(14). When the son is weak from hunger the mother gives satisfaction to him; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(15). The sorrow of the father and mother is great at the door of death which is very fearful; for the alleviation of it I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

(16). For those that have died now, and for those that have no liberation; for the alleviation (of their punishments) I offer this piṣḍā to my mother.

Over these piṣḍās, or rice balls, water from the Bindusārāvaras with sesamum seed is poured, and other necessary rites are then completed.

By the evening the Sraddha ends, and the pilgrim returns from the hermitage. The present to the Upādhyāya, or priest, for all his trouble is then given, and the pilgrim accompanied by the priest, is conducted out of the town to the railway station or to his cart (gaḍi.) Before separating, the priest takes down in his note-book the names of the pilgrim, his living relatives, &c., giving at the same time his full address to the so-called sishya.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NĀṬEŠA ŚÁSTRA PANDIT.

V.—"Charity alone Conquers."

Dharmam jayam.

In the town of Tēvā there lived a king called Sugunā. He had an excellent minister named Dharmśāla. They ruled for a long time in prosperity over the kingdom. Both of them had sons. The prince's name was Subuddhi. He was a noble prince, and quite in keeping with his name, was always bent upon good to the world. The minister's son was named Durbuddhi, a most wicked boy, whose only delight was teasing beasts and birds from his infancy, and which ripened into all sorts of wickedness as he grew to boyhood. Notwithstanding the difference between their tempers, the prince and the minister's son were the best of friends. The motto of the prince was Dharmam jayam—Charity alone conquers.

That of the minister's son was Adharmam jayam—Absence of Charity alone conquers. When rising from their beds, when beginning their prayers, when sitting down for meals or study, and, in fact, before beginning to do anything, each repeated his motto. The people had great hopes in Subuddhi, whom they fully expected to see a good and benevolent king; but the minister's son all thoroughly hated. Even the minister himself, his father, hated his son for his vile turn of mind, which he found impossible to change. His only friend, as we have already said, was the prince, who, notwithstanding all his faults loved him sincerely. Both of them had grown up together from their very cradle, had played in the same dust,

and she is given her diet only on the fourth morning. That is alluded to here.

1 Tīvā is the classical name of the modern town of Rāmnākī in the district of Madura.
had read their lessons side by side in the same school under the same teachers. Fortune so ordained that the prince's mind should take such a bent, while the mind of the minister's son turned in a crooked way.

Nor was Duruddhi insensible to the disgust and dislike which every one manifested towards him. He was well aware of all that was going on around. Still he would not change. "I have no friend in this world excepting yourself, my dear Subuddhi," exclaimed Duruddhi one day to his royal friend while they were riding together. "Fear nothing. I shall ever stand by you as your true friend," replied Subuddhi. "My very father hates me. Who else would like me then? On the contrary, every one likes you. You may soon get yourself married to some beautiful lady, while I must remain a bachelor; for no girl would marry me. You may soon rise to the place of a king; but I cannot become your minister, as the people do not like me. What can I do?" So said the minister's son, and hung down his head, as if conscious for a time of the utter hatred with which the people regarded him. Subuddhi replied, "Reed it not, I will make you my minister, give you everything you want, and see you well provided for." "If so, will you give me your wife one day, at least, if you happen to get married before me, and if I remain a bachelor after you," were the words which the wretched Duruddhi shamelessly uttered to the face of his only friend. These words were enough in themselves to enrage the prince's mind. But he was of so good a nature that instead of becoming angry, he smiled at the stupidity of his companion, and agreed that he would thus give him his wife one day in case he got married first. Thus took place an agreement between Subuddhi and Duruddhi when they were quite young.

Several years passed after this agreement, when one day the prince went to hunt in a neighbouring forest. His inseparable companion, the minister's son, and several hunters followed him to the wood. The prince and the minister's son both gave chase to a deer. They rode so much in advance of the hunters that they lost themselves in a thick jungle, where the latter could neither see nor follow them. The hunters returned after dark, and informed the king and the minister about the disappear-

 ance of their sons. They thought that as their sons were grown-up men they need not fear for their safety.

The two friends chased the deer and found themselves in the midst of a thick forest in the evening. Except a slight breakfast in the early morning they had tasted no other food. Hunger was pinching them severely. The hot chase had awakened a severe thirst, to quench which they were not able to find a drop of water. In utter hopelessness of life they resigned themselves to the course of their steeds. The beasts seemed very well to understand the wants of their royal riders. They went on trotting, and at last, about midnight, stopped on the banks of a large tank.

The riders, who were almost dead with thirst, opened their closed eyes when the horses stopped. All on a sudden and to their great joy they found themselves on the banks of a large tank. Their joy knew no bounds. "Surely God takes care of His children. Had it not been for His kind care how could we have come to this tank, when we had resigned ourselves to the course of our horses?" thought Subuddhi to himself, and got down from his horse. The minister's son, who had become more exhausted by that time than his companion, also alighted. Subuddhi, true to the nobility of his mind, took both the steeds first to water, and after satisfying their thirst and loosening them to graze by the side of a grassy meadow he went into the water to quench his thirst. The minister's son also followed. After a short prayer Subuddhi took some handfuls of water, and returned to the bank. Duruddhi also returned. They chose a clean spot, and sat down to rest during the remaining part of the night. The prince when taking his seat pronounced his usual motto, "Charity alone conquers." And the minister's son also repeated his—"Absence of Charity alone conquers."

These words fell like venom into the ears of the prince at that time. He could not control his anger then, notwithstanding his mild disposition. The hardships of the day, their fortunate arrival on a tank in the dead of night to have their thirst quenched, were fresh in Subuddhi's mind, and the prayers that he was offering to God were not yet over. That the minister's son should never think of these, and go on with his own stupid motto even at
that time became most unbearable to Su-

buddhi, “Vile wretch! Detested atheist! Have

you no shame to utter your wicked motto even

after such calamities? It is not too late even

now. Mend your character. Think of the God

that saved you just now. Believe in Him.

Change your motto from this day.” Thus

spoke the angry prince to the minister’s son.

Durbuddhi, who was naturally of a wicked

and quarrelsome temperament, flew into a rage

at once at the excellent advice of the prince.

“Stop your mouth. I know as well as you

do; you cannot wag your tail here. I can

oppose you single-handed in this forest.”

Thus saying, the minister’s son sprang like an

enraged lion at Subuddhi who, as he never

dreamt of any such thing, was completely

overpowered by the wicked Durbuddhi. The

prince was thrown down in the twinkling of an

eye, and the minister’s son was upon him.

He severely thrashed his royal master, and

taking hold of a twig that was lying close by,

tore out the prince’s two eyes, filled up the

sockets with sand, and ran away with his horse,

thinking that he had completely killed him.

Subuddhi was almost dead. His body was

bruised all over. His eyes were no more.

His physical pain was unbearable. “Is there a

God over us all?” thought Subuddhi. The night

was almost over. The cool and sweet breeze

of the morning gave him some strength. He

rose up, and crawling on the ground, found

himself by touch at the entrance of a temple.

He crept in, shut the gates and fastened the

bolt.

It happened to be a temple of the fierce Kālī.

She used to go out every morning to gather

roots and fruits, and to return by evening.

That day when she returned she found her

gates shut against her. She threatened with

destruction the usurper of her temple. A

voice, and we know that it was Subuddhi’s, re-

plied from within, “I am already dying of the

loss of my eyes. So if in anger you kill me

it is so much the better; for what use is there

in my living blind? If, on the contrary, you

pity me, and by your divine power give me

my eyes, I shall open the gates.” Kālī was

in a very difficult position. She was very

hungry, and saw no other way of going inside

than by giving Subuddhi his eyes. “Open

the gates; your request is granted,” said

Kālī. No sooner were these words uttered

than the prince recovered his eyes. His de-

light may be better imagined than described.

He opened the gates and vowed before Kālī

that he would from that day continue in that

temple as her servant and worshipper.

The wretched Durbuddhi after his horrible

act, rode on composedly, following the footstep-

of his horse, and reached the forest where he

was hunting the day before in company with

the prince. He thence returned home all

alone. When his father saw him coming back

he suspected something wrong to the prince

and asked his son what had become of him.

“We chased a deer, and he rode so much in

advance of me that he was out of sight, and

finding all search vain, I returned alone,” was

Durbuddhi’s reply. “This I would have believ-

ed from any one but yourself. Never plant

your feet in these dominions till you bring back

the prince again. Run for your life,” was the

order of the minister, and Durbuddhi accord-

ingly ran, fearing the anger of his father.

Thus the prince Subuddhi was serving in the

Kālī temple; and Durbuddhi, fully confident

that he had killed his friend, roamed about from

place to place, as he saw no possibility of returning

to his own country without the prince.

Thus passed several months. The goddess

Kālī was extremely delighted at the sincere

devotion of Subuddhi, and, calling him one day

to her side, said;—“My son! I am delighted

with your great devotion to me. Enough of

your menial services here. Better return now

to your kingdom. Your parents are likely to be

much vexed at your loss. Go and console their

minds.” Thus ended Kālī, and Subuddhi re-

plied: “Excuse me, my goddess, my mother. I

no more regard them as my parents. This

wood is not a large place if they wished to

search for me. As they were so careless of

me I shall also from this day disregard them.

You are my father and mother. Therefore

permit me to end my days here in your service.”

So saying, Subuddhi begged Kālī to allow him

to stay, and the goddess agreed accordingly for

some time at least.

After a few more months, Kālī called the

prince again to her and addressed him thus;—

“My boy! I have devised another plan. Better

not, then, go to your parents, as you do not wish

to go now. At a short distance from this place,
in the Kâvêrl country, reigns a staunch devotee of mine. His daughter had small-pox, and as he forgot to do proper respect to me, I have blinded both her eyes. The king has issued a proclamation that he will give the whole kingdom and his daughter in marriage to him who would cure her of her defect. He has hung up a bell (ghântâ) at which every physician who wishes to try the case strikes. The king comes running as soon as he hears the sound, takes home the doctor and shows him the case. Several persons have tried in vain; for who could repair a defect incurred by the displeasure of the gods? Now I mean to send you there. That king is a staunch worshipper of my feet. Though I had punished him first, still I pity the sad calamity that has come upon his daughter. You had better go there and strike the bell. He will take you and show you the case. For three consecutive days apply my holy ashes to her eyes. Though fools may deride these ashes, still by them a true devotee can work wonders. On the fourth day her eyes will be perfectly restored. Then you will secure her hand, and what is more the country of Kâvêrl. Reign there, for you are born to reign, being a prince, and not to spend your time here in this wood. If you do not do so you will commit a sin, and what is more incur my displeasure." Thus ended Kâll, and the prince could not refuse; for he feared the anger of the goddess. Agreeing to her words, and with her manifold blessings, he started and reached the kingdom of Kâvêrl.

He struck the bell. The king came running to welcome the new doctor. All the previous physicians had tried by medicines external and internal. The new doctor—prince Subduddi—proposed to treat the case by _mantras_—incantations. The old king, who was very religious, fully believed that the new doctor might effect the cure; and just as he expected, on the fourth day his daughter's sight was completely restored. The king's joy knew no bounds. He enquired the parentage of the doctor; and when he came to know that he had princely blood in his veins, that he was as honourably descended as himself, his joy was greatly increased. He sent up a thousand prayers to the god for giving him a royal son-in-law. As promised in his notice, he would have to give his daughter to anyone, whatever he might be, who effect the cure. The lowest beggar, the lowest casteman, if he had only succeeded in curing her would have had as much claim to her hand as the prince-physician. So when the person that effected the cure proved to be a prince the king was extremely delighted, and at once made all arrangements for the marriage of his daughter and gave her to Subduddi; and himself being very old he gave the kingdom also to the prince at the same time.

Thus by the favour of Kâll, Subduddi had a princess for his wife and a kingdom to govern. Subduddi, as we know, was an excellent man. Though he became king now, he consulted his father-in-law in all matters, and, in fact, acted only as the manager for the old man. Every evening he used to consult him for an hour or two before disposing of intricate cases. The duty of signing, too, he reserved for the old man. Thus even on those days when there were no cases he used to go to his father-in-law to get papers signed. Thus passed on a couple of years or so.

One evening, while sitting in company with his wife in the loftiest room of his palace after the duties of the day, he cast his eyes to the east main street and contemplated the bustle of that part of the town. Carts creaking under the load of merchandise, the flourish with which the goods and wares were exposed for sale, fashionable gentlemen in their fanciful evening costumes walking to and fro, the troublesome hawkers that stand by the roadside questioning every one as to what he would buy, and several other things interested him, and for a time made him somewhat proud even that he ruled over such a rich country. But sweetness is not always unaccompanied with bitterness. He saw in that same street a man whose face was very familiar to him, but whom he could not at once make out. A black man was sitting on a projecting _pyal_ of a corner of a shop, and was mending some torn gunny bags. Subduddi looked at him carefully. "Is it the minister's son, Durduddi? No; he is not so black; rather was not when I saw him last," thought Subduddi with himself, and examining his face, he at last exclaimed, "It is he! It is he! It is my friend and companion." "Who is it?" exclaimed the princess, and rushed at once to his side. She had most carefully watched her husband's
face for the past few minutes while he was in deep contemplation. "It is my friend, the minister's son, by name Durbuddhi. We were companions from our birth, we played in the same dust, read in the same school, and were ever inseparable companions. I do not know what has brought him to the condition in which I see him now," said Subuddhi, and sent some one to bring him. Of the wicked and base act of the vile Durbuddhi he did not care to inform his gentle wife, who now retired to her inner apartments, as decorum did not allow her to be in company with her husband when he was receiving others.

The persons sent brought in Durbuddhi. Whatever might have been the cruelty that he had received from the hands of the minister's son, the prince began to shed tears when he saw his old companion ushered in, not in that blooming cheerful red complexion in which he had seen him last, but in a weather-beaten dark skin and dejected colour of a cooly in which he saw him a few minutes ago.

"I excuse you all your faults, my dear Durbuddhi. Tell me quickly what has brought you to this wretched plight," asked Subuddhi, and while asking he began to cry aloud. The minister's son also shed tears copiously, and cried or pretended to cry; for he it known that he was a perfect scoundrel, born to no good in the world. "My own mischief has brought me to this plight. When I returned to our country after putting out your eyes and thinking that I had killed you, my father banished me from our dominions, and ordered me never to plant my feet within their limits without bringing you back. As I thought I had put an end to your life I never came back to that tank in search of you. I engaged myself as a cooly in the streets of this town after trying with no success several other places, and I now stand before you." Thus ended Durbuddhi, and the prince quite forgot his cruelty to him. He ordered his servants to get the minister's son bathed, and attired in as rich robes as he himself wore. Then he related to him his own story, without omitting a single point, and at once made him his minister.

The whole story of Durbuddhi, excepting the single point of his having put out his eyes, the prince related to his wife, father, and mother-in-law.

Thus was Durbuddhi again restored to his high position, through the liberal kindness of Subuddhi. Subuddhi did not stop even with this. He began to send him with papers and other things to the old king for signature. This went on for some months. All the while Durbuddhi was as obedient as might be, and by his vile tricks had completely won over the heart of the old king.

One evening, after the signatures were over, Durbuddhi stopped for a while as if desirous to speak. "What do you want," said the old king. "Nothing but your favour," was the only reply, after which he retired. Thus he went on practising for some days and weeks. Every day he stopped for a few minutes after the state business was over, and when the old king asked the reason for it went on giving evasive answers. At last one evening the old king was extremely provoked. The canning Durbuddhi had purposely intended this. "What a big fool are you to stop every day as if wishing to speak and never to utter a word," broke out the old king. "I beg pardon of your honour; I was thinking all the while whether I should let out my secret or not. At last, I have come to the conclusion that I will keep it to myself," replied the diabolical Durbuddhi. "No, you shall let it out," roared the old king, whose curiosity was more roused than abated by the words, purposely obscure, of the minister's son. Durbuddhi, after pretending much uneasiness at the disclosure of the supposed secret, loudly began his harangue, "My lord, ever since I came here I made enquiries about the nobility of your family, about the sacrifices that you and your ancestors have performed, about the purifications that you and your elders have undergone, and about a thousand other particulars, each of which is enough to secure you and your descendants the place of Achyuta (Achyutapada) himself. These delighted me for a time, I say for a time, for listen, please, to what follows. When I compared with the pure fame of your famous family, that of your son-in-law's, my heart began to pain me. Indeed the pain which began at that moment has not yet ceased. Know, then, that your son-in-law is not a prince. No doubt he has royal blood in his veins, which makes him look like a king. How came he to be so skilful in medicine. Just enquire the cause. To be no
more in the dark, the king of my country—over which my father is the minister—set out one day on *sãvâr*. While passing a barber's street he saw a beautiful damsel of that caste. Bewitched by her beauty the king wanted to have her as his concubine, notwithstanding her low position in society. The fruit of that concubinage is your son-in-law. He being the son of a barber-mother acquired so very easily the art of medicine. That a king was his father makes him look like a prince. If he had been of pure birth why should he leave his kingdom, and come here to effect the cure of your daughter. Except this prince, or supposed prince, all those that came here were mere doctors by caste.” Thus ended the vile Durvuddhi, and taking in his hand the papers, vanished out of the room quickly, like a serpent that had stung.

The sweet words in which the minister's son clothed his arguments, the rising passion at the thought that he had been falsely imposed upon by a barber's son, the shame or rather supposed shame that he thought had come over his family, and a thousand other feelings clouded for a time the clear reason of the old king. He saw no other way of putting an end to the shame than by the murder of his dear daughter and son-in-law first, and of his own self and queen afterwards. At once he ordered the executioner, who came in. He gave him his signet-ring, and commanded him to break open the bed-room of his son-in-law that midnight, and murder him with his wife while asleep. The *hukumâ* or orders given with signet rings ought never to be disobeyed. The executioner humbled himself to the ground as a sign of his accepting the order, and retired to sharpen his knife for his terrible duty.

Neither Subuddhi nor his affectionate wife had any reason to suspect this terrible order. The old queen and the treacherous Durvuddhi had equally no reason to know anything about it. The old man, after issuing the *hukumâ* shut himself in his closet, and began to weep and wail as if he had lost his daughter from that moment. Durvuddhi, after kindling the fire, as says the Tamil proverb, by means of his treachery, came back with the papers to the prince. A thought occurred in his mind that Subuddhi's fate was drawing near. He wanted to have fulfilled the engagement that took place between himself and the prince about the loan for a day of the latter's wife for his beastly enjoyment. The excellent Subuddhi who always observed oaths most strictly was confused for a time. He did not know what to do. To stick to the oath and surrender his wife to another; or to break it and preserve the chastity of his own wife. At last, repeating in his own mind, “Charity alone conquers,” and also thinking that heaven would somehow devise to preserve his wife's purity, he went to her, explained to her how the matter stood, and ordered her to sleep with the minister's son that night in his own bed-chamber. She hesitatingly consented; for as a good wife she could not disobey her husband's commands. Subuddhi then told Durvuddhi that he might sleep in his bed-room that night, and have his wife as his companion.

The princess went to her mother crying that her husband had turned out mad. “Or else who would promise to give his wife to another for a night. He has ordered me to sleep this night with the minister's son. What does he mean by that?” “My daughter! Fear nothing, perhaps in his boyhood, without knowing what the delicate duties of a wife are, he agreed to present you as a toy to the use of another for a night. The promise once made now pains him. Unable to break it, and leaving it to yourself to preserve your chastity, he has so ordered you. And he would, nay, must excuse you, if you by some means or other save yourself, and apparently make good your husband's promise also. A thought just comes to me how to do that. There is your foster sister exactly resembling you. I shall send her in your place, ordering her to behave like yourself in your bed-room.” So consoling her daughter, the old queen at once made all the requisite arrangements. And, of course, Subuddhi had no reason then to know anything about them.

The night came on and the minister's son went to the prince's bed-room and slept with the supposed wife of his friend, with his lovely motto, “Adharmam jayam,” but he was soon to learn that Adharmam never conquers. For at midnight, just a few minutes after he had thought that his Adharmam had fully conquered, the door is forced open, and a ruffian with a drawn sword blazing like lightning rushes in, and murders the pair. Thus in that very
night in which Durbuddhi had reached the topmost point of his vice he was cut down by the supreme hand of God. For, it is said, that when crime increases, God himself cannot bear.

The morning dawned, Subbuddhi rose from his couch, and after his morning prayers was sitting in the council hall. The princess and her mother rose from their beds, and were after their business. A servant just at that time came running to the old queen, and said, "Our king is weeping in his room that his daughter is now no more. I think that there is something wrong with his majesty's brains to-day. Come and console him." The queen, who knew nothing of what had happened, ran to her husband's room quite astonished at the change. The husband reported everything to her, the sage-looking minister's son, the barber son-in-law, and everything, and then concluded that their daughter and son-in-law were no more.

"What! compose yourself. Our son-in-law is sitting in his durbar. Our daughter is just adorning herself in her dressing-room. Were you dreaming? Are you in your right senses?" said the queen. The king ordered the executioner to bring the heads, which, on examination, proved to be those of the minister's son and of the foster-sister. The queen told everything of the one-day-wife-giving engagement, and her own arrangements about it. The old king could not understand what all this meant. He drew out his sword and ran to the durbar like a maddened lion, and stood armed before his son-in-law, "Relate to me your true origin, and everything respecting yourself. Speak the truth. How came you to learn medicine? If you are a prince why should you leave your own dominions and come down here? What about the beastly agreement of giving your wife to another? Who is this minister's son?" Subbuddhi, without omitting a single point, related everything that had taken place, even to the putting out of his eyes. The old man threw down his sword, took his son-in-law in his arms almost, for so great was his joy at the excellent way which fate had prepared for his escape, and said, "My son, my life, my eye. True it is, true it is. Dharma alone conquers, and you that hold that motto have conquered everything. The vile wretch whom notwithstanding the series of rogueries that he practised upon you, you protected, has at last found out that his Adharmam never conquers. But he never found it out. It was his Adharmam that cut him off on the very night of his supposed complete conquest by it."

Letters were sent at once to Tévai, inviting Sugaña and Dharmaśilla to the happy rejoicings for the prince and princess's delivery, and a re-marriage was celebrated with all pomp in honour of their lucky escape. Dharmaśilla, as he disliked his son, never shed a single tear for his loss. Subbuddhi lived for a long time, giving much consolation to his own and his wife's parents. Through the blessings of Kāl they had several intelligent sons.

### CHINGHIZ KHĀN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

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

(Continued from p. 226.)

XXVIII.

When Muḥammad Khvārezm Shāh retired from the kernel of his dominions towards the West, we are told by Minhāy-i-Saraj he entrusted his fortresses to various trusted commanders. Thus he appointed the Amir Zangi-i-Abi Hafs, with the troops of Seistan, to take charge of Termed, the standard-bearer Sam and the pahlavan Arslah he sent to the fortress of Walkh of Tokharistan, which, our author tells us, was four farsanks square. Bamian he made over to the Amir Umr, the Bawardi, and sent orders to the Malik Iktyar-u'd-din, Muḥammad, son of Ali-i-Kharpost,\(^1\) to secure Ghazni and its neighbourhood. The fortresses of Ghur he confided to the Malik Husam-u'd-din, Husain-i-'Abd-u'l-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrad, who was in the fort of Sangah of Ghur, and Malik Kub-b-u'd-din Husain, son of Ali-i-Abi-Ali. The Malik-ul-Kuttab,\(^2\) the Iktyiar-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yar-i-Tughrai he sent to the fort of Kaliun, and ordered that the two famous pahlavans of Khurasan, the sons of Somangar, should also go there. Malik Shems-u'd-din Muḥammad, the Jurjani,\(^3\) was planted at Herat, and the fortress of Fiwar was made over to the pahlavan Asil-u'd-din, the Nishapuri, son-in-law of the pahlavan Mubarak, the Kurd.\(^4\)

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1 The ass-skinned.
2 Chief secretary.
3 Raverty prefers the reading Jurjani.
The fort of Nasir Koh of Talikan was made over to the confidential retainers of Malik Shems-u'd-din Utzenz, the Hajib, and the fortress of Rang of Guzarwan to the vassals of Ulugh Khân-i-Aki Muhammad. The strongholds of Gharjistan were assigned to Sheran, the head of the tribe Abu Sahlan, and those of Ghur to the Maliks of Ghur, Firus Koh was entrusted to Malik Mubarsiz-u'd-din, the Sebzevar and Tulak was given in charge to the Amir Habashi-i-Nezahwar.

Chinghiz Khân having conquered Samarkand, apparently appointed Yelini Chutsai as its governor, or rather as the representative of Mongol authority there. When the Taoist sage, Ch'ang Ch'un, went to visit Chinghiz Khân in the West, and arrived at Samarkand, the narrative of his journey tells us he was met at the suburbs by the T'ai-shi-yi-la koung, by the heads of the Mongol army, the chief of the Huiho, etc. In regard to the first of these personages, Bretschneider says, quoting Palladius, that Taishi is the highest charge in the empire, the first councellor of the emperor. Yi-la is a family name of the Khiitans and Kuokun is an honorific title, and he suggests that Yelini Chutsai is really meant. In another place the same narrative says that most of the fields and gardens at Samarkand belonged to the Muhammads, but they were not allowed to dispose of them. They were obliged to manage their properties in conjunction with Khiitans, Chinese, and men from Ho-si. Chinese workmen were living everywhere. "Formerly," he goes on to say, "the Taishi lived here, but as this part of the city has become insecure, owing to numerous robberies, he has withdrawn to the northern side of the river." The Taishi and his disciples occupied the palace, saying the Taoists had no fear. The Taishi furnished everything for the master's subsistence, and from day to day his veneration for him increased. Gaubil has an interesting notice at this point. He says that the Chinese astronomy and the history of Yelini Chutsai speak of an eclipse of the moon observed during the siege of Sunsekan.

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2. i.e. Muhammadans.
3. Notes on Chinese Travellers, etc., p. 38, and note 94.
4. West of the Yellow River, the present Kansa.
5. i.e. Ch'ang Ch'un.
6. Id., p. 39.
7. i.e. Samarkand.

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12. See Bretschneider, Notices, etc., p. 54.
13. Id., p. 60, Douglas, op. cit., p. 36.
15. Bretschneider, Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers, etc. 103.
their fingers when eating it. Indian Muḥam-
madans, we are told, were black, and of good
character. The ruler of the Muḥammadans
chose his servants from amongst the black-
est and vilest class of the people of Hindus-
tan, and marked their faces by burning. The
people all lived in cities; there were no villages.
The roofs of their houses were covered with
clay, and all the wood-work in the houses was
carved. They used white glass for their windows
and for vessels. The country was very rich in
silver, pearls, cotton, hemp, &c. Their arrows,
bows, carts, cloths, armour, spears, and vessels
were all of strange appearance. They used
large bricks for building bridges. Their
boats resembled shuttlets. They had five kinds
of corn and mulberry trees, as there were in
China. Their salt was found in the mountains.
They made wine from grapes. They had
water-melons weighing sixty pounds. The
apples were prettily coloured. The onions
and melons were also very fine and fragrant.
They had camels, but only with one hump.
The cattle also had humps on their necks.
Their sheep had large tails. They also had lions,
elephants, peacocks, buffaloes, wild asses, and
snakes with four legs (i.e. lizards). Also a
dangerous insect, like a spider (holopaga aru-
neoides) which, when it bit a man he cried out
and died. The people dressed simply, and all
wore girdles. Their clothes, cushions, and
coverlets were all made of wool, which grew
in the ground. Their food consisted of cakes
and meal-meat, fish, and flesh. The women
were dressed in white cloth and covered their
faces, except the eyes, they did nothing but
sing, dance, etc. Sewing and embroidery
were executed by men. They also had per-
formers and jugglers. For pens they used reeds.
They did not burn the dead, nor did they use
coffins or sarcophagi, and the corpses were
always buried with their heads towards the west.
Their priests did not shave their heads. Such
was the information taken back by Wuku-sun.

It is curious that the result of his inter-
view with Chinghiz Khân is not reported
in the Pei-shi-ki. This, we learn from the
Yuan-shi, in which we read under the year 1221,
the Kin emperor sent Wu-ku-sun to Chinghiz
Khân with a letter to beg for peace. He
offered to be Chinghiz Khân’s younger brother, but
stipulated to retain the title of emperor.
When presented, Chinghiz said to him, “I
formerly asked of your sovereign to cede the
land north of the Yellow River, and offered to resign
to him the country south of it with the title of
Wang. Now Mukhuli has conquered all these
countries, and you are compelled to sue for peace.
Waku-sun then implored Chinghiz to have pity,
and the latter replied:—“It is only because of
the great distance you have come that I can be
considerate. The land north of the Yellow River
is in my possession, but there are still some cities
in Kuan-shi, which have not surrendered. Tell
your sovereign to surrender these and he may
reign south of the Yellow River with the
title of Wang.”

Having spent his summer in the good
pastures of Nakhshen, Chinghiz Khân
advanced upon Termed, a town situated on the
north bank of the Oxus, which had been
recently ruled over by Bahram Shâh, who had
been conquered by the Khâkrez Shâh and
put to death by his mother. The citizens
of Termed relied on their prowess, and
partially trusted to their walls, which on one
side were protected by the Oxus, and to
expected aid from the Khâkrez Shâh’s son,
Jalal-ud-dîn. Having rejected the Mongol
summons to open its gates and demolish its
ramparts and citadel, Chinghiz Khân proceeded
to attack it, and pressed the attack for ten days.
When it was taken, the citizens were ordered
to leave the place, and were distributed among
the Mongol soldiers to be put to death.”

Minhaj-i-Saraj says:—“After some days, during
which the Musalmâns of Termed had fought
many battles, and had sent great numbers of
the Mughals to hell, and many Musalmâns had
been martyred and made captive, the people of
Termed were reduced to helplessness by the
stones discharged from the catapults of those
accursed ones, and they abandoned the place;
and that fortress fell into the hands of the
Mughals, who martyred the whole of the
inhabitants.”

A grim incident of the massacre has been recorded by Juveni. When an
old woman was being put to death she begged

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17 The Chinese bridges were made of large square
stones.
18 i.e. cotton.
19 i.e. water oxen.
20 i.e. vassal.
21 i.e. west of the gate, by which west of the important

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Bremschneider, Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers to
the West, pp. 100-107; Douglas, op. cit., pp. 91 and 95.
23 Tubakal-i-Nasiri, p. 1005.
that they would not kill her, and she would give them a beautiful pearl. On their asking her where it was, she replied, in her stomach. Thereupon they treated her like a pearl oyster-shell; they opened her bowels and found it; and after that it was usual with them to treat their prisoners in this way, in the hope of finding jewels."

While at Termed, and during the winter, Chinghiz ordered a grand hunt, on the usual Mongol scale, to be organized, and as his eldest son, Juchi, who was the general superintendent of the hunts was absent, he instructed his noyans to make due preparations. These great hunts were an important feature in the Mongol polity. Mirkhond, in describing the Yasa of Chinghiz Khan, tells us he enjoined his people to pay great attention to hunting, since hunting was an excellent school for war. He tells us they generally began their preparations for the great hunt in the autumn, and sent out huntsmen in advance to inquire whether the game was plentiful or not. When the country had been duly prospected, the Mongols were summoned from their huts and divided as in a campaign into a centre, right and left wings, an advance-guard and a rear-guard. This large body of men sometimes embraced a circuit of a month's journey in extent, enclosing forests, deserts, &c. &c. The Khan attended in person with his wives and ample provisions. If any animal escaped, the man who negligently allowed it was bastinadoed, or even killed, and so if some of the soldiers forming the great ring or berkhe broke its contour by advancing too slowly or too fast, as the circuit converged the soldiers held each other's hands and eventually shouldered to shoulder and knee to knee. We elsewhere read that as the hunters advanced they clanged their cymbals and played their musical instruments to frighten the animals. The soldiers were not to wound or injure any of the beasts. The centre to which they converged was a plain previously marked out by the hunters. The whole proceeding was conducted like a serious campaign. During halts at night sentinels were duly planted and relieved, and those who slept or were negligent were punished. If a river intervened, which could not be forded, a halt was made, the wild beasts were driven over, and the hunters passed it seated on inflated leathern bags, which were tied to the tails of the horses, which were guided over by swimmers. As the circle contracted the wild animals began to feel themselves pressed, and fled, some to the mountains, others to the thickets. They were dug out of retreats which they had sought, and the weak ones were worried by the strong, but presently they were cowed by fright and became quieter, and lions and tigers, bears and boars, became gentle and timid. The quarry having been thus driven into the central open space called jerkeh by the Mongols, the Grand Khan entered amidst the sound of trumpets, with a sword in one hand and a bow in the other, while a quiver hung from his shoulders. He was followed by his sons and his generals, and began the slaughter.

Presently, when tired, he withdrew to an eminence, and while seated on a throne watched the skill and prowess of his principal followers. Presently the other troops were allowed to enter and join in the general battle. At length Chinghiz Khan's grandsons, accompanied by several grandees, went to him and asked his clemency for the remaining animals, so that there might be some stock to breed from in the ensuing season. The slaughter thereupon ceased, and the game was counted, or if this was found impracticable, says Mirkhond, the lions and wild asses were alone numbered. The object of these hunts, says that writer, was not solely the chase, but rather to practise horsemen and foot soldiers in archery, and in horsemanship, and to teach the various bodies of troops to act in concert and to prevent mistakes or weakness. "The practice has always existed," he says, "from the beginning of the Mongol dynasty, and remains in vigour still."

After the capture of Termed Chinghiz ravaged the districts of Lengert and Semnan and sent an army to overrun Badakshan. He himself proceeded to cross the Oxus and to approach Balkh, the mother of cities, the cradle of the earliest Aryan civiliza-

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**Notes:**
- Abulghazi, pp. 120 and 121; Tukbati-Nasiri, p. 1906, Notes; Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 402; D'Osboson, vol. I, p. 171.
- Generally speaking it was a number of greybeards.
- Called Langhuert and Samaude by De la Croix.
tion, and then very populous and prosperous, containing more than 1,200 great mosques, and 1,200 public baths.

Ibn-al-Athir says that Chinghiz crossed the Jihun and marched straight upon Balkh, and its people having begged for quarter the Mongols gave an indemnity to the city, and did not take it, nor did they plunder it, but merely put a Shahannah or governor there. He dates this in the year 617 hij. He then goes on to say they made for Es Zužán and Meimand and Andakhui and Karyat, and they conquered them all, and put garrisons in them; nor did they molest the inhabitants, except by taking such as could bear arms along with them, till they came to El Talikan.

This circumstantial account of a contemporary is somewhat confirmed by the fact that Minhaj-i-Saraj does not mention any plundering of Balkh. It is, however, at issue with other reports, where we read that Chinghiz, far from sparing Balkh, reviled its people for having been so faithless to their late ruler, Amed-u'd-din, and for having been so submissive to the Khvârezm Shâh Muḥammad. Having been admitted into the town the Mongols ordered the citizens to evacuate it as usual, under pretence of taking a census, and having selected the young people, who were alone useful to them, they killed the rest. The walls were broken down, the citadel and the walls razed, and having secured their fill of plunder they marched towards Talikan. This is the story as told in the Jihun Kushâi, and by Rashidu’ed-din and Abulghazi. 30

This is not the only difficulty at this point. Minhaj-i-Saraj has a detailed account of the capture of a town he calls Walkh, four parasangs square, situated on a height, and otherwise described as to make it inconsistent with its being Balkh. I cannot identify the place as all, but possibly it was one of the hill fortresses of Ghur. I shall return to it in a later chapter.

Let us meanwhile follow the steps of Tului. Chinghiz Khân’s youngest son, whom he sent into Khurasan to intercept the retreat of and to crush Jelal-u’ed-din, the Khvârezm Shâh. We have seen how the latter escaped from Khvârezm and retired by way of Nissa to Nishapur. Thence he issued summons to the governors of the various towns, &c., to gather round him with their troops, and to those who had rendered themselves independent in the recent troubles to do the same: and he stayed there a month, but on hearing that Tului was marching against him, he marched with such men as he had collected to Kahira, where he heard of Talikan having been besieged. Nissavi says he wished to shut himself up in Kahira, and there await the enemy’s approach, but the governor represented to him that a prince of his reputation and merit should not shut himself up in forts and citadels, though they were built on the heads of the twin stars, or horns of Taurus, or the Pleiades. He thereupon distributed what money he had among his men, and went to Best in Seistan, where he met one of his officers who had escaped from Balkh, and who informed him of the Mongol forces and of their recent doings. 31 He then went on to Ghazni. The Mongols were not long before they were on his traces.

After the march of Subutai and Chepe, who had left shahnahs in the various towns they passed through, the inhabitants had become more reassured, and they were further misled by unfounded rumours of various successes which Jelal-u’ed-din was supposed to have won in Irak. Encouraged by this, a leader of irregular troops at Tus, named Seraj-u’ed-din, killed the Mongol shahnah there, and sent his head to Nishapur. Thereupon Sayid Buterab, governor of Tus repaired to a Mongol commander, named Timur, who was posted at Ustua, called Astur by Erdmann, with 300 men to guard the communications of the two divisions under Subutai and Chepe, marched upon Tus, attacked the 2000 troops there, under Seraj-u’ed-din in the Royal palace, put the greater number of them to the sword, and proceeded to demolish the walls. 32

In another direction we read that Inan Khân, one of the Khvârezm Shâh’s officers, had got together some troops and molested the Mongols. Subutai brought on a fight with him, but was beaten, and, as Inan was pursuing his men, he

30 See AbulFaraj, Chron. Arab., pp. 292 and 3; Abulghazi, p. 121; D’Ohsson, vol. 1, pp. 374 and 3; Erdmann, pp. 404, 405.

31 De la Croix, pp. 206, 201.

32 D’Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 274; Erdmann, p. 413.
overtook a body of Mongols near Nakchivran and drove them into a ditch, where they were drowned. This exploit got him some renown, and having been joined by a body of the Sultan's troops who were disbanded and living in the woods, he went to Nissa, whose governor had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. There he secured the money which had been collected in taxes in 1221, with which he furnished his army. As the Mongols were now approaching Nissa in force he retired to the mountains. When he retired westwards, Muhammad Khuarezm sent a messenger to Nissa to tell its governor that the Mongols did not make war like other people, and that it would be the best thing on their approach to retire into the mountains with his people, as they would probably withdraw when they had ravaged the country.

Its citadel had been razed by order of Sultan Takish, and its site had been ploughed. The citizens now proceeded to rebuild it. It was situated on the confines of the desert, and had long served as a frontier fortress to the Persians and Turks. It gave his name to the famous prince historian, Muhammad of Nissa. Shihab-ud-din the Sultan's Vizier, had retired thither with his treasures, his son and some other Khuarezmians. The Mongols now approached it. According to De la Croix, who apparently follows Nissavi, they were commanded by Jafar the Chapar of the Chinese and Saka Noyan, who were accompanied by an experienced general, named Balkush, but it would seem that the titular chief of the army was Tului's brother-in-law, Tugachar. They offered the citizens reasonable terms, but while the negotiations were proceeding some one shot an arrow from the ramparts and killed Balkush. The siege was now pressed, and twenty catapults were built, which were served and the battering rams dragged into place by captives and others pressed into the service. These engines, called harakas, were covered with wet hides to prevent them being fired. After an assault of fifteen days, a breach was made in the walls, which the Mongols duly occupied. The following day they entered the town, and as usual ordered the people to march out. When collected on the plain outside showers of missiles were poured among them after they had had their hands tied behind them. "These unfortunate people," says Nissavi, "did as they were told; if they had fled to the neighbouring mountains the greater part of them would have escaped. When they were pinioned the Mongols slew them, men, women, and children together, with showers of arrows. The number of the dead, including both people of Nissa and others from the country round was 70,000." Shihab-ud-din and his son were led in chains before the Noyans, who ordered their treasure chests to be opened before their eyes, and then had them decapitated. Shihab-ud-din's tomb, says De la Croix, may still be seen in a place called Hafna.

Three days after the capture of Nissa the invaders proceeded to attack the fortress of Kharendar, situated on a scarped rock between Nissa and Nishapur, and considered to be the strongest fortress of Khorasan. Nissavi says it had, according to tradition, belonged to his ancestors since the introduction of Islam in these districts. As it was in the centre of the province it formed an asylum for escaped prisoners and other fugitives. Nejm-ud-din, one of the greatest grandees of the Khuarezmian empire, had only a few days before visited the place with his riches. On entering it he was so impressed with its strength that he said to Nissavi, "We will await the Tartars here. But when he saw that they attacked it on its weakest side, he grew afraid and asked the governor to let him down into the plain by ropes at a place where he would not be seen. This Nissavi did, and he escaped. The place was attacked with vigour, but presently the Mongol commander, having satisfied himself that he would require a larger force to take it, and having determined to raise the siege, sent a messenger to ask for 10,000 cotton ropes and other articles, "although," says Nissavi, "they were gorged with booty from Nissa. I consented, but when it became necessary to take these objects to them, no one would volunteer,
as it was known they killed everybody. Eventually two old men devoted themselves to the task, and having brought their children to me, recommended them to my care if they should be killed. They did, in fact, kill them.†† They then spread themselves over Khurasan. "When they entered a district," says Nissavi, "they assembled the peasants, and took them with them to the town they meant to attack, using them in working the siege machinery. Terror and desolation spread everywhere, so that he who was made prisoner was more at ease than he who awaited events at home. The gentry with their servants and weapons were also obliged to help in these siege operations. Those who refused were attacked in their houses, and slaughtered with their households."‡‡

Tugachar now marched upon Nishapur, where vigorous preparations had been made to receive him. Besides catapults and ballistas, there were 3,000 machines for discharging iron projectiles filled with inflammable composition, in shape like rockets, naphtha in flasks, and 300 ghirarabs (some unknown projectiles), etc. etc. The place was attacked in December 1220. Three days later Tugachar was struck at the time of mid-day prayer by some projectile, and was killed. Thereupon the next in command, whose name Major Raverty reads as the Noyan Nurka, deeming it impossible to capture the place with the force he had with him, divided his army into two sections; with one of these he assailed Sebzvar, which he captured in three days and put the inhabitants to the sword to the number of 70,000, and then apparently went to join Subutai and Chepe, who had sent for reinforcements. The other division he sent to assist Timur, who had gone to Tus, as we have mentioned. He speedily captured the strong fortresses in that district which still held out, including Kar and Nokan. Major Raverty says the fortress of Jand, near Tus.***

Let us now turn to Talui and his doings. He marched apparently straight up Merv, otherwise known as Merv Sháh-i-Jihan, i.e. king of the world, situated five leagues to the north of Merv-ar-Rud. The Seljuk Sultan Malik Sháh made it his capital, and was buried there. It produced several learned men, and Yakut tells us how he had seen its three public libraries, one of which contained 12,000 MSS. It was twelve days distant from Nishapur, Herat, Balkh, and Bukhara respectively, and the three rivers that watered it made it very fertile.**** When Muhammed Khárezm Sháh retired he advised such of the people of Merv who could do so to remove to the neighbouring fortress, and those who could not were to submit. Its former governor, Mujir-ul-Mulk, had been displaced for some fault by Nejm-ud-din, styled Bahai-ul-Mulk, who, on the approach of Subutai and Chepe retired to a neighbouring fortress, whose name is a good instance of the difficulties created by Eastern orthography. D'Ohsson calls it Méraga, Erdmann Szeraghba, Abulghazi Yaraz, and Raverty Tak.††† It was perhaps Maruchak. Presently, not deeming himself safe there, he went on to Alatagh, a very powerful fortress of Tabestan.‡‡‡ Several other chiefs presently returned to Merv, while the rest dispersed. Nejm-ud-din's deputy at Merv, as well as the mujti, were in favour of submitting to the Mongols; the Kadhi and chief of the Sayids, on the contrary, wished to resist them. The former apparently prevailed, and when Chepe and Subutai arrived at Maruchak, a deputation from Merv went to offer submission. But about this time a Turcoman officer, named Buka, who had formed part of the escort of Muhammed, having collected a body of his people threw himself into the town, and was joined by all those who were in favour of resistance, and who had suffered severely at the hands of the Mongols. His domination did not last long. The former governor of Merv, Mujir-ul-Mulk, after Muhammed's death, had travelled partly on foot and partly on a lame ass he had with him to the fortress of Salag (Major Raverty places it in Ghilan), where he was received with much consideration by the governor, and afterwards went on to Merv, and took up his quarters in the garden, named Mahi-abad, near the Sermad-shihan Gate. Major Raverty says the Dar-i-Sarrajah, or Gate of the Saddlers. He was joined by many

†† De la Croix, pp. 224 and 225.
‡‡ Erdmann, pp. 359 and 360.
‡‡‡ D'Ohsson, vol. i, p. 279; Erdmann, p. 300; Abulghazi, p. 133; Tābāk-č-i-Nasiri, p. 1068 note.
††† D'Ohsson, vol. i, p. 290 note.
of the citizens. The troops also went over to him, so that he found himself at the head of 7,000 or 8,000 men, and, at length Buka himself was constrained to submit. Mujir-ul-Mulk now aspired to a higher position than that of vizier. He pretended to be of the royal stock, his mother having belonged to Muhammad's harem, and having been enceinte when she was given in marriage to the person who passed for his father. He also had a large property and a palace at Merv. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of Merv, Shems-ud-din Harisi, who was a partisan of the Mongols, sent a message secretly to his relative, the Kadi of Sarakhs, whose inhabitants had submitted to them, and sought to embroil him with Mujir-ul-Mulk. The latter suspected his treason, but did not move until he, in fact, confessed it by pronouncing as he peached in the mosque the phrase, "May all the enemies of the Mongols perish." The people who heard the words were enraged. He then tried to evade them by saying the words had passed his lips contrary to his will. Shortly after, one of his letters to the Kadi of Sarakhs was intercepted. When charged he denied the treason, but was convicted by the production of the letter. He was put to death, and his body was dragged through the city at a horse's tail, and left to the dogs.

Meanwhile the Sultan's deputy, Bahai-ul-Mulk, went from Alatagh to Mazanderan, and there made terms with the Mongols, offering to hand over the city to them, and to pay them a tribute in cotton cloth if they would give him the command of it. They accordingly sent him go, with a Mongol escort of 7,000 men. When he arrived at Shahristan he heard of the revolution which had taken place at Merv, and wrote to Mujir-ul-Mulk, who was at the head of 80,000 men, that it was no use resisting the Mongols, whose power was overwhelming, that 7,000 of them with 10,000 light troops were marching on Merv, and that he wished to warn him before it was too late. This news caused terror in the town, the two messengers who took the letter were questioned about it, and confessed its truth. They were killed, and detachments sent out to scour the roads. The Mongols, on their part, finding that Bahai-ul-Mulk had deceived them put him to death, and then withdrew. Mujir-ul-Mulk now sent troops to Sarakhs, where the Kadi Shems-ud-din was seized, and accused of taking presents to Chepe, and of having accepted the government of the town from the Mongols. He was handed over to the son of pahlavan Abubakr Diwaneh, whose father he had killed, and was put to death. Meanwhile, as no news of the Mongols arrived, Mujir-ul-Mulk allowed himself to be lulled into a false security, until Ikhtiyar-ud-din, the governor of Amuyah, who was a Turkoman, arrived with the news that they had crossed the Oxus at Amuyah, and were investing Kala-i-Nau. A party of 800 of them, accordingly were attacked in rear by 2,000 Khwarezmians under Shek Khan and Aghul the Hajib, and all killed, except 30, who were captured, paraded about the town, and then put to death, after which the Turcomans were so elated that having chosen Ikhtiyar-ud-din as their leader, they refused to obey Mujir-ul-Mulk, and failing to surprise the town plundered its environs.

Erdmann tells a different story. He says that the Khwarezmians numbered 10,000 men, and were commanded by Shek Khan and Aghul Sahib, that they were the beaten party and were nearly exterminated, and that their two chiefs were forced to seek shelter at Destejerd.

This was only the Mongol advance guard. However, Tului, whose people were now masters of Sarakhs, Nissa, Abiverd, and other places in the neighbourhood, with a force of 70,000 men, was close behind. We are told, how 400 (?400) of his men, who went out to reconnoitre, attacked and dispersed 12,000 Turkomans, who were encamped at a place called Kus "like wolves dispersing a herd of sheep." They committed a great slaughter, women and children sharing the fate of men—and they captured 60,000 head of cattle, without counting sheep. The following day, that is to say, on the 1st of February 1221, they appeared before the Firuz gate of the city, having been guided by a shepherd named Rani, and Tului made a circuit about it at the head of 500 horsemen. A week later the main army took up its quarters there. I will continue the story.

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27 Erdmann, p. 413; Tabakati-Nasiri, p. 1031 note.
Then they burned the city, and burned the tomb of Sulṭān Sanjar (the Seljūk), and they dug up the grave in search of treasure, and continued thus three days, and on the fourth day he ordered the slaughter of the people of the city, every one of them, for he said 'they resisted us.' So they killed them all, and he ordered the slain to be numbered. There were about 700,000 killed, and verily to God we belong and to Him we shall return.'

Major Raverty has collected some other facts about the surrender of the city, which are interesting. He tells us how, on the twenty-third day of the siege, Mujir-ul-Mulk sent the Imam Jamal-u'd-din, who presented himself before Tului with the chief ecclesiastics of the place, and having offered the customary presents, offered if he would spare the lives of the inhabitants and not destroy the city to pay a ransom of 200,000 dinars, 30,000 kharvars of grain, 100,000 ambling horses, and 100 Hindu and Turki slaves, to accept a Shahnah or Mongol governor, and to pay taxes. These terms were accepted, a dress of honour was given to the Imam, and he was sent back. Next day Mujir-ul-Mulk with ten of the principal men came out with presents, and presented himself before Tului. He was stopped at the entrance by the Amirs, who exacted from him 300 ass loads of dinars for Tului and 100,000 dinars for themselves, for which an order was to be given them on the wealthier citizens. They promised that they would obtain in return Tului's written guarantee for the lives of the inhabitants. Wishing to save the people, he gave the order on 100 rich merchants in the city, and sent a party of Mongols with it to receive the money. They seized and tortured these unfortunate men and a great crowd beside. They then cut off the nose, ears, and lips of Mujir-ul-Mulk, and put him to death. 32 D'Ohsson, apparently following the Jihan Kushai, tells us that a list of the richest men in Merv was made out at Tului's demand. This consisted of 200 merchants and proprietors, who were sent to the Mongol camp with 400 skilled artisans, whose names had also been inscribed on the list. The people took four days to defile out of the city, and while Tului sat on a golden throne the military captives were brought before him and

32 Tubakr-i-Nasiri, p. 1033.
decapitated in the view of their fellow-citizens, and men, women, and children were separated, and then divided among their inexorable captors for slaughter, and in this butchers' work the soldiery from Sarakhs, to revenge the death of their Imám, rivalled the Mongols themselves. The artizans and a few young people destined to be slaves were alone spared. The richer citizens were tortured to make them disclose their wealth.\(^{44}\) The author of the Jihan Kushai says further that the Syed Iz-u'd-dín and several others were engaged for thirteen days in counting the corpses, which were found to number 1,300,000.\(^{45}\) This, no doubt, includes, in addition to the actual inhabitants of Merv, many who had sought shelter there from the neighbouring towns. Orders were given to raze the walls and to burn the Maksura of the Hainfah Mosque. Tului nominated one of the magnates of the place, who had doubtless been treacherous to his people, and who was named Zia-u'd-dín Ali, as governor of its ruins, with Barmias as shahnah, or daruga, and then withdrew.

Soon after its capture news arrived at Merv that the son of the pahlavan Abúbakr Divânah had revolted at Sarakhs. Zia-u'd-din set out with the troops at Merv to put down this revolt, while Barmias taking with him the artizans and others in his charge, set out with them for Bukhara, intending to settle there. When the latter had left the place, fancying that it was because he must have heard some news of the approach of the Sultan Jelal-u'd-din, the indomitable, but most imprudent remnant of the inhabitants had the trumpets sounded and broke out into revolt. This was in the beginning of Ramāzan 618 hij. Barmias hearing of this returned, went to the gate and summoned the rebels to submit. As none of them obeyed, he revenged himself by killing some people whom he met with about the gate, and then continued his march to Bukhara with his companions, among whom was the Khaja Muhadseb-u'd-din of Astarâbd, who had expressed a wish that Barmias would appoint him Shâhnah of Merv during his absence.

Meanwhile Zia-u'd-din returned again from Sarakhs under pretence of restoring order at Merv, to take provisions to its inhabitants, and to divide the plunder he had with him among them, and sent them a letter by his son, Bâhâi-ul-Mulk. He seems to have obtained possession of the town again, and proceeded to rebuild the walls and fortifications. Presently Kush-tigin pahlavan, called Nush Tîgin by Ravery, one of the Sultân's officers, arrived before the place, and proceeded to invest it. The people inside were largely favourable to him, so Zia-u'd-din withdrew from the place, and marched to attack Meraghâ. Kush-tigin entered and proceeded once more to collect people, and to introduce cultivation there. Some of the inhabitants, however, were partitioned by Zia-u'd-din, and sent to ask him to return. He went, and while halting at the gate sent some of his followers to announce his arrival to his supporters. Kush-tigin having heard of this had him seized and taken before him, and as he knew that his own life would be forfeited if he fell into his opponent's hands he had him put to death, and continued with great confidence his work of restoration. Meanwhile he heard that Kharaja Noyan was marching against Sarakhs. He accordingly collected 1,000 men, and fled towards Seng-puah. Kharaja pursued and attacked him, and slew the greater part of his men. Three or four days later 200 horsemen approached Merv under Khowkhu Noyan, called Fiku by Ravery, and offered its people peace. As they refused this, and preferred to trust to their fortifications he sent to Nakhshak with news of what had occurred to the two commanders, Bertai and Khubai. Ravery mentions one only, and calls him Turbai or Turtai. Bertai arrived five days later with 5,000 men under the command of a general named Ak Mâlik. They surrounded the place immediately, and speedily occupied it, and sent its defenders to the shambles in parties of ten and twenty until, we are told, they had slaughtered 100,000 of them, an immense number considering what had already occurred, unless many of them were strangers who had sought refuge there. They then proceeded deliberately to ruin the markets, palaces, mosques, and other principal buildings. Bertai or Turtai then left again with the Mongol army for Nakhshak while Ak Mâlik hunted all those who had


\(^{46}\) Called Murghah by Major Ravery.
But the situation was much too important and attractive to be deserted so long as there were people within access, and we are told that many who had fled to the deserts and otherwise concealed themselves returned on the withdrawal of the Mongols, over whom a prince Arslan took command. A band of predatory robbers, 10,000 strong, thus gathered round him, with whom he made attacks upon Merv-u-r-Rud, Talikan, etc., and plundered the Mongols of cattle and horses. His authority lasted for six months. From another side the Turkoman Hus Nesa made an attack upon Merv, where Baṣrāh was then administrator. The latter was driven away, and was killed. Kharaja marched to the relief of Merv with 1000 men from Talikan, and having appeared there unexpectedly slew all he could lay his hands upon, and the work was completed by a large army of Afghans and men from Ghazni, who soon after arrived under Khutkhū. The beautiful and prosperous city was now overwhelmed, and it remained desolate until the year 812 hij., when Shāh Rukh, the son of the great Timur, ordered it to be rebuilt.

Let us now revert to Tulai. After the capture of Merv, he set out for Nishapur to revenge himself for the death of his brother-in-law, Tugachar. Nishapur was one of the most famous cities of Asia. Its name means city of Sapor, and during the Sassanian dynasty it was the capital of Khurasan, and was emphatically called Iran. It had been destroyed twice in less than a century. In 1153 by the Oghuz Turks who revolted against Sultan Sanjar, and in 1208 by an earthquake, but it had risen from its ruins and was a very prosperous and populous place, now prepared for a vigorous resistance, being well fortified, while its walls were lined with 3,000 ballistas and

500 catapults. The Mongols on their side also made very extensive preparations. They proceeded to lay waste the province of which Nishapur was the capital, and brought up a great siege train. They had with them 3,000 ballistas and 300 catapults, 700 machines for throwing napthas, 4,000 ladders, and 2,500 loads of stones. These they had brought with them for some distance, although the surrounding mountains furnished an ample supply. The preparations cowed the defenders, and they sent the chief judge of the province, Bakhshū'd-dīn Ali ibn Ibrahim Almoghni, with some notables, and bearing rich presents, offering to pay an annual tribute if the place were spared, but Tulai refused any terms, and detained the chief judge. The next day he made the tour of the fortifications, encouraging his men to fight bravely. The assault was given simultaneously from all sides on the 7th of April 1221, the struggle lasted all day and the following night when, the ditches being filled and the walls breached in seventy places, the place was stormed, the attack being especially pressed at the so-called Camel-driver's Gate and the Khurakhusan bastion. The Mongols speedily drove the defenders from the walls, and they now proceeded to an indiscriminate slaughter. Every living thing that was found was put to death, even the cats and dogs. Tugachar's widow headed a tuman or 10,000 men in the bloody work of slaughter, and among their notable victims was Mujir-ul-Mulk, who reviled them bitterly, and was put to death in an ignominious fashion. The carnage lasted for four days, and as Tulai had heard that at Merv some people had escaped by hiding among the dead he ordered the heads of the corpses to be cut off, and separate pyramids to be formed of men's, women's, and children's heads. Four hundred artisans were spared, and sent to the far east where, Raverty says, their descendants were still living in Timur's days. Those who hid in the ground were sought out by troops specially left to complete the work. "The walls, towers, and all the buildings of Nishapur were thrown down, and for seven days and nights the water of the neighbouring river, which had been dammed up for the purpose was made to run over it so as to sap what-

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[Note: References at the bottom of the page]
ever buildings remained. The greater number of
houses were probably built of unburnt bricks,
and bullocks and ploughs were brought, and its
site was sown with barley, and the Mongol
horses fed on it when it sprang up. One Mongol
officer and four Tajiks were left to slay any who
might have escaped the massacre. Minhaj-i-
Saraj says Tului martyred every person in Nisha-
pur, desolated it, razed the walls of the city, and
having had a pair of oxen yoked he had them
driven over the city, so that not a vestige of its
buildings remained.

Nissavi says that four or
five years after, Jelal-u'd-din Khuārezm Shāh
having recovered Persia, let out to farm the
right of digging for treasure in the desolated
district for 30,000 dinars a year. Often this sum
was recovered in a single day, and even more—
treasure buried with its owners.

Twelve
days were spent in counting the dead, which
Mirkhond tells us numbered 1,747,000, a
terrible hecatomb, representing very probably
the depopulation not of the city merely, but
of the whole district. It has been remarked
as strange that these cities of Khorasan did
not offer the sturdy resistance to the Mongols
that was offered by the smaller fortresses, but
the fact is that, like Paris in the recent siege
the very number of useless mouths to be fed
was a great source of weakness to the garrison,
and created a continual clamour for terms.

Ibn-al-Athir says that when the Mongols
had made an end of Nishapur they sent a
detachment to Tus, which did the like again
there, and pillaged it and plundered the tombs
of Ali-ibn Musa-ar-Riza (the descendant of the
Prophet, so much venerated by the Shias)
and Ḥarūn-ar-Rashid, until they reduced
everything to ruins. Tus revived again with
great splendour during the dynasty of the
Sefei, who changed its site a little, and gave it
the new name of Meshed.

Tului also ravished the district of Kuhistan,
and then proceeded to attack Herat, the only
great town left intact in Khorasan. Having
reached Bartu, a place near Herat, called
Shabartu by Raverty, he sent an envoy named
Zenbur to summon the place, which was
governed by Malik Shems-u'd-din Jurjānī.
We are told by Khwandamir that he was only

nominally subject to the Khuārezm Shāh, with
whom he was in fact at enmity, and had surprised
Herat during the absence of Amin Mālik, the
Sultān’s uncle. The garrison is said to have
numbered 100,000. Tului’s envoy asked
that the prince himself with his generals,
judges, and other grandees should come out
and make his submission. He replied truculently, that “it was far from him to submit himself to unbelieving Tartars and Mongols,” and
he ordered the envoy to be put to death. This
naturally greatly enraged Tului, and he drew
near the city with his forces. It proved,
however, to be very strongly fortified, being
then as now one of the most important for-
tresses of Asia, and its garrison resisted and
fought desperately. Several thousands of the
besiegers were killed, and among them 1,700 of
Tului’s picked men, his beks, says Abulghazi.
The struggle thus went on for seven days, on
the eighth a furious battle was fought, during
which Shems-u'd-din was killed by an arrow.
This fact was concealed, but two parties im-
mediately arose inside. The town was only a
recent conquest of the Khuārezm Shāh’s, and
could not be expected to be very loyal to him.

One party, including Jelal-u'd-din’s supporters
and the troops, were for resisting to the end.
The other, consisting of the Persian citizens
with the Kadhī and other magnates, were for
asking terms. The fact of its dubious allegi-
ance to Jelal-u'd-din, and the great resistance he
had received doubtless induced Tului, notwith-
standing his envoy’s death, to treat it better
than was his wont. He rode to the edge of
the ditch with 200 men, and offered the people
their lives if they would submit and obey his de-
puties, and he promised to enact from them only
half the taxes paid to the Khuārezm Shāh,
and fortified his promise with a strong oath.
Thereupon the city gates were thrown open.
First of all the Muqaddam, or superintendent
of the weavers, Erdmann says the guardian of
the wardrobe, the Amir Iz'u'd-din, came out
with 100 people of his trade, each bearing
nine pieces of famous Herat cloth as a present
for Tului, who received them well, as he did the
magnates of the place. He kept his word so
far as the civilians were concerned, but he

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Tabakat-i-Kasīrī, pp. 1001-1004, and notes; Erd-
mann, p. 419; D’Ohsson, vol. i, pp. 228-229.


Erdmann, p. 420.

De la Croix, pp. 298 and 299.
ordered the soldiers, 12,000 in number, who were supporters of Jelal-u’d-din, to be put to death. He appointed the Malik Abu-bekr Meraghani governor of Herat, and nominated Mangatai or Mangai, called Mengfai by Erdmann, as its shahnameh or governor. 44

Eight days after the capture of Herat Tului received orders to rejoin his father before Talikan.

A curious story was afterwards reported about the siege of Herat by Wahidu’d-din Bushauj or Fushauj, the Kadhi of Gharjistan, and is reported by Minhaj-i-Saraj, who claims to have heard it from the hero of the story, whom he met at Kain in the year 622 hij. The story has been repeated by Mirkhond, and from his version Erdmann no doubt took the story as told by him. The Kadhi’s story is that during the siege he was in the habit like other people of donning his armour and mounting the ramparts to view the forces. One day when thus dressed in full panoply, and while the struggle was going on outside he missed his footing and, rolled like a ball down the rampart amidst a shower of weapons from the Mongols and renegade Musalmâns with them, and rolling into their midst was captured by a party of them. This was opposite where Tului had his tent pitched, and he rolled 20 ells (gaz) down the slope of the rampart and then dropped 40 ells more into the ditch, and this without a wound or any injury. Tului, when he had alighted, sent some people to fetch him, and finding he was unhurt asked if he belonged to the race of Adam, or was a pari, a demon, an angel, or did he hold a charm bearing the names of the Ulugh Tengri, i.e. the Great God. The diplomatic Kadhi replied that he belonged to the unfortunate learned class which blesses and prays, and that he had only one thing with him, namely, the fact of having seen him (Tului) was enough to secure his safety. The answer pleased the Mongol chief, who praised his wit, gave him some presents, and promised to present him to his father. Meanwhile he made him over to the care of one of the principal Mongols. When Tului rejoined his father he took the Kadhi with him, and he joined his service. “I was constantly in attendance at his threshold,” he says, “and he used continually to inquire of me the traditions of the prophets and concerning the sovereigns of Ajam, and the kings of the past, and would enquire, ‘Did Muhammad (on whom be peace) foretell aught about my rise and sway?’ I used to relate to him the traditions of the prophet which they have related respecting the irruption of the Turks, and he used to say, ‘My heart bears evidence that thou speakest the truth,’ until one day during conversation he said to me, ‘A mighty name will remain behind to me in the world through taking vengeance upon Muhammad the Aghri’—he used to call Sultan Muhammad Khurârezm Shah by this term (and in the Mongol language aghri means a robber), and this expression he would greatly use and say, ‘Khurârezm Shah was not a monarch; he was a robber. Had he been a monarch he would not have slain my envoys and traders who go and come to Otrar, for kings should not slay ambassadors.’ In short, when he enquired of me, ‘Will not a mighty name remain behind me,’ I bowed my face to the ground and said, ‘If the Khan will promise the safety of my life, I will make a remark.’ He replied, ‘I have promised thee its security.’ I said, ‘A name continues to endure where there are people, but how will a name endure when the Khan’s servants martyr all the people and massacre them, for who will remain to tell the tale?’ When I finished this sentence, Chinghiz Khan dashed the bow and arrow which he had in his hand upon the ground, and became exceedingly enraged, and turned his face away from me, and his back towards me. When I beheld the effects of rage upon his impious brow, I washed my hands of life, and gave up all hope of existence. I made sure to myself that the time of my departure was come, and that I should leave the world from the blow of the sword of this accursed one. After a minute had passed away he turned his face towards me again, and said: ‘I used to consider thee a sagacious and prudent man, but from this speech of thine it has become evident to me that thou dost not possess complete understanding, and that thy comprehension is but small. There are many kings in the world, and wherever the hoofs of the hoises

44 Erdmann, pp. 420 and 421; Tabakat-i-Nasiri, p. 1097 note; D‘OThasen, vol. 1, p. 292.
of Muḥammad the Aḡḥi have reached, there I will carry slaughter and cause devastation. The remaining people who are in other parts of the world and the sovereigns of other kingdoms, they will relate my history." The Kadhi found he had lost favour with Chingiz Ḫan by his too great frankness, and he accordingly took an early opportunity of making his escape. The story, which has singular probabilities with it, is a good proof of the bitter animosity which the ruthless conduct of Muḥammad had inspired, and how impossible the implacable tyrant found it to support the mingled insults and indignities which he had received, and of which the desolation of Khorasan was the price.

We have described Tului's campaign as reported by the Persian writers, and it will be well to complete it by the shorter notice given by the Chinese and native historians. In the Yuan-shi this campaign of Tului is given in epitome. We there read that he took the cities of Ma lu ch'a-yo k'o, i.e. Maruchak, a district subject to Merv, Ma-lu, i.e. Merv or Merv, and Si-la-sze, i.e. Sarakhs. This is assigned to the year 1221. During the next year it is recorded that he took the cities of Tu-sze (Tuṣ), Ni chawur (Nishapur), and when returning devastated the kingdom of the Mu-la-yi, i.e. the Mulahids, Ismaelites, or assassins. In none of the western writers are we told that the Mongols at this time had any encounter with the Ismaelites. To continue, Tului crossed the river Ch'o-ch'o-lan, which may be also read Shuo-shuo-lan, and by which perhaps the Hari-rud is meant, captured the city of Ye-li, i.e. Herat, and other places, and then rejoined his father. The Yuan-ch'a-no-pi-shi tells us Tului captured the cities of Isiepur, i.e. Nishapur, Chukkhellen, the Ch'o-ch'o-lan of the Yuan-shi, Iu, i.e. Herat, and Sisten (Seistan). The Huang-yuan says in 1221 he took the cities of Ma-lu-ch'a-yo-k'o (Maruchak) Wulu (probably, says Bretschneider, a misprint for Malu or Merv), Si-la-sze (Sarakhs), Nia-shu-ur (Nishapur), and Ye-li (Herat). In the spring of 1222 he took Tu-sze (Tur), and Ni-shu-ur (i.e. Nishapur, for the second time). At the beginning of the hot season he received orders to make haste and join his father; but before doing so, he made an incursion into the country of the Mu-la-di (i.e. the Mulahids), devastated it, crossed the river So-so-lan, and reached Ye-li, i.e. Herat. The Yuan-shi lei-pen tells us that Tului in this campaign was accompanied by the idikut of the Uighurs, whom he styles Itag, king of the Iqur, and who says he had command of 10,000 men. They secured Malu (i.e. Merv), Chakiko, Malusilasi (Maruchak), Sarakhs and other places, and having secured a great booty in a kingdom called Mulay (i.e. of the Mulahids), crossed a river called Shuo-shuo-lan, and marching by way of Ye-li, i.e., Herat, arrived at Talikan.

**FACSIMILES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA.**

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

The want has long been felt of some purely mechanical facsimiles of the Aśoka Edicts. As regards the process according to which lithographs are prepared from reduced copies made by eye from a comparison of impressions, photographs, and published texts,—no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and attention, may be brought to the work, the fact remains that such lithographs are not facsimiles of the inscriptions as they really are, and they fail entirely to give any representation of the surroundings of the original writings. And, as long as such lithographs are the only ones available to the public, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion and doubts and speculation as to what the readings of the original texts might be found to be, if they could be examined in situ.

I do not propose myself to enter into any of the questions of disputed readings. My desire is simply to make the necessary facsimiles available to those who have made a special study of the Aśoka Edicts. And, with this object, I now issue six plates from Allahābād and Delhi. The plates have been prepared by a purely mechanical process throughout; being simply reduced by photo-lithography from the black-and-white ink impressions made by a

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**Notes:**
- Tabakat-i-Nasiri, pp. 1038–1042; Erdmann, pp. 421 and 422.
- Bretschneider, Notices, etc., pp. 61 and 62.
- Vide ante.  
- Id., p. 66.  
- Gaubil, p. 38.
man who is employed by me specially for such work, and who has attained great proficiency in it. My own share of the work has simply been to revise the lithographs, and to see that they corresponded in all details with the impressions from which they were made. In the case of inscriptions the letters of which are incised so deeply as those of these Aśoka Edicts are, the depression of the paper into the letters leads, in the photographic process, to a slight shadow being cast in places over what should be the pure white interiors of the letters; of this, plenty of instances may be seen throughout these plates. It could be remedied, of course, by clearing out the letters after the photograph has been transferred to the lithographic stone. But to do this to the extent that would be necessary would interfere with the purely mechanical nature of the lithographs; and, therefore, as the letters are sufficiently clear throughout in spite of these shadows, I have allowed the latter to remain as they are. With this sole exception, the plates now issued give absolutely faithful facsimiles of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.

ALLAHĀBĀD.

The large column standing in the Fort at Allahābād contains three sets of Aśoka inscriptions;—Edicts I. to VI., in one block;—and, on other parts of the pillar, two small inscriptions which General Cunningham has named the Queen's Edict and the Kauśāmbī Edict. I publish, for the present, the first set only.

This block of writing begins on the south side of the pillar, towards the south-west, and ends on the north side, towards the north-east. The inscription covers an area of about 5' 9'' high by 4' 3'' broad. The top line is about 17'' 3'', and the bottom line about 11'' 6'', above the place where the pillar starts from its present pedestal. The average size of the letters,—that is to say, of such letters as are written entirely on the lines of writing,—varies from 1'' to 1½''. The inscription was boldly and deeply engraved, and has suffered but little from the weather, except where the surface of the stone itself has peeled off. And the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr which is there engraved round the column.¹

DEHLI.

The present plates are from the pillar which is known by the name of Firōz Shāh's Lāt or the Siwālik Pillar, and which stands in a very conspicuous position on the top of a three-storied building, about half a mile to the south of the south-east corner of the walls of the city, and on the right bank of the river Jamnā.

The pillar contains five blocks of Aśoka inscriptions, arranged, with small blank spaces between them, as follows,—on the north side, Edicts I., II., and III., covering a space of about 4' 3'' high by 2' 3'' broad; on the west side Edict IV., covering a space of about 4' 4'' high by 2' 1'' broad; on the south side, Edict V., covering a space of about 4' 6'' high by 2' 5'' broad; and on the east side, Edicts VI. and VII., covering a space of about 4' 9'' high by 1' 11'' broad. The top lines of these blocks are on the same level all the way round, and are about 17'' 9'' high above the level of the plinth from which the pillar rises. Immediately below the bottom line on the east side,—almost in the same line vertically with the first letters of each line of Edicts VI. and VII.; and separated from the latter by only the ordinary space between each line,—there commences the fifth block of writing, which, following General Cunningham, I have described on the plate as Edict VIII. or the Circular Edict, but which Dr. Bühler shows below to be only an amplification of Edict VII. The writing here covers a space of about 2' 6'' high by 9' 0'' broad, and runs all round the pillar with the exception of a blank space that varies from 3'' at the end of line 1 to 5½'' at the end of line 10. The curve in the lines that is presented in the lithograph, is due, of course, to the fact that the pillar tapers as it ascends; on the original pillar, the letters of each line are on the same level all the way round. The bottom line of this circular inscription is about 10' 6'' above

¹ To economise space, this gap in the inscription has, in the lithograph, been reduced in a greater proportion than the rest of the inscription.
the level of the plinth from which the pillar rises. The average size of the letters of these five blocks of writing varies from 3/8" to 1 3/8"; and they are boldly and deeply engraved. On the south side, a piece of the stone has peeled off, carrying with it four letters and part of a fifth of line 7, and parts of three letters of line 8. And in the same way, two larger pieces,—the first of them originating in a crack the commencement of which is discernible above the second letter of line 31 on the east side,—have peeled off in the circular amplification of Edict VII. With the exception of these places, and a few smaller ones of the same kind, these inscriptions have suffered but little from the weather or other injury, the only parts that are really illegible through the effects of the weather being towards the centre of lines 1, 2, and 3, of the circular amplification of Edict VII. The only other remark that appears to be called for, is that the whole surface of this pillar is full of small natural holes which might here and there perhaps be mistaken for nasal marks.

TRANSCRIPTS OF THE DEHLI AND ALLAHABAD PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA:1

BY DR. G. BUHLEB, C.I.E.

The subjoined of Mr. J. F. Fleet's new facsimiles of the Dehli (Siwalik) and Allahabad pillar-edicts, as far as the materials at my command permit me to judge, appear to be absolutely trustworthy representations of the originals. In fulfilling my task I have closely adhered to the division of the words adopted by Aśoka's masons, who in the Dehli version have formed curious groups separated by considerable intervals, while in the Allahabad version they have placed all aksharas at equal distances from each other. Though it is not my intention to give here a new translation of the pillar-edicts, or to discuss their contents, I cannot refrain from adding a remark which seriously affects the interpretation of the Dehli version. The number of the edicts in the latter is not eight, as the facsimile states, in accordance with the opinion of Prinsep and other scholars, but seven. The piece which is usually called the eighth, or the circular edict, is nothing but an enlargement of the seventh, and gives the full details regarding the institutions by which Aśoka tried to secure 'the growth of the law.' It is a well-known fact, mentioned also especially in the XIVth rock-edict, that Aśoka published his edicts in large, short, and middling versions, frequently repeating the same statements 'on account of the sweetness of the subject.' If the last sentence of the seventh edict is connected with the beginning of the so-called eighth, and etan jafe anupatpajñati ahiyusnamisati dhanmavadhiyang cha vadhiyatai is taken together, the translation, 'The people, having heard it, will follow it, exalt it, and grow the growth of the law,' gives a perfectly good sense, and the difficulties, with which former translators have struggled, completely disappear.

Dehli, North side.

Allahabad.

[1] देहलीति विद्योतिस्य लोकेवेंकातो सहुसवीति
[2] तस्मानिष्ठस्मयो वेयेन्मयो लिखिपि
[3] हितानवले पुरस्यपदये अनेनाद्वायनांकामनाया
[4] अगायावलीवर्ता अगायुसूमासाया अगायर्वणाया
[5] अगायर्वणाया अस्यसुविमो साहित्याया
[6] पंचायते धार्मिकायया पुरुषस्यविशिष्टम् द्रपीति
[7] अनुस्वर्णायम् उद्धताय ग्रामवास्याच महिमाचा अनुस्तिष्ठति

[1] अनेनाद्वायनांकामनाया अगायावलीवर्ता अगायुसूमासाया अगायर्वणाया अगायर्वणाया अस्यसुविमो साहित्याया पंचायते धार्मिकायया पुरुषस्यविशिष्टम् द्रपीति

[2] अनेनाद्वायनांकामनाया अगायावलीवर्ता अगायुसूमासाया अगायर्वणाया अगायर्वणाया अस्यसुविमो साहित्याया पंचायते धार्मिकायया पुरुषस्यविशिष्टम् द्रपीति

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translations, see ante, vol. XII, pp. 712. 2752f.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<td>[9]</td>
<td>देवर्मनिग्राटिचिन्तिते तेपितकानिविवेदितिनिर्भिति गयन्यलबुका</td>
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<td>[10]</td>
<td>चतुर्वेदलकांचिते अवशिष्यंके वियततिवा विभिन्नितु</td>
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<td>[11]</td>
<td>अत्थेवति वियतताति चतुर्वेदपरों मुखल्लके-हटाते</td>
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<td>[12]</td>
<td>हेंथमालबुफाक्तः जानपदवितिसुखापि जेनाते-अभिषिता</td>
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<td>[13]</td>
<td>अन्यसंते अविनायकानिपदे वृद्धिते एतनमें-लबुवाने</td>
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<td>[14]</td>
<td>अग्रीहलनरदेवविनितापतियेके इतिहासिविनित-एकादिकोति</td>
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<td>[15]</td>
<td>वियोहारसमताविशेष दंडसमताचा अनवरेपि-चाममारुगिति</td>
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<td>[16]</td>
<td>वंशव्यानपुराणीं तीलीलिंधरानं परबरानं नितिनितिसानिमी</td>
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<td>[17]</td>
<td>तेनसदीने नातिकाकानि निद्रपिण्यिति जीविनितियाने</td>
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<td>[18]</td>
<td>नासंतनिनिर्मिन्यिता दानन्दातिनिर्मितिके उपवर-संकेतातिषि</td>
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<td>[19]</td>
<td>द्राक्षाते हेंथनिजुरिपिकालिति पालतेल्या-विध्यन्यिति अन्तर्व</td>
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<td>[20]</td>
<td>व्हर्ल्टिस्विचेंथमन्यं संयमे दानविविभिगति</td>
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**Edict V.**

**Dhuli, South side.**

\[1\] देवानिव्वर्तिपि निपदिलिसामाहे वहा सदुप्रवीति

\[2\] अभिज्ञातें इमानिविविन्यानि अविश्वासिकानि लेखाय

\[3\] उके सातिकास्मन चलिते हंसे नदीमुखे गेलोत

\[4\] नयनुकां अवश्यास्तिवचरी अनवधाकुम्बे तेतिनेके

\[5\] गंगापुराके सर्वसम्भवे करंगति मे पराते सिम्हे

\[6\] सर्वके उपरं गेलिके सर्वके गामरविले

\[7\] सर्वेचुकुधे शेपतिमोत्तोपति नपलादिति

\[8\] एकाच शुरुकलिया गमिनीवापामिनाव अविष्णू

\[9\] एवंकाची आत्मास्मि कवितृखुके नीकतरविवे तुसीरज्ञि

\[10\] नैदानितिविवि दाब्हेबनाभेयो विहितायें नेशापेरविवि

\[17\] - हैलसमताविलियार्ट इंसमताच्याविशेषी-चे-मेंआतेवेचनवादानुसारपर्यावरणीं तीलीलिंधरानं जानपदवितिसुखापि-नितिनितिसानिमी|

\[18\] - व्हर्ल्टिस्विचेंथमन्यं संयमे दानविविभिति

\[19\] - मेनल्चार्जिनिधिपिकालितानि पालतेल्या-चाममारुगिति

\[20\] - व्हर्ल्टिस्विचेंथमन्यं संयमे दानविविभिति
| 11 | अविभक्ति नेतृपितायें तीनुचावां मासिनु मीला स मासिनवें | 24 | - | 
| 19 | लिम दिनसाना चाउदर्से पंडर्से पाठियाये धुणिया | 25 | चाउदर्संवध्याय | 
| 13 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | 23 | तानी | 
| 14 | नागवासिन्येन कांतभीमानविः यानिनतानागीपि कीर्तनानी- | - | - | 
| 15 | ये सैतिजनानिये अनुपरस्मेषभवितः चाउदर्से पंडर- | - | - | 
| 16 | दिनसाने तीनु चादुमासिनु सुदिनसाने मोहने- | - | - | 
| 17 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः तीनु चादुमासिनु सुदिनसाने मोहने- | - | - | 
| 18 | नागवासिन्येन कांतभीमानविः यानिनतानागीपि कीर्तनानी- | - | - | 
| 19 | लिम दिनसाने चाउदर्से पंडर्से पाठियाये धुणिया | - | - | 
| 20 | आताताविनाय से चुपानालिकान्याय | - | - | 

**Edict VI.**

Dehli, East side.

| 1 | देवानिधये गिरगदनिधवः ब्रह्मजंकसासे | - | - | 
| 6 | वस्त्रमहिमिकावेव धन्मलिपिलिपिविदया लेखसासे | - | - | 
| 9 | हिन्युस्वाये नेशत्यापराये नेशत्यापरायायावे | - | - | 
| 3 | हिन्युस्वाये नेशत्यापराये नेशत्यापरायायावे | - | - | 
| 4 | नालिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु | - | - | 
| 5 | नालिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु | - | - | 
| 8 | नालिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु हेमेवितियावसिनु | - | - | 
| 9 | लिम दिनसाने तीनु चादुमासिनु सुदिनसाने मोहने- | - | - | 
| 28 | दिनसाने तीनु चादुमासिनु सुदिनसाने मोहने- | - | - | 

**Edict VII.**

Dehli, East side.

| 14 | देवानिधये गिरगदनिधवः ब्रह्मजंकसासे | - | - | 
| 19 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 
| 18 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 
| 17 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 
| 16 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 
| 20 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 
| 21 | अनुपरस्मेषभवितः नापितुपुःतिलादिये एतानिन्ये- | - | - | 

- लिम दिनसाने तीनु चादुमासिनु सुदिनसाने मोहने-
Dohli, end of Edict VII.

[1] धमविद्याय वार्ता जसित एतेभीम अर्धिप धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति। - - - - सापे जहिन नसिस उपास्य एवं पुष्याविद्यासिनी विद्यासिनी रक्षाकाले जैव अनावण हेवः उपास्य पवित्रत्वादाय वादभानो समासिनाऽति।

[2] कह धमवि पुर्वे वेदारीये यज्ञदर्शे हेवः पार्वते एवंसि अनुवदेक्प धमविद्याय विदिताय अभासिनाति। - - वदायः यज्ञदर्शे विषयार्ये एवंसि अनुवदेक्प धमविद्याय विदिताय अभासिनाति।

[3] अन्यत्वाये नित्य विद्राचनकालित विद्यासिनाऽवर्थे धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति।

[4] धमविद्याय वार्ता जसित एतेभीम अर्धिप धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति।

[5] अन्यत्वाये नित्य विद्राचनकालित विद्यासिनाऽवर्थे धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति।

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[9] धमविद्याय वार्ता जसित एतेभीम अर्धिप धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति।

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[11] धमविद्याय वार्ता जसित एतेभीम अर्धिप धमविद्याय यासतिनाम धमवासनामित विदिताय अभासिनाति।

Dohli, North side — I. 1. Possibly सावा. The original has झिः, without the addition to the centre of the झ that is required to denote d; J. F. F.— L. 5. There is a scratch under the झ of अनुस्वार which gives it the appearance of ष. (This mark is separated by a clear j from the sa, and is fainter and weaker than all the engraved letters; it seems to be a fault in the stone, like, for instance, the long mark close to dh in line 8; J. F. F.)

Dohli, South side — L. 4. The ड of ड्याय ends in a strongly marked point, exactly like the point at the end of kha in the lines above and throughout. Possibly the correct reading may be ड्याय, as the Southern alphabet marks the ड्याय as a ड्या to which a little circle, not quite closed, is added.

Dohli, East side — L. 8. Possibly अभासी. The mark at the end of the य is caused by damage from the weather or otherwise; J. F. F.— L. 17. The second ख of पुर्वक खयाय stands above the line, having been at first omitted.

Allahabad: — A great many letters of this version have been half destroyed, or at least obscured by the later inscriptions scratched between the lines. Really doubtful, however, are the following words only: — l. 4, मूणि, where the vowel of उ is very indistinct, and two other letters, looking nearly like लहर लहर लहर, follow. It seems to me that they belong to later inscriptions of the Gupta type. (They are quite distinct in the original, and are अक्षा characters, belonging to the inscription. The first of them is apparently ह, with the vowel i placed on the left instead of on the right. The second of them is चु, in the alternative form which occurs in the Dehli east inscription, 1. 10, and in the Dehli circular inscription, II. 3, 5, 8, and 9 (three times).— J. F. F. — L. 6, ब्यायः ; where the second vowel may have been long. (In the original bahä can be distinctly legible. — J. F. F.) — L. 20, दश, where the last vowel may be long. (In the original, the end of the stroke denoting द, attached to the क, is just visible on the edge of the crack in the stone. — J. F. F. — L. 21, नवम, which may have been नवम ; where the vowel of the first letter may be due to an accidental scratch. (The mark just to the right of the bottom of the न, and the mark that tends to make the ड look like लहर, as General Cunningham interpreted it, are only due to the stone being damaged. — J. F. F. — Ibidem, केत् which may have been करण्ड. (The mark above the झ is not the vowel i, but only the lower part of the झार of Mahādēva is the intervening line of later writing just above. — J. F. F.)
BOOK NOTICE.

October, 1884.]

MISCELLANEA.

THE LARGE COPPER-PLATE GRANT IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY.

Of the two copper-plate grants in the Leiden University (see Ante, p. 59), Dr. H. Kern has kindly favoured me with a complete impression in white paper of the larger one. This grant consists of twenty-one plates, about the size of those of the Tiruppūranāram grant (Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 142), and engraved in similar characters of the old Tamil type. They have been transcribed by Mr. S. M. Nāṭēs Śāstrī, with a rough translation. The first five plates are in the Sanskrit language, and contain the Vārāvallī and principal portion of the grant; the remaining sixteen plates are filled with a lengthy description in the Tamil language of the boundaries of the land granted, as traced out by a female elephant lot loose.

It records the grant of the village of Azāmārgalām to a bandhā vīdra in Nāgasapāṭanam. It opens with a double invocation; first, to Vishnu; and, second, to Śiva and Vishṇu, and after the names of Manu, his son Ikṣvākū, Māndhātā, Muchukunda, Vālabhiśānsikhipati, Śibi and Chōla, it gives the following genealogy of the Chōla dynasty:—1, Rājākēśari; 2, Parākēśari, his son; 3, Rājākēśari; then 4, Rājendrā, who got the title of Mṛityujī; 5, Vyaṅgṛhakītyu; 6, Arikāla; 7, Karikāla, who built the Kāvēridam; 8, Kochchāmar, Kēkkīśīrpa; 9, Vijaśīrpa; 10, Vijaśīrpa; 11, Aduyī, his son; 12, Parāntaka, renamed Aņṇāṃmalī; he had three sons, Rājādiryī, Gāṇḍārādiya, and Anūtīya; 13, Rājādiryī, conquered Kṛṣṇarāja, but was killed in battle; 14, his brother, Gāṇḍārādiya, succeeded, whose son was Mathurāntaka; 15, Anūtīya, the third brother, succeeded; 16, Parāntaka, his son; 17, Aduyī or Karikāla, his son, contended with Vīra Pandyā; 18, Mathurāntaka, son of Gāṇḍārādiya; 19, Rājārāja alias Rājākēśarīvarmā, Rājāśrīnya, the brother of Aduyī, who conquered Pandyā, Duḷu, and Kēmala, the king of Ceylon, and Satyārāya.

In the twenty-first year of his reign this grant was made to the Chōlaśvarivarman vihāra.

This genealogy is not in agreement with the Purāṅika and legendary lists which have been collected by Mr. Sewell, though there are points of agreement between it and some of his. The accuracy of the latter part of this list may, in all probability, be depended on, and will form a basis for further investigations into the real history of the Chōla dynasty.

J. Burgess.

BOOK NOTICE.


The two ancient palm-leaves here edited and translated were discovered in the monastery of Hōrinzi, in Japan. Professor Max Müller says, "We have good evidence showing that these leaves were brought to Japan in 609 A.D., and that they came from China. It is further probable that in China they belonged to the monk Yashi, who died in 577 A.D. and, before him to Bōhidharma, who emigrated from India to China in 520 A.D." Indian Paleography is thus furnished with a MS., which has evidently been written by an Indian scribe, and which is believed to date from the first half of the sixth century A.D.

Since external evidence proves their age, though undated in themselves, they bring strong indirect evidence for strengthening the opinion of those who hold the authenticity of the early Nēpēlese MSS., and confirm the conclusions of Mr. Bendall.

Professor Weber and the late Dr. Burnell expressed doubts concerning their age, but Dr. Bühler satisfactorily defends their genuineness.

The importance for Indian Paleography of this ancient palm-leaf MS. can hardly be too highly estimated; and Professor Bühler in a masterly appendix of over thirty pages illustrated by reproductions of photographs of the palm-leaves, and of the photographs of a copy of them made in 1694 A.D. by Žiogon, a Japanese priest, facsimiles and tables of alphabets, has discussed their bearing on the history of the scripts of India.

From examination of the characters separately Dr. Bühler shows how this literary or cursive alphabet has been evolved from the Gupta character.

He shows also how the distinctive features of the literary forms have been the outcome of the Indian Lākhā's art under the conditions imposed upon him by his materials. Valuable remarks are made on the characteristics of the writing, and the technical contrivances, and the method of forming used. "The palaeographical character," he writes, "of the alphabet of the Hōrinzi palm-leaves is determined chiefly by the following general principles, visible in the formation of the letters: 1, the separation of aksharas from each other; 2, a predilection for the use of small wedges, the so-called nail-heads; 3, the substitution of flat tops for the angular or round ones of the old alphabets; 4, the development of right-hand vertices, projecting beyond the body.
of the letters; 5, the retention of open tops wherever they existed in the old letters." Under these heads Dr. Bühler comments on the position of this alphabet and its relation to others, the origin of its peculiarities, and the influence which the tendencies here working have exerted on the later development of the alphabet down to the Dēvanāgarī. In his separate consideration of each letter Dr. Bühler has selected for comparison the following cognate alphabets: of the literary—1, that preserved in the oldest Nēpālēse MSS. at Cambridge (plate I. in Mr. Bendall's Catalogue); 2, the Śrāndā Alphabet of Kaśmir; of the epigraphic—1, the Gupta of Kuhačn, 1 and for some letters that of the Indōkāzā copper-plate; 2, Nēpālēse of Dr. Bhagvānlā's series of inscriptions; 3, Jhārāpāthan inscriptions; 4, the closely-allied alphabets of the Sāmangajī plates of Dan-tidurga, 5 and of the signatures of Dādā Prāśātara, on the Gurjara plates. 6 The results of this minute examination and comparison Dr. Bühler sums up thus: "The close agreement of the much later Nēpālēse MSS., and of numerous inscriptions from all parts of India with the forms of H. P., shows that this alphabet was not exclusively cultivated by the Buddhists or peculiar to Northern India, but enjoyed a widespread popularity down to the end of the ninth century, and perhaps later. At present it survives only in the Śrāndā of Kaśmir, which probably branched off in early times."

At a subsequent page he adds: "Another result deducible from the analysis of the H. P. alphabet is that it is probably more ancient than the precursor of the modern Dēvanāgarī, found in the signatures on the Umēča and Bagumrā plates, and the alphabets of Dan-tidurga's Sāmangajī plates, though the former documents date a little earlier than the H. P. leaves. The reason for this supposition is that U. B. and Sā, both show characteristics belonging to the system followed in H. P., and inexplicable on the general principles prevailing in Sā and U. B. The triangles in the left limbs of kha, ga, and sa, the opened-up triangles in bha and sa, and the straight line to the left of the down-stroke in ra are, as has been shown above, all remnants of wedges. The employment of wedges is one of the principles regulating the letters of H. P., but they are meaningless in an alphabet like that of U. B.-Sā, which in general employs only straight or curved lines. If we, therefore, find in U. B.-Sā forms which are based on the principles prevailing in the H. P., the inevitable inference is that U. B.-Sā has been modified by the influence of H. P. This conclusion is, of course, of great importance for the determination of the age of the alphabet with the wedges. As U. B. belongs to the end of the fifth century, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the H. P. characters existed in the fourth century, and perhaps earlier. How far they go back must, for the present, be left undetermined. But I believe that a fuller investigation of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, which will only be possible when Mr. Fleet's exact facsimiles have been published, will make its existence during the reign of that dynasty very probable."

Hitherto the historical development of the Indian alphabet has been investigated, chiefly from the data supplied by inscriptions. This theory, which considers the literary alphabets to be evolved from the epigraphic, was fully worked out by the late Dr. Burnell in his Elements of South-Indian Palaeography. But under this theory inexplicable anomalies were experienced. On the copper-plate grants of the fifth century A.D. from Gujārāt modern-looking characters were found to be used in signatures, while the body of the grant was in archaic characters; a mixed alphabet or rather a sporadic occurrence of modern-looking signs among archaic ones (Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 123 n, vol. IX, p. 63, vol. XI, p. 305, vol. XIII, p. 116); and retrograde steps observable in one and the same series, Ind. Ant. vol. VI, p. 59, vol. XI, p. 156, and vol. XII, p. 179, also Dr. Bhagvānlā, Journ. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. XVI, Article VIII). From these facts Dr. Bühler, Dr. Burgess, and Professor Dowson had concluded that the characters of the official documents lagged behind those employed for literary purposes, and that they were gradually modified through the influence of the latter. These conclusions are fully substantiated by the lesson taught by the Hārīnizi palm-leaves, and considering its great importance it will be best to give Professor Bühler's argument in his own words: "If we had no historical information regarding the age of the Hārīnizi palm-leaves, every palaeography, I believe, would draw from the above facts the inference that they belonged to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. For it is undeniable that their alphabet is nearly identical with the characters of the Nēpālēse inscriptions of Dr. Bhagvānlā's series, Nos. 18-15 A.D., which were written between 749-50 and 759-60 A.D., and that the earlier documents of the Nēpāl series apparently show how the H. P. alphabet was gradually evolved in the course of about four centuries from the Gupta characters. This conclusion would be strengthened by the circum-

1 Ind. Ant. vol. X, p. 125.
2 Ind. Ant. vol. IX, pp. 16 and 3 sqq.
3 Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 189.
5 Ind. Ant. vol. VII, p. 61.
In publishing a commentary on Ptolemy's Geography of India I may indicate in limine what method I have followed in the treatment of the subject, and also on what authorities I have mainly relied. I have then, in an introductory chapter, attempted to give a succinct account of the general nature of Ptolemy's geographical system, and this is followed by a translation of several chapters of his First Book, which serve to exhibit his general mode of procedure in dealing with questions of Geography, and at the same time convey his views of the configuration of the coasts of India, both on this side the Ganges and beyond. The object of the notes which form the commentary is 1st, to show, as far as has been ascertained, how each place named by Ptolemy in his Indian Tables has been identified; 2nd, to trace the origin or etymology of each name, so far as it is possible to do so; and 3rd, to notice very concisely the most prominent facts in the ancient history of the places of importance mentioned. In the notes it will be found that I have generally observed the rule of quoting the sources from which my information has been derived, but I may here state that I have generally adopted the views of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin and those of Colonel Yule, whose map of Ancient India in Smith's Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography is allowed to be the best that has yet been produced. These authors have examined the whole or nearly the whole of the Ptolemaic Geography of India, and their conclusions are for the most part coincident. The works of Saint Martin which I have consulted are these: Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, et en particulier sur l'Inde de Ptolémée, dans ses rapports avec la Géographie Sanskr. ; Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde ; and Étude sur la Géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde d'après les hymnes védaïques.

Colonel Yule has expressed his views respecting Ptolemy chiefly in the notes upon the map referred to, but he comments upon him also occasionally in the notes to his edition of Marco Polo and in other works from his pen. Frequent reference will
be found in my notes to that work of vast erudition, Prof. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde. Unfortunately the section which he has devoted to a full examination of Ptolemy's India is the least satisfactory portion of his work. His system of identification is based on a wrong principle, and many of the conclusions to which it has led are such as cannot be accepted. His work is, notwithstanding, as Yule says, "a precious mine of material for the study of the ancient geography of India."

For elucidations of the Ptolemaic geography of particular portions of India I have consulted with great advantage such works as—Wilson's Ariana Antiqua; General Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India, Vol. I.; and his Reports on the Archaeological Survey of India; Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his Dravidian Grammar, valuable for identification of places in the south of the Peninsula; the Bombay Gazetteer, edited by Mr. J. M. Campbell, who has carefully investigated the antiquities of that Presidency; the Asiatic Researches; the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the kindred Societies in India; the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society; the articles on India and on places in India in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, written almost all by Mr. Vaux; articles in this Journal; Benfey's Indien in the Encyclopädie der Erde and Grüber; Abbé Haima's Traité de Géographie de Claude Ptolémée (Paris, 1828); and the chapters on Marinos and Ptolemy's System of Geography in Bunbury's History of Ancient Geography. I have also consulted numerous other works which I need not here specify.

Ptolemy and His System of Geography.

Claudius Ptolemaios, or as he is commonly called, Ptolemy, was distinguished alike as a Mathematician, a Musician, an Astronomer and a Geographer, and was altogether one of the most accomplished men of science that antiquity produced. His works were considered as of paramount authority from the time of their publication until the discoveries of modern times had begun to show their imperfections and errors. It is surprising that with all his fame, which had even in his own lifetime become pre-eminent, that the particulars of his personal history should be shrouded in all but total darkness. Nothing in fact is known for certain regarding him further than that he flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the 2nd century of our era, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whom he appears to have survived.

His work on Geography formed a sequel to his great work on Astronomy, commonly called the Almagest. From its title Περὶ ἡλίου ἡλίου, an Outline of Geography, we might be led to infer that it was a general treatise on the subject, like the comprehensive work of Strabo, but in reality it treats almost exclusively of Mathematical, or what may be called Cosmical, Geography. Ptolemy's object in composing it was not like that of the ordinary Geographer to describe places, but to correct and reform the map of the world in accordance with the increased knowledge which had been acquired of distant countries and with the improved state of science. He therefore limits his argument to an exposition of the geometrical principles on which Geography should be based, and to a determination of the position of places on the surface of the earth by their latitudes and longitudes. What he considered to be the proper method of determining geographical positions he states very clearly in the following passage: "The proper course," he says, "in drawing up a map of the world is to lay down as the basis of it those points that were determined by the most correct (astronomical) observations, and to fit into it those derived from other sources, so that their positions may suit as well as possible with the principal points thus laid down in the first instance."

Unfortunately, as Bunbury remarks, it was impossible for him to carry out in practice—even approximately—the scheme that he had so well laid down in theory. The astronomical observations to which he could refer were but few—and they were withal either so defective or so inaccurate that he could not use them with confidence. At the same time his information concerning many parts of the earth, whether owing to their remoteness or the conflicting accounts of travellers regarding them, was imperfect in the extreme. The extent, however, of his geographical knowledge was far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors, and he had access to sources of information which enabled him to correct many of the errors into which they had fallen.

He was induced to undertake the composition of his Geography through his being dissatisfied more or less with all the existing systems. There was however one work—that of his immediate precursor, Marinos of Tyre—which approximated somewhat closely to his ideal, and which he therefore made the basis of his own treatise. Marinos, he tells us, had collected his materials with the most praiseworthy diligence, and had moreover sifted them both with care and judgment. He points out, however, that his system required

1 Book I. cap. 4. The translation is Bunbury's.
correction both as to the method of delineating the sphere on a plane surface, and as to the computation of distances, which he generally exaggerated. He censures him likewise for having assigned to the known world too great a length from west to east, and too great a breadth from north to south.

Of Ptolemy’s own system, the more prominent characteristics may now be noted: He assumed the earth to be a sphere, and adopting the estimate of Poseidónios fixed its circumference at 180,000 stadia, thus making the length of a degree at the equator to be only 500 stadia, instead of 600, which is its real length. To this fundamental miscalculation may be referred a few of the most serious errors to be found in his work. With regard to the question of the length and the breadth of the inhabited part of the earth, a question of first importance in those days, he estimated its length as measured along the parallel of Rhodes which divided the then known world into two nearly equal portions at 72,000 stadia, and its breadth at 40,000. The meridian in the west from which he calculated his longitudes was that which passed through the Islands of the Biest (Macaronis Islands) probably the Canary Islands, and his most eastern meridian was that which passed through the Metropolis of the Sinai, which he calls Sinai or Thina, and places in 10° 40’ E. Long, and 3° S. Lat. The distance of this meridian from that of Alexandria he estimated at 114 degrees, and the distance of the first meridian from the same at 60.5 degrees, making together 180 degrees, or exactly one-half of the circumference of the earth. His estimate of the breadth he obtained by fixing the southern limit of the inhabited parts in the parallel of 181 degrees of South Latitude, which passes through a point as far south of the Equator as Meroë is north of it. And by fixing the northern limit in the parallel of 63 degrees North Latitude, which passes through Thoulé (probably the Shetland Islands), a space of nearly 80 degrees was thus included between the two parallels, and this was equivalent in Ptolemy’s mode of reckoning to 40,000 stadia.

Having made these determinations he had next to consider in what mode the surface of the earth with its meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude should be represented on a sphere and on a plane surface—of the two modes of delineation that on the sphere is the much easier to make, as it involves no method of projection, but a map drawn on a plane is far more convenient for use, as it presents simultaneously to the eye a far greater extent of surface. Marino had drawn his map of the world on a plane, but his method of projection was altogether unsatisfactory. It is thus described by Ptolemy: Marino, he says, on account of the importance of the countries around the Mediterranean, kept as his base the line fixed on of old by Eratosthenes, viz., the parallel through Rhodes in the 36th degree of north latitude. He then calculated the length of a degree along this parallel, and found it to contain 400 stadia, the equatorial degree being taken at 500. Having divided this parallel into degrees he drew perpendiculars through the points of division for the meridians, and his parallels of latitude were straight lines parallel to that which passed through Rhodes. The imperfections of such a projection are obvious. It represented the parts of the earth north of the parallel of Rhodes much beyond, and those south of it much below, their proper length. Places again to the north of the line stood too far apart from each other, and those to the south of it too close together. The projection, moreover, is an erroneous representation, since the parallels of latitude ought to be circular arcs and not straight lines.

Ptolemy having pointed out these objections to the system of Marino proceeds to explain the methods which he himself employed. We need say nothing more regarding them than that they were such as presented a near approximation to some of those which are still in use among modern Geographers.

Ptolemy’s treatise is divided into 8 books. In the 1st or introductory book he treats first of Geography generally—he then explains and Rhodes, which had been determined by direct observation.”—Bunbury, Hist. of Anc. Geo., vol. II, p. 569, n. 2.

* The Island of Ferro—the westernmost of the Group of the Canaries, which was long taken as the prime meridian, and is still so taken in Germany—is really situated 18° 30’ west of Greenwich, while Cape St. Vincent (called anciently the Sacred Cape) is just about 9°, so that the real difference between the two amounts to 9° 30’ instead of only 24°. Two corrections must therefore be applied to Ptolemy’s longitudes—one-sixth must be deducted because of his under-estimate of the length of a degree along the Equator, and 6° 56’ must be added because Ferro was so much further west than he supposed. Subject to these corrections his longitudes would be fairly accurate, provided his calculations of distances were otherwise free from error.
criticizes the system of Marinos, and concludes by describing the methods of projection which may be employed in the construction of maps. The next 6 books and the first 4 chapters of the 7th book consist of tables which give distinctly in degrees and parts of a degree the latitudes and longitudes of all the places in his map. These places are arranged together in sections according to the country or tribe to which they belong, and each section has prefixed to it a brief description of the boundaries and divisions of the part about to be noticed. Descriptive notices are also occasionally interspersed among the lists, but the number of such is by no means considerable. The remainder of the 7th book and the whole of the 8th are occupied with a description of a series of maps which, it would appear, had been prepared to accompany the publication of the work, and which are still extant. The number of the maps is twenty-six, viz. 10 for Europe, 4 for Libya, and 12 for Asia. They are drawn to different scales, larger or smaller, according as the division represented was more or less known. He gives for each map the latitudes and longitudes of a certain number of the most important cities contained in it, but these positions were not given in the same manner as in the tables, for the latitudes are now denoted by the length of the longest day and the longitudes according to the difference of time from Alexandria. It might be supposed that the positions in question were such as had been determined by actual astronomical observations, as distinguished from those in the tables, which were for the most part derived from itineraries, or from records of voyages and travels. This supposition is however untenable, for we find that while the statements as to the length of the longest days at the selected places are always correct for the latitudes assigned them, they are often glaringly wrong for their real positions. Ptolemy, it is evident, first mapped out the best way he could the places, and then calculated for the more important of these places the astronomical phenomena incident to them as so situated. I conclude by presenting the reader with a translation of some chapters of the Introductory Book, where Ptolemy in reviewing the estimate made by Marinos of the length of the known world from west to east, has frequent occasion to mention India and the Provinces beyond the Ganges, which together constitute what is now called Indo-China.

Book I. Cap. 11.

§ 1. What has now been stated will suffice to show us what extent in breadth it would be fair to assign to the inhabited world. Its length is given by Marinos at 15 hours, this being the distance comprised between his two extreme meridians—but in our opinion he has unduly extended the distance towards the east. In fact, if the estimate be properly reduced in this direction the entire length must be fixed at less than 12 hours, the Islands of the Bight being taken as the limit towards the west, and the remotest parts of Saira and the Sinaï and Kattigara as the limit towards such libraries of literature. The Chinese Annalist who mentions the Roman Embassy adds: 'The people of that kingdom (Ta-tsin or the Roman Empire) came in numbers for trading purposes to Fu-nan, Jü-nan, and Kian-chi.' Fu-nan we have seen, was Champa, or Zhabai. If Ta-nan with its chief port Kian-chi, we may recognize with assurance Kattigara, Portus Sinarum. Richthofen's solution has the advantages of preserving the true meaning of Sinaï as the Chinese, and of locating the Portus Sinarum in what was then politically a part of China, whilst the remote Metropolis Thinese remains unequivocally the capital of the Empire, whether Si-gnan-fu in Chen-si, or Lo-yang in Ho-nan be meant. I will only add that though we find Kattigora in Edrisi's Geography I apprehend this to be a mere adoption from the Geography of Ptolemy, founded on no recent authority. It must have kept its place also on the later medieval maps; for Pigafetta, in that part of the circumnavigation where the crew of the Victoria, began to look out for the Asiatic coast, says that Magellan 'changed the course . . . until in 19° of N. Lat. in order to approach the land of Cape Gattigara, which Cape (under correction of those who have made cosmography their study, for they have never seen it,) is not placed where they think, but is towards the north in 12° or thereabouts.' (The Cape looked for was evidently the extreme S. E. point of Asia, actually represented by Cape Varela or Cape James on the coast of Cochín-China.) It is probable that, as Richthofen points out, Kattigara, or at any rate Kian-chi was the Lukin or Al-Wikin of the early Arab Geographers. But the terminus of the Arab travellers of the 9th century was no longer in Tong-King, it was Kian-fu, apparently the Kan-fu of the Chinese, the haven of the
the east. § 2. Now the entire distance from the Islands of the Brest to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes, is accurately determined by summing together the several intervening distances as estimated in stadia by Marinus, for not only were the distances well ascertained from being frequently traversed, but Marinus seems moreover in his computation of the greater distances, to have taken into account the necessary corrections for irregularities and deviations. He understood, besides, that while the length of a single degree of the 360 degrees into which the equatorial circle is divided measures, as in the commonly accepted estimate, 500 stadia, the parallel circle which passes through Rhodes in 35 degrees of N. latitude measures about 400 stadia. § 3. It is a great city which we know as Hang-chow, and which then lay on or near a delta-arm of the great Yang-tze. These arguments may be accepted as conclusively settling the very question, and determining the position of Katitgara. In a paper, however, recently read before the R. Asiatic Society, Mr. Holt, an eminent Chinese scholar, expresses a different opinion. He showed that there was good evidence of a very early communication from some port on the Chinese coast to near Martaban, or along the valley of the Irrawaddy to the north-west capital of China, then at Si-ku-an or Ho-mou-fu. He then showed that the name of China had been derived from the Indians, who first knew China, and was not due to the Taï Dynasty, but more probably came from the name of the Compass, specimens of which were supplied to the early envoys, the Chinese being thus known in India as the “Compasspeople,” just as the Scyths, another Chinese population, derived their western name from “Silk.” That the knowledge of this fact was lost to both Indians and Chinese is clear from the ancestry of Huc and Fou-hsi by Huen Tchang, who, as we have seen, substituted two symbols (see Morrison's Dictionary, syllabic part, No. 8,083) to designate the country, as these, while giving the sound “Cheh,” indicate that they are substitutes for original words of like sounds, the true sense of which cannot now be recovered. Having shown that M. Reinhard's view of an intercourse between China and Egypt in the first century A.D. has no real foundation, Mr. Holt further stated that there was no evidence of an embassy from M. Aurelius having gone by sea to China in A.D. 196. In conclusion, he urged, in his judgment, there was no proof whatsoever of any knowledge of a maritime way to China before the 4th century A.D., the voyage even of Fuhian, at that period being open to serious criticism. He believes therefore with M. Gaselin that the Katitgara of Ptolemy was probably not far from the present Martaban, and that India for a considerable period up to the 7th century A.D. dominated over Cambodia.

Deviations from the straight line by which the route would be represented in the map. The irregularities refer to the occasional shortening of the daily march by obstacles of various kinds, bad roads, hostile attacks, famine, etc.

One of the circumstances of the route that Ptolemy has reproduced from Marinus is that on leaving Baktra the traveller directed his course for a long smooth time towards the north. Assuredly the caravans touched at Samarkand (the Marakesha of Greek authors) which was then, as now, one of the important centres of the region beyond the Oxus. For passing from Sogdiana to the east of the snowy range, which covers the sources of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, three main routes have existed at all times: that of the south, which ascends the high valleys of the Oxus through Badakshán; that of the centre, which goes directly to Kashgar by the high valleys of the Syr-Darya or Jaxartes; and lastly that of the north, which goes down a part of the middle valley of the Jaxartes before turning to the east towards Chinese Tartary. Of these three routes, the itinerary of the Greek merchants could only apply to the 2nd or the 3rd; and if, as has been for a long time supposed with much probability, the Stone Tower on the itinerary is found in an important place belonging to the valley of the Jaxartes, of which we know that the inhabitants presently have the same meaning in the language of the Turkomans, it would be the northern route that the caravan of Maes would have followed. The march of seven months in advancing constantly towards the east leads necessarily towards the north of China (Saint-Martin, Étude, pp. 429-89). Sir H. Rawlinson however assigns it a more southern position, placing it at Tashkurgan, an ancient city which was of old the capital of the Kash-kul territory, a district lying between Yarkand and Badakshan, and known to the Chinese as Ko-pasto. The walls of Tashkurgan are built of unusually large blocks of stone. It was no doubt, Sir Henry remarks, owing to the massive materials of which it was built, that it received the name of Tash-kurgan or the like, and it seems to have every claim to represent the Afshun wâyûp of Ptolemy, where the caravans rendezvoused before entering China, in preference to Tashkand or Usb, which have been selected as the site of the Stone Tower by other geographers."—Jour. R. Geog. Soc. vol. XLII, p. 397.

14 According to Herodotus (lib. II, c. vii), the schoena was equal to two Persian parasangs or 60 stadia, but it was a very vague and uncertain measure, varying as Strabo informs us (lib. XVII, c. 24) from 50 to 120 stadia. In the case before us, it was taken as equivalent to the parasang of 30 stadia and afforded with correction some approximation to the truth.

The Roman arms had been carried during the reign of Augustus (B.C. 19) as far as the land of the Garamantes, the modern Fezzan, and though the Roman Emperors never attempted to establish their dominion over the country, they appear to have permanently maintained friendly relations with its rulers, fairs, etc. The Garamantes as their point of departure from which to penetrate further into the interior. Setting out from hence, a General named Septimius Plancus arrived at the land of the Ethiopians, after a march of 3 months towards the south. Another Commander named Julius Maturinus, apparently at a later date, setting out from Leptis Magna, proceeded from thence to Garama, where he united his forces with those of the king of the Garamantes, who was himself undertaking a hostile
months and 14 days, since such a march could not possibly have been accomplished without halting. The necessity for halting would be still more urgent when the march was one which occupied 7 months. § 6. But the former march was accomplished even by the king of the country himself, who would naturally use every precaution, and the weather besides was all throughout most propitious. But the route from the Stone Tower to Sêra is exposed to violent storms, for as he himself assumes, it lies under the parallels of the Hellespont and Byzantium, so that the progress of travellers would be frequently interrupted. § 7. Now it was by means of commerce this became known, for Marinos tells us that one Maïs, a Makedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question, which he had obtained not by visiting the Sêres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent to them. But Marinos seems to have distrusted accounts borrowed from traders. § 8. In giving, for instance, on the authority of Philemon, the length of Ivernia (Ireland) at 20 days' journey, he refuses to accept this estimate, which was got, he tells us, from merchants, whom he reprobates as a class of men too much engrossed with their own proper business to care about ascertaining the truth, and who also from mere vanity frequently exaggerated distances. So too, in the case before us, it is manifest that nothing in the course of the 7 months' journey was thought worthy either of record or remembrance by the travellers except the prodigious time taken to perform it.

CAP. 12.

§ 1. Taking all this into consideration, together with the fact that the route does not lie along one and the same parallel (the Stone Tower being situated near the parallel of Byzantium, and Sêra lying farther south than the parallel through the Hellespont) it would appear but reasonable in this case also to diminish by not less than a half the distance altogether traversed in the 7 months' journey, computed at 36,200 stadia, and so let us reduce the number of stadia which these represent at the equator by one-half only, and we thus obtain (22,625) stadia or 45½ degrees. § 2. For it would be absurd, and show a want of proper judgment, if, when reason enjoins us to curtail the length of both routes we should follow the injunction with respect to the African route, to the length of which there is the obvious objection, viz., the species of animals in the neighbourhood of Agisymba, which cannot bear to be transplanted from their own climate to another, while we refuse to follow the injunction with regard to the route from the Stone Tower, because there is not a similar objection to its length, seeing that the temperature all along this route is uniform, quite independantly of its being longer or shorter. Just as if one who reasons according to the principles of philosophy, could not, unless the case were otherwise clear, arrive at a sound conclusion.

§ 3. With regard again to the first of the two Asiatic routes, that, I mean which leads from the Euphrates to the Stone Tower, the estimate of 870 schoeni must be reduced to 800 only, or 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations. § 4. We may accept as correct his figures for the entire distance as the several stages had been frequently traversed and had therefore been measured with accuracy. But that there were numerous deviations is evident from what Marinos himself tells us. § 5. For the route from the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and the route thence through the expedition against the Ethiopians, and their combined armies after marching for four months towards the south, arrived at a country inhabited by Ethiopians, called Agisymba, in which rhinoceroses abounded."—Bunbury, Hist. of Asie Geogr., vol. II, pp. 322-3.

13 Lat. 46° 1'—Lat. of Tâsh-kurgha.

12 36,200 stadia along the parallel of Rhodes are equivalent according to Ptolemy's system to 43,550 stadia along the equator, and this sum reduced by a half gives the figures in the text.

13 Marinos was aware that Agisymba lay in a hot climate, from the fact that its neighbourhood was reported to be a favourable resort for rhinoceroses, and he was thus compelled to reduce his first estimate of its distance, which would have placed it in far too cold a latitude for these animals, which are found only in hot regions. But no such palpable necessity compelled him to reduce his estimate of the distance from the Stone Tower to the Metropolis of the Sêres, for here the route had an equable temperature, as it did not recede from the equator but lay almost uniformly along the same parallel of latitude. A little reflexion, however, might have shown Marinos that his enormous estimate of the distance to the Sêres Metropolis required reduction as much as the distance to Agisymba, though such a sotent argument as that which was based on the habitat of the rhinoceros was not in this instance available. It is on the very face of it absurd to suppose that a caravan could have marched through a difficult and unknown country for 7 months consecutively at an average progress of 170 stadia (about 20 miles) daily.
passing through those mountains it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine that opens into the plain country. § 8. For the northern parts of the mountain region and those farthest to the west where the ascent begins, are placed by him under the parallel of Byzantium, and those in the south and the east under the parallel of the Hellespont.

For this reason, he says, that this route makes a detour of equal length in opposite directions, that in advancing to the east it bends towards the south, and thereafter probably runs up towards the north for 50 schoeni, till it reaches the Stone Tower. § 9. For to quote his own words, "When the traveller has ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with those of Sminth, the range that runs up to the north from Peloponnesus." § 10. If, then, to the 60 degrees made up of the 24,000 stadia, we add the 45° 4° 5° which represent the distance from the Stone Tower to Sera, we get 105° 4° 5° as the distance between the Euphrates and Sera as measured along the parallel of Rhodes. § 11. But, further, we can infer from the number of stadia which he

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stadia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thence to Alexandria of the Areop.jpg 4,400 4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to Baktra, called also Zarasia (Balak) 3,870 3,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to the Jaxartes, which Alexander reached, about 5,000 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making a total of 22,670&quot; 22,670&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He also assigns the following distances from the Kasanian Gates to India—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stadia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thence to Hekatompylos 1,900 1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Alexandria of the Argoi (Bharhut) 4,330 4,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Prophthasias in Dranga (a little north of lake Zarah) 1,600 1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the City Arakhtes (Ulan Bobut) 4,120 4,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then to Ortespana (Kibul) on the 3 roads from Baktra 2,000 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thence to the confines of India 1,000 1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which together amount to 15,300" 15,300"

The sum total however is only 15,210

Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxi) says: "Dionysius and his (Alexander's) measurements have recorded that from the Kasanian Gates to Hekatompylos of the Phthiatae there were as many miles as we have stated, thence to Alexandria Arion a city built by that king, 575 miles, to Prophthasias of the Drangaiae 196 miles, to the town of the Arakestai 565 miles, to Horetopsenta 175 miles, thence to Alexander's town (Opane) 50 miles. In some copies numbers differing from these are found. They state that the last named city lay at the foot of Caucasus; from that the distance to the Cophes and Fuscolatia, a town of the Indians, was 377 miles, and thence to the river Indus and town of Taxila 60 miles, to the Hydaspe, a famous river, 120 miles, to the Hypasurian meander river [XXXIX] the 500—

which was the limit of Alexander's progress, although he crossed the river and dedicated altars on the far-off bank, as the letters of the king himself agree in stating." The Kasanian Gates formed a point of great import-
gives as the distance between successive places lying along the same parallel, that the distance from the Islands of the Blest to the sacred Promontory in Spain (Cape St. Vincent), is $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and the distance thence to the mouth of the Betis (Guadalquivir), the same. From the Betis to Kalpê, and the entrance of the Straits, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. From the Straits to Karallis in Sardinia, 25 degrees. From Karallis to Lilybaion, in Sicily, 44 degrees. From this Cape to Pakynos, 3 degrees. Then again, from Pakynos to Tainaros, in Lakonia, 10 degrees. Thence to Rhodes, $8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. From Rhodes to Issus, $11\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and finally from Issus to the Euphrates, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. The sum of these particular distances gives a total of 72 degrees, consequently the entire length of the known world between the meridian of the Islands of the Blest and that of the Sères is $177\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, as has been already shown.

**Cap. 13.**

§ 1. That such is the length of the inhabited world may also be inferred from his estimate of the distances in a voyage from India to the Gulf of the Sinai and Katigara, if the sinuosities of the coast and irregularity of the navigation be taken into account, together with the positions as drawn into nearer proximity in the projections; for, he says, that beyond the Cape called Kóry where the sea in ancient Geography, and many of the meridians were measured from it, the pass has been clearly identified with that now known as the Sirdar Pass between Verulam and Kishkist in Khowar. Arrian states that the distance from the city of Rahai to the entrance of the Gates was a one day’s march. This was, however, a forced march, as the ruins of Bhagai (now Bahr, about 5 miles from Tehran) are somewhere about 30 miles distant from the Pass.

I may present here the tabular form in which Mr. Bunbury (vol. II, p. 638) exhibits the longitudes of the principal points in the Mediterranean as given by Ptolemy, and the actual longitudes of the same points computed from Ferro:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Ptolemy's Longitude</th>
<th>E. of Ferro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Promontory</td>
<td>2° 26'</td>
<td>9° 29'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of Betis</td>
<td>5° 20'</td>
<td>12°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpe (at mouth of Straits)</td>
<td>7° 30'</td>
<td>13°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caralis in Sardinia</td>
<td>32° 30'</td>
<td>27° 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilybaion in Sicily</td>
<td>37°</td>
<td>30° 45'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachynus (Prom. in Sicily)</td>
<td>40°</td>
<td>33° 25'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teymarus (Prom.)</td>
<td>50°</td>
<td>40° 50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>58° 20'</td>
<td>46° 45'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issus</td>
<td>60° 20'</td>
<td>54° 30'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same authority observes (vol. II, p. 639), 'Ptolemy thus made the whole interval from the Sacred Cape to Issus, which really comprises only about 45° 15' to extend over not less than 67 degrees of longitude, and the length of the Mediterranean itself from Calpe to Issus, to amount to 63 degrees; rather more than 20 degrees beyond the truth. It is easy to detect one principal source of this enormous error. Though the distances above given are reported by Ptolemy in degrees of longitude, they were computed by Marinos himself from what he calls stadiarum, that is from distances given in maritime itineraries and measurements in stadia. In other words, he took the statements and estimates of preceding authorities and converted them into degrees of longitude, according to his own calculation that a degree on the equator was equal to 360 stadia, and consequently a degree of longitude in latitude 36° would be equal (approximately) to 400 stadia.' The total length of the Mediterranean computed from the stadias of Ptolemy must have been 24,500. This was an improvement on the estimate of Eratosthenes, but was still excessive. In the ancient mode of reckoning sea distances the tendency was almost uniformly towards exaggeration.

§ 5. But to proceed: the course of the voyage from Kouroura lies, he says, to the south-east as far as Paloura, the distance being 9,450 stadia. Here, if we deduct as before one-third for the irregularities in the length of the courses, we shall have the distance on account of the navigation having been continuous to the coast, and the intercepted angle, we shall have as the distance between the meridian of Kouroura and that of Kóry, 675 stadia, or 1° 13' degree, since the parallels of these places do not differ materially from the great circle.

The different corrections to be applied to Ptolemy's eastern longitudes have been calculated by Sir Henry Rawlinson to amount to three-tenths, which is within one-seventieth part of the empirical correction used by M. Gosselin. [If we take one-fifth from Ptolemy's longitude of a place, and deduct 1° 45' for the W. longitude of Ferro, we obtain very approximately the modern English longitude. Thus, for Barygaza, Ptolemy's longitude is 113° 15' and 112° 15' or 30' of arc. 1° 45' = 7½; or, only 5 degrees less than the true longitude W. of Greenwich—J. H.]
the south-east about 5,300 stadia. § 6. And if we deduct from this in like manner as before one-sixth, in order to find the distance parallel to the equator, we shall make the interval between the meridians of these two places 5,250 stadia, or 105 degrees.

§ 7. At this place the Gangetic Gulf begins, which he estimates to be in circuit 19,000 stadia. The passage across it from Paloura to Sada in a direct line from west to east is 1,300 stadia. Here, then, we have but one deduction to make, viz., one-third on account of the irregularity of the navigation, leaving as the distance between the meridians of Paloura and Sada 8,670 stadia, or 173 degrees. § 8. The voyage is continued onward from Sada to the City of Tamala, a distance of 3,500 stadia, in a south-eastward direction. If a third be here again deducted on account of irregularities, we find the length of the continuous passage to be 2,330 stadia, but we must further take into account the divergence towards the south-east, and deduct one-sixth, so we find the distance between the meridians in question to be 1,940 stadia, or 3° 50' nearly.

§ 9. He next sets down the passage from Tamala to the Golden Khersonese at 1,600 stadia, the direction being still towards the south-east, so that after making the usual deductions there remain as the distance between the two meridians 900 stadia, or 1° 45'. The sum of these particulars makes the distance from Cape Kory to the Golden Khersonese, to be 34° 45'.

§ 1. Marinos does not state the number of stadia in the passage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, but says that one Alexander had written that the land thereafter faced the south, and that those sailing along this coast reached the city of Zaba in 20 days, and by continuing the voyage from Zaba southward, but keeping more to the left, they arrived after some days at Kattigara. § 2. He then makes this distance very great by taking the expression "some days" to mean "many days," assigning as his reason that the days occupied by the voyage were too many to be counted,—a most absurd reason, it strikes me. § 3. For would even the number of days it takes to go round the whole world be past counting? And was there anything to prevent Alexander writing "many" instead of "some," especially when we find him saying that Dioskoros had reported that the voyage from Rhapta to Cape Prasum took "many days." One might in fact with far more reason take "some" to mean "a few," for we have been wont to censure this style (of expression). § 4. So now lest we should appear to fall ourselves into the same error, that of adapting conjectures about distances to some number already fixed on, let us compare the voyage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, consisting of the 20 days to Zaba and the "some days" thence to Kattigara with the voyage from Armonata to Cape Prasum, and we find that the voyage from Armonata to Rhapta took also 20 days as reported by Theophilus and the voyage from Rhapta to Prasum "many more days" as reported by Dioskoros, so that we may set side by side the "some days" with the "many days," and like Marinos take them to be equivalent. § 5. Since then, we have shown both by reasoning and by Kory, which was adopted by Ptolemy as a position well established, was already nearly 34° too far to the east; but it was by giving the enormous extension we have pointed out to the coast of Asia beyond that promontory, that he fell into this stupendous error, which though partly corrected by Ptolemy, was destined to exercise so great an influence upon the future progress of geography. Columbus by accepting Ptolemy's estimate of the circumference of the globe greatly under-estimated the distance between the western shores of the Atlantic and the eastern shores of Asia, and hence was led to undertake his memorable enterprise with all the greater hope and courage.

With reference to the position of Cape Kory as given by Ptolemy, Bunsen says (Vol. II, p. 537, note): "Cape Kory is placed by Ptolemy, who on this point apparently follows Marinos, in 125° E. Longitude. It is really situated 90° E. of Greenwich and 95° E. of Ferre; but as Ptolemy made a fundamental error in the position of his primary meridian of nearly 7° this must be added to the account of his error in this instance. He himself states that Cape Kory was 120° E. of the mouth of the Batis, the real difference of longitude being only 96° 26'".
stating ascertained facts, that Prasum is under
the parallel of 16° 25' in South latitude, while
the parallel through Cape Arôma ta is 4° 15'
in North latitude, making the distance between
the two capes 20° 40', we might with good reason
make the distance from the Golden Khersonese
to Zaba and thence to Kattigara just about the
same. § 6. It is not necessary to curtail the
distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba,
since as the coast faces the south it must run
parallel with the equator. We must reduce,
however, the distance from Zaba to Kattigara,
since the course of the navigation is towards the
south and the east, in order that we may find
the position parallel to the equator. § 7. If
again, in our uncertainty as to the real excess of
the distances, we allot say one-half of the degrees
to each of these distances, and from the 13° 20'
between Zaba and Kattigara we deduct a third
on account of the divergence, we shall have the
distance from the Golden Khersonese to Katti-
gara along a line parallel to the equator of about
17° 10'. § 8. But it has been shown that the
distance from Cape Kôry to the Golden Kher-
sونese is 34° 48', and so the entire distance from
Kôry to Kattigara will be about 52°.
§ 9. But again, the meridian which passes
through the source of the River Indus is a little
further west than the Northern Promontory of
Taprobâne, which according to Marinos is
opposite to Kôry, from which the meridian
which passes through the mouth of the River
Bêtis is a distance of 8 hours or 120°. Now as
this meridian is 5° from that of the Islands of
the Blest, the meridian of Cape Kôry is more
than 125° from the meridian of the Islands of
the Blest. But the meridian through Kattigara
is distant from that through the Islands of the
Blest a little more than 177° in the latitude of
Kôry, each of which contains about the same
number of stadia as a degree reckoned along
the parallel of Rhodes. § 10. The entire length
then of the world to the Metropolis of the Sinai
may be taken at 180 degrees or an interval of 12
hours, since it is agreed on all hands that this
Metropolis lies further east than Kattigara, so
that the length along the parallel of Rhodes
will be 72,000 stadia.

Cap. 17, (part).

§ 3. For all who have crossed the seas to those
places agree in assuring me that the district of
Sakhalîtes in Arabia, and the Gulf of the same
name, lie to the east of Syagros and not to
the west of it as stated by Marinos, who also
makes Simylla, theemporium in India, to be
further west not only than Cape Komarî, but
also than the Indus. § 4. But according to
the unanimous testimony both of those who have
sailed from us to those places and have for a
long time frequented them, and also of those
who have come from thence to us, Simylla,
which by the people of the country is called
Timounî, lies only to the south of the
mouths of the river, and not also to west of
them. § 5. From the same informants we have
also learned other particulars regarding India
and its different provinces, and its remote parts
as far as the Golden Khersonese and onward
thence to Kattigara. In sailing thither, the
voyage, they said, was towards the east, and in
returning towards the west, but at the same
time they acknowledged that the period which
was occupied in making the voyages was neither
fixed nor regular. The country of the Sêres and
their Metropolis was situated to the north of
the Sinai, but the regions to the eastward of
both those people were unknown, abounding
it would appear, in swamps, wherein grew
reeds that were of a large size and so close to-
tgether that the inhabitants by means of them
could go right across from one end of a swamp
to the other. In travelling from these parts there
was not only the road that led to Baktîrânê
by way of the Stone Tower, but also a road
that led into India through Palimbothra. The
road again that led from the Metropolis of
the Sinai to the Haven at Kattigara runs in a
south-west direction, and hence this road does
not coincide with the meridian which passes
through Sêra and Kattigara, but, from what
Marinos tells us, with some one or other of those
meridians that are further east.

I may conclude this prefatory matter by quoting
from Mr. Bunbury his general estimate of the
value of Ptolemy's Indian Geography as set forth
in his criticism of Ptolemy's Map of India.

His strictures, though well grounded, may per-
haps be considered to incline to the side of severity.
He says (vol. II, pp. 642-3), "Some excellent re-
marks on the portion of Ptolemy's work devoted
to India, the nature of the different materials of
which he made use, and the manner in which he
employed them, will be found in Colonel Yule's
introduction to his Map of India, in Dr. Smith's
Atlas of Ancient Geography (pp. 22-24). These
PTOLEMY'S GEOG. BK. VII, CH. I, §§ 1-3.

Remarks are indeed in great measure applicable to the mode of proceeding of the Alexandrian Geographer in many other cases also, though the result is particularly conspicuous in India from the fulness of the information—crude and undigested as it was—which he had managed to bring together. The result, as presented to us in the tables of Ptolemy, is a map of utter confusion, out of which it is very difficult to extract in a few instances any definite conclusions. The attempt of Lassen to identify the various places mentioned by Ptolemy, is based throughout upon the fundamental error of supposing that the geographer possessed a Map of India similar to our own, and that we have only to compare the ancient and modern names in order to connect the two. As Col. Yale justly observes: “Practically, he (Lassen) deals with Ptolemy’s compilation as if that Geographer had possessed a collection of real Indian surveys, with the data systematically co-ordinated. The fact is, that if we should take one of the rude maps of India that appeared in the 16th century (e.g. in Mercator or in Linschoten), draw lines of latitude and longitude, and then more Ptolemaico construct tables registering the coordinates of cities, sources and confluences as they appeared in that map, this would be the sort of material we have to deal with in Ptolemy’s India.” But, in fact, the case is much stronger than Col. Yule puts it. For such a map as he refers to, of the 16th century, however rude, would give a generally correct idea of the form and configuration of the Indian Peninsula. But this, as we have seen, was utterly misconceived by Ptolemy. Hence he had to fit his data, derived from various sources, such as maritime and land itineraries, based upon real experience, into a framework to which they were wholly unsuited, and this could only be effected by some Procrustean process, or rather by a repetition of such processes, concerning which we are left wholly in the dark.

Col. Yule’s map of Ancient India is undoubtedly by far the best that has yet been produced: it is indeed the only attempt to interpret Ptolemy’s data, upon which such a map must mainly be founded upon anything like sound critical principles. But it must be confessed that the result is far from encouraging. So small a proportion of Ptolemy’s names can find a place at all, and so many of these even that appear on the map are admitted by its author to rest upon very dubious authority; that we remain almost wholly in the dark as to the greater part of his voluminous catalogues; and are equally unable to identify the localities which he meant to designate, and to pronounce an opinion upon the real value of his materials.”

Book VII.

Contents.

Description of the farthest parts of Greater Asia, according to the existing provinces and Satrapies.

Cap. I.

Description of India within the Ganges.

§ 1. India within the river Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropanisadae and Arahkhasia and Gedrosia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaos along the Sogdiaioi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by a portion of the Indian Ocean. The circuit of the coast of this ocean is thus described:

2. In Syrastra, on the Gulf called Kanthi, a roadstead and harbour. 109° 30’ 20’.

The most western mouth of the River Indus called Sagapa .............. 110° 20’ 19° 50’.

The next mouth called Sinthoun .............. 110° 40’ 19° 50’.

The 3rd mouth called Khrysson (the Golden) .............. 111° 20’ 19° 50’.

The 4th called Kariphron ....... 111° 40’ 19° 50’.

The 5th called Sapara ....... 112° 30’ 19° 50’.

The 6th called Sabalaessa ....... 113° 20’ 15’.

The 7th called Lorniard ....... 113° 30’ 20’ 15’.

3. Bardaxena, a town ....... 114° 10’ 16° 40’.

Monogloso, a mart ....... 114° 10’ 16° 40’.

Syrastra, a village ....... 114° 19° 30’.

Comment.—Strabo, following Eratosthenes, regarded the Indus as the boundary of India on the west, and this is the view which has been generally prevalent. Ptolemy, however, included within India the regions which lay immediately to the west of that river, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Balochistan and Afghanistan. He was fully justified in this determination, since many places beyond the Indus, as the sequel will show, bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such parts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquests by princes of Indian descent. The western boundary as given by Ptolemy would be roughly represented by a line drawn from the mouth of the Indus and passing through the parts adjacent to Kandahar, Ghuzni, Kâbul, Balkh, and even places beyond. The Paropanisadae inhabited the regions lying south of the mountain range called Paropanisos, now known as the Central Hindū-Kōsh. One of these towns was Ortospana which has been identified with the city of
Kābul, the Karoura of our author. He gives as the eastern boundary of the Parapanisadai a line drawn south from the sources of the river Oxus through the Kaukasion Mountains (the eastern portion of the Hindū-Kūsh) to a point lying in long. 119° 30' and lat. 39°. Arakhōsia lay to the south of the Parapanisadai—its chief city was Arakhōtos, whose name, according to Rennell, is preserved in Arakhaj. There is a river of the same name which has been identified with the Helmand (the Erymanther or Erymanthos of the ancients) but also and more probably with the Urghand-Āb or Arkaṇ-Āb, which passes by Kandahār. Gedrōsia, the modern Baluchistān, had for its eastern boundary the River Indus. The boundary of India on the north was formed by Mount Imaōs (Sansk. hima, cold), a name which was at first applied by the Greeks to the Hindū-Kūsh and the chain of the Himalayas running parallel to the equator, but which was gradually in the course of time transferred to the Bolor range which runs from north to south and intersects them. Ptolemy, however, places Imaōs further east than the Bolor, and in the maps which accompany his Geography, this meridian chain, as he calls it, is prolonged up to the most northerly plains of the Irīsh and Obi.

Sogdiana lay to the north of Baktria and abutted on Skythia, both towards the north and towards the south. The name has been preserved in that of Sogd, by which the country along the Kohik from Bakhtar to Saimarkand has always been known. Our author places the Sogdian Mountains (the Pāmh range) at the sources of the Oxus, and the mountains of the Kōmēda between the sources of that river and the Jaxartes.

The Sakai were located to the east of the Sogdians—Ptolemy describes them as nomadic, as without towns and as living in woods and caves. He specifies as their tribes the Karstai (probably connected with the Kirat of India), the Komaroi, the Kōmēda, the Massagei, the Grynaioi Skythai, the Tōrnai and the Byltaï. The Sakai it would appear therefore were the Mountainers of Kāfristan, Badakhshan, Shignan, Roshan, Baltistan or Little Tibet, &c.

Syrastrēnē and Larikē.

Syrastrēnē. The name is formed from the Sanskrit Surastrā (now Soraṭ) the ancient name of the Peninsula of Gujarāt. It is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea as the sea-board of Abērā and is there praised for the great fertility of its soil, for its cotton fabrics, and for the superior stature of its inhabitants.

Kanthi:—The Gulf of this name is now called the Gulf of Kachh. It separates Kachh, the south coast of which is still called Kantha, from the Peninsula of Gujarāt. In the Periplus the gulf is called Barakē and is described as of very dangerous navigation. In Ptolemy, Barakē is the name of an island in the Gulf.

Two mouths only of the Indus are mentioned by the followers of Alexander and by Strabo. The Periplus gives the same number (7) as Ptolemy. There are now 11, but changes are continually taking place. Sagaps, the western mouth, was explored by Alexander. It separates from the main stream below Thatha. In the chronicles of Sindh it is called Sāgāra, from which perhaps its present name Ghāra, may be derived. It has long ceased to be navigable.

Sinthon:—This has been identified with the Piti branch of the Indus, one of the mouths of the Baghār River. This branch is otherwise called the Sindhi Khrysoun. This is the Kālīwāri mouth.

Khariphron:—Cunningham identifies this with the Kyār river of the present day which, he says, leads right up to the point where the southern branch of the Ghāra joins the main river near Lāri-bandar.

Sapara:—this is the Wāri mouth.
Sabella:sa is now the Sir mouth.
Lonibare in Sanskrit is Lōnavāri (or Lōnavādā, or Lānaṇavāri or Lānaṇavāta). It is now the Kori, but is called also the Lami which preserves the old name.

Bardaxéma:—This, according to Yule, is now Pur-bandar, but Dr. Burgess prefers Srinagar, a much older place in the same district, having near it a small village called Bardiya, which, as he thinks, may possibly be a reminiscence of the Greek name.

Syrastra:—This in the Prakritized form is Sorath. It has been identified by Laesen with Junāgadh, a place of great antiquity and historical interest in the interior of the Peninsula, about 40 miles eastward from the coast at Navi-bandar. The meaning of the name is the old fort. The place was anciently called Girmagara, from its vicinity to the sacred mountain of Girnar, near which is the famous rock inscribed with the edicts of Asoka, Skandagupta and Rudra Dāma. Yule identifies Syrastra with Navi-bandar, a port at the mouth of the Bhādar, the largest river of the Peninsula, said to be fed by 99 tributaries. Junāgadh was visited by Huien Tsang, who states that after leaving the kingdom of Vahabhi (near Bhavnagar) he went about 100 miles to the west.

21 Lavaṇa is the Sanskrit word for salt.
and reached the country of Su-la-ch’a (Saurashtra) that was subject to the kingdom of Valabbi. See Tarikh-l-Sorath, edited by Dr. Burgess, pp. 32-199.

Monoglosson.—This is now represented by Mangrol, a port on the S. W. coast of the Peninsula below Navi-bandar. It is a very populous place, with a considerable traffic, and is tributary to Junagadh.

4. In Larikë.
Mouth of the River Mëphis...114° 15° 30′
Pakidare, a village ...113° 17° 50′
Cape Maleo ...111° 17° 30′

5. In the Gulf of Barygaza.
Kamanë ...112° 17°
Mouth of the River Nomados ...112° 17° 45′
Nausaripa ...112° 30′ 16° 30′
Poulipoula ...112° 30′ 16°

Larikë, according to Lassen, represents the Sansk. Rāṣṭrikan in its Prakrit form Lāṭika. Lār-eṣa, however, the country of Lār (Sanak. Lāṭa) was the ancient name of the territory of Gujarat, and the northern parts of Konkan, and Larikë may therefore be a formation from Lār with the Greek termination ἅτη appended. The two great cities of Barygaza (Bharoch) and Ožëne (Ujjain) were in Larikë, which appears to have been a political rather than a geographical division.

Maleō must have been a projection of the land somewhere between the mouth of the Mahi and that of Narmadā—but nearer to the former if Ptolemy’s indication be correct.

The Gulf of Barygaza, now the Gulf of Kambhat, was so called from the great commercial emporium of the same name (now Bharoch) on the estuary of the Narmadā at a distance of about 300 stadia from the Gulf. This river is called the Namados or Namadā by Ptolemy and the Namados by the Author of the Periplús, who gives a vivid account of the difficulties attending the navigation of the Gulf and of the estuary which was subject to bores of great frequency and violence.

Kamanē is mentioned as Kammōnē in the Periplús, where it is located to the south of the Narmadā estuary. Ptolemy probably err in placing it to northward of it.

Nausaripa has been identified with Nausāri, a place near the coast, about 15 miles south from Sārat.

Poulipoula is in Yule’s map located at Sanjan, which is on the coast south from Nausāri. It was perhaps nearer Balsār.

6. Ariakē-Sadinūn.
Soupara ...112° 30′ 15° 30′
Mouth of the River Goaris ...112° 15′ 15° 10′

Dounge ...111° 30′ 15°
Mouth of the River Bēndā ...110° 30′ 15°
Simylla, a mart and a cape ...110° 14° 45′
Hippokoura ...111° 45′ 10°
Balkipatna ...110° 30′ 14° 20′

Ariakē corresponds nearly to Mahārākhtra—the country of the Mārdhaka. It may have been so called, because its inhabitants being chiefly Aryans and ruled by Indian princes were thereby distinguished from their neighbours, who were either of different descent or subject to foreign domination. The territory was in Ptolemy’s time divided among three potentates, one of whom belonged to the dynasty of the Sadanesia and ruled the prosperous trading communities that occupied the seaboard. This dynasty is mentioned in the Periplús (cap. 52) whence we learn that Sadanes after having made himself master of Kalliena (now Kalyāna), which had formerly belonged to the house of Saraganes the elder, subjected its trade to the severest restrictions, so that if Greek vessels entered its port even accidentally, they were seized and sent under guard to Barygaza, the seat evidently of the paramount authority. Sadanes, according to Lassen, corresponds to the Greek name Sadohëna, which means completion or a perfecter, and also an agent or representative. By Saraganes is probably indicated one of the great Sātakarṣi or Andhrā dynasty. The Periplús makes Ariakē to be the beginning of the kingdom of Mambares and of all India.

Soupara has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Burgess with Supārā, a place about 6 miles to the north of Vasai (Bassein). It appears to have been from very early times an important centre of trade, and it was perhaps the capital of the district that lay around it. Among its ruins have been preserved some monuments, which are of historical interest, and which also attest its high antiquity. These are a fragment of a block of basalt like the rocks of Ginnär, inscribed with edicts of Aśoka, and an old Buddhist Stūpa. The name of Supārā figures conspicuously in the many learned and elaborate treatises which were evoked in the course of the famous controversy regarding the situation of Ophir to which Solomon despatched the ships he had hired from the Tyrians. There can now be little doubt that if Ophir did not mean India itself it designated some place in India, and probably Supārā, which lay on that part of the coast to which the traders of the west, who took advantage of the monsoon to cross the ocean, would naturally direct their course. The name moreover of Supārā is almost identical with that of Ophir when it assumes, as it often does, an initial S, becoming Sōphara as in
the Septuagint form of the name, and Sofrir which is the Coptic name for India, not to mention other similar forms. (See Benfey's Indien, pp. 30-52.)

The mouths of the Goaris and Benda Yule takes to be the mouths of the Strait that isolates Salsette and Bombay. The names represent, as he thinks, those of the Gódávari and Bihma respectively, though these rivers flow in a direction different from that which Ptolemy assigns to them, the former discharging into the Bay of Bengal and the latter into the Krishna, of which it is the most considerable tributary. Ptolemy's rivers, especially those of the Peninsula, are in many instances so disguised that it is difficult to identify them satisfactorily. It appears to have been his practice to connect the river-mouths which he found mentioned in records of coasting voyages with rivers in the interior concerning which he had information from other sources, and whose courses he had only partially traced. But, as Yule remarks, with his erroneous outline of the Peninsula this process was too hazardous and the result often wrong. Mr. J. M. Campbell, B.C.S., would identify the Goaris with the Vaitarna River, as Gore is situated upon it and was probably the highest point reached by ships sailing up its stream. The sources of the Vaitarna and the Gódávari are in close proximity. The Benda he would identify with the Bilwandi River, and the close similarity of the names favours this view.

Dounga is placed in Yule's map to the S. E. of Supára on the Strait which separates Salsette from the mainland. Ptolemy, however, through his misconception of the configuration of this part of the coast, places it a whole degree to the west of Supára. Mr. Campbell, from some similarity in the names, suggests its identity with Dugdá—a place about 10 miles N. of Bilwandi and near the Vajrabá hot springs. Dugdá, however, is too far inland to have been here mentioned by Ptolemy, and moreover, it lies to the north of Supára, whereas in Ptolemy's enumeration, which is from north to south, it is placed after it.

Simylla—Yule identifies this with Chaul and remarks: "Chaul was still a chief port of Western India when the Portuguese arrived. Its position seems to correspond precisely both with Simylla and with the Şaimür or Jaimür (i.e. Chaimur, the Arabs haring no ch) of the Arab Geographers. In Al-Biruni the coast cities run: Kambayat, Bahruj, Sindán (Sanján), Sufāra (Supára), Tana (near Bombay), "There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Jaimür." Istakhri

inverts the position of Sindán and Sufāra, but Şaimür is still furthest south." In a note he adds: "Ptolemy mentions that Simylla was called by the natives Timula (probably Trimula); and putting together all these forms, Timula, Simylla, Şaimür, Chaimür, the real name must have been something like Chaimul or Chamuul, which would modernize into Chaul, as Chamari and Prámara into Chauri and Pawār." Chaul or Chêmwal lies 23 miles S. of Bombay. Pandit Bhagvändi Indrají, Ph.D., suggested as a better identification Chimuła in Trombay Island, this being supported by one of the Kanhāri inscriptions, in which Chimuła is mentioned, apparently as a large city, like Supára and Kalyāna in the neighbourhood. Mr. Campbell thus discusses the merits of these competing identifications—"Simylla has a special interest, as Ptolemy states that he learned some of his Geography of Western India from people who traded to Simylla and had been familiar with it for many years, and had come from there to him—Ptolemy speaks of Simylla as a point and emporium, and the author of the Periplōs speaks of it as one of the Konkān local marts. Simylla till lately was identified with Chaul. But the discovery of a village Chambr in Trombay Island in Bombay Harbour, has made it doubtful whether the old trade centre was there or at Chaul. In spite of the closer resemblance of the names, the following reasons seem to favour the view that Chaul, not Chimuła, was the Greek Simylla. First, it is somewhat unlikely that two places so close, and so completely on the same line of traffic as Kalyāna (the Kalliema of the Periplōs) and Chimuła should have flourished at the same time. Second, the expression in the Periplōs 'below (περί) Kalliema other local marts are Semuilla' points to some place down the coast rather than to a town in the same Harbour as Kalliema, which according to the Author's order north to south should have been named before it. Third, Ptolemy's point (promontorium) of Simylla has no meaning if the town was Chambr in Trombay. But it fits well with Chaul, as the headland would then be the south shore of Bombay Harbour, one of the chief capes in this part of the coast, the south head of the gulf or bay whose north head is at Bassein. This explanation of the Simylla point is borne out by Fryer (1875) New Account (pp. 77-82), who talked of Bombay 'facing Chaul' and notices the gulf or hollow in the shore stretching from Bassein to Chaul Point. The old (1540) Portuguese name 'Chaul Island' for the isle of Kennery of the south point of Bombay, further supports this view."

Ptolemy's map gives great prominence to the projection of land at Simylla, which (through a
strange misconception on his part, for which it is impossible to account) is therein represented as the great south-west point of India, whence the coast bends at once sharply to the east instead of pursuing its course continuously to the south.

Hippokoura. This word may be a Greek translation (in whole or in part) of the native name of the place. Hence Pandit Bhagavâni Indraji was led to identify it with Ghusabandar (Horse-port) a town on the Thana Strait, whose position however is not in accordance with Ptolemy's data. Mr. Campbell again has suggested an identification free from this objection. Ghoregôn (Horse-village) in Kolâba, a place at the head of a navigable river, which was once a seat of trade. Yule takes it, though doubtfully, as being now represented by Kudâ near Rajapâtr. Hippokourou was one of the Greek epithets of Poseidon. Ptolemy mentions another Hippokoura, which also belonged to Ariakê and was the Capital of Balcokourou. Its situation was inland.

Baltipatna.—This place is mentioned in the Peripatos under the somewhat altered form Palipatni. Yule locates it, but doubtfully, at Daibal. Fra Paolino identified it with Balarpatam (the Balaprata of Rennell) where the king of Canaan resided, but it lies much too far south to make the identification probable. Mr. Campbell has suggested Pali, which he describes as "a very old holy town at the top of the Nagôtna river." Its position, however, being too far north and too far from the sea, does not seem to suit the requirements.

7. (Ariakê) of the Pirates.

Mandagara........ 113°  14°
Byzaention........ 113° 40′  14° 40′
Khersoneseos...... 114° 20′  14° 30′
Armagara.......... 114° 20′  14° 30′
Mouth of the River Nanagouna 114° 30′  13° 50′
Nitra, a mart...... 115° 30′  14° 40′

Piracy, which from very early times seems to haveinfested, like a pernicious parasite, the commerce of the Eastern Seas, flourished nowhere so vigorously as on the Konkan Coast, along which richly freighted merchants were continually plying. Here bands of pirates, formed into regularly organized communities like those of the Thags in the interior of the country, had established themselves in strongholds contiguous to the creeks and bays, which were numerous on the coast, and which afforded secure harbourage to their cruisers. The part of the coast which was subject to their domination and which was in consequence called the Pirate Coast, extended from the neighbourhood of Simylla to an emporium called Nitra, the Mangaruth of Kosmas and the Mangalur of the present day. Whether the native traders took any precautions to protect their ships from these highwaymen of the ocean is not known, but we learn from Pliny, that the merchantmen who left the Egyptian ports heading for India carried troops on board well-armed for their defence. Mr. Campbell has ingeniously suggested that by Αρδύαν Πειρατίαν Ptolemy did not mean pirates, but the powerful dynasty of the Andhrabhritiya that ruled over the Konkan and some other parts of the Dekhan. He says (Bombay Gazetteer, Thana, Vol. II., p. 415 n. 2nd), "Perhaps because of Pliny's account of the Konkan pirates, Ptolemy's phrase Αριάκη Ανδρόν Πειρατίαν has been taken to mean Pirate Ariakê. But Ptolemy has no mention of pirates on the Konkan Coast, and, though this does not carry much weight in the case of Ptolemy, the phrase Ανδρόν Πειρατίαν is not correct Greek for pirates. This and the close resemblance of the words suggest that Ανδρόν Πειρατίαν may originally have been Andhrabhrition." On this it may be remarked, that though Ptolemy has no mention of pirates on the Konkan Coast this is not in the least surprising, since his work is almost exclusively geographical, and whatever information on points of history we obtain from it is more from inference than direct statement. Further, I do not see why the expression Αρδύαν Πειρατίαν if taken to mean pirates should be called incorrect Greek, since in later Attic it was quite a common usage to join άρδυ with titles, professions and the like.

Mandagara.—This may be a transliteration, somewhat inexact, of Madangary (House of Love) the name of a fort about 12 miles inland from Bankût. More likely the place is Mandâla on the north bank of the Sautri river, opposite Bankût, and now known as Kolmánda, and Bâg and Bâgmándâ. Mangalur, to which as far as the name goes it might be referred, is too far south for the identification.

Byzaention.—The close correspondence of this name with that of the famous capital on the Bosporos has led to the surmise that a colony of Greeks had established themselves on this coast for commercial purposes, notwithstanding the danger to be apprehended from attacks by the pirates in their neighbourhood. It appears however quite unlikely that Greeks should have formed a settlement where few, if any, of the advantages could be enjoyed which generally determined their choice of a locality in which to plant a colony. The name may perhaps be a transliteration of Vijayanta, now Vijayadurgâ, the south entrance of the Vâghotan river in Ratna-giri. The word means the Fort of Victory.
KHERSONESOS. This seems to be the peninsula which is in the neighbourhood of Goa. It is mentioned in the *Periplous* as one of the hauntas of the pirates, and as being near the island of the Kaimeti, that is, St. George's Island.

Armagara.—This is placed near the mouth of the Nanagouna river, which may be taken to mean here the river on which Saddâsiyagari stands. The Nanagouna however must be identified with the Tâpti, whose embouchure is about 6° farther north. Its name is Sanskrit, meaning 'possessed of many virtues.' To account for this extraordinary dislocation, Yule supposes that Ptolemy, having got from his Indian lists a river Nanaguna rising in the Vindhyas, assigns to it three discharges into the sea by what he took for so many delta branches, which he calls respectively Goaris, Benda, and Nanaguna. This, he adds, looked possible to Ptolemy on his map, with its excessive distortion of the western coast, and his entire displacement of the Western Ghâta.

Mr. Campbell suggests that Ptolemy may have mistaken the Nânâ Pass for a river.

Nitra is the most southern of the pirate ports, and is mentioned by Pliny in a passage where he remarks that ships frequenting the great emporium of Monziris ran the risk of being attacked by pirates who infested the neighbourhood, and possessed a place called Nitra. Yule refers it as having already stated to Mangalur.

8. LIMYRİKÊ. Tyndis, a city

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyndis</td>
<td>116° 45'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramagara</td>
<td>116° 10'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalakariyas</td>
<td>116° 40'</td>
<td>14° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouziris, an emporium</td>
<td>117° 40'</td>
<td>14° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the river Pseudomos</td>
<td>117° 20'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podoperoura</td>
<td>117° 40'</td>
<td>14° 15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semne</td>
<td>118° 10'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreoua</td>
<td>118° 40'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakarei</td>
<td>119° 30'</td>
<td>14° 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the river Baris</td>
<td>120° 20'</td>
<td>14° 20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LIMYRİKÊ.—Lassen was unable to trace this name to any Indian source, but Caldwell has satisfactorily explained its origin. In the introduction to his *Drevidian Grammar* he states (page 14), that in the Indian segment of the Roman maps called the *Peutinger Tables* the portion of India to which this name is applied is called Damirike, and that we can scarcely err in identifying this name with the Tamil country, since Damirike evidently means Damir-išk. In the map referred to there is moreover a district called Scyonia Dymirice, and it appears to have been this word which by a mistake of Δ for Δ Ptolemy wrote Lynirike. The D, he adds, retains its place in the *Cosmography* of the Geographer of Ravenna, who repeatedly mentions Dimirica as one of the 3 divisions of India. Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplous* are at one in making Tyndis one of the first or most northern ports in LIMYRİKÊ. The latter gives its distance from Barygaza at 7,000 stadiæ, or nearly 12 degrees of latitude, if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. Notwithstanding this authoritative indication, which makes LIMYRİKÊ begin somewhere near Kalitak (11° 15' N. Lat.) its frontier has generally been placed nearly 3 degrees further north, Tyndis having been located at Bocoror. This error has been rectified by Yule, whose adherence to the data of the *Periplous* has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Mouziris (the southern rival in commercial prosperity of Barygaza) with Krangonur, instead of with Mangalur as previously accepted. The capital of LIMYRİKÊ was Karur, on the Kaveri, where resided Kërobothros, i.e., Keralaputra, the Chera king.

TYNDIS is described in the *Periplous* as a place of great note pertaining to the kingdom of Kërobetas, and situate near the sea at a distance of 500 stadia from Mouziris. This distance north from Krangonur with which, as has been stated, Mouziris has been identified, brings us to Tanur. "Tanur itself," says Yule, "may be Tyndis; it was an ancient city, the seat of a principality, and in the beginning of the 16th century had still much shipping and trade. Perhaps, however, a more probable site is a few miles further north, Kësalunâ, i.e., Kësal-tunâ, the raised ground by the sea, standing on an inlet 3 or 4 miles south of Bëpar. It is not now a port, but persons on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been, and in communication with the Backwater." He adds in a note supplied by Dr. Burnell, "The composition of Kësal and Tunâ makes Kësalunâ by Tamil rules." The pepper country called Kottonarikë was immediately adjacent to Tyndis, which no doubt exported great quantities of that spice.

BRAMAGARA is placed in the table half a degree to the east of Tyndis, i.e., really to the south of it, since Ptolemy makes the Malabar Coast run east instead of south. The name may be a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Brahmagata*, which means 'the abode of the Brāhmaṇa.' The Brāhmaṇa of the south of India appear in those days to have consisted of a number of isolated communities that were settled in separate parts of the country, and that were independent each of the other. This, as Lassen remarks (*Ind. Ant.,* vol. III., p. 193) is in harmony with the tradition according to which the Arya Brāhmaṇas were
represented as having been settled by Parashurama in 61 villages, and as having at first lived under a republican constitution. In section 74 Ptolemy mentions a town called Brahmana belonging to the Brāhmaṇoi Magoi, i.e., ‘sons of the Brāhmaṇa.’

Kalaiakarias.—The last half of this word (Karian) is doubtless the Tamil word for ‘coast,’ karei, which appears also in another of Ptolemy’s names, Peringkarei, mentioned as one of the inland towns Kandionoi (sec. 89). I find in Arrowsmith’s large Map of India a place called ‘Chalaccoory’ to the N. E. of Kranganur, and at about the same distance from it as our author makes Kalaiakarias distant from Mouziris.

Mouziris may unhesitatingly be taken to represent the Mayiri of Mayiri-Kodū, which, says Yule, appears in one of the most ancient of Malabar inscriptions as the residence of the King of Koḻangalur or Kranganur, and is admitted to be practically identical with that now extinct city. It is to Kranganur he adds that all the Malabar traditions point as their oldest seaport of renown; to the Christians it was the landing-place of St. Thomas the Apostle.

Mouth of the river Pseudoctomos, or ‘false-mouth.’ According to the table the river enters the sea at the distance of ½ of a degree below Mouziris. It must have been one of the streams that discharge into the Backwater.

Possidenna must be the Pondopatana of Indikopentes—i.e., a correct form than Ptolemy’s Possidenna.

Semne:—The Sanskrit name for Buddhist Ascetics was Śramaṇa, in Tamil Sama, and as we find that this is rendered as Semnoi by Clemens Alexandrinus, we may infer that Semne was a town inhabited by Buddhists, having perhaps a Buddhist temple of noted sanctity. For a different explanation see Lassen’s Ind. Alt. vol. III. p. 194.

Bakarei is mentioned by Pliny as Becaro, and as Bakarē by the Author of the Periplas, who places it at the mouth of the river on which, at a distance of 120 stadia from the sea was situated the great mart called Nelkynda, or Melkynda as Ptolemy writes it. The river is described as difficult of navigation on account of shallows and sunken reefs, so that ships despatched from Nelkynda were obliged to sail down empty to Bakarei and there take in their cargoes. The distance of Nelkynda from Mouziris is given at about 500 stadia, and this whether the journey was made by sea or by river or by land. Upon this Yule thus remarks: ‘At this distance south from Kranganur we are not able to point to a quite satisfactory Nelkynda. The site which has been selected as the most probable is nearly 800 stadia south of Mouziris. This is Kallada, on a river of the same name entering the Backwater, the only navigable river on this south-west coast except the Perri-ār near Kranganur. The Kallada River is believed to be the Kaniyathī mentioned in the Keralatatti legendary history of Malabar, and the town of Kallada to be the town of Kaneythi. It is now a great entrepôt of Travankor pepper, which is sent from this to ports on the coast for shipment. That Nelkynda cannot have been far from this is clear from the vicinity of the Pripōs yasā or Red-Hill of the Periplou (sec. 58). There can be little doubt that this is the bar of red laterite which, a short distance south of Quilon, cuts short the Backwater navigation, and is thence called the Warkallā barrier. It forms abrupt cliffs on the sea, without beach, and these cliffs are still known to seamen as the Red Cliffs. This is the only thing like a sea cliff from Mount d’Ely to Cape Comorin.’

The word Bakarei may represent the Sanskrit dekaka, ‘a door.’

Mouth of the river Baris:—The Baris must be a stream that enters the Backwater in the neighbourhood of Quilon.


Melkynda ........................................ 120° 20′ 14° 20′
Elangkōn (or Elangkōr), a mart ............................... 120° 40′ 14′
Kottiara, the metropolis .............................. 121° 14′
Bammala ............................................. 121° 20′ 14° 15′
Komaria, a cape and town ........................... 121° 45′ 13° 30′

The Aioi:—This people occupied the southern parts of Travancor. Their name is perhaps a transliteration of the Sanskrit ahi, ‘a snake,’ and if so, this would indicate the prevalence among them of serpent worship. Cunningham, in his Geography of Ancient India (p. 552), states that in the Chinese-Japanese Map of India the alternative name of Malyakōta is Hai-an-men, which suggests a connection with Ptolemy’s Aioi.

I note that the entrance to the Backwater at Kalikulan is called the Great Ayibicca Bar, and an entrance farther south the Little Ayibicca Bar. The first part of this name may also be similarly connected.

Melkynda, as already stated is the Nelkynda of the Periplou, which places it, however, in Limyrikē. Pliny speaks of it as portus gentis Neacydon (v. II. Neacridon, Neachydon, Nelykondou). The name, according to Caldwell, probably means West Kynda, that is Kanenīri, the south boundary of Kērala Proper. When Mangalur was taken as the representative of

Elangkon or Elangkôris now Quilon, otherwise written Kulam.

Köttara, says Caldwell, "is the name of a place in the country of the Aioi of Ptolemy in the Paralia of the Author of the Periplas, identical in part with South Travankor. Apparently it is the Cottara of Pliny, and I have no doubt it is the Cottara of the Peutinger Tables. It is called by Ptolemy the Metropolis, and must have been a place of considerable importance. The town referred to is probably Kottara, or as it is ordinarily written by Europeans 'Kottar,' the principal town in South Travankor, and now as in the time of the Greeks distinguished for its commerce."

Drauid. Gram., Intro. p. 98. The name is derived from khol, 'a foot,' and dr-a, 'a river.'

Banamala—Mannert would identify this with Bulita, a place a little to the north of Anjeng, but this is too far north. It may perhaps be the Banita of the Periplas.

Komaria, a cape and a town—We have no difficulty in recognizing here Cape Comorin, which is called in the Periplas Komar and Komarci. The name is derived from the Sanskrit kumari, 'a virgin,' one of the names of the Goddess Durga who presided over the place, which was one of peculiar sanctity. The Author of the Periplas has made the mistake of extending the Peninsula southward beyond Comorin.

We may here compare Ptolemy's enumeration of places on the west coast with that of the Periplas from Barygaza to Cape Comorin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ptolemy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barygaza</td>
<td>Barygaza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nousara</td>
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<td>Poulipoula</td>
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<td>Soupara</td>
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<td>Dounga</td>
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<td>Simylia</td>
<td>Semylia</td>
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<td>Island of Milizygiris</td>
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<td>Baltpatna</td>
<td>Palaipstmai</td>
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<td>Mandagora</td>
<td>Melizygeira</td>
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<td>Byanzion</td>
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<td>Toparon</td>
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<td>Tyrannochoas</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3 separate groups of islanda

Ptolemy.

Khersonisos | Khersonisos
Armagara | Is. of Leuké
Is. of Peperine | Nacoura
Nitra | Tyndis
Tyndis | Trinéia Islands
Trinésia Islands | Bulkaria
Bramagora | Kalaxikrias
Kalaxikrias | Mouziris
Mouziris | Podoperoura
Podoperoura | Semni
Semni | Is. Leuké
Koreoura | Bakaré
Melkynda | Bakaré
Bakaré | Elangkon
Elangkon | Mons Pyrrhos
Köttara | Komaria
Komaria | Komar

There is a striking agreement between the two lists, especially with respect to the order in which the places enumerated succeed each other. There are but three exceptions to the coincidence and these are unimportant. They are, Milizygiris, Mandaora and the island Leuké, i.e. 'white island,' if the name be Greek. The Melizygeira of the Periplas, Vincent identifies with Jayagahé or Sidi, perhaps the Sigerus of Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxvi, 100). Ptolemy makes Milizygiris to be an island about 20 miles south of Simylia. There is one important place which he has failed to notice, Kallienna now Kalyana, a well-known town not far from Bombay.

10. Country of the Karoni.

In the Kolkhie Gulf, where there is the Pearl Fishery—Sosikourai: 122° 14° 30'
Kolkhòi, an emporion .......123° 15'
Mouth of the river Solen ....124° 14° 40'

The country of the Karoni corresponds to South Timneveli. The word karoni, as already stated is Tamil, and means 'coast.' The Kolkhie Gulf is now known as the Gulf of Manar. The pearl fishery is noticed in the Periplas.

Sosikourai:—By the change of $ into T we find the modern representative of this place to be Tutukorin (Tuttukadi) a harbour in Timneveli, where there are pearl banks, about 10 miles south of Kolkhòi. This mart lay on the Solen or Tenamparnt river. Tutukorin in the Peutinger Tables is called Colcis Iadorum. The Tamil name is Kolkê, almost the same as the Greek. Yule in his work on Marco Polo (vol. II, pp. 366-61) gives the following account of this place, based on information supplied by Dr. Caldwell:—

"Kolkhòi, described by Ptolemy and the
Author of the *Periplôs* as an emporium of the pearl trade, as situated on the sea-coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkkie Gulf or Gulf of Manâr has been identified with Korkai, the mother-city of Kayal (the Coêl of Marco Polo). Korkai, properly Kolkai (the l being changed into r by a modern refinement, it is still called Kolkai in Malayalam), holds an important place in Tamil traditions, being regarded as the birth-place of the Pândya dynasty, the place where the princes of that race ruled previously to their removal to Madura.

One of the titles of the Pândya kings is ‘Ruler of Korkai.’ Korkai is situated two or three miles inland from Kayal, higher up the river. It is not marked in the G. Trig. Surv. map, but a village in the immediate neighbourhood of it, called Mâramangalam ‘the good fortune of the Pândyas’ will be found in the map. This place, together with several others in the neighbourhood, on both sides of the river, is proved by inscriptions and relics to have been formerly included in Korkai, and the whole intervening space between Korkai and Kayal exhibits traces of ancient dwellings. The people of Kayal maintain that their city was originally so large as to include Korkai, but there is much more probability in the tradition of the people of Korkai, which is to the effect that Korkai itself was originally a seaport; that as the sea retired it became less and less suitable for trade, that Kayal rose as Korkai fell, and that at length, as the sea continued to retire, Kayal also was abandoned. They add that the trade for which the place was famous in ancient times was the trade in pearls.

Mouth of the River Sóîèn:—This river is identified by Lassen with the Sylaur, which he says is the largest northern tributary of the Tâmraparîn. On this identification Yule remarks: “The ‘Syllar’ of the maps, which Lassen identifies with Sûlên, originates, as Dr. Caldwell tells me, in a mistake. The true name is ‘Sittâr,’ ‘Little River,’ and it is insignificant.” The Tâmraparîn is the chief river of Timnereli. It entered the sea south of Kolkko. In Tamil poetry it is called Porunu. Its Pâlî form is Tamârayanni. How it came to be called the Sûlên remains as yet unexplained. Sûlên is an element in several South Indian geographical names, meaning Chôa. The word Tâmraparîn itself means ‘red-leaved’ or ‘copper-coloured sand.’ Taprobane, the classical name for Ceylon, is this word in an altered form.  

11. Land of Pandion.

In the Orgâlic Gulf, Cape Köry, called also Kalligikon...125° 40' 13° 20'
Argeirou, a town ..............125° 15' 14° 30'
Salour, a mart ..................125° 20' 15° 30'

The land of Pandion included the greater portion of the Province of Timneveli, and extended as far north as to the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Koimbatur gap. Its western boundary was formed by the southern range of the Ghâts, called by Ptolemy Mount Bêttigô, and it had a sea-board on the east, which extended for some distance along the Sinus Orgâlicus, or what is now called Palk’s Passage.

The Author of the *Periplôs* however, assigns it wider limits, as he mentions that Nelkyndu, which lay on the Malabar Coast, as well as the pearl-fishery at Kolkko, both belonged to the Kingdom of Pandion. The kingdom was so called from the heroic family of the Pândya, which obtained sovereign power in many different parts of India. The Capital, called Madura, both by Pliny and by our author, was situated in the interior. Madura is but the Tamil manner of pronouncing the Sanskrit Mathurâ, which also designated the sacred city on the Jâmna famous as the birthplace and the scene of the exploits of Krishna, who assisted the Pândyas in their war with the Kurus. The city to this day retains its ancient name, and thus bears, so to speak, living testimony to the fact that the Aryans of Northern India had in early times under Pândya leaders established their power in the most southern parts of the Peninsula.

The Orgâlic Gulf lay beyond the Kolkkie Gulf, from which it was separated by the Island of Râmévaram and the string of shoals and small islands which almost connect Ceylon with the mainland...It derived its name from Argalou, a place mentioned in the *Periplôs* as lying inland and celebrated for a manufacture of muslin adorned with small pearls. The northern termination of the Gulf was formed by Cape Kalimîr.

Cape Köry:—Ptolemy makes Köry and Kalligikon to be one and the same cape. They are however distinct, Köry being the headland which bounded the Orgâlic Gulf on the south, and Kalligikon being Point Kalimîr, which bounded it on the north. The curvature of this Gulf was called by the Hindo Râmâdhanû, or ‘Râmâ’s bow,’ and each end of the bow Dhanû-kôti or simply Kôti. The Sanskrit word kôti (which means ‘end, tip or corner’) becomes in Tamil kôti, and this naturally takes the form of Köry or Köry. The southern Köti, which was very famous in Indian story, was formed by the long spit of land which the Island of Râmévaram terminates. It is remarkable, as Caldwell remarks, that the Portuguese, without knowing anything of the Köry of the Greeks, called the same spit of land Cape Ramancorum. Ptolemy’s identification of Cape Köry with Kalligikon or Point Kalimîr is readily
explained by the fact just stated that each of these projections was called Kōṭi.

This word Kōṭi takes another form in Greek and Latin besides that of Kōry, viz., Kōlis, the name by which Pomponius Mela and Dionysaios Periegetēs (v. 1148) designate Southern India. The promontory is called Colicum by Pliny, who describes it as the projection of India nearest Ceylon, from which it was separated by a narrow coral sea. Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 14) quoting Ouēsikrites, speaks of Taprobane as distant from the most southern parts of India, which are opposite the Kōniakoi, 7 days' sail towards the south. For Kōniakoi the reading Kōllakoi has been with reason suggested.

Ptolemy, like the author of the Periplus and other writers, regarded Cape Kōry as the most important projection of India towards the south, and as a well-established point from which the distances of other places might conveniently be calculated. He placed it in 125 degrees of E longitude from Ferro, and at 120 degrees east of the mouth of the River Bati in Spain from which, however, its distance is only 86½ degrees. Its latitude is 9° 20' N. and that of Cape Comorin 8° 5', but Ptolemy makes the difference in latitude to be only 10'.

The identity of Kalligikon with Point Kalimār has already been pointed out. Calimere is a corrupt form of the Tamil compound Kallimeju, Euphorbias esenincus, and so the first part of the Greek name exactly coincides with the Tamil Kallī, which means the Euphorbia plant, or perhaps a kind of cactus. Pliny mentions a projection on the side of India we are now considering which he calls Calingon, and which the similarity of name has led some to identify with Kalligikon, and therefore with Point Kalimār. It seems better, however, taking into account other considerations which we need not here specify, to identify this projection with Point Gōlāvarī.

Before concluding this notice we may point out how Ptolemy has represented the general configuration of the eastern coast beyond the Organic Gulf. His views here are almost as erroneous as those he entertained concerning the west coast, which, it will be remembered, he did not carry southward to Cape Comorin, but made to terminate at the point of Simylla, thus effacing from the Map of India the whole of the Peninsula. The actual direction of the east coast from point Kalimār is first due north as far as the mouths of the Kriānā, and thereafter north-east up to the very head of the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy, however, makes this coast run first towards the south-east, and this for a distance of upwards of 600 miles as far as Paloura, a place of which the site has been fixed with certainty as lying near the southern border of Katak, about 5 or 6 miles above Ganjam. Ptolemy places it at the extremity of a vast peninsula, having for one of its sides the long stretch of coast just mentioned, and he regards it also as marking the point from which the Gangetic Gulf begins. The coast of this gulf is made to run at first with an inclination to westward, so that it forms at its outlet the other side of the peninsula. Its curvature is then to the north-east, as far as to the most eastern mouth of the Ganges, and thence its direction is to the south-east till it terminates at the cape near Tāmūla, now called Cape Negrais, the south-west projection of Pegu.

Nikama, the Metropolis ..........128° 16°
Thelkheir .............................................127° 10' 10"
Kouroula, a town ..........128° 16°

13. In Paralia specially so called: the country of the Tōringoi.
Mouth of the River Khabēros 129° 15° 15'
Khabēris, an emporium ..........128° 30' 15° 40'
Sabouras, an emporium ..........130° 14° 30'

The Batōi occupied the district extending from the neighbourhood of Point Kalimār to the southern mouth of the River Kāvērī and corresponding roughly with the Province of Tanjore.

Nikama, the capital, has been identified with Nagapatam (Nāgapaṭṭalam) by Yule, who also identifies (but doubtfully) Thelkheir with Nagor and Kouroula with Karikal.

Paralia, as a Greek word, designated generally any maritime district, but as applied in India it designated exclusively (i.e.) the seaboard of the Tōringoi. Our author is here at variance with the Periplus, which has a Paralia extending from the Red Cliffs near Quilon to the Pearl-Fishery at the Kolchōi, and comprising therefrom the coast-lines of the Aōi and the Kareoi. "This Paralia," says Yule, "is no doubt Faralai, an old name of Travankor, from which the Bāja has a title Puraliān, 'Lord of Purala.' But the "insatiable striving after meaning" which so often modifies the form of words, converted this into the Greek Pulaia, 'the coast.' Dr. Caldwell however inclines rather to think that Paralia may possibly have corresponded to the native word meaning coast, viz. karei.

In sec. 91, where Ptolemy gives the list of the inland towns of the Tōringoi, he calls them the Sōrātai, mentioning that their capital was Olothoura, where the king, whose name was Sōrmagos, reigned. In sec. 68 again he mentions the Sōrāi as a race of nomads whose capital was Sōra where
their king, called Araktos, resided. Caldwell has pointed out the identity of the different names used to designate this people. *Sōra,* he says, "which we meet alone and in various combinations in these (Ptolemy's) notices represents the name of the northern portion of the Tamilian nation. This name is Chōla in Sanskrit, Chōla in Telugu, but in Tamil Sōra or Chōra. The accuracy with regard to the name of the people is remarkable, for in Tamil they appear not only as Sōras, but also as Sōragas and Sōriyas, and even as Sōringas. Their country also is called Sōragam. The *r* of the Tamil word Sōra is a peculiar sound not contained in Telugu, in which it is generally represented by *r* or *l.* The transliteration of this letter as *r* seems to show that then, as now, the use of this peculiar *r* was a dialectic peculiarity of Tamil."

The River Khābēros is the Kāvērī. Kāvērī is the Sanskrit word for *saffron.* Kāvērī, according to a legend in the Hariśenās, was changed by her father's curse from one-half of the Gangā into the river which bears her name, and which was therefore also called Ardha-gangā, i.e., half-gangā. Karoura, the residence of the Chera king, was upon this river.

Dr. Burnell identified Khābēris with Kāvēripāṭṭam (Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 40) which lies a little to the north of Trānquebar (Tal-langambadi) at the mouth of the Pudu-Kāvēri (New Kāvērī).

Sabouras:—This mart Yule refers doubtfully to Gadulur (Cuddalore) near the mouth of the S. Penn-ār River.


Pōdoukē, an emporium ..........130° 15′ 14° 30′
Melongē, an emporium ..........131° 14° 20′
Mouth of the River Tyana ..........131° 40′ 12° 45′
Kottis ..........132° 20′ 12° 10′
Manarpha (or Manaliarpha, a mart) ..........133° 10′ 12′

15. Maisōlia.

Mouth of the River Maisōlos 134° 11° 40′
Kontakossylia, a mart ..........134° 30′ 11° 40′
Koddoura ..........135° 11° 30′
Allosyngē, a mart ..........133° 40′ 11° 20′
The point of departure (aphetérioν) for ships bound for
Khrysō ..........136° 20′ — 11°

The territory of the Aronarnoi (Arvarnoi) was permeated by the River Tyana, and extended northward to Maisōlia, the region watered by the River Maisōlos in the lower parts of its course. Opinions differ with regard to the identification of these two rivers, and consequently also of the places mentioned in connection with them. Some of the older commentators, followed by Yule, take the Tyana to be the Pināka or Penn-ār River and the Maisōlos, the Krishnā. Lassen again, and recent writers generally, identify the Tyana with the Krishnā and the Maisōlos with the Gōdvārī. To the former theory there is the objection that if the Gōdvārī be not the Maisōlos, that most important of all the rivers on this coast is left unnoticed, and Lassen accordingly asks why should the small Penn-ār appear and the great Gōdvārī be omitted. To this Yule rejoins, "We cannot say why; but it is a curious fact that in many maps of the 16th and 17th and even of the 18th century the Gōdvārī continues to be omitted altogether. A beautiful map in Valentiān (Vol. V), shows Gōdvārī only as a river of small moment, under a local name." He argues further that the name Tynna if applied to the Krishnā is unaccounted for. As identified with the Penn-ār or Pināka, TYNNA is an easy error for YNNA.

Pōdoukē:—This mart is mentioned in the Periplōs along with Kamara and Sōpatma as ports to which merchants from Lūnyirkē and the north were wont to resort. According to Böhlen, Ritter and Benley, it is Puduchēri (Pondicherry). Lassen and Yule agree, however, in placing it at Pulikāt, which is nearly two degrees further north.

In Yule's map Melangō is placed at Krishnapatam, a little to the south of the North Penn-ār River, which as we have seen, he identifies with the Tyana. Its name closely approximates to that of the capital Malanga, and hence Cunningham, who takes the Maisōlos to be the Gōdvārī, and who locates Malanga in the neighbourhood of Elur, identifies Melangō with Bandar Malanka (near one of the Gōdvārī mouths) which he assumes to have been so called from its being the port (bandor) with which the capital that lay in the interior communicated with the sea. See Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 139-40.

Mānarpha (or Manaliarpha):—This mart lay at the mouth of a river which still preserves traces of its name, being called the Manāra. Kottis lay not very far to the north of it.

Maiasōlia is the name of the coast between the Krishnā and the Gōdvārī, and onward thence to the neighbourhood of Puloura. It is the Massalia of the Periplōs which describes it as the sea-board of a country extending far inland, and noted for the manufacture, in immense quantities, of the finer kinds of cotton fabrics. The name is preserved in Masalipaṭṭam, which has been corrupted for the sake of meaning into Machilipatam, which means fish-town. The Metropolis called Pityna was seated in the interior.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Manada</td>
<td>137°15'</td>
<td>14°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottobara</td>
<td>137°40'</td>
<td>14°40'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sippara</td>
<td>138°30'</td>
<td>16°</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Tyndis</td>
<td>138°30'</td>
<td>16°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapoura</td>
<td>139°</td>
<td>16°30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minagar</td>
<td>140°</td>
<td>17°15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the Dōsarōn</td>
<td>141°</td>
<td>17°40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōkala</td>
<td>142°</td>
<td>18°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth of the River Adamas</td>
<td>142°40'</td>
<td>18°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosamba or Kōsaba</td>
<td>143°30'</td>
<td>18°15'</td>
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**Paloura:**—Ptolemy, as we have seen, placed this town at the extremity of a great peninsula projecting to the south-east, which had no existence however, except in his own imagination. The following passage, quoted by Yule from Linschoten, shows that the name of Paloura survived till modern times, and indicates at the same time where its site is to be looked for:—

"From the river of Paucota to another called Palnor or Palura, a distance of 12 leages, you run along the coast with a course from S. W. to E. Above this last river is a high mountain called Serra de Palura, the highest mountain on the coast. This river is in 19°20'." The Palura River must be the river of Ganjām, the latitude of which is at its mouth 19°20'. Ptolemy fixes at Paloura the beginning of the Gangetic Gulf.

**Nanigainā** may perhaps be placed at Puri, famous for the temple of Jagannātha Kaṭikardama.

The first part of the name points to the identification of this place with Kaṭak, the capital of Orissa.

**Kannagara:**—There can be little doubt that we have here the Kanarak of modern times, called also the Black Pagoda.

**Mouth of the Manada:**—Ptolemy enumerates four rivers which enter the Gulf between Kannagara and the western mouth of the Ganges, the Manada, the Tyndis, the Dōsarōn, and the Adamas. These would seem to be identical respectively with the four great rivers belonging to this part of the coast which succeed each other in the following order:—The Mahānādi, the Brīhmaṇi, the Vaitaraṇi and the Suvarṇarēkha, and this is the mode of identification which Lassen has adopted. With regard to the Manada there can be no doubt that it is the Mahānādi, the great river of Orissa at the bifurcation of which Kaṭak the capital is situated. The name is a Sanskrit compound, meaning 'great river.' Yule differs from Lassen with regard to the other identifications, making the Tyndis one of the branches of the Mahānādi, the Dōsarōn,—the Brīhmaṇi, the Adamas,—the Vaitaraṇi, and the Kanbyson (which is Ptolemy's western mouth of the Ganges)—the Suvarṇarēkha.
The Dōsarōn is the river of the region inhabited by the Daśānas, a people mentioned in the Vishnuparīṇa as belonging to the south-east of Madhya-dēsā in juxta-position to the Sabaras, or Suara. The word is supposed to be from dasān 'ten,' and rinā 'a fort,' and so to mean the 'ten forts.'

Adamus is a Greek word meaning diamond. The true Adamas, Yule observes, was in all probability the Sank branch of the Brāhmaṇī, from which diamonds were got in the days of Mogul splendour.

Sippara:—The name is taken by Yule as representing the Sanskrit Śūṇḍāraka. Pāra in Sanskrit means 'the further shore or opposite bank of a river.'

Minagara:—The same authority identifies this with Jajhpūr. In Arrowsmith's map I find, however, a small place marked, having a name almost identical with the Greek, Mungrapūr, situated at some distance from Jajhpūr and nearer the sea.

Kōsambā is placed by Yule at Balasbūr, but by Lassen at the mouth of the Subārunākhā which, as we have seen, he identifies with the Adamas. There was a famous city of the same name, Kansāmbī, in the north-west of India, on the River Jamnā, which became the Pāṇḍūrī capital after. Hastināpura had been swept away by the Ganges, and which was noted as the shrine of the most sacred of all the statues of Buddha. It is mentioned in the Rāmāyana, the Mahāvamsa, and the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. It may thus be reasonably concluded that Kōsambā of Ptolemy was a seat of Buddhism established by propagandists of that faith who came from Kausābā.

The Kambysen mouth, the most western..........................144° 30' 18° 15' Poloura, a town .......................145° 18° 30'
The second mouth, called Mega..........................145° 45' 18° 30'
The third called Kambarikholon..........................146° 30' 18° 40'
Tilogrammon, a town ......................147° 20' 18°
The fourth mouth, Pseudomon..........................147° 40' 18° 30'
The fifth month, Antibolé ....................148° 30' 18° 15'

Ptolemy appears to have been the first writer who gave to the western world any definite information concerning that part of the Bengal Coast which receives the waters of the Ganges. His predecessors had indeed excelled him in the fullness and accuracy with which they had described the general course of the river, but they did not know, except in the very vaguest way, either where or how it entered the sea. Strabo, for instance, was not even aware that it had more than a single mouth. Ptolemy, on the other hand, mentions by name five of its mouths, and his estimate of the distance between the most western and the most eastern of these (4 degrees of latitude) is not very wide of the mark. Some traces also of his nomenclature are still to be found. It is difficult, however, to identify the mouths he has named with those now existing, as the Ganges, like the Indus, has shifted some of its channels, and otherwise altered the hydrography of its delta. Opinions differ regarding the western mouth, called the Kambysen. One would naturally take it to be the Hugli river, on which Calcutta stands, and V. de Saint-Martin accordingly adopts this identification. It is impossible to doubt, he says, that the Kambysen is the Hugli river, which must have been at all times one of the principal outlets, as is proved historically by the mention of Tāmulipāta, 600 years before our era, as one of the most frequented ports of Eastern India. It would be possible enough, he continues, that below Diamond Point, the principal channel, instead of passing as now in front of Kalpi remounted to the west in front of Tamul (the ancient Tāmulipāta) by the mouth of Tongoreally, and came thus to touch at a locality of which the actual name Nungabaisan recalls that of Kambysen or Kambusan. Wilford and Yule, on the other hand, agree in identifying the Kambysen with the Subārunākhā river, which was formerly but erroneously supposed to be a branch of the Ganges, and they are thus free to take the Hugli river as representing the second mouth called by Ptolemy the Mega, the Greek word for 'great.' Saint-Martin identifies this estuary with the River Matlā to which in recent years an attempt was made to divert the commerce of Calcutta, in consequence of the dangers attending the navigation of the Hugli. With regard to the Kambrikholon, or third mouth, there is no difference of opinion. "It answers," says Saint-Martin, "to the Barbāngā, a still important estuary, which receives the river of Kobbadak (or rather Kobbarak), which traverses the whole extent of the delta. The Khudhraw Somada is a modern treatise of Sanskrit Geography, which Wilford has often quoted in his Memoir on the Ancient Geography of the Gangetic basin, calls this river Komārakā. Here the Kambarikhon of the Greek navigators is easily recognized." The fourth mouth was called Pseudomon, that is, 'false mouth,' because it lay concealed behind numerous islands, and was often mistaken for the easternmost mouth
of the Ganges. This Ptolemy calls *Antibolō*, a name which has not yet been explained. It is the Dhakka or old Ganges river, and seems to have been the limit of India and the point from which measurements and distances relating to countries in India were frequently made.

In connexion with the river-mouths Ptolemy mentions two towns, *Poloura* and *Tilogrammon*. The former is placed in Yule's map at Jelasur, near the Subanrēkhā, and the latter at Jesor. Its name seems to be compounded of the two Sanskrit words *tila*, 'sesamum,' and *grāma* 'a village or township.'

Ptolemy having thus described the whole sea-coast of India, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges, gives next a list of its mountain ranges, together with figures of Latitude and Longitude, showing the limits of the length of each range as well as the direction.

19. The mountains belonging to Intra-gangetic India are named as follows:—

The Apokopa, called *Poini Thēōn*, which extends from Long. 116° to 124° and from Lat. 23° at their western limit to 26° at the eastern.

20. Mount Sārdonyx, in which is found the precious stone of the same name, and whose middle point is in Long. 117° and Lat. 21°.

21. Mount Ouindion (Vindhyā) which extends from 126° to 135°, and preserves from its western to its eastern limit a uniform latitude of 27°.

Ptolemy enumerates seven of these, probably following some native list framed in accordance with the native idea that seven principal mountains existed in each division of a continent. A *Paurāṇik* list gives us the names of the seven which pertained to India, Mahākāra, Malayā, Sahya, Saktimat, Riksha, Vindhyā, and Pāriyātra. This can hardly be the list which Ptolemy used, as only two of his names appear in it, Ouxentōn (—) Riksha, and Oumindion (—) Vindhyā. As his views of the configuration of India were so wide of the mark, his mountain ranges are of course hopelessly out of position, and the latitudes and longitudes assigned to them in the tables afford no clues to their identification. Some help however towards this, as Yule points out, lies in the river-sources ascribed to each, which were almost certainly copied from native lists, in which notices of that particular are often to be found.

The *Apokopa*, or 'punishment' of the 'gods':—There is a consensus of the authorities in referring the range thus named to the Aravalli mountains. Mount Arbuda (Abu) which is by far the most conspicuous summit, is one of the sacred hills of India. It was mentioned by Megasthenes in a passage which has been preserved by Pliny (N.H. lib. VI, c. xxi) who calls it Mons Capitalis, i.e. the 'Mount of Capital Punishment,' a name which has an obvious relation to the by-name which Ptolemy gives it, 'the punishment of the gods.' The word *apokopa* is of Greek origin, and means primarily 'what has been cut off,' and is therefore used to denote 'a cleft,' 'a clift,' 'a steep hill.' It occurs in the *Periplūs* (sec. 15) where it designates a range of precipitous hills running along the coast of Azania, i.e. of Ajan in Africa. Its Sanskrit equivalent may have been given as a name to Mount Arbuda because of its having been at some time rent by an earthquake. In point of fact the *Mahābhrātā* has preserved a tradition to the effect that a cleft (chhīdha) had here been made in the earth: Snob an alarming phenomenon as the cleaving of a mountain by an earthquake would naturally in superstitious times be ascribed to the anger of the gods, bent on punishing thereby some heinous crime. (See Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 121-2).

Mount Sārdonyx is a short range, a branch of the Vindhyā, now called Sātpura, lying between the Narmāḍa and the Tāpā; it is mentioned by Kēśia (frag. 8) under the name of Mount Sardous. It has mines of the carnelian stone, of which the sardian is a species. The *Periplūs* (sec. 49) notices that onyx-stones were imported into Barygāza from the interior of the country, and that they were also among the articles which it exported.

Mount Ouiindion:—This is a correct transliteration of *Vindhyā*, the native name of the extensive range which connects the northern extremities of the Western and Eastern Ghāṭās, and which separates Hindūstān proper—the Madhya-dēśa or middle region, regarded as the sacred land of the Hindūs—from the Dekhan. Ptolemy, as Lassen remarks (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 120), is the only geographer of classical antiquity in whose writings the indigenous name of this far-spread range is to be found. His Vindhyā however does not embrace the whole of the Vindhyā system, but only the portion which lies to the west of the sources of the Sūn. Sanskrit writers speak of the Vindhyās as a family of mountains. They extended from Baroda to Mirzapur, and were continued thence to Chumar.

22. Bōttigō, which extends from 123° to 130°, and whose western limit is in Lat. 21° and its eastern in 27°.

23. Adēsaṭhrens, whose middle point is in Long. 182° and in Lat. 23°.

24. Ouxentōn, which extends from 136° to 143°, and whose western limit is in Lat. 22° and its eastern in 24°.
25. The Orouedian Mountains, which extend from 135° to 133°, and whose eastern limit is in 18° lat. and its western 16°.

Mount Béttigó:—As the rivers which have their sources in this range—the Pseudoatomos, the Baris, and the Sólus or Támaraparn, all belong to South Malabar, there can be no doubt that Béttigó denotes the southern portion of the Western Gháta extending from the Koimbatur gap to Cape Comorin—called Málây in the Paudshik list already quoted. One of the summits of this range, famous in Indian mythology as the abode of the Rishi Agastya, bears the name in Tamíl of Podigei, or as it is pronounced Podihegi. It is visible from the mouth of the Támaraparn, which has its sources in it, and from Kolkhói, and the Greeks who visited those parts, and had the mountain pointed out to them would no doubt apply the name by which they heard it called to the whole range connected with it. (See Caldwell’s Dravid. Gram. Introductory p. 101).

Adeisathron:—If we take Ptolemy’s figures as our guide here, we must identify this range with the chain of hills which Lassen describes in the following passage:—“Of the mountain system of the Dekhan Ptolemy had formed an erroneous conception, since he represented the chain of the Western Gháta as protruded into the interior of the country, instead of lying near to the western coast with which it runs parallel, and he was misled thereby into shortening the courses of the rivers which rise in the Western Gháta. The chain which he calls Adeisathron begins in the neighbourhood of Nágpur and stretches southward to the east of the rivers Wain + Gangá and Pranná, separates the Gódávari from the Krishná, and comes to an end at the sources of the Kávéri. This view of his meaning is confirmed by the fact that he locates the two cities Baitana or Prawináthána which lies to the east of the Western Gháta, on the Gódávari, and Tagara both to the west of Adeisathron. He was led into this misrepresentation partly through the incompleteness and insufficiency of the accounts which he used, and partly through the circumstance that the Eastern Gháta does not consist of a single chain, but of several parallel chains, and that to the south of the sources of the Kávéri the Eastern Gháta is connected with the Western Gháta through the Nilgiri Mountains. The name Adeisathron, one sees, can only refer to the West Gháta in which the Kávéri rises.” (Ind. Alt. vol. III, pp. 162-3).

He had no real clue to the locality of the Sahyádri, but found what he took for the same name (Adisathra) applied to a city in the heart of India, and there he located the range.” Adeisathron must therefore be taken to denote properly that section of the Western Gháta which is immediately to the north of the Koimbatur Gap, as it is there the Kávéri rises. The origin of the name Adeisathron will be afterwards pointed out.

Ouxenton designates the Eastern continuation of the Vindhyas. All the authorities are at one in referring it to the mountainous regions south of the Són, included in Chhúntí Nágpá, Rámgarh, Sirgújá, &c. Ptolemy places its western extremity at the distance of one degree from the eastern extremity of the Vindhyas. The rivers which have their sources in the range are the Tándis, the Désárun, the Adamás and an unnamed tributary of the Ganges. The name itself represents the Sanskrit Ríkshavant, which however did not designate the Eastern Vindhyas, but a large district of the central. This difference in the application of the names need not invalidate the supposition of their identity. The authors whom Ptolemy consulted may have misled him by some inaccuracy in their statements, or the Hindás themselves may have intended the name of Ríkshavant to include localities further eastward than those which it primarily denoted. Ríksha means ‘a bear,’ and is no doubt connected with the Greek word of the same meaning, árktos.

The Orouedian Mountains:—“This we take,” says Yule, “to be the Vaidyára just mentioned, as the northern section of the Western Gháta, though Ptolemy has entirely misconceived its position. We conceive that he found in the Indian lists that the great rivers of the eastern or Maesoian Coast rose in the Vaidyára, and having no other clue he places the Oródia (which seems to be a mere metathesis of Òrdýra for Vaidyára) near and parallel to that coast. Hence Lassen and others (all, as far is known) identify these Orouedian Mountains with those that actually exist above Kalinga. This corresponds better, no doubt, with the position which Ptolemy has assigned. But it is not our business to map Ptolemy’s errors; he has done that for himself; we have to show the real meaning and application of the names which he used, whatever false views he may have had about them.”

26. The rivers which flow from Mount Ímao into the Indus are arranged as follows:—

Sources of River Ká: 120° 37°
Sources of the River Souastos 122° 30’ 36°
Sources of the River Indus 125° 37°
Sources of the River Bideśpās ........................................ 127° 30' 36° 40'
Sources of the River Sandabal 129° 36°
Sources of the River Adivis
or Rouadis ........................................... 130° 37°
Sources of the River Bidasūr ................................ 131° 35° 30'

Regarding the origin and meaning of the name Indus, says Max Müller (India, what it can teach us): "In the Vedas we have a number of names of the rivers of India as they were known to one single poet, say about 1000 B.C. We then hear nothing of India till we come to the days of Alexander, and when we look at the names of the Indian rivers represented by Alexander's companions in India, we recognize without much difficulty nearly all of the old Vedic names. In this respect the names of rivers have a great advantage over the names of towns in India. I do not wonder so much at the names of the Indus and the Ganges being the same. The Indus was known to early traders, whether by sea or land. Skylax sailed from the country of the Paktys, i.e. the Pushtras, as the Afghans still call themselves, down to the mouth of the Indus. That was under Darius Hydaspēs (B.C. 521-486). Even before that time India and the Indians were known by their name, which was derived from Sindhu, the name of their frontier river. The neighbouring tribes who spoke Iranian languages all pronounced, like the Persian, the s as an h (Pliney, lib. VI, c. 7). Indus incolis Sindus appellatus. Thus Sindhu became Hindhu (Hidhu) and as h's were dropped, even at that early time, Hindhu became Indu. Thus the river was called Indus, the people Indoi by the Greeks, who first heard of India from the Persians. Sindhu probably meant originally the disector, keeper and defender, from sīkh to keep off. No more telling name could have been given to a broad river, which guarded peaceful settlers both against the inroads of hostile tribes and the attacks of wild animals... Though Sindhu was used as an appellative noun for river in general, it remained throughout the whole history of India, the name of its powerful guardian river, the Indus." For a full discussion of the origin of the name I may refer the reader to Benfey's Indus, pp. 1—2, in the Encyclopaedia of Erasmus and Grüber.

The Indus being subject to periodic inundations, more or less violent, has from time to time undergone considerable changes. As has been already indicated it not unfrequently shifts the channels

by which it enters the sea, and in the upper part of its course it would seem to be scarcely less capricious. Thus while at the time of the Macedonian invasion it bifurcated above Aror, the capital of the Sogdian, to run for about the distance of 2 degrees in two beds which enclosed between them the large island called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. 23) Prasaikō, the Prājuna of the inscription on the Allahabad column, it now runs at that part in a single stream, having forsaken the eastern bed, and left thereby the once flourishing country through which it flowed a complete desert.

In his description of the Indus, Ptolemy has fallen into error on some important points. In the first place, he represents it as rising among the mountains of the country of the Daradrae to the east of the Paropamisos, and as flowing from its sources in a southward direction. Its true birthplace is, however, in a much more southern latitude, viz., in Tibet, near the sources of the Satlaj, on the north side of Mount Kailasa, famous in Indian mythology as the dwelling-place of Kuvera and as the paradise of Sīra, and its initial direction is towards the north-west, till it approaches the frontiers of Badakshān, where it turns sharply southward. Ptolemy does not stand alone in making this mistake, for Arrian places the sources in the lower spurs of the Paropamisos, and he is here at one with Mela (lib. III, c. vii, 6), Strabo (lib. XV, c. ii, 8) Curtius (lib. VIII, c. ix, 3) and other ancient writers. In fact, it was not ascertained until modern times whence the Indus actually came. His next error has reference to the length of the Indus valley as measured from the mouth of the Indus to its point of junction with the Kābul river. This he makes to be 11 degrees, while in point of fact it is somewhat less than 10. This error is, however, trivial as compared with the next by which the junction of the Indus with the united stream of the Panjāb rivers is made to take place at the distance of only one degree below its junction with the Kābul river, instead of at the distance of 6 degrees or halfway between the upper junction and the sea. This egregious error not only vitiates the whole of his delineation of the river system of the Panjāb, but as it exaggerates by more than 300 miles the distance between the lower junction and the sea, it obscures and confuses all his geography of the Indus valley, and so dislocates the positions named in his tables, that they can only in a few exceptional cases be identified. 22

22 "It is hard enough," says Major-General Haig, "to have to contend with the vagueness, inconsistencies and contradictions of the old writers; but these are nothing compared with the obstacles which the physical characteristics of the country itself oppose to the enquirer. For ages the Indus has been pushing its bed across the valley from east to west, generally by the gradual process of erosion, which effectually wipes out every trace of town and village on its banks; but at times also by a more or less sudden shifting of its waters into entirely new channels, leaving large tracts of country to go to waste, and forcing the inhabitants of many a..."
All the large tributaries of the Indus, with the exception of the Kābul river, join it on its left or eastern side. Their number is stated by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 33) and by Arrian (lib. V, c. vii) to be 15, but by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx, 23) to be 19. The most of them are mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig Veda (X, 75) of which the following passages are the most pertinent to our subject:—

1. "Each set of seven [streams] has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity.

2. Varuṇa hollowed out the channels of thy course, O Sindhu, when thou didst rush to thy contostia. Thou flowest from [the heights of] the earth, over a downward slope, when thou leasest the van of those streams.

4. To thee, O Sindhu, the [other streams] rush... Like a warrior king [is the centre of his army] thou leasest the two wings of thy host when thou strangest forward to the van of these torrents.

5. Receive favourably this my hymn, O Gaṅghā, Yamunā, Sarasvati, Śūtudri, Parashni; hear, O Marudvīḍhā, with the Asiknī, and Vītāṣa, and thou Arjiklyā with the Sushōmā.

6. Unite first in thy course with the Triśūya, the Sascītā, the Rāṣā and the Śvēti; thou meetest the Gomati, and the Kraun, with the Kukkā, and the Meiṣṭā, and with them are born onward as on the same car." (See Journ. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. XV, pp. 359-60).

As Ptolemy makes the Kāa join the Indus, it must be identified with the Kābūl river, the only large affluent which the Indus receives from the west. Other classical writers call it the Kophē or Kophēs, in accordance with its Sanskrit name the Kukkā. Ptolemy's name, it must however be noted, is not applicable to the Kābūl river throughout its whole course, but only after it has been joined by the River Kāmah, otherwise called the Kukkā. This river, which is inferior neither in size nor in length to the arm which comes from Kābūl, is regarded as the main stream by the natives of the country, who call the course of the united streams either the Kāmah or the Kukkā indifferently, as far as the entrance into the plain of Peshāwar. The Kāmah has its sources high up in the north at the foot of the plateau of Pāmr, not far from the sources of the Oxus, and this suits Ptolemy's description of the Kēa as a river which has its sources in the eastern extremity of Paropamisos, and which joins the Indus after receiving the Souastos or the river of Swāt. Köa is very probably a curtailed form of the name. The Persians appear to have called it the Khosapē, that being the name of the river on which Susa, their capital city, stood. Under this name it is mentioned by Aristotle (Meteorolog. lib. I, c. xiii), who lived long enough to enter in his later writings some of the new knowledge which the expedition of this illustrious pupil had opened up regarding Eastern Countries. It is mentioned also by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 28) who followed here the authority of Aristoboulos, one of the companions and one of the historians of the expedition of Alexander, and by Curtius (lib. VIII, c. x.), Strabo l. c. states that it joins the Köpha near Phlyerion, after passing by another city Gorys, in its course through Bandobēnā and Gāndaritā. The Köa of Ptolemy is not to be confounded with the Köpha of Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxii, 2), which must be identified with a river joining the Köpha higher up its course, viz. that which is formed by the junction of the Alishang and the Ailingar. The Eusaspē of the latter writer (lib. IV, c. xxiv, 1) is probably only an altered form of Khosapē.

The identification of the Köpha and its numerous affluents has been a subject that has much exercised the pens of the learned. They are now unanimous in taking the Köpha to be the Kābūl river but there are still some important points on which they differ. In the foregoing notice I have, adopted as preferable the views of Saint-Martín (Étude, pp. 26-34); Conf. Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. III, pp. 127-8; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, pp. 183-188; Benfey's Indien, pp. 44-46; Cunningham, Geog. of Anc. India, pp. 37-38.

Souastos:—All the authorities are at one in identifying the Souastos with the Swāt river—the principal tributary of the Landai or river of Pañjakora (the Gaur of Sanskrit), which is the last of the great affluents that the Kābūl river receives from the east before it falls into the Indus. The Souastos, though a small stream, is yet of old renown, being the Śvēti of the Vedic hymn already quoted, and the Suvāstū of the Mahābhārata (VI, ix, 333), where it is mentioned in conjunction with the Gaur. Its name figures also in the list of Indian rivers which Arrian (Indika, sec. 4) has preserved from the lost work of Megasthenes. Here it is mentioned in conjunction with the Malamanatos and the Gauris, which latter is of course the Gauri. Arrian thus makes the Souastos and the Gauris to be different rivers, but in another passage of his works (Anab. lib. IV, 56) Populus place to abandon their old homes, and follow the river in search of new settlements... Perhaps the rippling stream will leave behind it vast quantities of drift-sand which is swept by the high winds over the surrounding country... where the explorer may search in vain for any record of the past. I have had, as an enquirer, experience of the difficulties here described." (J. R. A. S. N. S. vol. XVI, p. 281).

Bennell identified it with the Gomul and D'Anrilla with the Argandāb.
c. xxv.) he seems to have fallen into the mistake of making them identical. It is surprising, as Lassen has remarked, that Ptolemy should notice the Souastos, and yet say nothing about the Garoia, especially as he mentions the district of Goryaia, which is called after it, and as he must have known of its existence from the historians of Alexander. He has also, it may be noted, placed the sources of the Souastos too far north.

The five great rivers which watered the region of the Panjáb bear the following names in Ptolemy: Bidaspès, Sandabal, Adris or Rhonadis, Bibasis and Zaradros. This region in early times was called the country of the seven rivers—Sa'pta Sindh in Sanskrit, a name which, as Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out, belonged primarily to the seven head streams of the Oxus. As there were only five large streams in the locality in India to which the name was applied, the number was made up to seven by adding smaller affluents or lower branches of combined streams, to which new names were given. The Vedics Aryans, however, as Mr. Thomas remarks, could never satisfactorily make up the sacred seven without the aid of the comparatively insignificant Saravatī, a river which no longer exists. These rivers are notably erratic, having more than once changed their beds since Vedic times.

Bidaspès—This is now the Jhelum or river of Behat, the most western of the five rivers. It drains the whole of the valley of Kāsīmir, and empties into the Aksoneś or Chenāb. Ptolemy, however, calls their united stream the Bidaspès. By the natives of Kāsīmir it is called the Bīdāstā, which is but a slightly altered form of its Sanskrit name the Vīstā, meaning 'wide-spread.' The classical writers, with the sole exception of our author, call it the Hydaspès, which is not so close to the original as his Bidaspès. It was on the left bank of this river that Alexander defeated Pōros and built (on the battle-field) the city of Nikaiā in commemoration of his victory.

Sandabal is an evident mistake of the copyst for Sandabaga. The word in this corrected form is a close transliteration of Chandrabhāgā (lunae portio), one of the Sanskrit names of the River Chenāb. In the Vedic hymn which has been quoted it is called the Asiknī, 'dark-coloured,' whence the name given to it by the Greeks in Alexander's time, the Aksoneś. It is said that the followers of the great conqueror discerned an evil omen in the name of Chandrabhāgā on account of its near similarity to their own word Androphagos or Alexandria, 'devourer of Alexander' and hence preferred calling it by the more ancient of its two names. It is the largest of all the streams of the Paścîánada. Vigne says that Chandrabhāgā is the name of a small lake from which the river issues. Pliny has distorted the form Chandabaga into Cantabra or Cantaba (lib. VI, c. xxv). According to the historians of Alexander the confluence of this river with the Hydaspès produced dangerous rapids, with prodigious eddies and loud roaring waves, but according to Burne their accounts are greatly exaggerated. In Alexander's time the Aksoneś joined the Indus near Uchh, but the point of junction is now much lower down.

The Adris or Rhonadis is the Rāvī, a confluent of the Aksoneś, but according to Ptolemy of the Bidaspès. The name Rāvī is an abridged form of the Sanskrit Airavatī. It is called by Arrian (Anab. lib. VI, c. viii), the Hydraotēs, and by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 21) the Hyarēs. Arrian (Indik, sec 4) assigns it to three tributaries—the Hyphasis, the Saranges and Nendros. This is not quite correct, as the Hyphasis joins the Aksoneś below the junction of the Hydraotēs.

The Bibasis is the river now called the Beisoi, the Vijāsā of Sanskrit. This word "Vijāsā" means 'uncorded,' and the river is said to have been so called because it destroyed the cord with which the sage Vasishtha had intended to hang himself. It is called the Hyphasis by Arrian (Anab. lib. VI, c. viii), and Dio Cassius (lib. XVII, c. xiii), the Hyphasis by Pliny (lib. VII, c. xvii), 20) and Curtius (lib. IX, c. 4), and the Hyphasis by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 17) and some other writers. It falls into the Śatārū. It was the river which marked the limit of Alexander's advance into India.

27. Sources of the River
Zaradros .................. 122° 3° 30"
Confluence of the Kēś and
Indus ........................ 124° 3° 31"
Confluence of the Kēś and
Souastos ..................... 122° 3° 31° 40"
Confluence of the Zaradros
and Indus ........................ 124° 3° 30"
Confluence of the Zaradros
and Bibasis ...................... 125° 3° 30"
Confluence of the Zaradros
and Adris ....................... 126° 3° 31° 30"
Confluence of the Bibasis
and Adris ........................ 126° 4° 32° 40"
Confluence of the Bibasis
and Sandabal ................... 126° 4° 32° 40"

The Zaradros is the Satlaj, the most easterly of the five rivers. It is called in Sanskrit the Śatārū, i.e., flowing in a hundred (branches). Pliny (lib. VI, c. xvii) calls it the Iesysdus, Zaradros is another reading of the name in Ptolemy. The
Satlaj, before joining the Indus, receives the Chenab, and so all the waters of the Paoshamada.

With regard to the nomenclature and relative importance of the rivers of the Panjab, the following remarks of V. de Saint-Martin may be cited:

"As regards the Hyphasis, or more correctly the Hypasis, the extended application of this name till the stream approaches the Indus, is contrary to the notions which we draw from Sanskrit sources, according to which the Vipasa loses its name in the Satadru (Satlaj), a river which is otherwise of greater importance than the Vipasa. Nevertheless the assertion of our author by itself points to a local notion which is confirmed by a passage in the chronicles of Sind, where the name of the Beih which is the form of the Sanskrit Vipasa in Musalmans authors and in actual use, is equally applied to the lower course of the Satlaj till it unites with the Chenab not far from the Indus. Arrian, more exact here, or at least more circumstantial than Strabo and the other geographers, informs us that all the group of the Indus affluents the Akesines was the most considerable. It was the Akesines which carried to the Indus the combined waters of the Hydaspes, the Hydratès and of the Hyphasis, and each of these streams lost its name in uniting with the Akesines (Arr. Anab. lib. VI, c. v). This view of the general hydrography of the Panjab is in entire agreement with facts, and with the actual nomenclature. It is correctly recognized that the Chenab is in effect the most considerable stream of the Panjab, and its name successively absorbs the names of the Jhelam, the Ravi, and the Gharra or lower Satlaj, before its junction with the Indus opposite Mithankot. Ptolemy here differs from Arrian and the current ideas on the subject. With him it is not the Akesines (or, as he calls it, the Sandabala for Sandabaga) which carries to the Indus the waters of the Panjab. It is the Bidaspa (Vitasta). Ptolemy departs again in another point from the nomenclature of the historians who preceded him in applying to the Gharra or lower Satlaj the name of Zadaros, and not, as did Arrian that of Hyphasis. Zadaros is the Satudri or Satadru of the Sanskrit nomenclature, a name which common usage since the Musalmans ascendancy has strangely disfigured into Satlaj. No mention is made of this river in the memoirs relating to the expedition of Alexander, and Megasthenes, it would appear, was the first who made its existence known. The application moreover of the two names of Zadaros and Bibasis to the united current of the Satadru and the Vipasa is justified by the usage equally variable of the natives along the banks, while in the ancient Sanskrit writings the Satadru goes, as in Ptolemy, to join the Indus. It may be added that certain particularities in the texts of Arrian and Ptolemy suggest the idea that formerly several arms of the Hyphasis existed which went to join, it may be, the Hydratès, or, it may be, the lower Akoses above the principal confluent of the Hyphasis, an idea which the actual examination of the locality appears to confirm. This point merits attention because the obscurities or apparent contradictions in the text of the two authors would here find an easy explanation" (pp. 129-131, also pp. 396-402).

Junction of the Kōa and Indus:—Ptolemy fixes the point of junction in latitude 31°, but the real latitude is 33° 54′. Here the Indus is 872 miles distant from its source, and 342 miles from the sea. The confluence takes place amidst numerous rocks and is therefore turbulent and attended with great noise.

Junction of the Zaradros and Indus:—Ptolemy fixes this great junction in latitude 30°, the real latitude being however 25° 55′. It takes place about 3 miles below Mi坦克ot, at a distance of about 490 miles below the junction with the Kābul River.

Divagation of the Indus towards Mt. Vindion:—The Indus below its junction with the Kābul river frequently throws out branches (e.g. the Nara) which join it again before reaching the sea, and to such branches Ptolemy gives the name of ἐκπορευόμεν. "It is doubtful," Saint-Martin observes, "whether Ptolemy had formed quite a clear idea of this configuration of the valley, and had always distinguished properly the affluents from the branches. Thus one does not quite precisely see what he means by the expression which he frequently employs ἡ παρά ὑπό ἐκπορευόμενη. What he designates thereby must be undoubtedly the streams or currents which descend from the lateral region, and which come to lose themselves in the branches of the river. But the expression, which is familiar to him, is not the less ambiguous and altogether improper" (p. 335 n.). The branch here mentioned, Lassen (Ind. Ant. vol. III, pp. 121, 129) takes to be the Lavan River. "Ptolemy," he says, "in contradiction to fact makes a tributary flow to it from the Vindhy Mountains. His error is without doubt occasioned by this, that the Lavan River, which has its source in the Aravall chain falls into the salt lake, the Rm or Irina, into which also the eastern arm of the Indus discharges."

Divagation of the Indus into Arakhōsia:—Lassen (vol. III, p. 128), takes this to be the Gomāl rather than the Korum River. These rivers are both mentioned in the Vedic hymn,
where the former appears as the Gómati and the latter as the Krumu.

Branch of the Kőa towards the Paropanisadai:—This is probably the upper Kóphén, which joins the Kőa (Kunár river) from Kábul.

Divarication of the Indus towards the Arabita mountains:—Between the Lower Indus and the river called anciently the Arabis or Arabis, was located a tribe of Indian origin called variously the Abribil, the Arbies, the Arabitae, the Ambritae and the Arabiti. There can be no doubt therefore that by the Arabita Mountains Ptolemy designates the range of hills in the territory of that tribe, now called the Hálá Mountains. Towards the northern extremity of this range the Indus receives a tributary called the Gandava, and this we may take to be what Ptolemy calls the divarication of the Indus towards the range. It may perhaps, however, be the Western Nara that is indicated.

Divarication of the Indus into the Paropanisadai:—To judge from the figures in the table this would appear to be a tributary of the Indus joining it from the west a little above its junction with the Kőa or Kábul river. There is, however, no stream, even of the least note, answering to the description.

28. Divarication (πορών) from the Indus running towards Mt. Ounidion 123° 29° 30'.

The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication .........127° 27°

Divarication of the Indus towards Arakhösia .........120° 30' 27° 30'.

Divarication of the Kőa towards the Paropanisadai ...121° 30' 33°

The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication ......115° 24° 30'.

Divarication of the Indus towards the Arabita Mountains .................117° 25° 10'.

Divarication of the Indus towards the Paropanisadai.124° 30' 31° 20'.

Divarication of the Indus into the Sagapa mouth ............113° 40' 23° 15'.

From the Sagapa into the Indus .................111° 21° 30'.

Divarication of the Indus into the Khrisyoun (or Golden) mouth ........................................112° 30' 22°

Divarication of the Indus into the Khariphon mouth ........113° 30' 22° 20'.

From the Khariphon to the Sapara .................112° 30' 21° 45'.

Divarication of the same River Khariphon into the Sabalassa mouth ...........113° 21° 20'.

Divarication from the River Khariphon into the Lónibare mouth .............113° 20' 12° 40'.

29. Of the streams which join the Gangés the order is this:—

Sources of the River Dia-monna ...............134° 30' 36°

Sources of the Gangés itself...136° 37°

Sources of the River Sarabos140° 36°

Junction of the Diamonna and Ganges ............136° 34°

Junction of the Sarabos and Gangés ...............130° 30' 32° 30'.

Ptolemy's description of the Gangés is very meagre as compared with his description of the Indus. He mentions by name only 3 of its affluents, although Arrian (quoting from Megasthenés) enumerates no fewer than 17, and Pliny 19. The latitude of its source, Gāng o t rī, which is in the territory of Garhawal, is 30° 54', or more than 6 degrees further south than its position as given in the table. The name of the river, the Gāngā, is supposed to be from a root gām, “to go,” reduplicated, and therefore to mean the “Go—go.” The tributaries mentioned by Arrian are these: the Kaśnas, Eranmoba, Kosvnaos, Sóno, Sittokatis, Solomatis, KondokhatesSambos, Magon, Ageranis, Omalis, Kommenses, Kau-kuthis, Anomatis, Amystis, Oxymagis and the Errenyasis. The two added by Pliny are the Prinas and Jomanes. Regarding these names the following remarks may be quoted from Yule:—

"Among rivers, some of the most difficult names are in the list which Pliny and Arrian have taken from Megasthenes, of affluents of the Gangés. This list was got apparently at Palibothra (Pattan), and if streams in the vicinity of that city occupy an undue space in the list, this is natural. Thus Magona and Errhenyasis.—Mohana and Nirisjana, join to form the river flowing past Gayā, famous in Buddhist legend under the second name. The navigable Prinas or Pinas is perhaps Punyā, now Pūmāṇ, one of the same cluster. Sonus instead of being a duplicate of Eranmoba, may be a branch of the Gayā river, still called Sonā. Andomatis flowing from the Madiandini, i.e., "Meridionales" is perhaps the Andhela, one of the names of the Chandan river of Bhāgalpūr. Kaśnas, navigable, is not likely to be the Ken of Bundelkhand, the old form of which is Kāraṇватi, but more probably the Kayāna or Kōhāna of Gorakhpūr. It is now a tributary of the lower
Ghâgrâ, but the lower course of that river has shifted much, and the map suggests that both the Râpti (Solomatis of Lassen) and Kayânâ may have entered the Ganges directly." For the identification of the other rivers in the list see my article in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 331.

Diamouna.—In this it is easy to recognize the Yammûnâ, the river which after passing Dehli, Mathurâ, Agrâ, and other places, joins the Ganges, of which it is the largest affluent at Allahâbâd. It rises from hot springs amid Himalayan snows, not far westward from the sources of the Ganges. Arrian singularly enough has omitted it from his list of the Ganges affluents, but it is no doubt the river which he subsequently mentions as the Jobares and which flows, he says, through the country of the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Kleisobara (Krishnapura?). Pliny (lib. VI, c. xix) calls it the Jomanes, and states that it flows into the Ganges through the Palibothri, between the towns of Methora and Chrysobara (Krishnapura?). The Ganges at its junction with the Jamna and a third but imaginary river called the Sarasvatâ, which is supposed to join it underground is called the Trivêni, i.e., 'triple plait' from the intermingling of the three streams.

Sarabos.—This is the great river of Kôsala, that is now called the Sarayu or Sarju, and also the Gharghara or Ghogra. It rises in the Himâlayas, a little to the north-east of the sources of the Ganges, and joins that river on its left side in latitude 25° 46', a little above the junction of the Sông with their united stream. Cunningham regards the Solomatis mentioned in Arrian's list of the tributaries of the Ganges as being the Sarayu under a different name, but Lassen takes it to be the Râpti, a large affluent of the same river from Gôrkâhpur. The name, he thinks, is a transliteration or rather abbreviation of Sarâvatî, the name of a city of Kôsala mentioned by Kalidâsa. The river on which the city stood is nowhere mentioned, but its name was in all probability the same as that of the city (Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 571).

Mouth of the River Sôâ.—This river can be no other than the Sông (the Sûnas of Arrian's list) which falls into the Ganges about 16 miles above Patna in lat. 25° 37'. It rises in Gôndwana in the territory of Nâgpur, on the elevated tableland of Amarakântaka, about 4 or 5 miles east of the source of the Narmâdâ. It would appear that in former times it joined the Ganges in the immediate neighbourhood of Patna, the modern representative of the Palibothra or Palimbothra of the classical writers. The lat. of the source is 23° 41'; in Ptolemy 25°.

30. Divarication from the Ganges towards the Oúxenton range to the mouth of the River Sôâ .................................................. 136° 10' 31° 30'
The sources of the river .................................................. 131° 28'
Divarication of the Ganges towards the Oúxenton range .................................................. 142° 23'
The sources of the divarication ............................................. 137° 23'
Divarication from the Ganges into the Kambyson Mouth .................................................. 140° 22'
Divarication from the Ganges into the Pseudosamos .................................................. 146° 30' 20'
Divarication from the Ganges into the Antibolî Mouth .................................................. 146° 30' 21'
Divarication from the Kambyson River into the Mega Mouth .................................................. 145° 20'
Divarication from the Mega Mouth into the Kambéri-khôn Mouth .................................................. 145° 30' 19° 30'

The divarication towards the Oúxenton range.—By this unnamed river, as Lassen has pointed out (Ind. Alt., vol. III, pp. 130, 131) Ptolemy must have meant the Dhamôtâ of the Hindus, although he has assigned far too high a latitude for its junction with the Ganges, 25° instead of only 22° 13'. It is, however, the only considerable stream which flows to the Ganges from the Bear Mountains. It passes Ramgarh and Bardhân, and joins the Hûghî not far from the sea, a little to the east of Taluk. It is commonly called the Damoda River.

The mouths of the Ganges.—In addition to the remarks already made regarding these mouths I may here quote a passage from Wilford on this topic: "Ptolemy's description," he says (Aristat. Researches, vol. XIV, pp. 464-6) "of the Delta of the Ganges is by no means a bad one, if we reject the latitudes and longitudes, which I always do, and adhere solely to his narrative, which is plain enough. He begins with the western branch of the Ganges or Bhâgrathî, and says that it sends one branch to the right or towards the west, and another towards the east, or to the left. This takes place at Trivêni, so called from three rivers parting, in three different directions, and it is a most sacred place. The branch which goes towards the right is the famous Sarasvatî; and Ptolemy says that it flows into the Kambyson mouth, or the mouth of the Jelâsor, called in Sanskrit Śaktimatî, synonymous with Kambu or Kambuj, or the river of shells. This communication does not exist, but it was believed to exist, till the country was surveyed. This branch sends another arm, says our author, which affords a passage into the great mouth, or that of the
Bhagirathi or Ganges. This supposed branch is the Kupanaraṇa, which, if the Sarasvati ever flowed into the Kambyon mouth, must of course have sprung from it, and it was then natural to suppose that it did so. M. D’Anville has brought the Sarasvati into the Jelosar river in his maps, and supposed that the communication took place a little above a village called Danton, and if we look into the Bengal Atlas, we shall perceive that during the rains, at least, it is possible to go by water, from Huggli, through the Sarasvati, and many other rivers, to within a few miles of Danton, and the Jelosar river. The river, which according to Ptolemy branches out towards the east, or to the left, and goes into the Kambarikan mouth is the Jumna, called n Bengal Jubunâ. For the Ganges, the Jumna and Sarasvati unite at the Northern Treveni or Allahâbâd, and parted afterwards at this Triveni near Huggli... called in the spoken dialects Terboni. Though the Jumna falls into the Kambarikan mouth, it does by no means form it; for it obviously derives its name from the Kambânâ or Kambôrâa river, as I observed before. Ptolemy says that the Ganges sends an arm towards the east or to the left, directly to the false mouth or Harinaghatâ. From this springs another branch to Antibolé, which of course is the Dhakkâ branch called the Padma or Puddângâ. This is a mistake, but of no great consequence, as the outlines remain the same. It is the Padma or Dhakkâ branch, which sends an arm into the Harinaghatâ. The branching out is near Kasti and Komarkalli, and under various appellations it goes into the Harinaghatâ mouth."

Besides the tributaries of the Ganges already mentioned, Ptolemy refers to two others which it receives from the range of Bâpyrrohos. These are not named, but one is certainly the Kausikl and the other ought to be either the Gangpâki or the Tistâ.

31. And of the other rivers the positions are thus:

The sources of the River Namad in the Ouindon range 127° 26° 30’
The bend of the river at Sûripala .................. 116° 30’ 22’
Its confluence with the River Mophis .................. 115° 18° 30’
32. Sources of the River Nanagouna from the Ouindon range .................. 132° 26° 30’
Where it bifurcates into the Goaris and Binda .................. 114° 16°

33. Sources of the Pseudotomos from the Bêtêtigô range 123° 21°
The point where it turns .......... 118° 30’ 17° 15’
34. Sources of the River Baris in the Bêtêtigô range 127° 26° 30’
Sources of the River Sûlên in the Bêtêtigô range .......... 127° 20° 30’
The point where it turns .......... 124° 18°
35. Sources of the River Khabalois in the Adeisathros range .................. 132° 22°
36. Sources of the River Tyna in the Orouânian (or Arouëdan) Mountains .......... 133° 17°
37. Sources of the River Mainsâlos in the same mountains .................. 134° 30’ 17° 30’
38. Sources of the River Manda in the same mountains .................. 136° 30’ 16° 30’
39. Sources of the River Toudius in the Ouxenton range 137° 22° 30’
40. Sources of the River Dèsârôn in the same range 140° 24°
41. Sources of the River Adamas in the same range .......... 142° 24°

These rivers have been all already noticed, with the exception of the Môphîs. This is now the Mahl, a considerable river which flows into the Gulf of Kambôt at its northern extremity at a distance of about 35 miles north from the estuary of the Narmâda. Ptolemy is in error in making the two rivers join each other. The Mophis is mentioned in the Periplus as the Mahîs. In this list the spelling of the names of two of the rivers of Orissa has been slightly changed, the Manada into Manda and Tondis into Toudis.

Ptolemy proceeds now (following as much as possible the order already observed) to give a list of the different territories and peoples of India classified according to the river-basins, together with the towns belonging to each territory and each people (§§42—93), and closes the chapter by mentioning the small islands that lay adjacent to the coast. He begins with the basin of the Köphê, part of which he had already described in the 6th Book.

42. The order of the territories in this division (India intra Gangem) and of their cities or villages is as follows:

Below the sources of the Köa are located the Lambatai, and their mountain region extends upwards to that of the Kônedai.
Below the sources of the Souastos is Souasténé. Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country the mountains are of surpassing height.

Below the sources of the Bidaspès and of the Sandabal and of the Adris is Kaspeiria.

Below the sources of the Bibasis and of the Zaradros and of the Diamouna and of the Ganges is Kyllindriné, and below the Lambatai and Souasténé is Gýrýaia.

Ptolemy's description of the regions watered by the Kóphên and its tributaries given here and in the preceding book may well strike us with surprise, whether we consider the great copiousness of its details, or the way in which its parts have been connected and arranged. It is evident that he was indebted for his materials here chiefly to native sources of information and itineraries of merchants or caravans, and that he did not much consult the records, whether historical or geographical, of Alexander's expedition, else he would not have failed to mention such places as Alexandria, under Kaukasos, Massaga, Nysa, Bazira, the rock Aôrmos, and other localities made memorable by that expedition.

In describing the basin of the Kóphên he divides it into two distinct regions—the high region and the lower, a distinction which had been made by the contemporaries of Alexander. The high region formed the country of the Paropanasadaï, and this Ptolemy has described in the 18th chapter of the 6th Book. He now describes the lower region which, he regards as a part of India.

(V. Saint-Martin, Étude, pp. 62-3).

The Lambatai were the inhabitants of the district now called Lamghan, a small territory lying along the northern bank of the Kábul river bounded on the west by the Alinghir and Kúnár rivers, and on the north by the snowy mountains. Lamghan was visited in the middle of the 7th century by Huen-Tsiang, who calls it Lan-po, and notes that its distance eastward from Kapiéné, to which before his time it had become subject, was 600 li (equal to 100 miles). The name of the people is met with in the Mahábhrata and in the Pauráṇik lists under the form Lambaka. Cunningham would therefore correct Ptolemy's Lambatai to Lambagai by the slight change of γ for η. A minute account of this little district is given in the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, who states that it was called after Lamech, the father of Noah. The Dictionary of Hémachandra, which mentions the Lâmpaka, gives as another name of the people that of the Murânjâ. Their language is Persht in its basis. (See Cunningham's Geog. of Anc. India, pp. 42-3; Saint-Martin, Étude, pp. 74-5; also his L'Asie Centrale, p. 48; Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. I. p. 422.

Souasténé designates the basin of the Souastos, which, as has already been noticed, is the river now called the river of Swât. The full form of the name is Subhavastu, which by the usual mode of contraction becomes Subhâstâ or Suwastu. Souasténé is not the indigenous name of the district, but one evidently formed for it by the Greeks. It is the country now inhabited by the warlike tribes of the Yuzofzais which appears to have been called in ancient times with reference to the rich verdure and fertility of its valleys Udýâna, that is, 'a garden' or 'park.' It was visited by Huen-Tsiang, who calls it the kingdom of U-chang-na.

The Daradrai—Ptolemy has somewhat disfigured the name of these mountainiers, who are mentioned in the Mahâbhrata and in the Chronicle of Kashmir as the Darada. They inhabited the mountain-region which lay to the east of the Lambatai and of Souasténé, and to the north of the uppermost part of the course of the Indus along the north-west frontier of Kasmar. This was the region made so famous by the story of the gold-digging ants first published to the west by Hérodotos (lib. III. c. cii) and afterward repeated by Megasthenes, whose version of it is to be found in Strabo (lib. XV, c. 1, 44) and in Arrian's Indika (sec. 15) and also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. 21 and lib. XI, c. xxvi). The name of the people in Strabo is Dardei, in Pliny Dardei, and in Dionys. Perièg. (v. 1138) Dardanoi. Their country still bears their name, being called Dardistân. The Sanskrit word darad among other meanings has that of 'mountain.' As the regions along the banks of the Upper Indus produced gold of a good quality, which found its way to India and Persia, and other countries farther west, it has been supposed that the Indus was one of the 4 rivers of Paradise mentioned in the book of Genesis, viz., the Pishon, 'which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good.' This opinion has been advocated by scholars of high name and authority. Havilah they take to be in a much altered form, the Sanskrit sanâra, 'a lake,' with reference perhaps to the lake in Tibet called Mânasâra. Boscowen, however, has pointed out that there was a river called the Pisanu, belonging to the region between Nineveh and Babylon where he locates paradise.

Kaspeiria—The name and the position concur in indicating this to be the valley of Kasmir, a name which, according to Burnouf, is a contraction of Kaíyamphra, which is thought with good reason to be the original
whence came the Kasapa of the old Geographer Hekataios and the Kasparyros of Herodotus (lib. III, c. iii), who tells us (lib. IV, c. xiv) that it was from the city of that name and from the Paktyikan land that Skylax the Karyatian started on his voyage of discovery down the Indus in order to ascertain for Darius where that river entered the sea. It cannot be determined with certainty where that city should be located, but there can be no good reason, as Wilson has shown (in opposition to the views of Wilford, Heeren, Mannert, and Wahl) for fixing it on any other river than the Indus. "We have no traces," he says, "of any such place as Kasparyros west of the Indus. Alexander and his generals met with no such city, nor is there any other notice of it in this direction. On the east of the river we have some vestige of it in oriental appellations, and Kasparyros is connected apparently with Kasmir. The preferable reading of the name is Kaspa-pyrus. It was so styled by Hecataeus, and the alteration is probably an error. Now Kasapa-par, the city of Kasapa, is, according to Sanskrit writers, the original designation of Kasmir; not of the province of the present day, but of the kingdom in its palmy state, when it comprehended great part of the Panjab, and extended no doubt as far as, if not beyond, the Indus."—Ar. Ant, p. 137.

In the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Kasmir was the most powerful state in all India. The dominions subject to its sceptre reached as far south as the range of the Vindhya and embraced, together with the extensive mountain region wherein the great rivers of the Panjab had their sources, a great part of the Panjab itself, and the countries which lay along the courses of the Jamna and the Upper Ganges. So much we learn from Ptolemy's description which is quite in harmony with what is to be found recorded in the Rajatarangini, regarding the period which a little preceded that in which Ptolemy wrote—that the throne of Kasmir was then occupied by a warlike monarch called Meghasana who carried his conquests to a great distance southward (Rajatar., vol. III, pp. 27 seq.). The valley proper of Kasmir was the region watered by the Bidaspas (Jhelam) in the upper part of its course. Ptolemy assigns to it also the sources of the Sandabral (Chenab) and of the Rhoadas (Ravi) and thus includes within it the provinces of the lower Himlayan range that lay between Kasmir and the Satlaj.

Kylin einè designated the region of lofty mountains wherein the Vipasa, the Satdru, the Jamna and the Ganges had their sources. The inhabitants called Kulin are mentioned in the Mahabharata in a long list there given of tribes dwelling between Meru and Mandara and upon the Sindh River, under the shadow of the Bambu forests, whose kings presented lumps of 'ant-gold at the solemnity of the inauguration of Yudhishthira as universal emperor. Cunningham would identify Kylindriné with "the ancient kingdom of Jalandhara which since the occupation of the plains by the Muhamadans has been confined almost entirely to its hill territories, which were generally known by the name of Kangra, after its most celebrated fortress." Saint-Martin, however, is unable to accept this identification. A territory of the name of Kutila, which was formed by the upper part of the basin of the Vipasa, and which may be included in the Kylindriné of Ptolemy, is mentioned in a list of the Variska Sanhitás. Kuluta was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, who transcribes the name K'lin-lu-to, a name which still exists under the slightly modified form of Kuluta. (See Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. I, p. 547; Wilson, AR. Antig, p. 135 n.; Saint-Martin, Étude, 217; Cunningham, Geog. pp. 136-8.

Goryaia designates the territory traversed by the Gouraies or river of Ghor, which, as has already been noticed, is the afflent of the Kabul river now called the Landai, formed by the junction of the river of Pahjora and the river of Swat. Alexander on his march to India passed through Goryaia, and having crossed the river Gouraies entered the territory of the Assakoni. The passage of the river is thus described by Arrian (Anab. IV, c. xxv). "Alexander now advanced with a view to attack the Assakoni, and led his army through the territory of the Gouraies. He had great difficulty in crossing the Gouraies, the eponymous-river of the country, on account of the depth and impetuosity of the stream, and also because the bottom was strewn with pebbles that the men when wading through could hardly keep their feet." It can scarcely be doubted that the Gouraies is the Gauri mentioned in the 6th Book of the Mahabharata along with the Suvasta and the Kampana. Arrian's notion that it gave its name to the country by which it flowed has been assented to by Lassen but has been controverted by Saint-Martin, who says (p. 39), "the name of the Gouraies did not come, as one would be inclined to believe, and as without doubt the Greeks thought, from the river of Gaur which watered their territory; the numerous and once powerful tribe of Ghori, of which a portion occupies still to this day the same districts, to the west of the Landai, can advance a better claim to the attribution of the ancient classical name." In a note to this passage he says: "Kur, with the signification of 'river,' courant, is a primitive
term common to most of the dialects of the Indo-Germanic family. Hence the name of Kur (Greek, Κύρος, Kýros, Lat. Cyrus) common to different rivers of Asia. . . . This name (of Ghulis or Gura) ought to have originally the signification of 'mountaineers.' It is at least a remarkable fact that all the mountain region adjacent to the south of the Western Hindu-koh and its prolongation in the direction of Herati have borne or still bear the names of Gür, Ghūr or Ghaur, Gūrkan, Gurjistān, &c. Let us add that gārāgo in Zend signifies 'mountains.'"

43. And the cities are these:—

Kaisana ........................................ 120° 34° 20'
Barborana ........................................ 120° 15° 33° 40'
Gōrā ............................................... 123° 34° 45'
Nagara or Dionysopolis ....................... 121° 45° 33°
Drastoka .......................................... 120° 30° 33° 30'

Kaisana, Barborana and Drastoka are places unknown, but as the same names occur in the list of the towns of the Parvanisadas (lib. VI, c. xviii, 4) it is not improbable, as Saint-Martin conjectures, that the repetition was not made by Ptolemy himself, but through a careless error on the part of some copyist of his works. Cunningham thinks that Drastoka may have designated a town, in one of the daras or 'valleys' of the Koh-Dāman, and that Baborana may be Parwān, a place of some consequence on the left bank of the Ghorband river in the neighbourhood of Opian or Alexander Opiiania. Kaisana he takes to be the Cartana of Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxiii) according to whom it was situated at the foot of the Caucasus and not far from Alexandria, whilst according to Ptolemy it was on the right bank of the Panjshir river. These data, he says, point to Bāγrām, which is situated on the right bank of the Panjshir and Ghorband rivers immediately at the foot of the Kohistān hills, and within 6 miles of Opian. Bāγrām also answers the description which Pliny gives of Cartana as Tetragonis, or the 'square,' for Masson, in his account of the ruins especially notices "some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square of considerable dimensions." A coin of Eukratides has on it the legend Kariis late Nagara or city of Karaiis (Geogr. of Anc. Ind., pp. 26–29).

Gōrā.—Saint-Martin thinks that the position of this ancient city may be indicated by the situation of Mola-gouri, a place on the right or western bank of the River Landai, as marked in one of Cour's maps in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc., vol. VIII, P. 34.

Nagara or Dionysopolis.—Lassen has identified this with Nanghenhar, the Nagarashāra of Sanskrit, a place mentioned under this name in the Paurāṇik Geography, and also in a Buddhist inscription thought to belong to the 9th century which was found in Behar. The city was visited by Hiuen-Tsang, who calls it Nākie-lo-lo. It was the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which before the time of the pilgrim had become subject to Kapiśa, a state which adjoined it on the west. Its territory consisted of a narrow strip of land which stretched along the southern bank of the Kābul river from about Jagadalak as far westward as the Khaiber Pass. The city was called also Udyānapura, that is, 'the city of gardens,' and this name the Greeks, from some resemblance in the sound translated into Dionysopolis (a purely Greek compound, signifying 'the city of Dionysos, the god of wine'), with some reference no doubt to legends which had been brought from the regions of Par PANIES by the companions of Alexander. This name in a mutilated form is found inscribed on a medal of Dionysios, one of the Greek kings, who possessed the province of what is now called Afghanistan in the 2nd century B.C. Some traces of the name of Udyānapura still exist, for, as we learn from Masson, 'tradition affirms that the city on the plain of Jalallābd was called Ajāna,' and the Emperor Baber mentions in his Memoirs a place called Adinapur, which, as the same author has pointed out, is now Bālā-bāgh, a village distant about 13 miles westward from Jalallābd near the banks of the Surkhrud, a small tributary of the Kābul river.

As regards the site of Nagaraḥāra, this was first indicated by Masson, and afterwards fixed with greater precision by Mr. Simpson, who having been quartered for 4 months at Jalallābd during the late Afghan war took the opportunity of investigating the antiquities of the neighbourhood, which are chiefly of a Buddhist character. He has given an account of his researches in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society and published in the Society's Journal (Vol. XIII, pp. 183–207). He there states that he found at a distance of 4 or 5 miles west from Jalallābd numerous remains of what must have been an ancient city, while there was no other place in all the vicinity where he could discover such marked evidences of a city having existed. The ruins in question lay along the right bank of a stream called the Surkhāb, that rushed down from the lofty heights of the Sufaid-koh, and reached to its point of junction with the Kābul river. The correctness of the identification he could not doubt, since the word 'Nagrk,' 'Nagarat,' or 'Nagara' was still applied to the ruins by the natives on the spot, and since the site also fulfilled all the conditions which
were required to make it answer to the description of the position of the old city as given by Huien-Tsêang. (See Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 335; Saint-Martin's Asie Centrale, pp. 52—56; Cunningham, Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 44-46; Masson, Various Journeys, vol. III, p. 164).

44. Between the Senastos and the Indus the Gandarai and these cities:

Proklaïs ........................................ 123° 32°
Naulibi ........................................... 124° 20' 33° 20'

The Gandarai; Gandhâra is a name of high antiquity, as it occurs in one of the Vedic hymns where a wife is represented as saying with reference to her husband, "I shall always be for him a Gandhâra ewe." It is mentioned frequently in the Mahâbhârata and other post-Vedic works, and from these it is clear that it contained the two royal cities of Takshašâslâ (Taxila) and Puskârâvatî (Peukolaotis), the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus. It would therefore appear that in early times the Gandhâric territory lay on both sides of that river, though in subsequent times it was confined to the western side. According to Strabo the country of the Gandarai, which he calls Gandaritias, lay between the Khoasâs and the Indus, and along the River Kôphës. The name is not mentioned by any of the historians of Alexander; but it must nevertheless have been known to the Greeks as early as the times of Hekataios, who, as we learn from Stephanos of Byzantion, calls Kaspathos a Gandaric city. Herodotus mentions the Gandaraios (Book III, c. xoi) who includes them in the 7th Satrapy of Darius, along with the Sattagydai, the Dadikai and the Astapary. In the days of Aśoka and some of his immediate successors Gandhâra was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. It was accordingly visited both by Fa-hian and Huien-Tsêang, who found it to contain in a state of ruin many monuments of the past ascendancy of their faith. From data supplied by the narratives of these pilgrims Cunningham has deduced as the boundaries of Gandhâra, which they call Kiem-to-lo, on the west Lamghán and Jakhalâbâd, on the north the hills of Swâk and Bunir, on the east the Indus, and on the south the hills of Kâlâbâgh. "Within these limits," he observes, "stood several of the most renowned places of ancient India, some celebrated in the stirring history of Alexander's exploits, and others famous in the miraculous legends of Buddha, and in the subsequent history of Buddhism under the Indoscythian prince Kanishka." (Geog. of Ind., p. 48.) Opinions have varied much with regard to the position of the Gandarai. Rennell placed them on the west of Baktria in the province afterwards called Margiana, while Wilson (Ar. Antiq., p. 131) took them to be the people south of the Hindû-kûsh, from about the modern Kandahâr to the Indus, and extending into the Panjâb and to Kašmir. There is, however, no connexion between the names of Gandaria and Kandahâr.

Proklaïs is the ancient capital of Gandhâra, situated to the west of the Indus, which was mentioned in the preceding remarks under its Sanskrit name Pûshkârâvatî, which means 'abounding in the lotus.' Its name is given variously by the Greek writers as Peukolaotis, Peukolaotis, Peukelasis, and Proklaïs, the last form being common to Ptolemy with the author of the Periplus. The first form is a transliteration of the Pali Pukhalacchi; the form Peukelas which is used by Arrian is taken by Cunningham to be a close transcription of the Pali Pukalâ, and the Proklaïs of Ptolemy to be perhaps an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pukhâr instead of the Sanskrit Puskharam. Arrian describes Peukelas as a very large and populous city lying near the Indus, and the capital of a prince called Asteas. Ptolemy defines its position with more accuracy, as being on the eastern bank of the river of Souasthene. The Periplus informs us that it traded in spikenard of various kinds, and in kostos and belliium, which it received from different adjacent countries for transmission to the coast of India. It has been identified with Haash-nagar (i.e., eight cities) which lies at a distance of about 17 miles from Pârasahâwar (Peshâwar). Perhaps, as Cunningham has suggested, Haash-nagar may mean not 'eight cities' but 'the city of Asteas.'

Naulibi:—"It is probable," says Cunningham, "that Naulibi is Nilab, an important town which gave its name to the Indus; but if so it is wrongly placed by Ptolemy, as Nilab is to the South of the Kophes" (Geog. of Anc. Ind., p. 48).

45. Between the Indus and the Bidaspes towards the Indus the Arsa territory and these cities:

Ithagouras .................................. 125° 40' 33° 20'
Taxiala ........................................... 125° 32° 15'

Arsa represents the Sanskrit Urâsa, the name of a district which, according to Cunningham, is to be identified with the modern district of Raas in Dhanâwar to the west of Muzrasabd, and which included all the hilly country between the Indus and Kašmir as far south as the boundary of Atak. It was visited by Huien-Tsêang, who calls it U-la-shih and places it between Taxila and Kašmir. Pliny, borrowing from Megasthenes, mentions a people belonging to these parts called the Arsa gâlitae. The first part
of the name answers letter for letter to the name in Ptolemy, and the latter part may point to the tribe Ghilet or Hilibhit, the Gahallata of Sanskrit. (V. Saint-Martin, Étude, pp. 59-60.) Uraša is mentioned in the Mahabhádrata and once and again in the Rájatarangini.

The Ithagouroi are mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. VI. c. xvi) as a people of Sérica, neighbouriing on the Issédones and Thraonoi. Saint-Martin takes them to be the Dagors or Dangors, one of the tribes of the Daradas.

Taxila is generally written as Taxila by the classical authors. Its name in Sanskrit is Taksha-silka, a compound which means 'hewn rock' or 'hewn stone.' Wilson thinks it may have been so called from its having been built of that material instead of brick or mud, like most other cities in India, but Cunningham prefers to ascribe to the name a legendary origin. The Páli form of the name as found in a copper-plate inscription is Takhasila, which sufficiently accounts for the Taxila of the Greeks. The city is described by Arrian (Anab. lib. V. c. viii) as great and wealthy, and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspés. Both Strabo and Hiven-Tsiang praise the fertility of its soil, and the latter specially notices the number of its springs and watercourses. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sunk down into the plains. It was beyond doubt one of the most ancient cities in all India, and is mentioned in both of the great national Epics. At the time of the Makedonian invasion it was ruled by a prince called Taxilés, who tendered a voluntary submission of himself and his kingdom to the great conqueror. About 80 years afterwards it was taken by Asoka, the son of Vindusárā, who subsequently succeeded his father on the throne of Magadha and established Buddhism as the state religion throughout his wide dominions. In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. it had become a province of the Greco-Baktian monarchy.

The time of the invasion was recorded in 126 B.C. by the Indo-Skythian Sus or Abars acquired it by conquest, and retained it in their hands till it was wrested from them by a different tribe of the same nationality, under the celebrated Kanishka. Near the middle of the first century A.D. Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are said to have visited it, and described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and as the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Póros. Its streets were narrow, but well arranged, and such altogether as reminded the travellers of Athens. Outside the walls was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine, round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Póros. (Priasul's Apollon., pp. 13 sqq.) The next visitors we hear of were the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian in 400 and Hiven-Tsiang, first in 630, and afterwards in 643. To them, as to all Buddhists, the place was especially interesting, as it was the scene of one of Buddha's most meritorious acts of alms-giving, when he bestowed his very head in charity. After this we lose sight altogether of Taxila, and do not even know how or when its ruin was accomplished. Its fate is one of the most striking instances of a peculiarity observable in Indian history, that of the rapidity with which some of its greatest capitals have perished, and the completeness with which even their very names have been obliterated from living memory. That it was destroyed long before the Muhammadan invasion may be inferred from the fact that its name has not been found to occur in any Muhammadan author who has written upon India, even though his account of it begins from the middle of the tenth century. Even Albidrúni, who was born in the valley of the Indus, and wrote so early as the time of Mahmod of Ghazni, makes no mention of the place, though his work abounds with valuable information on points of geography. The site of Taxila has been identified by Cunningham, who has given an account of his explorations in his Ancient Geography of India (pp. 104—124). The ruins, he says, cover an area of six square miles, and are more extensive, more interesting, and in much better preservation than those of any other ancient place in the Panjáb. These ruins are at a place called Shāh-dheri, which is just one mile from Kāla-ka-serai, a town lying to the eastward of the Indus, from which it is distant a three days' journey. Pliny says only a two days' journey, but he under-estimated the distance between Peukelāutis and Taxila, whence his error.

46. Around the Hidaspés, the country of the Pándūnoi, in which are these cities:

Lābāka. ........................ 127° 30' 34° 15'
Sagala, otherwise called Euthymédik. ........................ 126° 20' 32°
Bonkephale. ................................ 125° 30' 30° 20'
Tómosa. .............................. 124° 15' 30°

The Country of the Pándūnoi.—The Pándya country here indicated is that which formed the original seat of the Pándavas or Lunar race, whose war with the Kauravas or Solar race is the subject of the Mahabhádrata. The Pándavas figure not only in the heroic legends of India but also in its real history,—
princes of their line having obtained for themselves sovereignties in various parts of the country, in Rājputāna, in the Panjab, on the banks of the Ganges, and the very south of the Peninsular. From a passage in the Lalitavistara we learn that at the time of the birth of Śākyamuni a Pāṇḍava dynasty reigned at Hastinapura, a city on the Upper Ganges about sixty miles to the north-east of Delhi. Megasthenes, as cited by Piny, mentions a great Pāṇḍava kingdom in the region of the Jannā, of which Mathūra was probably the capital. According to Rājput tradition the celebrated Vikramāditya, who reigned at Ujjain (the Ὀζδήνε of the Greeks) about half a century B.C., and whose name designates an epoch in use among the Hindūs, was a Pāṇḍava prince. From the 8th to the 12th century of our era Pāṇḍavas ruled in Indraprastha, a city which stood on or near the site of Delhi. When all this is considered it certainly seems surprising, as Saint-Martin has observed (Étude, 206 n.) that the name of the Pandus is not met with up to the present time on any historic monument of the north of India except in two votive inscriptions of Buddhist stūpas at Bhila. See also Étude, pp. 205, 206.

Labakā:—“This is perhaps,” says the same author (p. 229), “the same place as a town of Lokhotā (Lavakūṭa in Sanskrit) which makes a great figure in the Rājput annals among the cities of the Panjāb, but its position is not known for certain. Wilford, we know not on what authority, identified it with Lāhor, and Tod admits his opinion without examining it.”

Sagala, called also Euthymēdia:—Sagala or Sangala (as Arrian less correctly gives the name) is the Sanskrit Sākala or Sakala, which in its Prakrit form corresponds exactly to the name in Ptolemy. This city is mentioned frequently in the Mahābhārata, from which we learn that it was the capital of the Mādrā nation, and lay to the west of the Ravi. Arrian (Anab. lib. V. cc. xxi. xxii) placed it to the east of the river, and this error on his part has led to a variety of erroneous identifications. Alexander, he tells us, after crossing the Hydrelēs (Rāvi) at once pressed forward to Sangala on learning that the Kathaians and other warlike tribes had occupied that stronghold for the purpose of opposing his advance to the Ganges. In reality, however, Alexander on this occasion had to deal with an enemy that threatened his rear, and not with an enemy in front. He was in consequence compelled, instead of advancing eastward, to retrace his steps and recross the Hydrelēs. The error here made by Arrian was detected by General Cunningham, who, with the help of data supplied by Huen-Tsang discovered the exact site which Sagala had occupied. This is as near as possible where Sangla-wala-tiba or ‘Sangala hill’ now stands. This Sangala is a hill with traces of buildings and with a sheet of water on one side of it. It thus answers closely to the description of the ancient Sangala in Arrian and Curtius, both of whom represent it as built on a hill and as protected on one side from attacks by a lake or marsh of considerable depth. The hill is about 60 miles distant from Lāhor, where Alexander probably was when the news about the Kathaians reached him. This distance is such as an army by rapid marching could accomplish in 3 days, and, as we learn that Alexander reached Sangala on the evening of the third after he had left the Hydrelēs, we have here a strongly confirmative proof of the correctness of the identification. The Macedonians destroyed Sagala, but it was rebuilt by Dēmētos, one of the Greco-Baktrian kings, who in honour of his father Euthydēmos called it Euthydēmia. From this it would appear that the reading Euthymēdia as given in Nobbe’s and other texts, is erroneous—(see Cunningham’s Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 180–187) cf. Saint-Martin, pp. 103–108).

47. The regions extending thence towards the east are possessed by the Kaspēraioi, and to them belong these cities:

48. Salagissā ...... 129° 30' 34° 30'  
Astrassos ...... 131° 15' 34° 15'  
Labokla ...... 128° 33° 20'  
Batanagra ...... 130° 33° 30'  
Arispara ...... 130° 32° 50'  
Amakatis ...... 128° 32° 20'  
Ostobalasara ...... 129° 32'  
49. Kapseira ...... 127° 31° 15'  
Pasīkana ...... 128° 30° 31° 15'  
Daidara ...... 128° 30° 30° 10'  
Ardonē ...... 126° 15' 30° 10'  
Indabaara ...... 127° 15' 30°  
Liganeira ...... 125° 30' 29°  
Khomamagara ...... 128° 29° 20'  
50. Modurna, the city of the gods ...... 125° 27° 30'  
Gagasmira ...... 126° 40' 27° 30'  
Erarasa, a Metropolis ...... 123° 26°  
Kognandana ...... 124° 26°  
Boukephala:—Alexander, after the battle on the western bank of the Hydaspes in which he defeated Pòros, ordered two cities to be built, one Nīkai, a so called in honour of his victory (nīkai), and the other Boukephala, so called in honour of his favourite horse, Boukephalus, that died here either of old age and fatigue, or from
wounds received in the battle. From the conflicting accounts given by the Greek writers it is difficult to determine where the latter city stood. If we follow Plutarch we must place it on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes, for he states (Vita Alexandri) that Boukephalos was killed in the battle; and that the city was built on the place where he fell and was buried. If again we follow Strabo (lib. XV, c. i. 29) we must place it on the west bank at the point where Alexander crossed the river which in all probability was Diláwar. If finally we follow Arrian we must place it on the same bank, but some miles farther down the river at Jalálpur, where Alexander had pitched his camp, and this was probably the real site. Boukephala seems to have retained its historical importance much longer than its sister city, for besides being mentioned here by Ptolemy it is noticed also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) who says that it was the chief of three cities that belonged to the Asini, and in the Periplús (sec. 47) and elsewhere.

Nikaia, on the other hand, is not mentioned by any author of the Roman period except Strabo, and that only when he is referring to the times of Alexander. The name is variously written Boukephala, Boukephalos, Boukephalia, and Boukephaleia. Some authors added to it the surname of Alexandria, and in the Peutinger Tables it appears as Alexandria Boukephala. The horse Boukephala was so named from his 'brow' being very broad, like that of an 'ox.' For a discussion on the site of Boukephala see Cunningham's Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 159 sqq.

Tomousa is probably Jamma, a place of great antiquity, whose chiefs were reckoned at one time among the five great rajas of the north. It doubtless lay on the great highway that led from the Indus to Palibothra.

List of cities of the Kaspeiraioli:—This long list contains but very few names that can be recognized with certainty. It was perhaps carelessly transcribed by the copyists, or Ptolemy himself may have taken it from some work the text of which had been already corrupted. Be that as it may, we may safely infer from the constancy with which the figures of latitude in the list decrease, that the towns enumerated were so many successive stages on some line of road that traversed the country from the Indus to Mathurá on the Jumna. Salagissa, Arispara, Pasikana, Liganeira, Konna-magara and Kogandaua are past all recognition; no plausible conjecture has been made as to how they are to be identified.

Astrassos:—This name resembles the Atrasa of Idrisi, who mentions it as a great city of the Kanauj Empire (Etude, p. 226).

Labokla:—Lassen identified this with Láhor, the capital of the Panjáb (Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 153). Thornton and Cunningham confirm this identification. The city is said to have been founded by Lava or Lo, the son of Ráma, after whom it was named Loháwar. The Labo in Labo-klá must be taken to represent the name of Lava. As for the terminal kla, Cunningham (Geog. of Anc. Ind., p. 198) would alter it to laka thus, making the whole name Labolaka for Laválaka or 'the abode of Lava.'

Batanagra:—Ptolemy places this 2 degrees to the east of Labokla, but Saint-Martin (p. 226) does not hesitate to identify it with Bhatnair (for Bhaṭtanagarā) 'the town of the Bhatis' though it lies nearly three degrees south of Láhor. Yule accepts this identification. A different reading is Katanagarā.

Amakatsi (v. I. Amakastis).—According to the table this place lay to the S.E. of Labokla but its place in the map is to the S.W. of it. Cunningham (pp. 195—197) locates it near Shekohpur to the south of which are two ruined mounds which are apparently the remains of ancient cities. These are called Asma and Kápi respectively, and are said to have been called after a brother and a sister, whose names are combined in the following couplet:

Amba-Kapa pai lai
Kalpi bahin chhumāvān āi.

When strife arose 'tween Amb and Kápi
Their sister Kalpi made it up.

"The junction of the two names," Cunningham remarks, "is probably as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town named Amakatsi or Amakapis to the west of the Rávi, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Labokla or Láhor." The distance of the mounds referred to from Láhor is about 25 miles.

Ostobalasara (v. I. Stobilasara) Saint-Martin has identified this with Thanesar (Śhánēśvara in Sanskrit) a very ancient city, celebrated in the heroic legends of the Páṇḍavas. Cunningham however thinks that Thanesar is Ptolemy's Batankaisara and suggests that we should read Satan-aisara to make the name approach nearer to the Sanskrit Śhánēśvara—the Sa-ta-ni-shā-fo-lō of Hiuen-Tsiang (p. 331).

Kaspeira:—"If this name," says Saint-Martin (p. 226) "is to be applied, as seems natural, to the capital of Kaśmir, it has been badly placed in the series, having been inserted probably by the ancient Latin copyists."

Daidala:—An Indian city of this name is mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantium, but he locates it in the west. Curtius also has a Daedala (lib. VIII. c. ii), a region which according to his
account was traversed by Alexander before he crossed the Khoaspsē and laid siege to Mazaga. Yule in his map places it doubtfully at Dudhal on the Khaghār River to the east of Bhata near, the edge of the great desert.

Ardonō:—Ahrōn according to Yule, a place destroyed by Timur on his march, situated between the Khaghār and Chitang rivers, both of which lose themselves in the great desert.

Indabara is undoubtedly the ancient Indraprastha, a name which in the common dialects is changed into Indabatta (Indopat), and which becomes almost Indabara in the cerebral pronunciation of the last syllable. The site of this city was in the neighbourhood of Dehli. It was the capital city of the Pāṇḍavas. The Prākṛti form of the name is Indrabatṣṭa. (Lassen, vol. III, p. 151).

Modoura, the city of the gods:—There is no difficulty in identifying this with Mathurā (Muttra) one of the most sacred cities in all India, and renowned as the birthplace of Krishna. Its temples struck Mahānā of Ghazni with such admiration that he resolved to adorn his own capital in a similar style. The name is written by the Greeks Medhora as well as Modoura. It is situated on the banks of the Jambū, higher up than Agra, from which it is 35 miles distant. It is said to have been founded by Śṛatrughna, the younger brother of Rāma. As already mentioned it was a city of the Pāṇḍavas whose power extended far to westward.

Gagasmira:—Lassen and Saint-Martin agree in recognizing this as Ajmīr. Yule, however, objects to this identification on the ground that the first syllable is left unaccounted for, and proposes Jājjar as a substitute. Gagastus, he argues, represents in Plutarch Yayāti, the great ancestor of the Lunar race, while Jājjar in Orissa was properly Yayātipāra. Hence probably in Jājjar, which is near Dehli, we have the representative of Gagasmira.

Erarasa:—Ptolemy calls this a metropolis. It appears, says Yule, to be Girirajā, ‘royal hill,’ and may be Govardhan which was so called, and was a capital in legendary times (Ind. Antiq., vol. I, p. 23). Saint-Martin suggests Varanasi, now Bandras, which was also a capital. He thinks that this name and the next, which ends the list, were additions of the Roman copyists.

51. Still further to the east than the Kasperai are the Gymnosophistai, and after these around the Ganges further north are the Daitikhai with these towns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Konā</td>
<td>133° 30′</td>
<td>34° 40′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margara</td>
<td>135°</td>
<td>34°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Batangkaisara and east of the river:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passala</td>
<td>137°</td>
<td>34° 15′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orza</td>
<td>136° 20′</td>
<td>33° 20′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gymnosophistai:—This Greek word means ‘Naked philosophers,’ and did not designate any ethnic or political section of the population, but a community of religious ascetics or hermits located along the Ganges probably, as Yule thinks in the neighbourhood of Haridwar, and also according to Benfey, of Dehli, Indien. p. 95. For an account of the Gymnosophistai see Ind. Antiq., vol. VI, pp. 242–244.

Daitikhai:—This name is supposed to represent the Sanskrit jatiha, which means ‘wearing twisted or plaited hair.’ The name does not occur in the lists in this form but Kern, as Yule states, has among tribes in the north-east ‘Demons with elf locks’ which is represented in Wilford by Jati-dhara.

Konta, says Saint-Martin (Etude, p. 321) is probably Kundā on the left bank of the Jamnā to the south-east of Saharanpur.

Margara:—Perhaps, according to the same authority, Marhāra near the Kalindi River to the north-east of Agra.

Batangkaisara:—Yule objecting to Saint-Martin’s identification of this place with Bhatkaishaur in Saharanpur pargāna, on the ground of its being a modern combination, locates it, but doubtfully, at Kesarrwa east of the Jamnā, where the position suits fairly.

Passala:—Pliny mentions a people called Passalae, who may be recognized as the inhabitants of Fāchilā or the region that lay between the Ganges and the Jamnā, and whose power, according to the Mahabharata, extended from the Himalayas to the Chambal River. Passala we may assume was the capital of this important state, and may now, as Saint-Martin thinks, be represented by Bisuli. This was formerly a considerable town of Rohilkhand, 30 miles from Sambhal towards the south-east, and at a like distance from the eastern bank of the Ganges.

Orza is perhaps Sarsi situated on the Rāmgātā river in the lower part of its course.

32. Below these are the Anikhai with these towns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persakra</td>
<td>134° 32’</td>
<td>32° 40’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sannaba</td>
<td>135° 32’</td>
<td>32° 30’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toana</td>
<td>136° 30’</td>
<td>32’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. Below these Prasiakā with these towns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sambalaka</td>
<td>132° 15’</td>
<td>31° 50’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adisiara</td>
<td>136°</td>
<td>31° 30’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanagora</td>
<td>135° 30’</td>
<td>30° 40’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kindia .................. 137° 30° 20'
Sagala, and east of the river .. 139° 30° 20'
Aninakha ................ 137° 20' 31° 40'
Koangka .................. 138° 20' 31° 30'

_Anikha (v. l. Nānikhā, Mānikhā)_—These name cannot be traced to its source. The people it designated must have been a petty tribe, as they had only 3 towns, and their territory must have lain principally on the south bank of the Jamnā. Their towns cannot be identified. The correct reading of their name is probably _Manikhā_, as there is a town on the Ganges in the district which they must have occupied called Manikpur. There is further a tribe belonging to the Central Himalaya region having a name slightly similar, Manga or Mangas, and the _Āniti-Akkhā_ mentions a tribe of Manneya, which had once been powerful in the neighbourhood of Dehi (_Étude_, p. 322). The form _Nānikhā_ would suggest a people named in the _Mahābhārata_ and the _Purāṇas_, the _Nāmīshās_ who lived in the region of the Jamnā.

_Prasīākā._—This word translaters the Sanskrit _Prāchāyaka_ which means 'eastern' and denoted generally the country along the Ganges. It was the country of the Prasīi, whose capital was _Pālibothera_, now Pātnā, and who in the times immediately subsequent to the Makedonian invasion had spread their empire from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. The _Prasīākā_ of _Ptolemy_ however was a territory of very limited dimensions, and of uncertain boundaries. Though seven of its towns are enumerated Pālibothera is not among them, but is mentioned afterwards as the capital of the Mandalai and placed more than 3 degrees farther south than the most southern of them all. Yule remarks upon this: "Where the tables detail cities that are in _Prasīākā_, cities among the _Puraresi_, &c., we must not assume that the cities named were really in the territories named; whilst we see as a sure fact in various instances that they were not. Thus the Mandalai, displaced as we have mentioned, embraced Pālibothera, which was notoriously the city of the _Prasīi_; while _Prasīākā_ is shoved up stream to make room for them. Lassen has so much faith in the uncorrected _Ptolemy_ that he accepts this, and finds some reason why _Prasīākā_ is not the land of the _Prasi_ but something else."

_Sambalaka_ is _Sambhal_, already mentioned as a town of Rohilkhand. Sambalaka or Sambhal is the name of several countries in India, but there is only this one town of the name that is met with in the Eastern parts. It is a very ancient town and on the same parallel as Dehi.

_Adīsārā:_—This has been satisfactorily identified with _Abhīchhatra_, a city of great antiquity, which figures in history so early as the 14th century B.C. At this time it was the capital of Northern Pañchāla. The form of the name in _Ptolemy_ by a slight alteration becomes _Adīsārā_, and this approximates closely to the original form. Another city so called belonged to Central India, and this appears in _Ptolemy_ as _Adīsārā_, which he places in the country of the Bēttigoi. The meaning of the name _Ahi-chhātra_ is 'serpent umbrella' and is explained by a local legend concerning _Ādī-Rājā_ and the serpent demon, that while the Rāja was asleep a serpent formed a canopy over him with its expanded hood. The fort is sometimes called _Adīkit_, though the commoner name is _Ahi-chhata_, sometimes written _Abihāṣa_. The place was visited by _Hiuen-Tsang_. In modern times it was first visited by Captain Hodgson, who describes it as the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 34 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the name of the _Pāṇḍu’s Fort_. It was visited afterwards by _Cunningham_ (Anc. Geog. of Ind., pp. 359—363).

_Kanagórā:_—This, as _Saint-Martin_ points out, may be a corruption for _Kanagoza_, a form of _Kanyākubja_ or _Kanaug_. This city of old renown was situated on the banks of the _Kāļnādi_, a branch of the Ganges, in the modern district of Farrukhabad. The name applies not only to the city itself but also to its dependencies and to the surrounding district. The etymology (_kanyā_, 'a girl,' and _kubja_, 'round-shouldered' or 'crooked') refers to a legend concerning the hundred daughters of _Kuṣanābha_, the king of the city, who were all rendered crooked by _Vāyu_ for non-compliance with his licentious desires (see also _Beal_, _Buddhist Records_, vol. I, p. 209). The ruins of the ancient city are said to occupy a site larger than that of London. The name recurs in another list of towns under the form _Kanogiza_, and is there far displaced.

_Kindia_ may be identified with _Kant_, an ancient city of Rohilkhand, the Shāhjahanpur of the present day. Yule hesitates whether to identify it thus or with _Mirzapur_ on the Ganges.

_Sagala:_—"Sagala," says _Saint-Martin_ (_Étude_, p. 326) "would carry us to a town of _Sakula_ or _Saghāla_, of which mention is made in the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon among the royal cities of the North of India, and which Turnour believes to be the same town as _Kuṣināgara_, celebrated as the place where Buddha _Sākyamuni_ obtained _Nirṛti_. Such an identification would carry us to the eastern extremity of _Kōsala_, not far from the River _Ganḍakī_."
Koangka ought to represent the Sanskrit kanaka, 'gold.' Mention is made of a town called in the Buddhistic legends Kanakavati (abounding in gold), but no indication is given as to where its locality was (Etude, p. 326).

54. South of this Saurabatis with these towns:

Empelathra .......... 130° 30'
Nadoubandagar ...... 138° 40' 29'
Tamasis ............ 133° 29'
Kouraporeina ... 130° 29'

Saurabatis:—This division is placed below Prasiaké. The ordinary reading is Sandrabatis, which is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Chandravati. The original, Saint-Martin suggests, may have been Chhattaravat, which is used as a synonym of Ahikshetra, and applies to that part of the territory of Pahchala, which lies to the east of the Ganges. He thinks it more than probable that Sandrabatis, placed as it is just after a group of towns, two of which belong to Ahikshetra, does not differ from this Chhattaravati, the only country of the name known to Sanskrit Geography in the Gangetic region. None of the four towns can be identified. (See Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. I, p. 602; Etude, p. 326.) Yule, however, points out that this territory is one of those which the endeavour to make Ptolemy's names cover the whole of India has greatly dislocated, transporting it from the S.W. of Rájstáná to the vicinity of Bahár. His map locates Sandrabatis (Chandravati) between the River Mahi and the Arávali mountains.

55. And further, all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Skythia. Of this the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Paatalañé, and the region above this is Abiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Sýrásñél. The towns of Indo-Skythia are these: to the west of the river at some distance therefrom:

56. Artoarta ........... 121° 30' 31° 15'
Andrapana ........... 121° 15' 30° 40'
Sabana ................. 122° 20' 32°
Banagarë ........... 122° 15' 30° 20'
Kodranà ............. 121° 15' 29° 20'

Ptolemy from his excursion to the Upper Ganges now reverts to the Indus and completes its geogra-

phy by describing Indo-Skythia, a vast region which comprised all the countries traversed by the Indus, from where it is joined by the river of Kábul onward to the ocean. We have already pointed out how Ptolemy's description is here vitiated by his making the combined stream of the Panjáb rivers join the Indus only one degree below its junction with the Kábul, instead of six degrees, or half way between that point and the ocean. The egregious error he has here committed seems altogether inexcusable, for whatever may have been the sources from which he drew his information, he evidently neglected the most accurate and the most valuable of all—the records, namely, of the Makedonian invasion as transmitted in writings of unimpeachable credit. At best, however, it must be allowed the determination of sites in the Indus valley is beset with peculiar uncertainty. The towns being but very slightly built are seldom of more than ephemeral duration, and if, as often happens they are destroyed by inundations, every trace is lost of their ever having existed. The river besides frequently changes its course and leaves the towns which it abandons to sink into decay and utter oblivion. Such places again as still exist after escaping these and other casualties, are now known under names either altogether different from the ancient, or so much changed as to be hardly recognizable. This instability of the nomenclature is due to the frequency with which the valley has been conquered by foreigners. The period at which the Skythians first appeared in the valley which was destined to bear their name for several centuries has been ascertained with precision from Chinese sources. We thence gather that a wandering horde of Tibetan extraction called Yuei-chi or Ye-tha in the 2nd century B.C. left Tangut, their native country, and, advancing westward found for themselves a new home amid the pasture-lands of Zungaria. Here they had been settled for about thirty years when the invasion of a new horde compelled them to migrate to the Steppes which lay to the north of the Jaxartes. In these new seats they halted for only two years, and in the year 128 B.C. they crossed over to the southern bank of the Jaxartes where they made themselves masters of the rich provinces between that river and the Oxus, which had lately before belonged to the Grecian kings of Baktiría. This new conquest did not long satisfy their ambition, and they continued to no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel of the river, but above that of the (now) inundation.

4 Aristoboulos as we learn from Strabo (lib. XV, c. 1.19) when sent into this part of India saw a tract of land deserted which contained 1,000 cities with their dependent villages, the Indus having left its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract so that it
advance southwards till they had overrun in succession Eastern Baktriana, the basin of the Köphès, the basin of the Etymaner with Arakhūsia, and finally the valley of the Indus and Syrastrēnē. This great horde of the Yetha was divided into several tribes, whereof the most powerful was that called in the Chinese annals Kwei-ahwang. It acquired the supremacy over the other tribes, and gave its name to the kingdom of the Yetha. They are identical with the Kushān. The great King Kaniška, who was converted to Buddhism and protected that faith was a Kushan. He reigned in the first century of the Christian era and ruled from Baktriana to Kaśmir, and from the Oxus to Surāshtra. These Kushans of the Panjāb and the Indus are no others than the Indo-Skythians of the Greeks. In the Rājatarāngini they are called Sāka and Turnahaka (Turks). Their prosperity could not have been of very long duration, for the author of the Periplous, who wrote about half a century after Kaniška's time mentions that "Minnagar the metropolis of Skythia was governed by Parthian princes" and this statement is confirmed by Parthian coins being found everywhere in this part of the country. Max Müller, in noticing that the presence of Turanian tribes in India as recorded by Chinese historians is fully confirmed by coins and inscriptions and the traditional history of the country such as it is, adds that nothing attests the presence of these tribes more clearly than the blank in the Brahmanical literature of India from the first century before to the 3rd after our era. He proposes therefore to divide Sanskrit literature into two—the one (which he would call the ancient and natural) before, and the other (which he would call the modern and artificial) after the Turanian invasion. In his Indo-Skythia Ptolemy includes Patalēnē, Abiria and Syrastrēnē. The name does not occur in Roman authors.

Patalēnē, so called from its capital Patala, was the delta at the mouth of the Indus. It was not quite so large as the Egyptian delta with which the classical writers frequently compare it. Before its conquest by the Skythians it had been subject to the Graeco-Baktrian kings. Its reduction to their authority is attributed by Strabo (lib. XI, c. xii, 1) to Menander or to Dēmētrios, the son of Euthydēmos.

Abiria:—The country of the Aḥīra (the Abrisa of common speech) lay to the east of the Indus, above where it bifurcates to form the delta. In Sanskrit works their name is employed to designate generally the pastoral tribes that inhabit the lower districts of the North-West as far as Sindh. That Abiria is the Ophir of Scripture is an opinion that has been maintained by scholars of eminence.

Syrastrēnē represents the Sanskrit Surāshtra (the modern Sorath) which is the name in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas for the Peninsula of Gujarāt. In after times it was called Valabhi. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xi) in his enumeration of the tribes of this part of India mentions the Horatae, who have, he says, a fine city, defended by marshes, wherein are kept man-eating crocodiles that prevent all entrance except by a single bridge. The name of this people is no doubt a corruption of Sorath. They have an inverterate propensity to sound the letter S as an H.

Ptolemy distributes into six groups the names of the 41 places which he specifies as belonging to the Indus valley and its neighbourhood. The towns of the second group indicate by their relative positions that they were successive stages on the great caravan route which ran parallel with the western bank of the river all the way from the Köphès junction downward to the coast. The towns of the fourth group were in like manner successive stages on another caravan route, that which on the eastern side of the river traversed the country from the great confluence with the combined rivers of the Panjāb downward to the Delta. The towns of the first group (5 in number) belonged to the upper part of the valley, and were situated near the Köphès junction. They are mentioned in a list by themselves, as they did not lie on the great line of communication above mentioned. The third group consists of the two towns which were the chief mart of commerce in the Delta. The towns of the fifth group (7 in number) lay at distances more or less considerable from the eastern side of the Delta. The towns of the sixth group were included in the territory of the Khatriaioi, which extended on both sides of the river from its confluence with the Panjāb rivers as far as the Delta. None of them can now be identified (See Étude, pp. 234 sqq.) and of the first group—Artoara, Sabana, Kodrana cannot be identified.

Anrapana:—Cunningham (p. 86) thinks this is probably Draband, or Derāband, near Dera-Ismail-Khān.

Banagara (for Bana-nagara):—Banna or Banu is often cited as the name of a town and a district that lay on the line of communication between Kābul and the Indus. It was visited both by Fa-Hian and Himen-Tsiang. The former calls the country Po-na, i.e., Bana. The latter calls it Fa-la-na, whence Cunningham conjectures that the original name was Varana or Barna.
It consisted of the lower half of the valley of the Kurun river, and was distant from Langhan a 15 days' journey southward. It is one of the largest, richest and most populous districts to the west of the Indus.—(See Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 84-86).

57. And along the river:
Emboliama ........................................... 124° 31'
Pentagramma ........................................... 124° 30' 20'
Asigrama ........................................... 123° 29' 30'
Tiausa ........................................... 121° 30' 28' 50'
Aristabhrum ........................................... 120° 27' 30'
Azika .......................................... 119° 20' 27'

58. Pardabhrum ........................................... 117° 23' 30'
Piska ....................................................... 116° 30' 25'
Pasipeda ........................................... 114° 30' 24'
Sousikana ........................................... 112° 22' 20'
Bonis ................................................... 111° 21' 30'
Kolaka ........................................... 110° 30' 20' 40'

Emboliama was situated on the Indus at a point about 60 miles above Atatak, where the river escapes with great impetuosity from a long and narrow gorge, which the ancients mistook for its source. Here, on the western bank, rises the fort of Amb, now in ruins, crowning a position of remarkable strength, and facing the small town of Derbend, which lies on the opposite side of the river. The name of Amb suggested to that it might represent the first part of the name of Emboliama, and this supposition was raised to certitude when it was discovered that another ruin not far off, crowning a pinnacle of the same hill on which Amb is seated, preserves to this day in the tradition of the inhabitants the name of Balimah. Emboliama is mentioned by Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxvii) who represents its sites at a great distance from the rock of Aornos—which as Abbott has shown, was Mount Malab, a hill abutting on the western bank of the Indus, about eight miles west from Emboliama. It is called by Curtius Emboliama (Anab. lib. VIII, c. xii) but he gives its position wrongly—at sixteen days' march from the Indus. Ptolemy assigns it to the same latitude and longitude which he assigns to the point where the Kabor river and Indus unite. It was erroneously supposed that Emboliama was a word of Greek origin from Ἐμβολή, 'the mouth of a river' conf. Cunningham, Geog. of Anc. Ind., pp. 52 ff.).

Pentagramma:—To the north of the Kōphēs at a distance of about forty miles S.W. from Emboliama is a place called Panjpur, which agrees closely both in its position and the signification of its name (5 towns) with the Pentagramma of Ptolemy.

Asigrama and the five towns that come after it cannot be identified.

Pasipeda:—Saint-Martin thinks this may be the Besmeid of the Arab Geographers, which, as they tell us was a town of considerable importance, lying east of the Indus on the route from Mandora to Multan. Its name is not to be found in any existing map; but as the Arab itineraries all concur in placing it between Rond (now Roda) and Multan, at a three days' journey from the former, and a two days' journey from the latter, we may determine its situation to have been as far down the river as Mikhan-kot, where the great confluence now takes place. If the fact that Besmeid was on the eastern side of the river stagers our faith in this identification, Saint-Martin would remind us that this part of the tables is far from presenting us with a complete or systematic treatment of the subject, and that the only way open to us of restoring some part at least of these lists is to have recourse to synonyms. He contends that when we find in the Arab itineraries (which are documents of the same nature precisely as those which Ptolemy made use of) names resembling each other placed in corresponding directions, we ought to attach more weight to such coincidences than to the contradictions real, or apparent, which present themselves in the text of our author. Analogous transpositions occur in other lists, as, for instance, in the list of places in the Namda basin. Cunningham, thinking it strange that a notable place of great antiquity like Schwān, which he identifies with Sindomana, should not be mentioned by Ptolemy under any recognizable name, hinders the conjecture that it may be either his Piska or Pasipeda. "If we take," he says, "Haidarābād as the most probable head of the Delta in ancient times, then Ptolemy's Śyдраs, which is on the eastern bank of the Indus, may perhaps be identified with the old site of Matiali, 12 miles above Haidarābād, and his Pasipeda with Schwān. The identification of Ptolemy's Oskana with the Oxikana or Portikana of Alexander and with the great mound of Mahora of the present day is I think almost certain. If so, either Piska or Pasipeda must be Schwān."

Sousikana:—It is generally agreed that this is a corrupt reading for Musikana, the royal city of Musikanos, who figures so conspicuously in the records of the Makedonian Invasion, and whose kingdom was described to Alexander as being the richest and most populous in all India. Cunningham (p. 257) identifies this place with Alor, which was for many ages the capital of the powerful kingdom of Upper Sindh. Its ruins, as he informs us, are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills which stretches
southwards from Bakhar for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand-hills which bound the Nára or old bed of the Indus on the west. Through this gap a branch of the Indus once flowed which protected the city on the north-west. To the north-east it was covered by a second branch of the river which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of three miles. When Alór was deserted by the river, it was supplanted by the strong fort of Bakhar (p. 258). The same author thinks it probable that Alór may be the Binagara of Ptolemy, as it is placed on the Indus to the eastward of Osyna, which appears to be the Oxykanus of Arrian and Curtius.

Bóina:—The table places this at the point of bifurcation of the western mouth of the river and an interior arm of it. Arab geographers mention a town called Bania in Lower Sindh, situated at the distance of a single journey below Mansurá. This double indication would appear to suit very well with Banna, which stands at the point where the Pinari separate from the principal arm about 25 miles above Thaṭṭha. Its position is however on the eastern bank of the river. (Etude, pp. 288, 289.)

Kóla or Kóla is probably identical with the Krókala of Arrian's Indíka (sec. 21), which mentions it as a small sandy island where the fleet of Nearkhoes remained at anchor for one day. It lay in the bay of Karčí, which is situated in a district called Karkalla even now.

59. And in the islands formed by the river are these towns:—
   Pátala..........................112° 30' 21°
   Barbarei..........................113° 15' 22° 30'

60. And east of the river at some distance therefrom are these towns:—
   Xodrákē..........................116° 24°
   Sarbana..........................116° 22° 50'
   Auxoamis..........................115° 30' 22° 20'
   Asinda..........................114° 15' 22°
   Orbadosaur or Ordabarel......115° 22°
   Théopila..........................114° 15' 21° 10'
   Astakapra..........................114° 40' 20° 15'

Pátala as we learn from Arrian was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouths of the Indus. It was situated, he expressly states, at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. This indication would of itself have sufficed for its identification, had the river continued to flow in its ancient channels. It has, however, frequently changed its course, and from time to time shifted the point of bifurcation. Hence the question regarding the site of Pátala has occasioned much controversy. Rennell and Vincent, followed by Burns and Ritter, placed it at Thāṭṭha; Droysoen, Benfey, Saint-Martin, and Cunningham, at Haidarábád (the Mrínakot of Arab writers), and McMurdo, followed by Wilson and Lassen, at a place about 90 miles to the north-east of Haidarábád. The last supposition is quite tenable, while the arguments in favour of Haidarábád, which at one time was called Pátalapúr, appear to be quite conclusive. (See Saint-Martin, pp. 280 ff., Cunningham, pp. 279—287.) Pátala figures conspicuously in the history of the Macedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus, and here he remained with it for a considerable time. Seeing how advantageously it was situated for strategy as well as commerce, he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. Before finally leaving India he made two excursions from it to the ocean, sailing first down the western and then down the eastern arm of the river. Pátala in Sanskrit mythology was the name of the lowest of the seven regions in the interior of the earth, and hence may have been applied to denote generally the parts where the sun descends into the under world, the land of the west, as in contrast to Práchayaka, the land of the east. Pátala in Sanskrit means 'the trumpet-flower,' and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have been so called from some resemblance in its shape to that of this flower. The classic writers generally spell the name as Pátala.

Barbarei:—The position of Barbarei, like that of Pátala, has been the subject of much discussion. The table of Ptolemy places it to the north of that city, but erroneously, since Barbarei was a maritime port. It is mentioned in the Períplés under the name of Barbárikón, as situated on the middle mouth of the Indus. D'Anville in opposition to all the data placed it at Débal Sindhi, the great emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, or at Karčí, while Elliot, followed by Cunningham, placed it at an ancient city, of which some ruins are still to be found, called Bámabara, and situated almost midway between Karčí and Thaṭṭha on the old western branch of the river which Alexander reconnoitred. Burns again, followed by Ritter, placed it at Richel,
and Saint-Martin a little further still to the east at Bandar Vikar on the Hajamari mouth, which has at several periods been the main channel of the river.

**Xodrake and Sarbana or Sardana.**—As the towns in this list are given in their order from north to south, and as Astakapra, the most southern, was situated on the coast of the peninsula of Gujarat, right opposite the mouth of the river Narmada, the position of Xodrake and the other places in the list must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the Rañ of Kachh. Xodrake and Sarbana have not been identified, but Yule doubtfully places the latter on the Sambhar Lake. Lassen takes Xodrake to be the capital of the Xudrak, and locates it in the corner of land between the Vitastá and Chandrabhágá (Ind. Alt. vol. III. p. 145).

**Asinda.**—According to Saint-Martin, may perhaps be Siddapur (Siddhapura), a town on the river Sarasvati, which rising in the Aravalli empties into the Gulf of Kachch (pp. 246-247).

**Auxam or Axumis.**—The same authority would identify this with Sâm, a place of importance and seat of a Muhammadan chief, lying a little to the east of the Sarasvatí and distant about twenty-five miles from the sea. Yule however suggests that Ajmir may be its modern representation.

**Orbadar or Ordabari.**—Yule doubtfully identifies this with Arbuda or Mount Abé, the principal summit of the Arávalí. Pliny mentions alongside of the Horatae (in Gujarat) the Od. omo boerae which may perhaps be a different form of the same word. The name Ujumbari is one well-known in Sanskrit antiquity, and designated a royal race mentioned in the Harivánaśa.

**Theophila.**—This is a Greek compound meaning 'dear to God,' and has no doubt a translation of some indigenous name. Lassen has suggested that of Sardhir, in its Sanskrit form Surádara, which means 'adoration of the gods.' Sardhir is situated in a valley of the Rávata mountains so celebrated in the legends of Krishna. Yule suggests Dewliya, a place on the isthmus, which connects the peninsula with the mainland; Dr. Burgess, Thán, the chief town of a district traditionally known as Deva-Paúchál, lying a little further west than Dewliya. Col. Watson writes—'The only places I can think of for Theophila are—1. Gúndi, the ancient Gundigádh, one and a half or two miles further up the Hatap river, of which city Hástakavrapra was the port. This city was one of the halting-places of the Bhavangar Bráhmaṇa ere they came to Gogha. It was no doubt by them considered dear to the gods. It was connected with Hástakavrapra and was a city of renown and ancient. 2. Pardwa or Priyadéva, an old village about four or five miles west of Hatap. It is said to have been contemporary with Valabhi, and there is an ancient Jain temple there, and it is said that the Jains of Gündigáadh had their chief temple there. 3. Dèvagana, an ancient village at the foot of the west slopes of the Kulokras about 18 miles from Hástap to the westward.'

**Astakapra.**—This is mentioned in the Periplus (sec. 41), as being near a promontory on the eastern side of the peninsula which directly confronted the mouth of the Narmáda on the opposite side of the gulf. It has been satisfactorily identified with Hástakavrapra, a name which occurs in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I., of Valabhi, and which is now represented by Hathab near Bhavnagar. Bühler thinks that the Greek form is not derived immediately from the Sanskrit, but from an intermediate old Prakrit word Hástakampra. (See Ind. Alt., vol. V, pp. 204, 314.)

61. Along the river are these towns—:

- **Panasa** ............. 122° 30' 29°
- **Boudais** ............ 121° 15' 28° 15'
- **Naagrampa** ......... 120° 27°
- **Kamíguna** .......... 119° 26° 20'
- **Binagara** .......... 118° 25° 20'
- **Parabali** .......... 116° 30' 24° 30'
- **Sydros** ............. 114° 21° 20'
- **Epitaloasa** ........ 113° 45' 22° 30'
- **Xoana** ............. 113° 30' 21° 30'

**Panasa.**—The table places Panasa one degree farther south than the confluence of the Zaradros and the Indus. Ptolemy, as we have seen, egregiously misplaced this confluence, and we cannot therefore from this indication learn more than that Panasa must have been situated lower down the Indus than Pasigádh (Besmaid) and Alexandria of the Malli which lay near the confluence. A trace of its name Saint-Martin thinks is preserved in that of Osampur, a town on the left of the river, 21 miles below Mittankót.

**Boudais.**—According to Saint-Martin this is very probably the same place as a fort of Budhia or Bodhpur, mentioned in the Arab chronicles of the conquest of Upper Sind and situated probably between Alór and Mittankót. Yule identifies it with Budha, a place to the west of the Indus and south from the Bolan Pass.

**Naagarama.**—This Yule identifies with Naoshena, a place about 20 miles to the south of Besmaid. Both words mean the same, 'new town.'

**Kamíguna.**—The ruins of Arór which are visible at a distance of four miles to the south-east of Kori, are still known in the neighbourhood under
the name of Kaman. If to this word we add the common Indian affix *nagar*—“city,” we have a near approach to the Kamigara of Ptolemy.

**Binagara:**—This some take to be a less correct form than *Minnagar* given in the *Periplus*, where it is mentioned as the metropolis of Skythia, but under the government of Parthian princes, who were constantly at feud with each other for the supremacy. Its position is very uncertain. Cunningham would identify it with Alor. Yule, following McMurdo, places it much further south near Brahmamandab, which is some distance north from Haidarbâd. The *Periplus* states that it lay in the interior above Barbarikon (sec. 38).

**Xoana:**—Yule suggests that this may be Sewana, a place in the country of the Bhaulingas, between the desert and the Aravalli.

**62. The parts east of Indo-Skythia along the coast belong to the country of Lârîkê, and here in the interior to the west of the river Namados is a mart of commerce, the city of Barygaza...**

**63. To the east of the river:**

Agrinagara... 118° 15' 22° 30'
Sîripalla... 118° 30' 21° 30'
Sâmmogoura... 116° 20' 20° 45'
Sazantion... 115° 30' 20° 30'
Zêrogerei... 116° 20' 19° 50'
Osânê, the capital of Tiarstanes... 117° 20'
Minagara... 115° 10' 19° 30'
Tiatoura... 115° 50' 18° 50'
Nasika... 114° 17'

Lârîkê—Lardes was an early name for the territory of Gujarath and the Northern Konkan. The name long survived, for the sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muhammadan time called the sea of Lâr, and the language spoken on its shores was called by Masudhi, Lari (Yule’s *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 333, n.). Ptolemy’s Lârîkê was a political rather than a geographical division and as such comprehended in addition to the part of the sea-board to which the name was strictly applicable, an extensive inland territory, rich in agricultural and commercial products, and possessing large and flourishing towns, acquired no doubt by military conquest.

**Barygaza**, now Bharóch, which is still a large city, situated about 30 miles from the sea on the north side of the river Narmadâ, and on an elevated mound supposed to be artificial, raised about 80 feet above the level of the sea. The place is repeatedly mentioned in the *Periplus*. At the time when that work was written, it was the greatest seat of commerce in Western India, and the capital of a powerful and flourishing state. The etymology of the name is thus explained by Dr. John Wilson (Indian Castes, vol. II, p. 110): “The Bhargavas derive their designation from Bhargava, the adjective form of Bhirgu, the name of one of the ancient Rishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharóch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhirgu having been early established in this Kshatra, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name Barugaza given to it by Ptolemy, we have a Greek corruption of Bhirugukshētra (the territory of Bhirgu) or Bhirugukuncha, ‘the tongue-land of Bhirgu.” The illiterate Gujaratis pronounce Bhirugukshētra as Bargacha, and hence the Greek form of the name.

**Agrinagara:**—This means ‘the town of the Agri.’ Yule places it at Ágar, about 30 miles to the N. E. of Ujjain.

Sîripalla.—A place of this name (spelt Sripala) has already been mentioned as situated where the Namados (Narmadâ) changes the direction of its course. Lassen therefore locates it in the neighbourhood of Haump, where the river turns to southward.

**Sazantion:**—This may perhaps be identical with Sujintra, a small place some distance north from the upper extremity of the Bay of Khamdâb.

**Zêrogerei:**—This is referred by Yule to Dhâr, a place S. W. of Osânê, about one degree.

**Osânê:**—This is a transliteration of Ujjaini, the Sanskrit name of the old and famous city of Avanti, still called Ujjain. It was the capital of the celebrated Vikramāditya, who having expelled the Skythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India, restored the Hindū monarchy to its ancient splendour. It was one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindūs, and the first meridian of their astronomers. We learn from the *Mahâbârata* that Asha, the grandson of Chandragupta (Sandrakottos) was sent by his father the king of Pataliputra (Patna) to be the viceroy of Ujjain, and also that about a century and a half later (B.C. 157) a certain Buddhist high priest took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dakhinagiri temple at Ujjain to Ceylon to assist there in laying the foundation stone of the great temple at Anurâdhapura. A century later than this is the date of the expulsion of the Skythians by Vikramāditya, which forms the era in Indian Chronology called Śaśvat (57 B.C.) The next
notice of Ujjain is to be found in the *Periplús* where we read (Sec. 48) “Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozenë, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or export to other parts of India, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mollusk-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country through Proklaí for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and bdellium.” From this we see that about a century and a half after Vikramaditya’s era Ujjain was still a flourishing city, though it had lost something of its former importance and dignity from being no longer the residence of the sovereign. The ancient city no longer exists, but its ruins can be traced at the distance of a mile from its modern successor. Ptolemy tells us that in his time Ozenë was the capital of Tiṣastama. This name transliterates Chashṭana, one which is found on coins and the cave temple inscriptions of Western India. This prince appears to have been the founder of the Kashtrapa dynasty of Western India (see *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 171).

Minagara is mentioned in the *Periplús*, where its name is more correctly given as Mínñagá, i.e. ‘the city of the Mín’ or Skythians. This Minagara appears to have been the residence of the sovereign of Barygaza. Ptolemy places it about 2 degrees to the S.W. of Ozenë. Yule remarks that it is probably the Manekir of Masa’udí, who describes it as a city lying far inland and among mountains. Benfey doubts whether there were in reality two cities of this name, and thinks that the double mention of Minagar in the *Periplús* is quite compatible with the supposition that there was but one city so called. (*Indien*, p. 91).

Tiátoura:—This would transliterate with Chittur, which, however, lies too far north for the position assigned to Tiátoura. Yule suggests, but doubtfully, its identity with Chandur. This however lies much too far south.

Nášika has preserved its name unaltered to the present day, distant 116 miles N.E. from Bombay. Its latitude is 20° N., but in Ptolemy only 17°. It was one of the most sacred seats of Brähmanism. It has also important Buddhist remains, being noted for a group of rock-temples. The word *nāśika* means in Sanskrit ‘nose.’

64. The parts farther inland are possessed by the *Poulindaí Agriophagoi*, and beyond them are the *Khatriaíoi*, to whom belong these cities, lying some east and some west of the Indus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigranigrama</td>
<td>124°</td>
<td>28° 15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antakhara</td>
<td>122°</td>
<td>27° 20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soudasanna ........................................... 123° 26° 50'
Syrnisika ............................................. 121° 26° 30'
Patisama .................................................. 121° 25'
Tisapatinga ........................................... 123° 24° 20'

The *Poulindaí Agriophagoi* are described as occupying the parts northward of those just mentioned. *Pulinda* is a name applied in Hindū works to a variety of aboriginal races. *Agriophagoi* is a Greek epithet, and indicates that the Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yale’s map they are located to the N. E. of the Raś, lying between the Khatriaíoi in the north and Larkin in the south. Another tribe of this name lived about the central parts of the Vindhyas.

Khatriaíoi:—According to Greek writers the people that held the territory comprised between the Hydrádés (Rávi) and the Hyphasis (Biya) were the Khatriaíoi, whose capital was Sangála. The *Maháâkârdha*, and the Páli Buddhist works speak of Sangála as the capital of the Madras, a powerful people often called also the Bahlkas. Lassen, in order to explain the substitution of name, supposes that the mixture of the Madras with the inferior castes had led them to assume the name of Khatrias (Kshatriya, the warrior caste), in token of their degradation, but this is by no means probable. The name is still found spread over an immense area in the N. W. of India, from the Hindū-kš in as far as Bengal, and from Népáli to Gujjārat, under forms slightly variant, Kāthi, Kattis, Kathías, Kattris, Khatris, Khetars, Kattaour, Kattair, Kattaks, and others. Some of these tribes, the Kāthias, issuing from the lower parts of Panjáb, established themselves in Suráshtra, and gave the name of Ksháhávād to the great peninsula of Gujjārat. (*Etude*, p. 104).

The six towns mentioned in section 64 can none of them be identified.

65. But again, the country between Mount Sardónyx and Mount Bétitogó belongs to the Tabasoi, a great race, while the country beyond them as far as the Vindhyas along, the eastern bank of the Namados, belongs to the Prapótai, who include the Rammánai, and whose towns are these:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kognabanda</td>
<td>120° 15'</td>
<td>23°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osabásia</td>
<td>120° 30'</td>
<td>23° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osthia</td>
<td>122° 30'</td>
<td>23° 30'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Kása, where are diamonds .................................. 121° 20' 22° 30'

Tabasoi is not an ethnic name, but designates a community of religious ascetics, and represents the Sanskrit *Tátpásas*, from *tapas* ‘heat’ or ‘religious austerity.’ The haunts of
these devotees may be assigned to the valley of the Tapti or Tapi (the Nanagouna of Ptolemy) to the south of the more western portion of the Vindhayas that produced the sardonyx.

Prairiei.—Lassen locates this people, including the subject race called the Rhamnai, in the upper half of the Narmada valley. From the circumstance that diamonds were found near Kosse, one of their towns, he infers that their territory extended as far as the Upper Vardad, where diamond mines were known to have existed. Kosse was probably situated in the neighbourhood of Baital, north of the sources of the Tapti and the Vardad.

Rhamnai.—The name of this people is one of the oldest in Indian ethnography. Their early seat was in the land of the Oreltai and Arabitai beyond the Indus, where they had a capital called Rambakia. As they were connected by race with the Brahui, whose speech must be considered as belonging to the Dekhan group of languages, we have here, says Lassen (Ind. Alt. vol. IV, p. 174), a fresh proof confirming the view that before the arrival of the Aryans all India, together with Greco-Scythia, was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race, and that the Rhamnai, who had at one time been settled in Greco-Scythia, had wandered thence as far as the Vindhya mountains. Yule conjectures that the Rhamnai may perhaps be associated with Ramagiri, now Ramtek, a famous holy place near Nagpur. The towns of the Prawri, four in number, cannot with certainty be identified.

66. About the Nanagouna are the Phyllitai and the Bettiwai, including the Kandalo along the country of the Phyllitai and the river, and the Ambasaiti along the country of the Bettiwai and the mountain range, and the following towns:—

67. Agara 129° 20' 25°
Adesathra 123° 30' 24° 30'
Soara 124° 20' 24°
Nygodosara 125° 23°
Anara 122° 30' 22° 20'

The Phyllitai occupied the banks of the Tapti lower down than the Rhamnai, and extended northward to the Saptara range. Lassen considers their name as a transliteration of Bhilla, with an appended Greek termination. The Bhilla are a well-known wild tribe spread to this day not only on the Upper Narmada and the parts of the Vindhya chain adjoining, but wider still towards the south and west. In Ptolemy's time their seats appear to have been further to the east than at present. Yule thinks it not impossible that the Phyllitai and the Drilophyllitai may represent the Pulinda, a name which, as has already been stated, is given in Hindustan works to a variety of aboriginal races. According to Caldwell (Draw. Gr. vol. p. 464) the name Bhilla (vill, vil) means 'a bow.'

Bettiwai is the correct reading, and if the name denotes, as it is natural to suppose, the people living near Mount Betitgā, then Ptolemy has altogether displaced them, for their real seats were in the country between the Kombatur Gap and the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Kandalo.—Lassen suspects that the reading here should be Gondalo, as the Gonds (who are nearly identical with the Khonds) are an ancient race that belonged to the parts here indicated. Yule, however, points out that Kantaladdas and the Kantalas appear frequently in lists and in inscriptions. The country was that, he adds, of which Kalyān was in after days the capital (Eliot, Jour. R. As. S. vol. IV, p. 3).

Ambasaiti.—These represent the Ambashtha of Sanskrit, a people mentioned in the Epics, where it is said that they fought with the club for a weapon. In the Laws of Manu the name is applied to one of the mixed castes which practised the healing art. A people called Ambaivaitai are mentioned by our author as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai. Lassen thinks these may have been connected in some way with the Ambasaiti. Their localities is quite uncertain. In Yule's map they are placed doubtfully to the south of the sources of the Mahanadi of Orissa.

Of the four towns, Agara, Soara, Nygodosara and Anara, in section 67, nothing is known.

Adesathra.—It would appear that there were two places in Ancient India which bore the name of Ahichattra, the one called by Ptolemy Adisara (for Adisandra), and the other as here, Adesathra. Adisara, as has been already shown, was a city of Rohilkhand. Adesathra, on the other hand, lay near to the centre of India. Yule quotes authorities which seem to place it, he says, near the Vindhya or the Narmada. He refers also to an inscription which mentions it as on the Sindh River, which he takes to be either the Kali-sind of Malwa, or the Little Kali-sind further west, which seems to be the Sindh of the Meghadāta. Ptolemy, singularly enough, disjoins Adesathra from the territory of the Adesathroi, where we would naturally expect him to place it. Probably, as Yule remarks, he took the name of the people from some Pauranik ethnic list and the name of the city from a traveller's route, and thus failed to make them fall into proper relation to each other.
68. Between Mount Béttigó and Ađeisathros are the Sórai nomads, with these towns:

Sangamarta .................. 133° 21°
Sóra, the capital of Arkatos 130° 21°

69. Again to the east of the Vindhya range is the territory of the (Bolingai or Bolingai) with these towns:

Stagabaza or Bastagaza ....... 133° 22° 30'
Bardatiss .................... 137° 30' 25° 30'

Sóra designates the northern portion of the Tamiš country. The name in Sanskrit is Chóla, in Telugu Choša, but in Tamiš Sóra or Chóra. Sóra is called the capital of Arkatos. This must be an error, for there can be little doubt that Arkatos was not the name of a prince, but of a city, the Árkád of the present day. This is so suitably situated, Caldwell remarks, as to suggest at once this identification, apart even from the close agreement as far as the sound is concerned. The name is properly Árkád, and means 'the six forests.' The Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, although it is not mentioned by name in the Puráñas (Drav. Gram., Introd. pp. 95, 96). There is a tradition that the inhabitants of that part of the country between Madras and the Ghápta including Árkád as its centre were Kurumbaras, or wandering shepherds, for several centuries after the Christian era. Cunningham takes Arkatos to be the name of a prince, and inclines to identify Sóra with Zóra or Jóra (the Jorampur of the maps) an old town lying immediately under the walls of Kárnal. The Sórai he takes to be the Suari (Geog. p. 547).

Bolingai or Bolingai—Ptolemy has transplanted this people from their proper seats, which lay where the Áravalli range slopes westward towards the Indus, and placed them to the east of the Vindhyas. He has left us however the means of correcting his error, for he makes them next neighbours to the Pórovaroi, whose position can be fixed with some certainty. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) mentions the Bolingae and locates them properly. According to Páníni, Bholingi was the seat of one of the branches of the great tribe of the Sáivas or Sálvas.

Stagabaza:—Yule conjectures this may be Bhójapar, which he says was a site of extreme antiquity, on the upper stream of the Bétwa, where are remains of vast hydraulic works ascribed to a king Bhója (J. A. S. Beng. vol. XVI, p. 740). To account for the first part of the name stagá he suggests the query: Tatóka-Bhója, the 'tank' or 'lake' of Bhója?

Báf dáotis:—This may be taken to represent the Sanskrit Bhadravati, a name, says Yule, famed in the Epic legends, and claimed by many cities. Cunningham, he adds, is disposed to identify it with the remarkable remains (pre-Ptolemaic) discovered at Bhirád, west of Ráwá.

70. Beyond these is the country of the Pórovaroi with these towns:

Bridama ................... 134° 30' 27° 30'
Tholoubana ................. 136° 20' 27°
Malaita .................... 136° 30' 25° 50'

71. Beyond these as far as the Ouxentos range are the Ađeisathroi with these towns:

Maleiba ................. 140° 27° 20'
Aaspátis .................. 138° 30' 25° 20'
Panassa ................. 137° 40' 24° 30'
Ságéda, the Metropoliis ........ 133° 23° 30'
Balantipyrgon .......... 136° 30' 23° 30'

Pórovaroi (Póvaroi):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which after the time of Alexander was all predominant in Rájasthána under the name of the Pramáras. The race figures conspicuously both in the legendary and real history of the North of India. It is mentioned in the hymns of the Veda, and frequently in the Mahábhárata, where the first kings of the Lunar race are represented as being Pauravas that reigned over the realms included between the Upper Ganges and the Yamuná. The later legends are silent concerning them, but they appear again in real history and with fresh distinction, for the gallant Póros, who so intrepidly contended against Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspé, was the chief of a branch of the Paurava whose dominions lay to the west of that river, and that other Póros who went on an embassy to Augustus and boasted himself to be the lord paramount of 600 vassal kings was also of the same exalted lineage. Even at the present day some of the noblest houses reigning in different parts of Rájasthán claim to be descended from the Pauravas, while the songs of the national bards still extol the vanished grandeur and the power and glory of this ancient race. Saint-Martin locates the Pórovaroi of the text in the west of Upper India, in the very heart of the Rájpút country, though the table would lead us to place them much farther to the east. In the position indicated the name even of the Pórovaroi is found almost without alteration in the Purvar of the inscriptions, in the Pórovaras of the Jain clans, as much as in the designation spread everywhere of Póvars and of Póurás, forms variously altered, but still closely approaching the classic Paurava. (Étude, pp. 337 sq.)
The names of the three towns assigned to the Pórraroi, —Bridama, Tholoubana and Malaita designate obscure localities, and their position can but be conjectured. Saint-Martin suggests that the first may be Dildana, the second Dobdana, and the third Plaiata, all being places in Rajputana. Yule, however, for Bridama proposes Bārdnāwā, a place in a straight line from Indor to Nimach, and for Malaita,—Maltaun; this place is in the British territory of Sagar and Narmadā, on the southern declivity of the Narmal Pass.

Adeisathroi:—It has already been pointed out that as Ptolemy has assigned the sources of the Khabēris (the Kavē) to his Mount Adeisathros, we must identify that range with the section of the Western Ghāta which extends immediately northward from the Kolimbatur Gap. He places Adeisathros however in the central parts of India, and here accordingly we must look for the cities of the eponymous people. Five are mentioned, but Sāgēda only, which was the metropolis, can be identified with some certainty. The name represents the Sākētsa of Sanskrit. Sākētsa was another name for Ayodhyā on the Sarayū, a city of vast extent and famous as the capital of the kings of the Solar race and as the residence for some years of Sākramuni, the founder of Buddhism. The Sāgēda of our text was however a different city, identified by Dr. F. Hall with Tēwar, near Jabalpur, the capital of the Chēdi, a people of Bāndelakhand, renowned in Epic poetry. Cunningham thinks it highly probable that the old form of the name of this people was Changēdē and may be preserved in the Sāgēda of Ptolemy and in the Chi-ki-tho of Huien-Tsiang in Central India, near the Narmadā. He says:—“The identification which I have proposed of Ptolemy’s Sāgēda Metropolis with Chēdi appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, Sāgēda is the capital of the Adeisathroi which I take to be a Greek rendering of Hayakshētra or the country of the Hayas or Hāhayas. It adjoins the country of the Bēttigoi, whom I would identify with the people of Vakā-taka, whose capital was Bhāndak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Sōn, is named Bālandψyrgon, or Bālamψyrgon. This I take to be the famous Fort of Bāndogārā, which we now formed part of the Chēdi dominions. To the north-east was Panasā, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parnās or Banās River, a tributary which joins the Sōn to the north-east of Bāndogārā. To the north of the Adeisathroi, Ptolemy places the Pōrraroi or Pārhrā, in their towns named Tholoubana, Bridama, and Malaita. The first I would identify with Boribnā (Bahruribnā) by reading Osīoubana or Voloubana. The second must be Bihāri; and the last may be Lameta, which gives its name to the Ghāta on the Narmadā, opposite Tēwar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness.”

Archeol. Surv. of Ind., vol. IX, pp. 55—57.

Panassā:—This in Yule’s map is doubtfully placed at Panasā, a decaying town in Bāndelakhand with diamond mines in the neighbourhood. In the same map Balandψ is suggested as the representative of Bālandψyrgon.

72. Further east than the Adeisathroi towards the Ganges are the Mandālai with this city:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashagoura</td>
<td>143°</td>
<td>25°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalakā</td>
<td>141°</td>
<td>29° 30’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigalla</td>
<td>143°</td>
<td>28°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palimbothra, the Royal residence</td>
<td>143°</td>
<td>27°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamalitēs</td>
<td>144°30’</td>
<td>26° 30’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oropaphanta</td>
<td>146°30’</td>
<td>24° 30’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73. And on the river itself these towns:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brakhmā</td>
<td>128°</td>
<td>19°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bēttigō are occupied by the Brahmaṇai Magoi as far as the Batai with this city:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tathilba</td>
<td>134°</td>
<td>18° 50’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75. The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Aouroi are occupied by the Badiamaicis with this city:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suzbrion</td>
<td>139°</td>
<td>22° 20’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opotoura</td>
<td>137°30’</td>
<td>21° 40’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osana</td>
<td>138°15’</td>
<td>20° 30’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mandalai:—The territory of the Mandalai lies in that upland region where the Sōn and the Narmadā have their sources. Here a town situated on the latter river still bears the name Mandāl. It is about 50 miles distant from Jabalpur to the south-east, and is of some historic note. Ptolemy has, however, assigned to the Mandalai dominions far beyond their proper limits, for to judge from the towns which he gives them they must have occupied all the right bank of the Ganges from its confluence with the Jamnā downwards to the Bay of Bengal. But that this is improbable may be inferred from the fact that Palimbothra (Pāttha) which the table makes to be one of their cities, did not
belong to them, but was the capital of Prasiakê, which, as has already been remarked, is pushed far too high up the river. Tamalitês, moreover, which has been satisfactorily identified with Tamulk, a river port about 35 miles S. W. from Calcutta possessed, according to Wilford, a large territory of its own. The table also places it only half a degree more to the southward than Palimbothra, while in reality it is more than 3 or 4 deg. Cunningham inclines to identify with the Mundalai the Mundas of Chutia Nâgpur, whose language and country, he says, are called Mundala, and also with the Malli of Pliny (lib. VI. c. xxi.) "ANC. GEOG. OF IND., pp. 508, 509.

Sambalaka,—A city of the same name attributed to Prasiakê (sec. 53) has been already identified with Sambhal in Rohilkhand. The Sambalaka of the Mandalai may perhaps be Sambhalpur on the Upper Mahanâdl, the capital of a district which produces the finest diamonds in the world.

Sigalla,—This name has a suspicious likeness to Sahala, the name of the city to the west of Lâhor, which was besieged and taken by Alexander, and which Ptolemy has erroneously placed in Prasiakê (sec. 53).

Palimbothra,—The more usual form of the name is Palibothra, a transcription of Pâliputra, the spoken form of Pataliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha, and a name still frequently applied to the city of Pâñâk which is its modern representative. In the times of Chandragupta (the Sandrokottos of the Greeks) and the kings of his dynasty, Palibothra was the capital of a great empire which extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. Remains of the wooden wall by which the city, as we learn from Strabo, was defended, were discovered a few years ago in Pâñâk (by workmen engaged in digging a tank) at a depth of from 12 to 15 feet below the surface of the ground. Palimbothra, as we have noticed, did not belong to the Mandalai but to the Prasiakê.

Tamalitês represents the Sanskrit Tamralipti, the modern Tamulk, a town lying in a low and damp situation on a broad reach or bay of the Rasnârâyan River, 12 miles above its junction with the Hugli mouth of the Ganges. The Pâli form of the name was Tamalititis, and this account for the form in Greek. Pliny mentions a people called Talucaea belonging to this part of India, and the similarity of the name leaves little doubt of their identity with the people whose capital was Tamulk. This place, in ancient times, was the great emporium of the trade between the Ganges and Ceylon. We have already pointed out how wide Ptolemy was of the mark in fixing its situation relatively to Palimbothra.

Brahmanai Magoi:—Mr. J. Campbell has suggested to me that by Brahmanai Magoi may be meant 'sons of the Brähmans,' that is, Canarese Brähmans, whose forefathers married women of the country, the word magoi representing the Canarese maga, 'a son.' The term, he says, is still in common use, added to the name of castes, as Haiga-Makalu (Makalu,—plural of maga) i.e. Haiga Brähmans. Lassen supposed that Ptolemy, by adding Magoi to the name of these Brähmans, meant to imply either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brähmans who had adopted the tenets of the Magi, and expresses his surprise that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition. The country occupied by these Brähmans was about the upper Kâveri, and extended from Mount Bêttigé eastward as far as the Batâi.

Brahmâ:—"Can this," asks Caldwell, "be Brahmadéem, an ancient town on the Tamraparâ, not far from the foot of the Podige Mount (Mt. Bêtîgî) which I have found referred to in several ancient inscriptions?"

Badamaloi:—There is in the district of Belgaum a town and hill-fort on the route from Kalâdgi to Balâri, not far from the Mâlrâbhâ, a tributary of the Kriânâ, called Badâmi, and here we may locate the Badamaloi. Tathîba, their capital, cannot be recognized.

Drilophyllitai:—These are placed by Ptolemy at the foot of the Ouxentos, and probably had their seats to the south-west of that range. Their name indicates them to have been a branch of the Phyllitai, the Bihls, or perhaps Pulindas. Lassen would explain the first part of their name from the Sanskrit drîdha (strong) by the change of the dh into the liquid. Ozoâna, one of their three towns is, perhaps, Seoni, a place about 60 miles N. E. from Nâgpur.

77. Further east than these towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with this city:

Dôsara ........................................142° 30' 22° 30'

78. And on the river farther west:

Kartinaga ..................................146° 23°

Kartasina ..................................146° 21° 40'

79. Under the Maislölo the Salâkênol towards the Oroudian (or Arourrain) Mountains with these cities:

Bênagouron ................................140° 20° 15'

Kastra ......................................138° 19° 30'

Magaris ....................................137° 30' 18° 20'
Towards the Ganges River the Saba-rai, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance, their towns are:

Tasopion ............................ 140° 30' 22'
Karkardama ............................ 141° 20° 15'

All the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with this city:

Gangê, the Royal residence...146° 10° 15'
Kokkonagai: Lassen locates this tribe in Chintia Nagpur, identifying Dôsarâ with Doesê in the hill country, between the upper courses of the Vaitara and Suvarnârâkha. He explains their name to mean the people of the mountains where koka grows, koka being the name of a kind of palm-tree. Yule suggests that the name may represent the Sanskrit Kâkamukha, which means 'crow-faced,' and was the name of a mythical race. He places them on the Upper Mahânadi and farther west than Lassen. The table gives them two towns near the Ganges.

Kartasina and Kartasina: The former, Yule thinks, may be Karaghar near Bhagalpur, perhaps an ancient site, regarding which he refers to the Jour. B. As. Soc. vol. XVIII, p. 395; Kartasina he takes to be Karkasânagâ, another ancient site near Berhampur (J. R. A. S. N. S., vol. VI, p. 248 and J. A. S. B., vol. XXII, p. 291).

Salakeno: This people may be located to the west of the Godâvari, inland on the northwestern borders of Mâsîlâ. Their name, Lassen thought (Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 176) might be connected with the Sanskrit word Sâla, the Sâl tree. Yule suggests that it may represent the Sanskrit Saurikirâ. None of their towns can be recognized.

Sabalrai: The Sabarai of Ptolemy Cunningham takes to be the Suari of Pliny, and he would identify both with the aboriginal Sâvaras or Suars, a wild race who live in the woods and jungles without any fixed habitations, and whose country extended as far southward as the Pennâr River. These Sâvaras or Suars are only a single branch of a widely spread race found in large numbers to the S. W. of Gwalior and Narwar and S. Râjpûtâna, where they are known as Sursi. Yule places them farther north in Dôsarâ, towards the territory of Sambhalpur which, as we have already remarked, produced the finest diamonds in the world. Their towns have not been identified.

Gangaridae: This great people occupied all the country about the mouths of the Ganges. Their capital was Gangâ, described in the Peripîas as an important seat of commerce on the Ganges. They are mentioned by Virgil (Georg. III, l. 37), by Valerius Flaccus (Argon. lib. VI, l. 66), and by Curtius (lib. IX, c. ii), who places them along with the Pâhârâ and the eastern bank of the Ganges. They are called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. lxxiv) the Gangaridae Calinga, and placed by him at the furthest extremity of the Ganges region, as is indicated by the expression gens norrisana, which he applies to them. They must have been a powerful people, to judge from the military force which Pliny reports them to have maintained, and their territory could scarcely have been restricted to the marshy jungles at the mouth of the river now known as the Sundarbans, but must have comprised a considerable portion of the province of Bengal. This is the view taken by Saint-Martin. Bengal, he says, represents, at least in a general way, the country of the Gangaridae, and the city which Pliny speaks of as their capital, Pashalis or Pushâlis can only be Vardhana, a place which flourished in ancient times and is now known as Bardhâna. The name of the Gangaridae has nothing in Sanskrit to correspond with it, nor can it be a word, as Lassen supposed, of purely Greek formation, for the people were mentioned under this name to Alexander by one of the princes in the North-west of India. The synonymous term which Sanskrit fails to supply is found among the aboriginal tribes belonging to the region occupied by the Gangaridae, the name being preserved almost identically in that of the Gohgris of S. Bahar, with whom were connected the Bagâiyas of North-western, and the Gângârâs of Eastern Bengal, these designations being but variations of the name which was originally common to them all.

Gangê: Various sites have been proposed for Gangê. Heeren placed it near Duliapoor, a village about 40 miles S. E. of Calcutta on a branch of the Isamâlî River; Wilford at the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputtra, where, he says, was a town called in Sanskrit Haîmatâla, and in the spoken dialect Hâkhânâla, from elephants being picquetted there; Murray at Chittagong; Taylor on the site of the ancient Hindu Capital of Bengâ (Bengal) which lies in the neighbourhood of Sonargoon (Suvarnârâmâ), a place 12 miles to the S. E. of Dhâkka; Cunningham at Jâsar; and others further west, near Calcutta, or about 30 miles higher up the Hugli, somewhere near Chinsurah. Another Gangê is mentioned by Artemidoros above or to the N. W. of Paulbothra, and this Wilford identifies with Praylg, i.e., Allahâbâd, but Groskurd with Anupikhail.

Ptolemy now leaves the Gangetic regions and
describes the inland parts of the territories along the Western Coast of the Peninsula.

82. In the parts of A r i a k ê which still remain to be described are the following inland cities and villages: to the west of the Bênda these cities:—

Malippala ................................ 119° 30' 20° 15'
Sarisabas ................................... 119° 30' 20° 3'
Tagara ....................................... 119° 30' 18° 20'
Baithana (the royal seat of [Siro])...
Ptolemaios or Polemaios) .................. 117° 18° 30'
Deopal or Deopa ................................ 115° 30' 17° 50'
GamaLiba ..................................... 115° 15' 17° 20'
Oméogara ................................... 114° 16° 20'

83. Between the Bênda and Pseudostomos:
Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris) 120° 20° 15'
Tabasò ...................................... 120° 30' 20° 45'
Indê ........................................... 123° 20° 45'
Tiripangalida ................................ 124° 15' 19° 40'
Hippokoura, the royal seat of
Baleookoûros ................................ 119° 45' 19° 10'
Souboutou ................................... 120° 15' 19° 10'
Sîrimalaga ................................... 119° 20' 18° 30'
Kalligeris ................................... 118° 18'
Modogoulla ................................... 119° 18'
Petirgala ..................................... 117° 45' 17° 15'
Banouascei .................................. 116° 16° 45'

Seven cities are enumerated in A r i a k ê, as lying to the west of the Bênda, and regarding four of these, Malippala, Sarisabas, GamaLiba and Oméogara, nothing is known. The Periplés (sec. 61) notices Tagara and Baithana in a passage which may be quoted: "In Dakhinabades itself there are two very important seats of commerce, Paithana towards the south of Barygaza, from which it is distant a twenty days' journey, and eastward from this about a ten days' journey is another very large city, Tagara. From these marts goods are transported on waggons to Barygaza through difficult regions that have no road worth calling such. From Paithana great quantities of onyx-stones and from Tagara large supplies of common cotton-cloth, muslins of all kinds, mallow-tinted cottons and various other articles of local production imported into it from the maritime districts."

Baithana is the Paithana of the above extract, and the Paithán of the present day, a town of Haidarbâb, or the territory of the Nizam, on the left bank of the river Gôdâvari, in latitude 19° 29' or about a degree further north than it is placed by Ptolemy. Paithana is the Prákkit form of the Sanskrit P r a t i s h t h â n a, the name of the capital of Sâlivâhana. Ptolemy calls it the capital of Siroptolemaios or Siropolemaios, a name which represents the Sanskrit Śri-Pûnûnãvî, the Pûnûnãvî of the Nasik Cave and Amarâvati Stûpa Inscriptions, a king of the great Andhra dynasty.

Tagara—The name is found in inscriptions under the form Tagarapura (J. R. A. S. vol. IV, p. 34). Ptolemy places it to the north-east of Baithana, and the Periplés, as we see from the extract, to the east of it at the distance of a ten days' journey. Wilford, Vincent, Mamert, Ritter and others take it to be Dèvgañjâ, now Daulatbâd, which was the seat of a sovereign even in 1293, and is situated not far from Élura, so famous for its excavated temples. But if Baithana be Paithana, Tagara cannot be Dèvgañjâ, unless the distance is wrongly given. There is, moreover, nothing to show that Dèvgañjâ was connected with the Tagarapura of the inscriptions. Pandit Bhagavanlal identified Tagara with Junnar, a place of considerable importance, situated to the north of Élura. He pointed out that the Sanskrit name of Tagara was Trigiri, a compound meaning 'three hills,' and that as Junnar stood on a high site between three hills this identification was probably correct. Junnar however lies to the westward of Paithana. Yule places Tagara at Kulurga, which lies to the south-east of Paithana, at a distance of about 150 miles, which would fairly represent a ten days' journey, the distance given in the Periplés. Grant Duff would identify it with a place near Bhûr on the Gôdâvari, and Fleet with Kohlapur. The Silhâra princes or chiefs who formed three distinct branches of a dynasty that ruled over two parts of the Konkan and the country about Kohlapur style themselves, 'The Lords of the excellent city of Tagara.' If, says Prof. Bhandârkar, the name of Tagara has undergone corruption, it would take the form, according to the laws of Prâkrit speech, of Tûrû or Tûrû, and he therefore asks 'can it be the modern Dûr or Dûrû in the Nizam's dominions, 25 miles east of Grant Duff's Bhûr, and 70 miles S.E. of Paishîn?' (see Muller's Geog. Grac. Minor. vol. I, p. 294, n.; Elphinstone's History of India, p. 223; Burgess, Arch. Surv. W. Ind., vol. III, p. 54, and Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XIII, pt ii, p. 423, n.). Mr. Campbell is of opinion that the maritime districts from which local products were brought to Tagara and thence exported to Barygaza, lay on the coast of Bengal, and not on the Konkan coast, from which there was easy transit by sea to the great northernemporium in the Gulf of Khambât, while the transit by land through Tagara could not be accomplished without encountering the most formidable obstacles.

Deopalı—This name means 'the city of
God,' and Deogali may therefore perhaps be Dëvagadh, the two names having the same meaning.

Tabasā.—This would seem to be a city of the Tabasoi, already mentioned as a large community of Rāhman ascetics.

Hippokoura.—A town of this name has already been mentioned as a seaport to the south of Simyla. This Hippokoura lay inland, and was the capital of the southern parts of Ariukē, as Pailhanas was the capital of the northern. Its position is uncertain. Yule places it doubtfully at Kalya, a place about half a degree to the west of Bidar, and at some distance south from the river Maṣfira. Ptolemy calls it the capital of Balsokoura. Bhāndākar conjectures this to have been the Vīlīdhyakura, a name found upon two other Andhra coins discovered at Kolāhpur. There is no other clue to its identification, but see Lassen, Ind. Ant. vol. III, pp. 179, 185.

Sīrimalaga may perhaps be Mālkhē, a town in Haidarābād, situated on a tributary of the Bhumā, in lat. 17° 8' and long. 77° 12'. The first part of the word Sīrī probably represents the Sanskrit honorific prefix śī.

Kalligeris.—Perhaps Kānṣāgarī, a place about 1° a degree to the south of Māḍgal.

Modogoullā.—There can be little doubt that this is Māḍgal, a town in the Haidarābād districts.—Lat. 16° 2'; long. 76° 26'—N. W. from Balāri. Pētirgala cannot be identified.

Banaouassē.—This place is mentioned in the Māhdēnassē, in the Pāli form Wanawasī, by which a city or district is designated. Banavasī must beyond doubt have been the capital of this country, and is identical with the modern Banavasī, situated on the upper Varadā, a tributary of the Tungabhādrā. Saint-Martin thinks that it was the city visited by Hīna Teśā, and called by him Kōn-kiṇ-nā-putā, i.e. Konkapura, but Cunningham is of opinion that both the bearing and the distance point to Anāguṇā.

84. The inland cities of the Pirates are these:

Olōkhōira .... 114° 15'
Mousopalla, the metropolis .... 115° 30' 15° 45'
Nārousā, 117° 45' 15° 50'
Kolā, 117° 15'
Paloura .... 117° 51' 14° 40'

85. Inland cities of Limyrikē, to the west of the Pseudoimatos are these:

Nārousā, 117° 45' 15° 50'
Kolā, 117° 15'
Paloura .... 117° 51' 14° 40'

86. Between the Pseudoimatos and the Baria are these cities:

Pasağē .... 124° 50' 19° 50'
Mastanour .... 121° 30' 16° 40'

Kounellour .... 119° 17° 30'
Pounnata, where is beryl .... 121° 20' 17° 30'
Aloē .... 120° 20' 17°
Karoura, the royal seat of Kεροβοθρος .... 119° 16° 20'
Arembour .... 121° 16° 20'
Bideris .... 119° 15° 50'
Pantopolis .... 118° 15° 20'
Adarina .... 119° 30' 15° 40'
Koreour .... 120° 15'

87. Inland town of the Aioi:

Morouna .... 121° 20' 14° 20'

The dominion of the sea appears to have satisfied the ambition of the pirates, as they possessed on shore only a narrow strip of territory enclosed between the line of coast and the western declivities of the Ghāṣa. Their capital, Mousopālē, Yule places at Miraj, a town near the Krishnā, but doubtfully. Their other town, Olokhōira, is probably Khēlā, a town in the district of Ratnagiri in lat. 17° 44' long. 78° 30'. As Khēlā is the name of several other places in this part of the country, Olo, whatever it may mean, may have been in old times prefixed to this particular Khēlā for the sake of distinction.

Kouba.—This is generally taken to be Goa or Govā, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, and there can be little doubt of the correctness of the identification. The two towns Nārousā and Paloura, which Ptolemy places with Kouba to the west of the Pseudoimatos, cannot be identified. To judge from his figures of longitude, Paloura lay 15° farther east than Kouba, but as he makes the coast run eastward instead of southward, it must be considered to have lain south of Kouba. The name is Tamil, and means, according to Caldwell (Introdr. p 104) 'Milk town.' It is remarkable, he observes, how many names of places in Southern India mentioned by Ptolemy end in cop or copa = 'a town.' There are 22 such places in all.

Pasağē.—According to Yule's map this represents Palsagi, the old name of a place now called Halai, south-east of Goa, from which it is distant somewhat under a degree.

Mastanour and Kounellour cannot be identified.

Pounnata has not yet been identified, though Ptolemy gives a sort of clue in stating that it produced the beryl. Yule places it in his map near Siringapatam.

Aloē.—This may be Yellapur, a small town in North Canara, in lat. 14° 56' long. 74° 43'.

Karoura.—"Karoura," says Caldwell, "is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient
capital of the Chêra, Kêra, or Kêrala kings, and is generally identified with Karûr, an important town in the Koimbatur district, originally included in the Chêra kingdom. It is situated on the left bank of the river Amarâvatì, a tributary of the Kâveri, near a large fort now in ruins. Ptolemy notes that Karoura was the capital of Kôrâbothros, i.e., Kôralaputra (Cherapati ?). Kard means ‘the black town,’ and I consider it identical with Kârâgam, and Kâdâram, names of places which I have frequently found in the Tamil country, and which are evidently the poetical equivalents of Karur. The meaning of each of the names is the same. Ptolemy’s word Karoura represents the Tamil name of the place with perfect accuracy.” (Introd. pp. 96, 97).

Arembour.—Lassen compares this name with Oorumpuram, but the situation of the place so called (lat. 11° 13' long. 76° 16') does not suit well the position of Arembour as given by Ptolemy.

Bideris.—Perhaps Erod or Yirodu in the district of Koimbatur (lat. 11° 20' long. 77° 46') near the Kâveri.

Pantipolis, according to Yule, represents the obsolete name Pantiyapura, which he places at Hangal, in the Dhârâvâ district.

Morouna.—This is the only inland city of the Aioi named by Ptolemy. It has not been identified.

The concluding tables enumerate the inland towns belonging to the districts lying along the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula.

88. Inland cities of the Kâreoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mendéia</td>
<td>123° 17' 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sêlor</td>
<td>121° 45' 16' 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titoua</td>
<td>122° 15' 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muntitour</td>
<td>123° 15' 10'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89. Inland cities of the Pandionoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tainour</td>
<td>124° 45' 18° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peringkarei</td>
<td>123° 20' 18°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korindiour</td>
<td>125° 17' 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangala or Taga</td>
<td>123° 30' 16° 50'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modoura, the royal city of Pandion</td>
<td>125° 16' 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akour</td>
<td>124° 45' 15° 20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90. Inland cities of the Batoi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalindoia</td>
<td>127° 40' 17° 30'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bata</td>
<td>126° 30' 17°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talara</td>
<td>128° 16° 45'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inland cities of the Karoï:—none of the four named in the table can be identified.

Peringkarei:—This town has preserved its name almost without change, being now known as Perungari, on the river Vaigai, about 40 miles lower down its course than Madurâ. With regard to this name, Caldwell remarks that if it had been written Perungkarei it would have been perfectly accurate Tamil, letter for letter. The meaning is ‘great shore,’ and perum ‘great’ becomes peru before k, by rule. Ptolemy places a town called Tainour at the distance of less than a degree to the north-east of Peringkarei. The direction would suit Tanjor, but the distance is more than a degree. Ptolemy has however placed his Peringkarei quite in a wrong position with regard to Madurâ.

Tangala or Taga:—There can be little doubt that this is now represented by Dinuqal, an important and flourishing town lying at a distance of 32 miles north by west from Madurâ.

Modoura:—This is now called Madurâ or Madurai—on the banks of the River Vaigai. It was the second capital of the Southern Pândyas; we have already noticed it in the description of the territory of this people.

Bata:—This may perhaps be Paṭṭukôṭta, a small town not very far inland from the northern end of the Argolic Gulf (Pâk’s Passage). The other towns of the Batoi cannot be recognized. As Podukôṭta is the capital of the Tondiman Râja, Lassen has suggested its identity with Bata. It is upwards of 20 miles farther inland than Paṭṭukôṭta.

91. Inland cities of the Pariala of the Sôrêtaí:

Kaliour .................................................. 129° 17° 20'
Tennagora ............................................. 132° 17'
Eikour ................................................... 129° 16° 40'
Orthoura, the royal city of Sônagosa .............. 130° 16° 20'
Beré ...................................................... 130° 20' 16° 15'
Abour ..................................................... 129° 16'
Karmara .................................................. 130° 20' 15' 40'
Magour ................................................... 130° 15' 15'

92. The inland cities of the Arvaroî are these:

Kerauo ..................................................... 133° 16° 15'
Phuronion .................................................. 132° 15'
Karigô ..................................................... 132° 40' 15'
Poleour ................................................... 131° 30' 14° 40'
Pikendaka .............................................. 131° 30' 14'
Iatour .................................................... 132° 30' 14'
Skopoloura .............................................. 134° 15' 14° 35'
Tâkara .................................................... 133° 30' 13° 40'
Malanga, the royal city of Basaragagos ............. 133° 13'
Kandipatna ............................................... 133° 30' 12° 20'

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93. The inland cities of the Maisoloi:—
Kalligá......................... 138° 17°
Bardamana............. 136° 15' 15° 15' 
Koroungkala.......... 135° 15° 
Pharytra or Pharetta.... 134° 20' 12° 30' 
Pityndra the metropolis ... 135° 20' 12° 30' 

Orthoura:—Of the eight inland cities named as belonging to the maritime territory of the Sörfai, only two—Abour and the capital, have been identified. Abour is Aymbrudur in N. Arkaš, lat. 18° 47', long. 78° 42'. Regarding Orthoura Cunningham says: "Chōs is noticed by Ptolemy, whose Orthoura regia Sornaí must be Udrítr, the capital of Sarana, or the king of the Soringae, that is, the Sōras, Chōs or Chōla. Udrítr is a few miles south-south-east of Tiruchhínāpalli. The Soringae are most probably the Syriens of Pliny, with their 300 cities, as they occupied the coast between the 300 and the Derangae or Drahvijans." Anc. Geog. of Ind., p. 551.

Phraunurion:—This is a Greek word signifying 'a garrisoned fort,' and may perhaps be meant as a translation of an indigenous name having that signification, as Durga, 'a hill-fort,' a common affix to names of places in the Peninsula.

Kariğé:—This should no doubt be read Kariğé under which form it can be at once identified with Kajapá, a place lying 5 miles from the right bank of the Northern Pennar on a small tributary of that river.

Pikenakada:—Kōnda is a frequent termination in the names of towns in this part of India. The letters of Pikenakada may have been transposed in copying, and its proper form may have been Pennakonda, the name of a town in the district of Bakri (lat. 14° 25' long. 77° 39').

Kathaur:—From Yule's map it would appear there is a place lying a degree westward from Kajapá which still bears this name, Yèdrir.

Malanga:—In our notice of Malangé it was pointed out that Cunningham had fixed the locality of Malanga near Éttr, a place some distance inland about half way between the Krishnà and the Gódāvari towards their embouchures, and in the neighbourhood of which are the remains of an old capital named Venjé. With regard to the king's name Bassaronaga, he thinks that this may be identified with the Pali Majéríka-naga of the Mahāvasáno and thus Ptolemy's Malanga would become the capital of the Nagas of Majéríka, Anc. Geo. of Ind., (pp. 539, 540). In Yule's map Malanga is placed conjecturally about two degrees farther south at Varul, near the mouth of the Pennár.

Of the five cities attributed to the Maisoloi, only Koroungkala can be recognized. It appears to be the place now known as Woraṅkál, the medieval capital of Telingana. It has but few tokens remaining to attest its former grandeur.

Pityndra, the capital of Maisolía, was probably Dhanākaṭaká now Dharānikótta, about 20 miles above Bějwádh on the Krishnà.

94. Islands lying near the part of India which projects into the ocean in the Gulf of Kanthi:—
Baraká......................... 111° 15° 

95. And along the line of coast as far as the Kolkhi Gulf:—
Miliszégryas (or Milizigrica)..... 110° 12° 30' 
Heptanésia.................. 113° 15° 
Trikađiba.................... 113° 30' 11° 
Peperiné..................... 115° 12° 40' 
Trinésia..................... 116° 20' 12° 
Leuál........... 118° 12° 
Nainigérica.................. 122° 12° 

96. And in the Arghací Gulf:—
Kóyi......................... 126° 30'—13°

Baraká:—This is the name given in the Periplás to the Gulf of Kachí, called by our author the Gulf of Kanthi, a name which to this day is applied to the south coast of Kachí. The Periplás does not mention Baraká as an island, but says that the Gulf had 7 islands. Regarding Baraká, Dr. Burgess says: "Yule places Baraká at Jagat or Dwaká; Lassen also identifies it with Dwarká, which he places on the coast between Purbandar and Ajmer, near Śrīnagar. Mula-Dwarká, the original site, was further east than this, but is variously placed near Mādhupur, thirty-six miles north-west from Sōmanāth-Patán, or three miles south-west from Köjínar, and nineteen miles east of Sōmanāth. This last spot is called Mula-Dwarká to this day." (Tūrākh-i-Sūrāfi, Introd. p. 7).

Miliszégryas occurs in the Periplás as Maliseigara, which may be identified with Jayagad or Isthi-Jayagad, which would appear to be the Sigerus of Pliny (lib. vi, c. 26).

Heptanésia (or group of 7 islands) probably corresponded to the Sesikrieni of the Periplás, which may be the Burnt Islands of the present day, among which the Vingórā rocks are conspicuous.

Trikađiba or 'the island Trika',—điba being the Sanskrit word dvipa, 'an island.'

Peperiné:—This, to judge from the name, should be an island somewhere off the coast of Cottonara, the great pepper district, as stated by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxvi).
Trinēsia (or group of 3 islands).—Ptolemy places it off the coast of Limmērē between Tyndia and Mouziris but nearer the former.

Lēnikē.—This is a Greek word meaning 'white.' The island is placed in the Periplēs off the coast where Limmērē begins and in Ptolemy near where it ends.

Nangīrīs.—To judge from Ptolemy's figures he has taken this to be an island lying between Cape Kūrā (Comorin) and Tāprobanē (Ceylon).

Kōry.—It has already been noticed that Kōry was both the name of the Island of Rāmeśvaram and of the promontory in which it terminated.

CAP. 2.

Position of India beyond the Ganges.

1. India beyond the Ganges is bounded on the west by the river Ganges; on the north by the parts of Skythia and Sērīkē already described, on the east by the Sinai along the Meridian, which extends from the furthest limits of Sērīkē to the Great Gulf, and also by this gulf itself, on the south by the Indian Ocean and part of the Green Sea, which stretches from the island of Menouthias in a line parallel to the equator, as far as the regions which lie opposite to the Great Gulf.

2. India beyond the Ganges comprised, with Ptolemy not only the great plain between that river and the Himalayas, but also all south-eastern Asia, as far as the country of the Sinai (China). Concerning these vast regions Ptolemy is our only ancient authority. Strabo's knowledge of the east was limited in this direction by the Ganges, and the author of the Periplēs, who was a later, and intermediate writer, though he was aware that inhabited countries stretched far beyond that limit even towards the eastern end of the world, appears to have learned little more about them than the mere fact of their existence. Ptolemy, on the other hand, supplies us with much information regarding them. He traces the line of coast as far as the Gulf of Siam (his great gulf) enumerating the tribes, the trading marts, the river mouths and the islands that would be passed on the way. He has also a copious nomenclature for the interior, which embraces its inhabitants, its towns, the river and its mountain ranges. His conceptions were no doubt confused and erroneous, and his data, in many instances, as inconsistent with each other as with the reality. Still, his description contains important elements of truth, and must have been based upon authentic information. At the same time an attentive study of his nomenclature and the accompanying indications has led to the satisfactory identification of a few of his towns, and a more considerable number of the rivers and mountains and tribes which he has specified.

His most notable error consisted in the supposition that the eastern parts of Asia were connected by continuous land with the east coast of Africa, so that, like Hipparkhos, he conceived the Indian Ocean to resemble the Mediterranean in being surrounded on all sides by land. He makes accordingly the coast of the Sinai, beyond the Gulf of Siam, turn toward the south instead of curving up towards the north. Again he represents the Malay Peninsula (his Golden Kheresone) which does not project so far as to reach the equator, extend to 4 degrees southward from it, and he mentions neither the Straits of Malacca nor the great island of Sumatra, unless indeed his Iabadios be this island, and not Java, as is generally supposed. By the Green Sea (Ποροκτέσσαρος) which formed a part of the southern boundary is meant the southern part of the Indian Ocean which stretched eastward from Cape Prasum (Cape Delgado) the most southern point on the east coast of Africa known to Ptolemy. The island of Menouthias was either Zanzibar or one of the islands adjacent to it. It is mentioned by the author of the Periplēs.

In his description of India beyond the Ganges Ptolemy adheres to the method which he had followed in his account of India within the Ganges. He therefore begins with the coast which he describes from the Eastern Mouth of the Ganges to the Great Promontory where India becomes contiguous with the country of the Sinai. The mountains follow, then the rivers, then the towns in the interior, and last of all the islands.

2. The seacoast of this division is thus described. In the Gagetic Gulf beyond the Mouth of the Ganges called Antiblei:

The coast of the Aiρραδοι:—

Pentapolis ............ 150° 18°
Month of River Katabēdha... 151° 20' 17°
Barakoura, a mart .......... 152° 30' 16°
Month of the River Toke-
sanna ............. 153° 14° 30'

Wilford, probably misled by a corrupt reading, took the name of the Aiρραδοι to be another form of Antible. He says (Asiat. Research., Vol. XIV, p. 444.) "Ptolemy says that the easternmost branch of the Ganges was called Antible or Airradon. This last is from the Sanskrit Haradā; and is the name of the Brahmaputra. Antible was the name of a town situated at the confluence of several large rivers to the S.E. of Dhakkā and now called Feringibazar."
Airrhadai, however, are undoubtedly meant the Kirāta. With regard to the position here assigned to them Lassen thus writes (Ind. Alt., vol. III, pp. 233-237):—"By the name of Kirradia Ptolemy designates the land on the coast of further India from the city of Pentapolis, perhaps the present Mirkanserai in the north, as far as the mouth of the Tokosanna or Arakan river. The name of this land indicates that it was inhabited by the Kirāta, a people which we find in the great Epic settled in the neighbourhood of the Lahuitya, or Brahmaputra, consequently somewhat further to the north than where Ptolemy locates them. Hence raises the question whether the Kirāta who, as we know, belong to the Bhoţa, and are still found in Nēpāl, had spread themselves to such a distance in earlier times, or whether their name has been erroneously applied to a different people. The last assumption is favoured by the account in the Periplus, according to which ships sailing northward from Dēsarēnē, or the country on both sides of the Vaita, arrived at the land of the wild flat-nosed Kirradai, who like the other savage tribes were men-eaters. Since the author of that work did not proceed beyond Cape Comorin, and applied the name of Kirra to a people which lived on the coast to the S. W. of the Ganges, it is certain that he had erroneously used this name to denote the wild and fabulous races. Ptolemy must have followed him or other writers of the kind, and to the name Kirra has given a signification which did not originate with himself. Although the Kirra, long before the time in which he lived, had wandered from their northern Fatherland to the Himalaya and thence spread themselves to the regions on the Brahmaputra, still it is not to be believed that they should have possessed the custom of territory so far south as Chaturgrāma (Chittagong) and a part of Arakan. We can therefore scarcely be mistaken if we consider the inhabitants of this territory at that time as a people belonging to further India, and in fact as tribal relatives of the Tamara, who possessed the mountain region that lay back in the interior, as I shall hereafter show. I here remark that between the name of the city Pentapolis, i.e. five cities, and the name of the most northern part of Kirradia, Chaturgrāma, i.e. four cities, there is a connexion that can scarcely be mistaken, since Chaturgrāma could not originally have denoted a country, but only a place which later on became the capital, though it was originally only the capital of four village communities over which a common headship was possessed, while Pentapolis was the seat of a headship over five towns or rather villages, as it can scarcely be believed that the rude tribes of Kirradia were civilized enough to possess towns.

A confirmation of this view is offered by the circumstance that the Bunzu, who must have been descendants of a branch of the Tamara, live in villages under headships. We must further state that according to the treatises used by Ptolemy the best Malabarum was got from Kirradia. I see no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, although the trees from which this precious oil and spice were prepared and which are different kinds of the laurel, do not appear at the present day to be found in this country, since, according to the testimony of the most recent writers the botanical productions of Arakan at least have not as yet been sufficiently investigated. It can, however, be asserted that in Silhet, which is not very remote from Chaturgrāma, Malabarum is produced at this very day." Saint-Martin expresses similar views. He writes (Études, pp. 343, 344), "The Kirradia of Ptolemy, a country mentioned also in the Periplus as lying west from the mouths of the Ganges and the Skýrta or Megasthenes are cantons of Kirra, one of the branches of the aboriginal race the widest spread in Gangetic India, and the most anciently known. In different passages of the Pārśas and of the epics their name is applied in a general manner to the barbarous tribes of the eastern frontiers of Aryanwarta, and it has preserved itself in several quarters, notably in the eastern districts of Nēpāl. There is a still surviving tradition in Tripuri (Tipperah), precisely where Ptolemy places his Kirradia, that the first name of the country was Kirat (J. A. S. Ben., Vol. XIX., Long, Chronicles of Tripur, p. 536). The Tamara were a tribe of the same family."

Mouth of the River Kātabāda. This may be the river of Chittagong called the Karmaphuli. The northern point of land at its mouth is, according to Wilford (Asiat. Research, vol. XIV, p. 445) called Paṭana, and hence he thinks that Chatragram or Chaturgrāma (Chittagong) is the Pentapolis of Ptolemy for Paṭanaphuli, which means 'flourishing seat.' The same author has proposed a different identification for the Katabāda River. "In the district of Sandow," he says, "is a river and a town called in modern maps Seda of Sandwada (for Sandwipa), and in Ptolemy Sadā and Sādā. Between this river and Arakan there is another large one concealed behind the island of Cheuda, and the name of which is Kātabāda or Kātabāza. This is the river Katabāda of Ptolemy, which, it is true, he has placed erroneously to the north of Arakan, but as it retains its name to this day among the natives, and as it is an uncommon one in that country, we can hardly be mistaken. As that part of the country is very little frequented by seafaring
people the Kātābaidā is not noticed in any map or sea chart whatever. It was first brought to light by the late Mr. Burrows, an able astronomer, who visited that part of the coast by order of Government. In the language of that country kāt is a fort and Byeitā or Baidā is the name of a tribe in that country.” (Asial. Res., vol. XIV, pp. 462, 483).

Barakoura.—This mart is placed in Yule’s map at Râmū, called otherwise Rāmu, a town lying 68 miles S.S.E. of Chittagong.

Mouth of the Tokosanna.—This river Wilford and Lassen (Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 237) identified with the Arakan river. Yule prefers the Naī, which is generally called the Teke-naī, from the name of a tribe inhabiting its banks.

3. That of the Silver country (Argyra).

Sambra, a city............. 153° 30’ 13° 45’

Sada, a city............. 154° 20’ 11° 20’

Mouth of the River Śadas............. 153° 30’ 12° 30’

Bērabonna, a mart............. 155° 30’ 10° 20’

The mouth of the River

Tēmala..................... 157° 30’ 10°

Tēmala, a city............. 157° 30’ 9°

The Cape beyond it............. 157° 20’ 8°

4. That of the Bēsyneitai Cannibals on the Sarabakic Gulf where are—

Sabara, a city............. 159° 30’ 8° 30’

Mouth of the River Bēsyantra............. 162° 20’ 8° 25’

Bēsyantra, a mart............. 162° 9°

Bērhabai, a city............. 163° 20’ 6°

The Cape beyond it............. 159° 4° 40’

Arakan is no doubt the Silver Country, but the reason why it should have so been designated is not apparent, since silver has never so far as is known, been one of its products. It appears to have included part of the province of Pegu, which lies immediately to the south of it.

Sada.—This town is mentioned in that part of Ptolemy’s introductory book (ch. xiii, § 7) of which a translation has been given, as the first port on the eastern side of the Gangetic Gulf at which ships from Paloura on the opposite coast touched before proceeding to the more distant ports of the Golden Kherosene and the Great Gulf. It cannot be with certainty identified. “It may perhaps have been Esata, which appears in Pegu legend as the name of a port between Pegu and Bengal.”—Yule, quoting J. A. S. Beng., vol. XXVIII, p. 476.

Bērhabonna.—The same authority suggests that this may be Sandowë, which Wilford proposed to identify with Sada.

Tēmala is the name of a town, a river, and a cape. In the introductory book (c. xiii, § 8) it is called Tamala, and said to lie to the south-east of Sada, at a distance of 3500 stadia. Yule would identify it, though doubtfully, with Gwa. Lassen again places it at Cape Negrais, which is without doubt the promontory which Ptolemy says comes after Tēmala.

The Sarabakic Gulf is now called the Gulf of Martaban.—The name (Bēsyantra) of the cannibals is partly preserved in that of Bassein, which designates both a town and the river which is the western arm of the Irrawaddy. Ptolemy calls this river the Bēsyantra. The emporium of the same name Lassen takes to be Rangū, but the similarity of name points to its identification with Bassein, an important place as a military position, from its commanding the river.

Bērhabai.—Beyond this Ptolemy has a promontory of the same name, which may be Barago Point. The names at least are somewhat similar and the position answers fairly to the requirements. Lassen took Bērhabai, the town, to be Martaban.

5. That of the Golden Kherosene (Χρυσής Χερσονήσου).

Takōla, a mart............. 160° 4° 15’

The Cape beyond it............. 158° 40’ 2° 40’

Mouth of the River Khrysonas............. 159° 1°

Sabana, a mart............. 160° 3° S.L.

Mouth of the River Palando............. 161° 2° S.L.

Cape Maleon Kōlōn............. 163° 2° S.L.

Mouth of the River Atāba............. 164° 1° S.L.

Kōlō, a town............. 164° 20’ on the equator

Perimoula............. 163° 15’ 2° 20’

Perimoulokík............. 168° 30’ 4° 15’

The Golden Kherosene denotes generally the Malay Peninsula, but more specially the Delta of the Irrawaddy, which forms the province of Pegu, the Suvarnabhumi (Pali form.—Sovarnabhumi) of ancient times. The Golden Region which lies beyond this, in the interior, is Burma, the oldest province of which, above Ava, is still, as Yule informs us, formally styled in State documents Sonaparánta, i.e. ‘Golden Frontier.”

Takōla.—Rangū, as Yule points out, or a port in that vicinity, best suits Ptolemy’s position...
with respect to rivers, &c., while at the same time Thakalai is the legendary name of the founder of Rangū Pagoda. There was, however, he says, down to late medieval times, a place of note in this quarter called Takkhala, Takola, or Tagala, the exact site of which he cannot trace, though it was apparently on the Martaban side of the Sitang estuary.

Month of the Khrysoanna River:—This must be the Eastern or Rangū mouth of the Irrawaddī, for, as Yule states on the authority of Dr. F. Mason, Hmābī immediately north of Rangū was anciently called Suvaranandī, i.e. 'Golden River,' and this is the meaning of Khrysoanna.

Saba-na:—This may be a somewhat distorted form of Suvarna, 'golden-coloured,' and the mark so called may have been situated near the mouth of the Salen River. Yule therefore identifies it with Satung or Thatung. Lassen assigns it quite a different position, placing it in one of the small islands lying off the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Cape Maleon Kolon:—Regarding this Yule says, "Probably the Cape at Amherst. Mr. Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese, signifying 'Western Malay.' Whether the name Malay can be so old is a question; but I observe that in Bastian's Siamese Extracts, the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays.' Lassen places it much farther south and on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, identifying it with Cape Romania (Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 232).

Koli:—In the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. IV, p. 639 ff, Colonel Yule has thrown much light on Ptolemy's description of the coast from this place to Kattigara by comparing the glimpse which it gives us of the navigation to China in the 1st or 2nd century of our era with the accounts of the same navigation as made by the Arabs seven or eight centuries later. While allowing that it would be rash to dogmatize on the details of the transgangetic geography, he at the same time points out that the safest guide to the true interpretation of Ptolemy's data here lies in the probability that the nautical tradition was never lost. He calls attention also to the fact that the names on the route to the Sinæ are many of them Indian, specifying as instances Saba-na, Pargassa, R. Sōbana, Tipōnoastā, Zaba, Tagora, Balonga, Sinda, Aghanaga, Brama, Ambastas, Rabana, River Kottiaris, Kokkongara, &c. At Koli the Greek and Arab routes first coincide, for, to quote his words, "I take this Koli to be the Kallah of the Arabs, which was a month's sail from Kaulam (Quilon) in Malabar, and was a place dependent on the Mahārājā of Zabaj (Java or the Great Islands) and near which were the mountains producing tin. Ko-lo is also mentioned in the Chinese history of the T'ang dynasty in terms indicating its position somewhere in the region of Malaca. Kallah lay on the sea of Shalihit (which we call Straits of Malaka), but was not very far from the entrance to the sea of Kadranj, a sea which embraced the Gulf of Siam, therefore I presume that Kallah was pretty far down the Malay Peninsula. It may, however, have been Kadah, or Quedda as we write it, for it was 10 days' voyage from Kallah to Tiyūmah (Batūmah, Koyūmah). Now the Sea of Kadranj was entered, the Perimulic Gulf of Ptolemy."

Perimulic Gulf:—Pliny mentions an Indian promontory called Perimula where there were very productive pearl fisheries (lib. VI, c. 54), and where also was a very busy mart of commerce distant from Patala, 620 Roman miles (lib. VI, c. 26). Lassen, in utter disregard of Pliny's figures indicating its position to be somewhere near Bombay, placed it on the coast of the Island of Manār. In a note to my translation of the Indika of Megasthenes I suggested that Perimula may have been in the Island of Salsette. Mr. Campbell's subsequent identification of it however with Simyula (Tiamula) where there was both a cape and a great mart of trade I think preferable, and indeed quite satisfactory. But, it may be asked, how came it to pass that a place on the west coast of India should have the same name as another on the far distant Malay coast. It has been supposed by way of explanation that in very remote times a stream of emigration from the south-eastern shores of Asia flowed onward to India and other western countries, and that the names of places familiar to the emigrants in the homes they had left were given to their new settlements. There is evidence to show that such an emigration actually took place. Yule places the Malay Perimula at Pahang. The Perimulic Gulf is the Gulf of Siam, called by the Arabs, as already stated, the Sea of Kadranj. Lassen takes it to be only an indentation of the Peninsular coast by the waters of this Gulf, which in common with most other writers he identifies with Ptolemy's Great Gulf.

\footnote{Dr. Forchhammer in his paper on the First Buddhist Mission to Suumānāhāmī, pp. 7, 16, identifies Takōla with the Burman Kola or Kula-talk and the Talaing Talakkul, the ruins of which are still extant between the present Ayetthima and Kinya, now 12 miles from the sea-shore, though it was an important seaport till the 16th century.—J. B.}
6. That of the Liestai (Robber's country).

Samaradé……………………………163° 4° 50’
Pagrass……………………………..165° 4° 50’
Mouth of the River Sōbanos 165° 40’ 4° 45’
(Fontes Fluvii)……………………162° 30’ 13°
Pithōnabastē, a mart………………166° 20’ 4° 45’
Akadra……………………………..167° 4° 45’
Zabai, the city……………………..168° 40’ 40° 45’


The Great Cape where the Gulf begins………………169° 30’ 4° 15’
Thagora……………………………..169° 6°
Balongs, a Metropolis………………169° 30’ 7°
Throana……………………………..167° 8° 30’
Mouth of the River Doanas. 167° 10’
(Sources of a river)…………………168° 27°
Kortatha, a metropolis………………167° 12° 30’
Sinda, a town………………………167° 15’ 16° 40’
Pagras………………………………167° 30’ 14° 30’
Mouth of the River Dōrias. 168° 15° 30’
(Sources of a river)…………………168° 27°
or 162° 20’ 28’ (Tab. Geog.)

Aganagara…………………………169° 16° 20’
Mouth of the River Sēros ………171° 30’ 17° 20’
(Sources of a river)…………………170° (i add. Tab.) 32°
(Another source)…………………..173° (i add. Tab.) 30°
(The confluence)…………………..171° 27°

The end of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai:………………173° 17° 20’

Samaradé: This coincides with Samarad, the Buddhist classical name of the place commonly called Ligara (i.e. Nagara, the city), situated on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula and subject to Siam.

Mouth of the River Sōbanos — Sōbanos is the Sanskrit Suvarna, in its Pali form Sübanas, which means 'golden.' One of the old cities of Siam, in the Meinam basin was called Sübanasuri, i.e. 'Gold-town.'

Pithōnabastē Yule thinks may correspond to the Bangpaoi of our maps at the mouth of the large navigable river Banga-Kong. It is at the head of the Gulf of Siam eastward of Bankok.

Akadra — Yule would identify this with the Kadrān of the Arabs, which he places at Chantibon on the eastern coast of the gulf.

Zabai — This city, according to Ptolemy, lay to the west of the Doanas, or Mekong river, and Yule therefore identifies it with the seaport called Sanf or Chant by the Arab navigators. Sanf or Chant under the limitations of the Arabic alphabet represents Champ, by which the southern extremity of Cochin-China is designated. But Champ lies to the south of the Mekong river, and this circumstance would seem to vitiate the identification. Yule shows, however, that in former times Champ was a powerful state, possessed of a territory that extended far beyond its present limits. In the travels of Huen Tsiang (about A.D. 629) it is called Mahāchamp. The locality of the ancient port of Zabai or Champa is probably therefore to be sought on the west coast of Kambuja, near the Kampot, or the Kang-kao of our maps. (See Ind. Ant., vol. VI, pp. 228-30).

By the Great Gulf is meant the Gulf of Siam, together with the sea that stretches beyond it towards China. The great promontory where this sea begins is that now called Cape Kamboja.

Sindā was situated on the coast near Pulo Condor, a group of islands called by the Arabs Sandar-Fulāt and by Marco Polo Sondur and Condur. Yule suggests that these may be the Salters' Islands of Ptolemy, or that they may be his Sindā.

8. The mountains in this division are thus named:—

Bēpyrrhos, whose extremities lie in 148° 34° and…………………………154° 26°
and Mαιandros, whose extremities lie in…………………………158° 24°
and………………………………160° 16°
and Damassar (or Dobessa), whose extremities lie in…………………………162° 23°
and………………………………164° 33°
and the western part of Simantanosches, whose extremities lie in 170° 33° and…………………………180° 26°

Bēpyrrhos: — The authorities are pretty well agreed as to the identification of this range. "Bēpyrrhos," says Lassen (Ind. Ant., vol. I, pp. 549-50) "answers certainly to the Himalaya from the sources of the Sarayá to those of the Tista."

Ptolemy, says Saint-Martin (Etudes, p. 337) "applies to a portion of the Himalayan chain the name of Bēpyrrhos, but with a direction to the south-east which does not exist in the axis of this grand system of mountains. In general, his notions about the Eastern Himalayas are vague and confused. It is the rivers which he indicates as flowing from each group, and not the position which he assigns to the group itself that can serve us for the purpose of identification. He makes two descend from Bēpyrrhos and run to join the Ganges. These rivers are not named, but one is certainly the Kaušik and the other ought to be either the Gandaki or the Tista." Yule
remarks, "Ptolemy shows no conception of the
great Brahmaputra valley. His Bēyrrhos shuts
in Bengal down to Maenandrus. The latter is the
spinal range of Arakan (Yuma), Bēyrrhos, so far
as it corresponds to facts, must include the Sikkim
Himalaya and the Garo Hills. The name is
perhaps Vipula—'vast,' the name of one of the
mythical cosmic ranges but also a specific title of
the Himalaya.'

Mount Māiaandros—From this range de-
send all the rivers beyond the Ganges as far as the
Bēsyngā or Basseiin river, the western branch of
the Irōwaq. It must therefore be the Yuma
chain which forms the eastern boundary of Arakan,
of which the three principal rivers are the Maya,
the Kula-dan and the Lē-myo. According to Lassen
Māiaandros is the graecized form of Mandara, a
sacred mountain in Indian mythology.

Dobassa or Damassa range.—This range
contributes one of the streams which form the
great river Doanas, Bēyrrhos which is further to the
west, contributing the other confluent. A
single glance at the map, Saint-Martin
remarks (Étude, p. 338), clearly shows that the reference
here is to the Brahmaputra river, whose indigenous
name, the Dihong, accounts readily for the
word Doanas. It would be idle, he adds, to explain
where errors so abound, what made Ptolemy
commit the particular error of making his Doanas
run into the Great Gulf instead of joining the
eastern estuary of the Ganges. The Dobassa
Mountains, I therefore conclude, can only be the
eastern extremity of the Himalaya, which goes
to force itself like an immense promontory into
the grand elbow which the Dihong or Brah-
maputra forms, when it bends to the south-east
to enter Assam. If the word Dobassa is of Sanskrit
origin, like other geographical appellations applied
to these eastern regions, it ought to signify the
'mountains that are obscure,'—Tāmasa Pavata.
Yule (quoting J. A. S. Beng. vol. XXXVII,pt. ii,
p.192) points out that the Dimassas are mentioned
in a modern paper on Assam, as a race driven down
into that valley by the immigration of the Bhōṭiyas.
This also points to the Bhōṭān Himalayas as being
the Damassa range, and shows that of the two
readings, Dobassa and Damassa, the latter is pre-
ferable.

Mount Sēmanthinos is placed 10 degrees
further to the east than Māiaandros, and was
regarded as the limit of the world in that direc-
tion. Regarding these two Sanskrit designations,
Saint-Martin, after remarking that they are
more mythic than real, proceeds to observe:
"These Oriental countries formed one of the
horizons of the Hindu world, one of the extreme
regions, where positive notions transform them-
selves gradually into the creations of mere fancy.
This disposition was common to all the peoples
of old. It is found among the nations of the
east no less than in the country of Homer.
Udayagiri,—the mountain of the east where the
sun rises, was also placed by the Brahmanik
poets very far beyond the mouths of the Ganges.
The Sēmanthinos is a mountain of the same family.
It is the extreme limit of the world, it is its very
gridle (Samanta in Sanskrit). In fine, Parānik
legends without number are connected with Mandara, a great mountain of the East. The fabulous
character of some of these designations possesses
this interest with respect to our subject, that they
indicate even better than notions of a more posi-
tive kind the primary source of the information
which Ptolemy employed. The Māiaandros, how-
ever, it must be observed, has a definite locality
assigned it, and designates in Ptolemy the chain of
heights which cover Arakan on the east.'

9. From Bēyrrhos two rivers discharge
into the Ganges, of which the more northern has
its sources in ................. 148° 33'
and its point of junction with
the Ganges in ................. 140° 15' 30' 20'
The sources of the other
river are in ................. 142° 27'
and its point of junction with
the Ganges in ................. 144° 26'

10. From Māiaandros descend the rivers
beyond the Ganges as far as the Bēsyngā River,
but the river Sēros flows from the range of
Sēmanthinos from two sources, of which the
most western lies in ................. 170° 30' 32'
and the most eastern in ................. 173° 30' 30'
and their confluence is in ................. 171° 27'

11. From the Damassa range flow the
Doanas and Dōrias (the Doanas run as far as
to Bēyrrhos)
and the Dōrias rises in ................. 164° 30' 28'

Of the two streams which unite to form the
Doanas that from the Damassa range rises
in ................. 162° 27' 30'
that from Bēyrrhos rises in ................. 153° 27' 30'
The two streams unite in ................. 160° 20' 19'

The river Sōbanas which flows from Māiaandros
rises in ................. 163° 30' 13'

12. The rivers which having previously
united flow through the 'Golden Kherassene
from the mountain ridges, without name, which
overhang the Kherassene—the one flowing
into the Kherassene first detaches from it
the Attabas in about ................. 161° 2' 20'
and then the Khrysoanas in about 161° 1° 20′ and the other river is the Palandas.

Nearly all the rivers in the foregoing table have already been noticed, and we need here do little more than remind the reader how they have been identified. The two which flow from Bé pyr roth into the Ganges are the Kauśikī and the Tista. The Bēṣynga is the Bassin River or Western branch of the Irāwḍi. The Sēroṣ enters the sea further eastward than any of the other rivers, probably in Champā, the Zaba of Ptolemy, while Lassen identifies it with the Mekong. The Dōnas is no doubt the Brahmaputra, though Ptolemy, taking the estuary of the Mekong or Kamboja river to be its mouth, represents it as falling into the Great Gulf. It was very probably also, to judge from the close resemblance of the names when the first two letters are transposed, the Oidanē of Artemidōros, who, according to Strabo (lib. XV, c. 72), describes it as a river that bred crocodiles and dolphins, and that flowed into the Ganges. Curtius (lib. VIII, c. 9) mentions a river called the Dyardanes that bred the same creatures, and that was not so often heard of as the Ganges, because of its flowing through the remotest parts of India. This must have been the same river as the Oidanē or Doanas, and therefore the Brahmaputra. The Dōrias is a river that entered the Chinese Sea between the Mekong Estuary and the Sēroṣ. The Sobanas is perhaps the river Mēnām on which Bangkok, the Siamese capital, stands. The Attabas is very probably the Tavoy river which, though its course is comparatively very short, is more than a mile wide at its mouth, and would therefore be reckoned a stream of importance. The similarity of the names favours this identification. The Khrysoana is the eastern or Rangūn arm of the Irāwḍi. The Palandas is probably the Saluyen River.

Ptolemy now proceeds to describe the interior of Transagotic India, and begins with the tribes or nations that were located along the banks of the Ganges on its eastern side.

13. The regions of this Division lying along the course of the Ganges on its eastern side and furthest to the north are inhabited by the Ga ng a no i, through whose dominions flows the river Sarabos, and who have the following towns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sapulos</td>
<td>139° 20'</td>
<td>35°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stornai</td>
<td>138° 40'</td>
<td>34° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearta</td>
<td>138° 30'</td>
<td>34°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rappha</td>
<td>137° 40'</td>
<td>33° 40'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ganganoi should undoubtedly be read Tanganai, as Tanganai was the name given in the heroic ages to one of the great races who occupied the regions along the eastern banks of the upper Ganges. Their territory probably stretched from the Rāmaganga river to the upper Sarayū, which is the Sarabos of Ptolemy. Their situation cannot be more precisely defined, as none of their towns named in the table can with certainty be recognized. “Concerning the people themselves,” says Saint-Martin (Étude, pp. 327, 332) “we are better informed. They are represented in the Mahābhārata as placed between the Kirāta and the Kula in the highlands which protected the plains of Kōsala on the north. They were one of the barbarous tribes, which the Brahmanic Áryas, in pushing their conquests to the east of the Ganges and Jamna, drove back into the Himalayas or towards the Vindhyas. It is principally in the Vindhyā region that the descendants of the Tāngana of classic times are now to be found. One of the Rājpūt tribes, well-known in the present day under the name of Tank or Toāk is settled in Rohilkhand, the very district where the Mahābhārata locates the Tāngana and Ptolemy his Tanganai. These Tank Rājput extend westward to a part of the Doāb, and even as far as Gujarāt, but it is in the race of the Daṅgayas, spread over the entire length of the Vindhyā Mountains and the adjacent territory from the southern borders of the ancient Magadh to the heart of Mālwa to the north of the lower Narmadā, it is in this numerous race, subdivided into clans without number, and which is called according to the districts inhabited Dāngis, Dāṅgars, Donga, etc. that we must search for the point of departure of the family and its primordial type. This type, which the mixture of Āryan blood has modified and ennobled in the tribes called Rājput, preserves its aboriginal type in the mass of mountain tribes, and this type is purely Mongolian, a living commentary on the appellation of Miechha, or Barbarian, which the ancient Brahmanic books apply to the Tāngana.” (Conf. Brīh. Sāukh. ix, 17; x, 12; xiv, 12, 29; xvi, 6; xvii, 25; xxxi, 15 Rāmdāyana IV, 44, 20).

The towns, we have said, cannot be identified with certainty, but we may quote Wilford’s views as to what places now represent them. He says (Asiat. Research. vol. XIV, p. 457): “The Bān or Saraban river was formerly the bed of the Ganges, and the present bed to the eastward was also once the Bān or Saraban river. This Ptolemy mistook for the Rāmaganga, called also the Bān, Saraban and Sāravati river, for the four towns which he places on its banks, are either on the old or the new bed of the Ganges. Stornai and Sapoloi are Hāstnāuras, or Hāstina-nagara on the old bed, and Sabal, now in ruins, on the eastern bank of
the new bed, and is commonly called Sabolghar.
Hastinapura is 24 miles S. W. of Dārānagar, and
11 to the west of the present Ganges; and it is
called Hastnawer in the Ayin Abhuri. He orta
is Awartha or Hardwar. It is called Arate in the
Pentinger tables, and by the Anonymous of
Ravanva."

14. To the south of these are the Maroun-
dai who reach the Gangarala, and have
the following towns on the east of the
Ganges:

Boraita 149° 20' 29"
Kör جازا 143° 30' 27° 15"
Kondōta 145° 28"
Kelydna 146° 25° 30"
Aganagara 146° 30' 22° 30"
Talarga 146° 40' 21° 40"

The Marouna occupied an extensive
territory, which comprised Tirtha and the country
southward on the east of the Ganges, as far as
the head of its delta, where they bordered with the
Gangarali. Their name is preserved to this day
in that of the Mūndas, a race which originally
belonged to the Hill-men of the North, and is now
upon various tribal designations diffused through
Western Bengal and Central India, "the nucleus
of the nation being the Ho or Hor tribe of Singh-
hbum." They are probably the mondes of
whom Pliny speaks, in conjunction with the Swari.
That they were connected originally with the
Muraṇda, a people of Lampa (Lampahān) at the
foot of the Hindu-Kōth, in the inscription on the
Alhabad pillar, along with the Saka, as one of the nations that brought tributary
gifts to the sovereign of India, is sufficiently pro-
bable; but the theory that these Muraṇda on
being expelled from the valleys of the Kophā by
the invasion of the Yedha, had crossed the Indus
and advanced southwards into India till they
established themselves on the Ganges, in the king-
donment, by Ptolemy, is, as Saint-Martin has
clearly proved (Etude, pp. 329, 330) utterly untenable,
since the sovereign to whom the Muraṇda of the
north sent their gifts was Samudragupta, who
resigned subsequently to the time of Ptolemy,
and they could not therefore have left their ancestral
seats before he wrote. Saint-Martin further observes
that not only in the case before us but in a host of
analogous instances, it is certain that tribes of
like name with tribes in India are met with
throughout the whole extent of the region north of
the Indus, from the eastern extremity of the
Himalaya as far as the Indus and the Hindu-Kōth,
but this he points out is attributable to causes
more general than the partial migration of certain
tribes. The Vayu Pādra mentions the Muraṇda
among the Mēchā tribes which gave kings to
India during the period of subversion which
followed the extinction of the two great Aryan
dynasties. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of Ind.,
pp. 595-599, also Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. III,

Regarding the towns of the Marouna, we may
quote the following general observations of Saint-
Martin (Etude, pp. 331, 332). "The list of towns
attributed to the Marouna would, it might be
expected, enable us to determine precisely what
extent of country acknowledged in Ptolemy's time
the authority of the Maruna dynasty, but the
corruption of many of the names in the Greek
text, the inexactitude or insufficiency of the indi-
cations, and, in fine, the disappearance or change
of name of old localities, render recognition often
doubtful, and at times impossible." He then goes
on to say: "The figures indicating the position of
these towns form a series almost without any devi-
ation of importance, and betoken therefore that we
have an itinerary route which cuts obliquely all the
lower half of the Gangetic region. From Boraita
to Kelydna this line follows with sufficient regu-
larly an inclination to S. E. to the extent of about
6 degrees of a great circle. On leaving Kelydna
it turns sharply to the south and continues in
this direction to Talarga, the last place on the
list, over a distance a little under four degrees.
This sudden change of direction is striking, and when
we consider that the Ganges near Rājmahal alters
its course just as sharply, we have here a coinci-
dence which suggests the enquiry whether near
the point where the Ganges so suddenly bends,
there is a place having a name something like
Kelynda, which it may be safely assumed is a bad
transcription into Greek of the Sanskrit Kālindā
('black river') of which the vulgar form is Kālindi.
Well then, Kālindā is found to be a name applied
to an arm of the Ganges which communicates
with the Mahānandā, and which surrounds on the
north the large island formed by the Mahānandā
and Ganges, where once stood the famous city of
Gauḍa or Gaurs, now in ruins. Gauḍa was not in
existence in Ptolemy's time, but there may have
been there a station with which if not with the
river itself the indication of the table would

Singhbhum, Katak, Hāṣārībāgh and the Bhāqalpu
hills. The western branches are the Bhīsīs of Mālwa and
Kānhdā and the Kīlīs of Gujarāt. Mahābh., vii. 487; Reimard, Mém. sur l'Inde,
p. 359; Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 877.—J. B.
agree. At all events, considering the double accordance of the name and the position, it seems to me there is little room to doubt that we have there the locality of Kelydina. The existing town of Maldâ, built quite near the site of Guur, stands at the very confluence of the Kâlinâ and Mahânâ. This place appears to have preserved the name of the ancient Malâd of the Purânik lists, very probably the Molinda of Megasthenes. This point being settled, we are able to refer thereto the towns in the list, both those which precede and those which follow after. We shall commence with the last, the determination of which rests on data that are less vague. These are Aganagara and Talarga. The table, as we have seen, places them on a line which descends towards the sea exactly to the south of Kelydina. If, as seems quite likely, these indications have been furnished to Ptolemy by the designating of a route of commerce towards the interior, it is natural to think that this route parted from the great emporium of the Ganges (the Gangâ Regia of Ptolemy, the Ganges emporium of the Peripîda) which should be found, as we have already said, near where Hôghli now stands. From Kelydina to this point the route descends in fact exactly to the south, following the branch of the Ganges which forms the western side of the delta. The position of Aghadip Agâdipso) on the eastern bank of the river a little below Katwa, can represent quite suitably Aganagara (Aganagara); while Talarga may be taken to be a place some leagues distant from Calcutta, in the neighbourhood of Hôghli. The towns which precede Kelydina are far from having the same degree of probability. We have nothing more here to serve for our guidance than the distances taken from the geographical notations, and we know how uncertain this indication is when it has no check to control it. The first position above Kelydina is Kondota or Tondota; the distance represented by an arc of two degrees of a great circle would conduct us to the lower Bagamati (Bhagavati). Korygaza or Sorygaza (distance 4 degrees) would come to be placed perhaps on the Gandak, perhaps between the Gandak and the lower Saraya; last of all Boraita, at two degrees from Korygaza, would conduct us to the very heart of ancient Kosala, towards the position of the existing town of Barda. We need scarcely add, in spite of the connexion of the last two names, that we attach but a small value to determinations which rest on data so vague. Boraita may be, however, Bharâch in Audh, as Yule has suggested, and with regard to Korygaza, it may be observed that the last part of the name may represent the Sanskrit kachâ, which means a marsh or place near a marsh, and hence Korygaza may be Gorakhpur, the situation of which is notably marshy.

15. Between the Imâs and Bépyrrhos ranges the Takorai are farthest north, and below them are the Korangkalo, then the Pasalai, after whom to the north of Mainandros are the Tiladai, such being the name applied to the Béseidai, for they are short of stature and broad and shaggy and broad-faced, but of a fair complexion.

Takorai.-This tribe occupied the valleys at the foot of the mountains above Eastern Kosala and adjoined the Tangani. The Tangani are mentioned among the tribes of the north in the lists of the Brâhat Sañhitâ (IX, 17; X, 12; XIV, 29). They have left numerous descendants in different parts of Gangetic India. A particular clan in Rohilkhand not far from the seats of the Takorai preserves still the name under the form Dakhaura (Elliot's Supplementary Glossary of Indian terms, p. 390), and other branches are met with near the Jammâ and in Râjpûtâna. Towards the east again the Dekra form a considerable part of the population of Western Asûn (J. A. S. Beng., vol. XVIII, p. 712).

Korangkalo.-These are probably of the same stock, if not actually the same people, as Koraskara of the Purânas (Asiat. Research., vol. VIII), and the Kyakdanis of Shêkavati. Their position is near the sources of the Gandak.

Pascalai.-The Pasalai here mentioned are not to be confounded with the Pasalai of the Doûb. In the name is easily to be recognised the Vaisâkli of Huien Tsang, which was a small kingdom stretching northward from the Ganges along the banks of the river Gandak. The capital had the same name as the kingdom, and was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Hajipur, a station near the junction of the Gandak and Ganges, where a great fair is annually held, distant from Patna about 20 miles. "Here we find the village of Besrakh, with an old ruined fort, which is still called Raja Bissal-ka-garh, or the fort of Raja Vissal, who was the reputed founder of the ancient Vaisâkli." (Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of Ind., p. 443).

Tiladai.-We here leave the regions adjoining the Ganges, and enter the valleys of the Brahmaputra. The Tiladai are called also Béseidai or Basadai. Ptolemy places them above the Mainandros, and from this as well as his other indications, we must take them to be the hill-people in the vicinity of Silhet, where, as Yule remarks, the plains break into an infinity of hillocks, which are specially known as tiâla. It is possible, he thinks, that the
Tisadai, occupied these tiles, and also that the Tisadri hills (mentioned in the Kaseta Sanges) were the same Tila. The same people is mentioned in the Periplos, but under the corrupt form of Sesatay. The picture drawn of them by the author of that work corresponds so closely with Ptolemy's, that both authors may be supposed to have drawn their information from the same source. We may quote (in the original) what each says of them:

Periplos: ἔςος τι, τῷ μὲν σάματι κολοβοί καί σφόδρα πλατυμόρφωσων, ἐν καί δέ λάφτοι αὐτοῖς [64] λίγευσαν [φαιο] Σάσανα, παρομοίους ἄνθρωπος.

Ptolemy: εἰσὶ γὰρ κολοβοί, καὶ πλατύμορφοι, καί δέσιν, καὶ πλατυμόρφωσι, λεικοῖ μέντοι τό γάτος.

Description of the regions which extend from the Brahmaputra to the Great Gulf.

16. Beyond Kirrhadia, in which they say the best Malabathrum is produced, the Zamtrai, a race of cannibals, are located near Mount Maitandros.

17. Beyond the Silver Country, in which there are said to be very many silver mines, (μετάλα ἄσρρωμα), is situated in juxtaposition to the Basyngeitai, the Gold Country (Χρυσή Χώρα), in which are very many gold mines, and whose inhabitants resemble the Zamtrai, in being fair-complexioned, shaggy, of squat figure, and flat-nosed.

Kirrhadia:—This has already been noticed. With reference to its product Malabathrum, which is not betel, but consists of the leaves of one or more kinds of the cinnamon or cassia-tree. I may quote the following passage from the J. A. S. Beng., vol. XVI, pp. 38-9:—”Cinnamomum album is designated τατσ, τστπατ in Hindustani, the former name being generally applied to the leaf and the latter to the bark of the tree; τστα, τστπαλα, or τσταπατρα, by all which names this leaf is known, is used as a condiment in all parts of India. It is indigenous in Silhet, Asan, Bangpur (the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy), and in the valleys of the mountains as far as Mawri. The dry branches and leaves are brought annually in large quantities from the former place, and sold at a fair, which is held at Vikramapura. Taf, however, is a name that is also given in the eastern part of Bengal to the bark of a variety of Cinnamomum Zeylanicum or Cassia lignea, which abounds in the valleys of Kachar, Jyntiya and Asam.” The word Malabathrum is a compound of tana (the Sanskrit name of Cinnamomum album) and patra, “a leaf.” Another derivation has been suggested mald, “a garland,” and patra “a leaf.” (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. I, p. 253 seq., and conf. Dymock’s Veget. Mat. Med., p. 553).

The following interesting passage describes the mode in which the Başdai trade in this article with the Chinese. I translate from the Periplos, cap. 65:—”On the confines of Thina is held an annual fair attended by a race of men called the Sesatay, who are of a squat figure, broad-faced, and in appearance like wild beasts, though all the same they are quite mild and gentle in their disposition. They resort to this fair with their wives and children, taking great loads of produce packed in mats like the young leaves of the vine. The fair is held where their country borders on that of the Thina. Here, spreading out the mats they use them for lying on, and devote several days to festivity. This being over, they withdraw into their own country and the Thina, when they see they have gone, come forward and collecting the mats, which had been purposely left behind, extract first from the Calami (called Petroi), of which they were woven, the sinews and fibres, and then taking the leaves fold them double and roll them up into balls through which they pass the fibres of the Calami. The balls are of three kinds, and are designated according to the size of the leaf from which they are made, hadro, meso and mikro-sphaktron. Hence there are three kinds of Malabathrum, these are then carried into India by the manufacturers.

Zamtrai:—A various reading is Zamerei. It has been already stated that this was a tribe of the same family as the Kirrat, beside whom they are named in the great geographical catalogue of the Mahabharata. Ramifications of the Zamtrai still exist under the names of Zamarias, Tamara, &c., in the midst of the savage districts which extend to the S. and S.E. of Magadh, and to the west of the Són.

The silver country, it has already been noticed, is Arakan, and the gold country and copper country, Xule remarks, correspond curiously even in approximate position with the Sonaparanta (golden frontier land), and Zampadipa of Burmese state-documents. The Malay peninsula,taken generally, has still many mines both of the precious and the useful metals.

18. And, again, between the ranges of Bépyrhus and Damascus, the country furthest north is inhabited by the Aninakhai (or Aminakhai), south of these the Indarpatai, after these the Ibêringai, then the Dabasai (or Damascus?) and up to Maitandros the Nangalogai, which means “the World of the Naked” (γυμνῶν σώματος).
north the Kakobai; and below them the Basanarai.

20. Next comes the country of Halkitis, in which are very many copper mines. South of this, extending to the Great Gulf the Koudoutai and the Borsch, and after them the Indoi, then the Doaña, along the river of the same name.

21. To these succeeds a mountainous country adjoining the country of Robbers (Apargh), wherein are found elephants and tigers. The inhabitants of the Robber country are reported to be savages (θηρωδινος), dwelling in caves, and that have skins like the hide of the hippopotamus, which darts cannot pierce through.

Aninakhai.—The position Ptolemy assigns to them is the mountain region to the north of the Brahmaputra, corresponding to a portion of Lower Assam.

Indaprathai.—This is a purely Hindu name. In Sanskrit documents and in inscriptions mention is made of several towns in the provinces of the Ganges, which had taken the name of the old and famous Indraprastha (the modern Delhi), and we may conclude that the Indaprathai of the East were a Brahmanic settlement. In subsequent times Sanskrit designations spread further down into the Dekhan with the cultus, both of the Brahmas or the Buddhists. Instances in point are Modura and Kosamba, which have been already noticed. The Indaprathai appear to have established themselves in the districts S. of the Brahmaputra, and of the Aninakhai.

Ibringai and Dabassai or Damassai.—The Damassai (now the Dimassai as already noticed), occupied the region extending from their homonymous mountains to the Brahmaputra, but further to the east than the Aninakhai and Ibringai.

Nangaloga.—Many tribes still existing on the hills, east and north-east of Silhet, are called Nagas. This name, which is given correctly in Ptolemy as Nagia, is the Indian word for naked, and according to Yule it is written Naga in the Musalman History of Assam. The absolute nakedness of both sexes, he says, continues in these parts to the present day. The latter half of the name is (Sanskrit Nāga), is the Indian term for people, mankind, or the world, as Ptolemy has it.

With regard to the other tribes enumerated, Saint Martin remarks (Étude, pp. 345-6):—

"The Ibringai are still a tribe of the north just as the Dabassai, perhaps on the mountains of the same name. There is still a tribe of Dhobas in Dinajpur, one of the districts of the north-east of Bengal, on the confines of the ancient Kamarupa. To the east of the Dabassai mountains, towards the frontiers of the Sinas, the tribe of the Kakobai is found to a surety in that of the Khokus, who occupy the same districts. The Basanarai, in a locality more southern, are very probably the Bhanzas, a tribe of the mountains to the south of Tippera, east of the mouth of the Brahmaputra. In the Kondortai and the Borsch, it is easy to recognize, though Ptolemy carries them too far into the south, the Kolitas and the Bhars or Bhrs, the most notable parts of the population of Western Assam, and of the districts of Bengal that belong to Kamarupa. The Doñana or Dañai are perpetuated in the Zaf of Eastern Assam; and the name of the Léstai, the last of the list, corresponds to all appearance to that of the Lepchhas, a well-known mountain race on the confines of Sikkim to the west of the Tista." For notices of the tribes which he has thus identified with those of Ptolemy, he refers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vols. VI, IX, XIV, and XVIII. His identification of the Léstai with the Lepchhas is in every way unfortunate. That the name Apargh is not a transcript of any indigenous name, but the Greek name for robbers or pirates, is apparent from the fact alone that the name the óíta ascribed. The Lepchhas, moreover, live among mountains, far in the interior, while Ptolemy locates his Léstai along the shores of the Gulf of Siam.

Ptolemy gives next a list of 33 towns in the interior by way of supplement to those already mentioned as situated along the course of the Ganges, followed by a list of the towns in the Golden Kheraonee:

22. The inland towns and villages of this division (Transangetic India), in addition to those mentioned along the Ganges are called:

Sèlampoura.............. 148° 30' 33° 20'
Kanogita................. 143° 32'
Kassida................. 146° 31° 10'
Eldana................. 152° 31'
Asanabarā.............. 155° 31° 30'
Arkhnara.............. 162° 31'
Ouathénaī.............. 170° 31° 20'
Sounagoura............ 145° 30' 29° 20'
Sagbôia or Sadôga....... 155° 20' 29° 20'
Anina................. 162° 29'
Salaţha.............. 165° 40' 28° 20'
23. *Rhodamarkotta,* in which is much *naer.* ... 172° 28'.

Athénagouron 146° 20' 27'.
Maniaina (or Manistais) 147° 15' 24° 40'.
Tōsali, a metropolis ... 150° 23° 20'.
Alosanga 152° 24° 15'.
Adesaga 183° 30' 23'.
Kimara 170° 23° 15'.
Parisara 179° 21° 30'.
Tongma, a metropolis ... 159° 30' 22° 15'.
Arisabion 158° 30' 22° 30'.
Posinara 162° 15' 22° 50'.
Pandasa 165° 21° 20'.
Sipibéris (or Sittébéris) 170° 23° 15'.

The *triglypton,* called also Trilingon, capital of the kingdom ... 154° 15'.

In this part the cocks are said to be bearded, and the crows and parrots white.

24. Lariagara 162° 30' 18° 15'.
Rhingibri 166° 15'.
Agimoitha 170° 40' 18° 40'.
Tomara 172° 18'.
Dasana or Doana 165° 15° 20'.

*Maeraoura* a metropolis,
called also Malthoura 158° 12° 30'.
Lasippa (or Lasiypa) ... 161° 12° 30'.

Bareukhara (or Bareun-
thra) 164° 30' 12° 50'.

25. In the Golden Kherosonese—

Balongka 158° 4° 40'.
Kokkonagara 160° 2°.
Tharrha 182° 1° 20' S.
Palanda 161° 1° 20' S.

Regarding the foregoing long list of inland towns, the following general observations by Saint-Martin are instructive: "With Ptolemy, unfortunately," he says (Étude, pp. 348-9) "the correspondence of names of towns in many instances, is less easy to discover than in the case of the names of peoples or tribes. This is shown once again in the long-enough list which he adds to the names of places already mentioned under the names of the people to which they respectively belonged. To judge from the repetitions in it and the want of connexion, this list appears to have been supplied to him by a document different from the documents he had previously used, and it is precisely because he has not known how to combine its contents with the previous details that he has thus given it separately and as an appendix, although thereby obliged to go again over the same ground he had already traversed. For a country where Ptolemy had not the knowledge of it as a whole to guide him, it would be unjust to reproach him with this want of connexion in his materials, and the confusion therefrom resulting; but this absence, almost absolute, of connexion does only render the task of the critic all the more laborious and unwelcome and there results from it strange mistakes for those who without sufficiently taking into account the composition of this part of the Tables, have believed they could find in the relative positions which the places have there taken a sufficient means of identification. It would only throw one into the risk of error to seek for correspondences to these obscure names, of which there is nothing to guarantee the correctness, and where there is not a single name that is assigned to a definite territory, in the resemblances, more or less close, which can be furnished by a topographical dictionary of India."

*Sélaumpoura:*—This suggests Sélempur, a place situated at some distance north of the Déva or lower Sarayú. The identity of the names is our only warrant for taking them as applying to one and the same town; but as the two places which follow belong to the same part of the country, the identification is in some measure supported. Sélempur is situated on a tributary of the Sarayú, the little Gandak.

*Kanogiza:*—This is beyond doubt the famous city of Kanyakubja or Kanaúj, which has already been noticed under the list of towns attributed to Prasakó, where the name is given as Kanagora. Ptolemy, while giving here the name more correctly has put the city hopelessly out of its position with reference to the Ganges, from which he has removed it several degrees, though it stood upon its banks. Among Indian cities it ranks next in point of antiquity to Ayókhyá in Audh, and it was for many centuries the Capital of North-Western India. It was then a stately city, full of incredible wealth, and its king, who was sometimes styled the Emperor of India, kept a very splendid court. Its remains are 65 miles W.N.W. from Lakhnau. The place was visited by Huen Tsaing in 634 A.D. Pliny (H. N. lib. VI, c. 21) has Calinipara. Conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 158; *Maháb., III,* 8313; *Bändyana,* 1, 34, 37.

*Kassida:*—Here we have another case of a recurrence of the same name in an altered form. In Sanskrit and in inscriptions Kází is the ordinary name of Bánáras. How Ptolemy came to lengthen the name by affixing da to it has not been explained. Ptolemy has mutilated Varanás into Eraras, which he calls a metropolis, and assigns to the Kaspeirai.0i. Such is the view taken by Saint-Martin, but Yule, as we have seen, identifies Eraras with Govardhan (Giriraj). He also points out, on the authority of Dr. F. Hall,
that Vāraṇāsī was never used as a name for Bāndarās.

Soumangoura. — Saint-Martin (Étude, p. 351) thinks this is a transcript of the vulgar form of Suvarnagoura, and in this name recognizes that of one of the ancient capitals of Eastern Bengal, Suvarnagrama (now Sonargāon, about 12 miles from Dākkā), near the right bank of the Lower Brahmaputra.

Sāgōda: — There can be no doubt of the identity of this place with Ayodhya, the capital of Kōsala, under the name of Sākēta or Sāgōda. Sākyayanu, the last days of his life in this city, and during his sojourn the ancient name of Ayodhya gave place to that of Sākēta, the only one current. Hindu lexicographers give Sākēta and Kōsala (or Kōśala) as synonyms of Ayodhya. The name is now called Audh, and is on the right bank of the Sarayu or Ghagghāra, near Faizābād, a modern town, built from its ruins. At some distance north from Audh is the site of Āravasti, one of the most celebrated cities in the annals of Buddhism. For the identity of Sākēta with Ayodhya and also Viśākha. See Cunningham, Geog. of Auc. Ind., pp. 491 sqq.

Rhadamarkota (v. l. Rhadamarkotta). Saint-Martin has identified this with Rāngāmati, an ancient capital situated on the western bank of the lower Brahmaputra, and now called Uddpur (Udayapura, city of surries). Yule, who agrees with this identification, gives as the Sanskrit form of the name of the place, Rāngamritikā. The passage about Nārāyaṇa which follows the mention of Rhadamarkotta in the majority of editions is, according to Saint-Martin (Étude, p. 352 and note), manifestly corrupt. Some editors, correct vālīya, mācha, into vāla, cīlas, and thus Nardos becomes the name of a town, and Rhadamarkota the name of a district, to which Nardos and the towns that come after it in the Table belong. On this point we may quote a passage from Wilford, whose views regarding Rhadamarkot were different. He says (Asiat. Research vol. XIV, p. 441), “Ptolemy has delineated tolerably well the two branches of the river of Ayā and the relative situation of two towns upon them, which still retain their ancient name, only they are transposed. These two towns are Uratha, and Nardos or Nardon; Uratha is Rāthana, the ancient name of Amarakur, and Nardon is Nartenh on the Kayn-dween. . . .” He says that “Nartenh was situated in the country of Rhadamarkota, literally, the Fort of Raudmara, after which the whole country was designated.”

Tōsalei, called Metropolis, has become of great importance since recent archaeological discoveries have led to the finding of the name in the Aśoka Inscriptions on the Dhauli rock. The inscription begins thus: “By the orders of Dēvānapiyā (beloved of the gods) it is enjoined to the public officers charged with the administration of the city of Tōsalī,” &c. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of this monument, and there can be no doubt that the Tōsalī of the inscription was the capital in Aśoka’s time of the province of Orissa, and continued to be so till at least the time of Ptolemy. The city was situated on the margin of a pool called Kōsali-Ganḍā, which was an object of great religious veneration throughout all the country. It is pretty certain that relative to this circumstance is the name of Tōsali-Kōsaliakas, which is found in the Brahmanda Purāṇa, which Wilford had already connected with the Tōsalī of Ptolemy. He had however been misled by the 2nd part of the word to locate the city in N. Kōsali, that is Audh. An obvious objection to the locating of Tōsalī in Orissa is that Ptolemy assigns its position to the eastern side of the Ganges, and Lassen and Burnouf have thus been led to conclude that there must have been two cities of the name. Lassen accordingly finds for Ptolemy’s Tōsalī a place somewhere in the Province of Dākkā. But there is no necessity for this. If we take into account the name of Tōsalī is among those that are marked as having been added to our actual Greek texts by the old Latin translators (on what authority we know not) we shall be the less surprised to find it out of its real place. (Saint-Martin, Étude, pp. 333-4, citing J. A. & Beng., vol. VII, pp. 435 and 442; Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 228, and vol. III, p. 158; and Asiat. Research vol. VIII, p. 344).

Alosanga: —The geographical position of Alosanga places it a quarter degree to the north of the upper extremity of Mount Mayandris. “By a strange fatality,” says Wilford (Asiat. Research vol. XIV, p. 390) “the northern extremity of Mount Mayandris in Ptolemy’s maps is brought close to the town of Alosanga, now Ellasing on the Loa river, to the north-west of Dākkā. This mistake is entirely owing to his tables of longitude and latitude.”

Tounga: — In Yule’s map this is identified, but doubtfully, with Tagang, a place in Khyrī (Burma) east from the Irrawaddi and near the tropics.

Triglypton or Trillingon: — Opinions vary much as to where this capital was situated. Wilford says (Asiat. Research vol. XIV, p. 450-2): “Ptolemy places on the Tokosanna, the Metropolis of the country, and calls it Trillingon, a true Sanskrit appellation. Another name for it, says our author, was Triglypton, which is an attempt to render into Greek the meaning of Trillingon or
Trai-linga, the three 'lingas' of Mahādeva; and this in Arakan is part of an extensive district in the Purāṇas, called Tri-pura, or the three towns and townships first inhabited by three Deitivas. These three districts were Kāmilā, Chattala and Burmānaka, or Rašang, to be pronounced Ra-shāñā, or nearly so; it is now Arākan. Kāmilā alone retains the name of Tri-pura, the two other districts having been wrested from the head Bāja. Ptolemy says that in the country of the Trilinga, there were white ravens, white parrots, and bearded cocks. The white parrot is the kākātī; white ravens are to be seen occasionally in India. Some say that this white colour might have been artificial. The bearded cocks have, as it were, a collar of reversed feathers round the neck and throat, and there only, which gives it the appearance of a beard. These are found only in the houses of native princes, from whom I procured three or four; and am told that they came originally from the hills in the N.W. of India.” Lassen has adopted a somewhat similar view. He says (Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 238-9): “Triglyphon was probably the capital of the Silver country, Arākan of the present day. It lies, according to Ptolemy's determination, one degree further east and 3 1/4 degrees further north than the mouths of the Arākan river. The mouths are placed in the right direction, only the numbers are too great. It may be added that the foundation of this city, which was originally called Viśākī, belongs to earlier times than those of Ptolemy, and no other capital in known to us in this country. The Greek name which means 'thrice cloven,' i.e., 'three-forked' or 'a trident' suits likewise with Arākan, because it lies at the projections of the delta, and the Arākan river, in the lower part of its course, splits into several arms, three of which are of superior importance. Ptolemy's remark that the cocks there are bearded and the ravens and parrots white, favours this view, for according to Rhyle (J. A. S. Beng., vol. XV, p. 26) there is found in Arākan a species of the Bucconidae, which on account of their beards are called the English 'barbets,' and on the same authority we learn that what is said of the ravens and parrots is likewise correct.” Cunningham again, says (Anc. Geog. of Ind., pp. 518-9): “In the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, or Haihaya dynasty of Chēdi, the Bājas assume the titles of 'Lords of Kāmilāpurā, and of Trikaliṅga.' Trikaliṅga, or the three Kalāṅgas, must be the three kingdoms Dhanakata, or Amaravati, on the Krishnā, Andhra or Warangal, and Kalāṅga, or Rājamahendri. The name of Trikaliṅga is probably old; as Pliny mentions the Macco-Calinae and the Gangarides-Caliningae as separate peoples from the Caliningae; while the Mahābhārata names the Kaliningae three separate times, and each time in conjunction with different peoples. As Trikaliṅga thus corresponds with the great province of Tēlingana, it seems probable that the name of Tēlingana may be only a slightly contracted form of Tēlingana, or the three Kalāṅga. I am aware that the name is usually derived from Tri-līnga, or the three phalli of Mahādeva. But the mention of Macco-Calinae and Gangarides-Caliningae by Pliny would seem to show that the three Kalāṅga were known as early as the time of Megasthenes, from whom Pliny has chiefly copied his Indian Geography. The name must therefore be older than the Phallic worship of Mahādeva in Southern India.” Caldwell observes (Dravid. Gram., Introd., p. 32) that though Trilingon is said to be on the Ganges, it may have been considerably to the south of it, and on the Gōḍavari, which was always regarded by the Hindus as a branch of the Ganges, and is mythologically identical with it. The Andhras and Kalāṅga, the two ancient divisions of the Telugu people are represented by the Greeks as Gangetic nations. It may be taken as certain that Triglyphon, Trilinga or Modogalinga was identical with Tēlingana or Trilingam, which signifies the country of the three lingas. The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy as near the mouths of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Gōḍavari. Māдо or Modogā is equivalent to mādu of modern Telugu. It means three.” Yule again places Trilingon on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, identifying it withTripure (Tippera), a town in the district of the same name, 48 miles E.S.E. of Dākkā.

Rīṅgiyērī.—Saint-Martin and Yule, as we have seen, place Rāṇgāmatī on the Brahmaputra at Udipur. Wilford, however, had placed it near Chitgāon, and identified it with Ptolemy's Rīṅgiyērī. “Ptolemy,” he says (Asiai, Res., vol. XIV, p. 439); “has placed the source of the Doriai” (which in Wilford's opinion is the Dumur or Dumiya, called in the lower part of its course the Karmaphulī) in some country to the south of Saliha or Silhet, and he mentions two towns on its banks: Pandassa in the upper part of its course, but unknown; in the lower part Rīṅgiyērī, now Rāṇgāmatī near Chāṅgā (Chitgāon), and Reang is the name of the country on its banks. On the lesser Dumurā, the river Chingri of the Bengal Atlas, and near its source, is a town called there Reang. Rāṇgāmatī and Rāṅgā-bātī, to be pronounced Rangabari, imply nearly the same thing.”

Tōma was no doubt a place belonging to
the Zamfrai or Tamarai, who were located inland from Kirrhadia, and inhabited the Garô Hills.

Mareaura or Malthoura.—In Yule's map this metropolis is located, but doubtfully, to the west of Touma (Tagau), nearest the western bank of the Khyendwen, the largest confluent of the Irwadi.

Bareukora (or Bareuntha) is in Yule's map identified with Ramô, a place in the district of Chitragon, from which it is 68 miles distant to the S.S.E. Wilford identified it with Phalgun, another name for which, according to the Kahatra Samaša was Pharañagara, and this he took to be Ptolemy's Bareukora. Phalgun he explains to be the Palon of the maps.

Kokkonagara:—Yule suggests for this Pegu. "It appears," he says, "from Taranātha's history of Buddhism (ch. xxxix) that the Indo-Chinese countries were in old times known collectively as Kokī. In a Ceylonese account of an expedition against Rāmaniyā, supposed to be Pegu, the army captures the city of Ukkaka, and in it the Lord of Rāmaniyā. Kokkonagara again, is perhaps the Kâkula of Ibn Batata, which was certainly a city on the Gulf of Siam, and probably an ancient foundation from Kalings, called after Śrī-kâkola there."

Tharr:—The same authority identifies this with Tharāwati at the head of the delta of the Irwadi. It is one of the divisions of the Province of Pegu.

Ptolemy's description of Tranugangistic India now closes with the Islands.

26. The islands of the division of India we have been describing are said to be these:
Bazakota 140° 30' 9° 30' [Khalinē 146° 9° 20']

In this island some say there is found in abundance the murex shell-fish (εὐχλέα) and that the inhabitants go naked, and are called Aginnatai.

27. There are three islands called Sindai, inhabited by Cannibals, of which the centre lies in 152° 8° 40' S.
Agathu daimonos 145° 15' on the equator.

28. A group of five islands, the Barousa, whose inhabitants are said to be cannibals, and the centre of which lies in 152° 20' 5° 20' S.
A group of three islands, the Sābađē ibaś, inhabited by cannibals, of which the centre lies in 160° 8° 30' S.

Bazakota may perhaps be the island of Cheduba, as Wilford has suggested. Lassen takes it to be an island at the mouth of the Bassinriver, near Cape Negrais, called Diamond Island. Its inhabitants are called by Ptolemy the Aginnatai, and represented as going naked. Lassen, for Aginnatai would therefore read Apinatai, "because apinaddha in Sanskrit means unclothed;" but apinaddha means 'tied on,' clothed. Yule thinks it may perhaps be the greater of the two Andāmān islands. He says (Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. IV, 1882, p. 654): "Proceeding further the (Greek) navigator reaches the city of Kōli or Kōla, leaving behind him the island of Bazakota, 'Good Fortune' ('Αγαθός Δαίμονος) and the group of the Barusn. Here, at Kōli, which I take to be a part of the Malay peninsula, the course of the first century Greek, and of the ninth century Arab, come together."

Bazakota and the Island of Good Fortune may be taken as the Great and the Little Andāmān respectively. The Arab relation mentions in an unconnected notice an island called Malhān between Serendib and Kailah, i.e., between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, which was inhabited by black and naked cannibals. "This may be another indication of the Andāmān group, and the name may have been taken from Ptolemy's Maniōes, which in his map occupy the position in question. And again: 'Still further out of the way (than the Andāmān) and difficult of access was a region of mountains containing mines of silver. The landmarks (of the Arab navigator) to reach these was a mountain called Alkushnámi (the Auspicies). 'This land of silver mines is both by position and by this description identified with the Argyre of Ptolemy. As no silver is known to exist in that region (Arakan) it seems probable that the Arab indications to that effect were adopted from the Ptolemaic charts. And this leads me to suggest that the Jibal Khushnámi also was but a translation of the ἄγαθος δαίμονος νῆσος, or isle of Good Fortune, in those maps, whilst I have thought also that the name Andāmān might have been adopted from a transcript of the same name in Greek as ἄγ. δαίμος.'"

Khalinē in Yule's map is read as Saline, and identified with the Island of Salang, close to the coast in the latitude of the Nikobar Islands.

The Sindai Islands are placed by Ptolemy about as far south as his island of Isabadion (Java) but many degrees west of them. Lassen says (Iad. Alt., vol. III, pp. 250-1) that the northmost of the three islands must be Pulo-Kaput, on the coast of Sumatra, the middle one the more southern, Pulo Pangor, and the island of Agatho-Daimon, one of the Salat Mankala group. The name of Sindai might imply, he thinks, that Indian traders had formed a settlement there. He seems to have
regarded the Island of Agatho-Daimon as belonging to the Sindai group, but this does not appear to me
to be sanctioned by the text. Yule says: "Possibly
Sundar-Fulat, in which the latter word seems to
be an Arabized plural of the Malay Pulo 'island' is
also to be traced in Sindai Insulae, but I have
not adopted this in the map."

The Baroussai Islands:—"The (Arab)
navigators," says Yule in his notes already referred
to, "crossing the sea of Horkand with the west
monsoon, made land at the islands of Larija-Lanka,
or Lika-Bala, where the naked inhabitants came
off in their canoes bringing ambergris and cohco-
nuts for barter, a description which with the posi-
tion identifies these islands with the Nikobars,
Nekaveram of Marco Polo, Laka-Varam of
Rashtuddin, and I, can hardly hesitate to say,
with the Barussa Islands of Ptolemy.

Sabadeibai Islands:—The latter part of
this name represents the Sanskrit desipa, 'an
island.' The three islands of this name are prob-
able those lying east from the more southern
parts of Sumatra.

29. The Island of Iabadio (or Sabadios)
which means the island of Barley. It is said
to be of extraordinary fertility, and to produce
very much gold, and to have its capital called
Argyred(Silver-town) in the extreme west of it.
It lies in ......................................167° 8' 30' S.
and the eastern limit lies in ...169° 8' 10' S.

30. The Islands of the Satyrs, three in number,
of which the centre is in 171° 2' 30' S.
The inhabitants are said to have tails like those
with which Satyrs are depicted.

31. There are said to be also ten other
islands forming a continuous group called
Maniolai, from which ships fastened with
earnails are said to be unable to move away,
(perhaps on account of the magnetic iron in
the islands) and hence they are built with
wooden bolts. The inhabitants are called
Maniolai, and are reputed to be cannibals.

The Island of Iabadio:—Iaba, the first part
of this name, is the Sanskrit word for 'barley,' and
the second part like deša, diša, dása, and děśa or
dēś, represents desipa, 'an island.' We have here
therefore the Island of Java, which answers in
most respects to Ptolemy's description of it. The
following note regarding it I take from Bunsbury's
History of Ancient Geography (pp. 64:4): "The
name of Java has certainly some resemblance with
Iabadio, supposing that to be the correct form
of the name, and, what is more consequence,
Ptolemy adds that it signifies 'the island of
barley,' which is really the meaning of the name of
Java. The position in latitude assigned by him
to the island in question (8° degrees of south
latitude) also agrees very well with that of Java;
his geographical notions of these countries
are in general so vague and erroneous that little
or no value can be attached to this coincidence.
On the other hand, the abundance of gold
would suit well with Sumatra, which has
always been noted on that account, while there
is little or no gold found in Java. The metropolis
at its western extremity would thus correspond
with Achin, a place that must always have been
one of the principal cities of the island. In
either case he had a very imperfect idea of its
size, assigning it a length of only about 100 Geog-
miles, while Java is 9° or 540 G. miles in length,
and Sumatra more than 900 G. miles. It seems
not improbable that in this case, as in several
others, he mixed up particulars which really refer-
to the different islands, and applied them
to one only: but it is strange that if he had any
information concerning such islands as Sumatra
and Java, he should have no notion that they
were of very large size, at the same time that he
had such greatly exaggerated ideas of the
dimensions of Ceylon." Mannert took Iabadio
in to be the small island of Banks on the S.E.
of Sumatra. For the application of the name of
Java to the Island of Sumatra, see Yule's Marco

Regarding the Islands of the Satyrs, Lassen says
(Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 252): The three islands, called
after the Satyrs, mark the extreme limits of the
knowledge attained by Ptolemy of the Indian Archi-
pelago. The inhabitants were called Satyrs because,
according to the fabulous accounts of mariners, they
had tails like the demi-gods of that name in Greek
mythology. Two of these must be Madura and
Bali, the largest islands on the north and east coasts
of Java, and of which the first figures prominently
in the oldest legends of Java; the second, on the
contrary, not till later times. The third island is
probably Lombok, lying near Bali in the east. A
writer in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography
thinks these islands were perhaps the Aenab group,
and the Satyrs who inhabited them are
resembling men. Yule says in the notes:—"San-
dar-Fulat we cannot hesitate to identify with Pulo
Condor, Marco Polo's Sondur and Condor. These
may also be the Satyrs' islands of Ptolemy, but
they may be his Sindai, for he has a Sindai
city on the coast close to this position, though his
Sindai islands are dropped far way. But it
would not be difficult to show that Ptolemy's
islands have been located almost at random, or as
from a pepper-caster."

Ptolemy locates the Maniolai Islands, of
which he reckons ten, about 10 degrees eastward from Ceylon. There is no such group however to be found in that position, or near it, and we may safely conclude that the Maniolai isles are as mythical as the magnetic rocks they were said to contain. In an account of India, written at the close of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century, at the request either of Palladius or of Xausius, to whom Palladius inscribed his Historia Lausiana, mention is made of these rocks: “At Muziris,” says Priaux, in his notice of this account, “our traveller stayed some time, and occupied himself in studying the soil and climate of the place and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. He also made enquiries about Ceylon, and the best mode of getting there, but did not care to undertake the voyage when he heard of the dangers of the Sinhalese channel, of the thousand isles, the Maniolai which impede its navigation, and the loadstone rocks which bring disaster and wreck on all iron-bound ships.” And Masudi, who had traversed this sea, says that ships sailing on it were not fastened with iron nails, its waters so wasted them. (The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, &c., p. 197.)

After Ptolemy's time a different position was now and again assigned to these rocks, the direction in which they were moved being more and more to westward. Priaux (p. 247), uses this as an argument in support of his contention that the Roman traffic in the eastern seas gradually declined after 273 A.D., and finally disappeared. How, otherwise, he asks, can we account for the fact that the loadstone rocks, those myths of Roman geography, which, in Ptolemy's time, the flourishing days of Roman commerce, lay some degrees eastward of Ceylon, appear A.D. 400 barring its western approach, and A.D. 550 have advanced up to the very mouth of the Arabian Gulf. But on the Terrestrial Globe of Martin Behem, Nuremberg A.D. 1492, they are called Manillas, and are placed immediately to the north of Java Major. Aristotle speaks of a magnetic mountain on the coast of India, and Pliny repeats the story. Klapproth states that the ancient Chinese authors also speak of magnetic mountains in the southern seas on the coasts of Tonquin and Cochín-China, and allege regarding them that if foreign ships which are bound with plates of iron approach them, such ships are there detained, and can in no case pass these places. (Tennant's Ceylon, vol. I, p. 444 n.) The origin of the fable, which represents the magnetic rocks as fatal to vessels fastened with iron nails, is to be traced to the peculiar mode in which the Ceylonese and Malays have at all times constructed their boats and canoes, these being put together without the use of iron nails; the planks instead being secured by wooden bolts, and stitched together with cords spun from the fibre of the cocoonut. “The Third Calender,” in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, gives a lively account of his ship wreck upon the Loadstone Mountain, which he tells us was entirely covered towards the sea with the nails that belonged to the immense number of ships which it had destroyed.

**CAP. 3.**

**POSITION OF THE SINAI.**

1. The Sinai are bounded on the north by the part of Seirikè already indicated, on the east and south by the unknown land, on the west by India beyond the Ganges, along the line defined as far as the Great Gulf and by the Great Gulf itself, and the parts immediately adjacent thereto, and by the Wild Beast Gulf, and by that frontier of the Sinai around which are placed the Ikhtyophagosoi Aithiopes, according to the following outline:

2. After the boundary of the Gulf on the side of India the mouth of the river Aspitara .......... 170° 16°

Sources of the river on the eastern side of the Sémantinhas range .......... 180° 26°

Bramma, a town .......... 177° 12° 30'

The mouth of the river Ambastes .......... 176° 10°

The sources of the river .......... 179° 30' 15°

Rhabana, a town .......... 177° 8° 30'

Month of the river Sainos .......... 176° 20' 6° 30'

The Southern Cape .......... 175° 15' 4°

The head of Wild Beast Gulf .......... 176° 2°

The Cape of Satyrs .......... 175° on the line

Gulf of the Sinai .......... 178° 2° 20'

3. Around the Gulf of the Sinai dwell the fish-eating Aithiopians.

Mouth of the river Kot-ntiaris .......... 177° 20' 7° S.

Sources of the river .......... 180° 40' 2° S.

Where it falls into the river Sainos .......... 180° on the line.

Kattigara, the port of the Sinai .......... 177° 8° 30'S.

4. The most northern parts are possessed by the Sémantinhi, who are situated above

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8 Wilford (Is. Res. vol. XIV, pp. 429-30), gives the fable regarding these rocks from the Chaturvarya Chintamani, and identifies them with those near Pārindra or the lion's place in the lion's mouth or Straits of Singapur.

9 Latin Translator.
the range that bears their name. Below them, and below the range are the Akadrai, after whom are the Asphraria, then along the Great Gulf the Ambastai, and around the guls immediately adjoining the Ikhtyophagoi: Sinai.

5. The interior towns of the Sinai are named thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akadrai</td>
<td>178° 20'</td>
<td>21° 15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asphraria</td>
<td>175°</td>
<td>16°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokkonaldra</td>
<td>173° 50'</td>
<td>2°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarata</td>
<td>180° 30'</td>
<td>4°</td>
</tr>
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</table>

6. And the Metropolis Sinai or Thina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thina</td>
<td>180° 40'</td>
<td>3°</td>
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</table>

which they say has neither brazen walls nor anything else worthy of note. It is encompassed on the side of Kattigara towards the west by the unknown land, which encircles the Green Sea as far as Cape Prason, from which begins, as has been said, the Gulf of the Batrakheian Sea, connecting the land with Cape Rhaptus, and the southern parts of Azania.

It has been pointed out how egregiously Ptolemy misconceived the configuration of the coast of Asia beyond the Great Gulf, making it run southward and then turn westward, and proceed in that direction till it reached the coast of Africa below the latitude of Zanzibar. The position, therefore, of the places he names, cannot be determined with any certainty. By the Wild Beast Gulf may perhaps be meant the Gulf of Tonquin, and by the Gulf of the Sinai that part of the Chinese Sea which is beyond Hai-nan Island. The river Kottiaris may perhaps be the river of Canton. Thina, or Sinai, may have been Nanpin, or better perhaps Shi-nan-fu, in the province of Shen-si, called by Marco Polo, by whom it was visited, Ken-jan.  “It was probably,” says Yule (Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 21) “the most celebrated city in Chinese history and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties. In the days of its greatest fame it was called Chaggan.” It appears to have been an ancient tradition that the city was surrounded by brazen walls, but this Ptolemy regarded as a mere fable. The author of the Periplus (c. 64), has the following notice of the place:—“There lies somewhere in the interior of Thina, a very great city, from which silk, either raw or spun or woven into cloth is carried overland to Baryaza through Baktra or by the Ganges to Limyriki . . . Its situation is under the Lesser Bear.” Ptolemy has placed it 3 degrees south of the equator!

I here subjoin, for comparison, a passage from Ammianus Marcellinus which traverses the ground covered by Ptolemy’s description of Central and Eastern Asia. Ammianus wrote about the middle of the fourth century of our era, and was a well-informed writer, and careful in his statement of facts. The extract is from the 23rd Book of his History:—

“If you advance from Karmania into the interior (of Asia) you reach the Hyrcanian, who border on the sea which bears their name. Here, as the poverty of the soil kills the seeds committed to it, the inhabitants care but little for agriculture. They live by hunting game, which is beyond measure varied and abundant. Tigers show themselves here in thousands, and many other wild beasts besides. I bear in mind that I have already described the nature of the contrivances by which these animals are caught. It must not be supposed, however, that the people never put hands to the plough, for where the soil is found richer than usual the fields are covered with crops. In places, moreover, that are adapted for being planted-out, gardens of fruit-trees are not wanting, and the sea also supplies many with the means of livelihood. Two rivers flow through the country whose names are familiar to all, the Oxus and Maxera. Tigers at times, when pressed by hunger on their own side of these rivers, swim over to the opposite side and, before the alarm can be raised, ravage all the neighbourhood where they land. Amidst the smaller townships there exist holy cities of great power, two on the sea-board, Soci and Saman, and the others inland—Azmorna and Solun, and Hyrkan, which rank above the others. The country next to this people on the north is said to be inhabited by the Abii, a most pious race of men, accustomed to despise all things mortal, and whom Jupiter (as Homer with his over-fondness for fable sings) looks down upon from the summits of Mount Ida. The seats immediately beyond the Hyrcanians form the dominions of the Margiani, who are nearly on all sides round hemmed in by high hills, and consequently shut out from the sea. Though their territory is for the most part sterile, from the deficiency of water, they have nevertheless some towns, and of these the more notable are Jasonion and Antiochia and Nissa. The adjoining region belongs to the Baktrian, a nation hitherto addicted to war and very powerful, and always troublesome to their neighbours, the Persians, before that people had reduced all the surrounding states to submission, and absorbed them into their own name and nationality. In old times, however, even Araxes himself found the kings who ruled in Baktriana formidable foes to contend with. Most parts of the country are, like Margiana, far distant from the sea, but the soil is productive, and the cattle that are pastured on the plains and hill-sides, are compact of structure, with limbs
both stout and strong, as may be judged from the camels which were brought from thence by Mithridates and seen by the Romans during the siege of Cyzicus, when they saw this species of animal for the first time. A great many tribes, among which the Toschari are the most distinguished, obey the Baktrians. Their country is watered, like Italy, by numerous rivers, and of these the Arctes and Zari apses after their union, and in like manner the combined Ochus and Ochomanes, swell with their confluent waters the vast stream of the Oxus. Here also cities are to be found, and these are laved by different rivers. The more important of them are Chatra and Charte and Alciora and Astacia and Menapia, and Baktra itself, which is both the capital and the name of the nation. The people, who live at the very foot of the mountains, are called the Sogdi, through whose country flow two rivers of great navigable capacity, the Araxes and Dymas, which rushing impetuously down from the mountains and passing into a level plain, form a lake of vast extent, called the Oxian. Here, among other towns, Alexandria, and Kyroschat, and Drepia the Metropolis, are well known to fame. Contiguous to the Sogdians are the Sacae, an uncivilized people, inhabiting rugged tracts that yield nothing beyond pasture for cattle, and that are, therefore, unadorned with cities. They lie under Mounts Askaniem and Komedus. Beyond the valleys at the foot of these mountains and the village which they call Lithicon Pyrgon (Stone Tower) lies the very long road by which traders pursue their journey who start from this point to reach the Seres. In the parts around are the deserts by which the mountains called Imaus and the Tapourian range, sink down to the level of the plains. The Skythians are located within the Persian territories, being conterminous with the Asiatic Sarmatians, and touching the furthest frontier of the Alani. They live, as it were, a sort of secluded life, and are reared in solitude, being scattered over districts that lie far apart, and that yield for the sustenance of life a mean and scanty fare. The tribes which inhabit these tracts are various, but it would be superfluous for me to enumerate them, hastening as I am to a different subject. One fact must, however, be stated, that there are in these communities which are almost shut out from the rest of mankind by the inhospitable nature of their country, some men gentle and pious, as for instance, the Jaxartes and the Galaktophagi, mentioned by the poet Homer in this verse:

Γλακτοφάγοι ἄνθρωποι δισμοτάτων ἀνδρώσων.

It was a notion long prevalent that silk was combed from the leaves of trees. Thus Virgil (Geor. II, 121)

"Among the many rivers of Skythia which either fall naturally into larger ones, or glide onward to reach at last the sea, the Romanus is of renown, and the Jaxartes and the Talius, but of cities they are not known to have more than but three, Aspabota and Chauriana and Saga.

"Beyond these places in the two Skythias and on their eastern side lie the Seres, who are girt in by a continuous circle of lofty mountain-peaks, and whose territory is noted for its vast extent and fertility. On the west they have the Skythians for their next neighbours, and on the north and east they adjoin solitudes covered over with snow, and on the south extend as far as India and the Ganges. The mountains referred to are called Anniva and Nazavicum and Asmira and Emidon and Oporocara. Through this plain which, as we have said, is inclosed on all sides by steep declivities, and through regions of vast extent, flow two famous rivers, the Ganges and the Bautus, with a slower current. The country is diversified in its character, here expanding into open plains, and there rising in gentle undulations. Hence it is marvellously fruitful and well-wooded, and teeming with cattle. Various tribes inhabit the most fertile districts, and of these the Alitrophagi and Annibi and Sixyes and Chardians are exposed to blasts from the north and to frosts, while the Rabanna and Asmi and Essedone, who outshine all the other tribes, look towards the rising sun. Next to these, on their western side, are the Athagorae and the Aspacaera. The Betae, again, are situated towards the lofty mountains fringing the south, and are famed for their cities which, though few in number are distinguished for their size and wealth; the largest of them being Asmira, and Essedone and Aspara and Ser, which are beautiful cities and of great celebrity. The Seres themselves lead tranquil lives, and are averse to arms and war, and since people whose temper is thus sedate, and peaceful, relish their ease, they give no trouble to any of their neighbours. They enjoy a climate at once agreeable and salubrious; the sky is clear and the prevailing winds are wonderfully mild and genial. The country is well-shaded with woods, and from the trees the inhabitants gather a product which they make into what may be called fleeces by repeatedly besprinkling it with water. The material thus formed by saturating the soft down with moisture is exquisitely fine, and when combed out and spun into web is woven into silk, an article of dress formerly worn only by the great, but now without any distinction even by the very poorest."

"Vellariaque ut foliis despectant tenias Seres." Strabo (XV, i, 20) describes silk as carded off the bark of certain..."
The Sēres themselves live in the most frugal manner, more so indeed than any other people in the world. They seek after a life as free as possible from all disquiet, and shun intercourse with the rest of mankind. So when strangers cross the river into their country to buy their silks or other commodities, they exchange no words with them, but merely intimate by their looks the value of the goods offered for sale; and so abstemious are they that they buy not any foreign products. Beyond the Sēres live the Ariāni, exposed to the blasts of the north wind. Through their country flows a navigable river called the Arīa, which forms a vast lake bearing the same name. This same Arīa has numerous towns, among which Bitama Sarmatina, and Sotera and Nisibis and Alexandria are the most notable. If you sail from Alexandria down the river to the Caspian Sea the distance is 1,500 stadia.

Immediately adorning these places are the Paropanisatae, who look on the east towards the Indians and on the west towards Caucasus, lying themselves towards the slopes of the mountains. The River Ortogordomariss, which is larger than any of the others, and rises among the Baktiani, flows through their territory. They too, have some towns, of which the more celebrated are Agazaca and Naulibus and Ortopana, from which the navigation along the coast to the borders of Media in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates extends to 2,200 stadia. Contiguous to the Paropanisatae just named are the Dragiani, seated quite close to the hills and watered by a river called the Arabiān, because it rises in Arabia. Among their other towns they have two to boast of in particular, Prophthasia and Ariaspe, which are both opulent and famous. After these, and directly confronting them, Arachchosia comes into view, which on its right side faces the Indians. It is watered by a stream of copious volume derived from the Indus, that greatest of rivers, after which the adjacent regions have been named. This stream, which is less than the Indus, forms the lake called Arachchosia. The province, among other important cities, has Alexandria and Arbaca and Choaspe. In the very interior of Persia is Gedrosia, which on the right touches the Indian frontier. It is watered by several streams, of which the Aratabius is the most considerable. Where it is inhabited by the Barbitani the mountains sink down to the plains. A number of rivers issue from their very base to join the Indus, and these all lose their names when absorbed into that mightier stream. Here too, besides the islands there are cities, of which Sedrtyra and Gunaikon Limen (Women’s haven) are considered to be superior to the others. But we must bring this description here to an end, lest in entering into a minute account of the seaboard on the extremities of Persia we should stray too far from the proper argument.

CAP. 4.

POSITION OF THE ISLAND OF TAPROBANE.

1. Opposite Cape Kēry, which is in India, is the projecting point of the Island of Taprobane, which was called formerly Simoundon, and now Sālikē. The inhabitants are commonly called Salai. Their heads are quite encircled with long luxuriant locks, like those of women. The country produces rice, honey, ginger, beryl, hyacinth, and has mines of every sort—of gold and of silver and other metals. It breeds at the same time elephants and tigers.

2. The point already referred to as lying opposite to Kēry is called North Cape (Boreion Akron) and lies 120° 12° 30′.

3. The descriptive outline of the rest of the island is as follows:

   After the North Cape which is situated in 120° 12° 30′
   comes Cape Galiba 124° 11° 30′
   Margana, a town 123° 30′ 10° 20′
   Iogana, a town 123° 20′ 8° 50′
   Anarismoundon, a cape 122° 7° 45′
   Mouth of the River Soana 122° 20′ 6° 15′
   Sources of the river 124° 30′ 3°
   Sindokanda, a town 122° 5°
   Haven of Priapis 122° 3° 40′
   4. Anoubingara 121° 2° 40′
   Headland of Zeus 120° 30′ 1°
   Prasōdes Bay 121° 2°
   Noubarta, a town 121° 40′ on the line.
   Mouth of the river Azanos 123° 20′ 1° N.
   The sources of the river 126° 1° N.
   Odlā, a town 123° 2° S.
   Orneon, (Birds’ Point) a headland 125° 2° 30′

38 In one of the temples, says Kosmas, is the great hyacinth, as large as a pine-cone, the colour of fire and flashing from a distance, especially when catching the beams of the sun, a matchless sight.
5. Dagana, a town
sacred to the Moon 126° 2° S.
Korkobara, a town 127° 20' 2° 20' S.
Cape of Dionysos 130° 1° 30' S.
Kétion Cape 132° 30' 2° 20' S.
Mouth of the river
Barakès 131° 30' 1° N.
Sources of the river 128° 2° N.
Bókan, a town 131° 1° 20' N.
The haven of Mardos
or Mardoumañ 131° 2° 20' N.
6. Abaratha, a town 131° 3° 15' N.
Haven of the Sun (Helion)
limén) 130° 4°
Great Coast (Aigialos
Megas) 130° 4° 20'
Prokouri, a town 131° 5° 20'
The haven of Bizaata 130° 20' 6° 30'
Oxia, a headland 130° 7° 30'
Mouth of the river Gangès 129° 7° 20'
The sources of the river 127° 7° 15'
Spatana Haven 129° 8°
7. Nagdina or Nagadina, a town 129° 8° 30'
Patia Bay 128° 30' 9° 30'
Anoubingara, a town 128° 20' 9° 40'
Modoutou, a mart 128° 11° 20'
Mouth of the river Phasis 127° 11° 20'
The sources of the river 126° 8°
Talakory (or Aakotë) a mart 126° 20' 11° 20'
After which the North Cape.

8. The notable mountains of the island are those called Galiba, from which flow the Phasis and the Ganges, and that called Malai, from which flow the Soonas and the Azanons and the Barakès, and at the base of this range, towards the sea, are the feeding grounds of the elephants.

9. The most northern parts of the Island are possessed by the Galibo and the Moudoutoi, and below these the Anourogrammoi and the Nagadiboí, and below the Anourogrammo the Soanoí, and below the Nagadiboí the Sennoi, and below these the Sandokandai, towards the west, and below these towards the feeding grounds of the elephants the Bōkanoi and Diordouloï, and farthest south the Rhogandanoi, and the Nagelroi.

10. The inland towns in the island are these:
Anourogrammon, the royal residence 124° 10' 5° 40'
Maagrammon, the metropolis 127° 7° 20'
Adeisammon 129° 5°
Podoukê 124° 3° 40'
Onispada 128° 20' 40'
Nakadouba 123° 30' on the Line.

11. In front of Tappobon lies a group of islands which they say number 1378. Those whose names are mentioned are the following:
Ouanga (or Ouangana) 120° 15' 11° 20'
Kanathra 121° 40' 11° 15'
Aigidiò 118° 8° 30'
Ornéon 119° 8° 30'
Monakhê 116° 4° 15'
Amminê 117° 4° 30'

12. Karkos 118° 40' S.
Philèkos 116° 30' 2° 40' S.
Eiréne 120° 2° 30' S.
Kalandadrous 121° 5° 30' S.
Abrana 125° 4° 20' S.
Bassa 126° 6° 30' S.
Balaka 129° 5° 30' S.
Alala 131° 4° S.
Goumarat 133° 1° 40' S.
Zibala 135° 4° 15' N.
Nagadibâ 135° 8° 30'
Soussouara 135° 11° 15'

14. Let such then be the mode of describing in detail the complete circuit of all the provinces and satrapies of the known world, and since we indicated in the outset of this compendium how the known portion of the earth should be delineated both on the sphere and in a projection on a plane surface exactly in the same manner and proportion as what is traced on the solid sphere, and since it is convenient to accompany such descriptions of the world with a summary sketch, exhibiting the whole in one comprehensive view, let me now therefore give such a sketch with due observance of the proper proportion.

This island of Tappobon has changed its name with notable frequency. In the Râmâyana and other Sanskrit works it is called Lâkâ, but this was an appellation unknown to the Greeks. They called it at first Antichthonos, being under the belief that it was a region belonging to the
opposite portion of the world (Pliny, lib. VI, c. xxii). In the time of Alexander, when its situation was better understood, it was called Taprobane. Megasthenes mentions it under this name, and remarks that it was divided (into two) by a river, that its inhabitants were called Palaegogni and that it produced more gold and pearls of large size than India. From our author we learn that the old name of the island was Simondou, and that Taprobane, its next name, was obsolete in his time, being replaced by Salikê. The author of the Periplas states, on the other hand, that Taprobane was the old name of the island, and that in his time it was called Palai Simoundou. The section of his work however in which this statement occurs (§ 61) is allowed to be hopelessly corrupt. According to Pliny, Palaesimundus was the name of the capital town, and also of the river on whose banks it stood. How long the island continued to be called Salikê does not appear, but it was subsequently known under such names as Serendivus, Sirlediba, Serendib, Zelian, and Salian, from which the transition is easy to the name which it now bears, Ceylon.

With regard to the origin or derivation of the majority of these names the most competent scholars have been divided in their opinions. According to Lassen the term Palaiogoni was selected by Megasthenes to designate the inhabitants of the island, as it conveyed the idea entertained of them by the Indians that they were Râkahasas, or giants, ‘the sons of the progenitors of the world.’ To this it may be objected that Megasthenes did not intend by the term to describe the inhabitants, but merely to give the name by which they were known, which was different from that of the island. Schwanbeck again suggested that the term might be a transliteration of Pali-janâs, a Sanskrit compound, which he took to mean ‘men of the sacred doctrine’ (Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 129, n.) But, as Priaux has pointed out (Apollon. of Tyana, p. 110), this is an appellation which could scarcely have been given to others than learned votaries of Buddhism, and which could scarcely be applicable to a people who were not even Buddhist till the reign of Aśoka, who was subsequent to Chandragupta, at whose court Megasthenes acquired his knowledge of India. Besides, it has been pointed out by Goldstücker (ib. n. 59) that Pali has not the meaning here attributed to it. He adds that the nearest approach he could find to Palaiogoni is—pāra on the other side of the river, and jânda, a people; Pārajânas, therefore, ‘a people on the other side of the river.’

Tennent, in conclusion, takes the word to be a Hellenized form of Pâli-putra, ‘the sons of the Pâli,’ the first Prasian colonists of the island. A satisfactory explanation of Palai-Simoundou has not yet been hit on. That given by Lassen, Pâli-Simanta, or Head of the Sacred Law, has been discredited. We come now to Taprobane. This is generally regarded as a transliteration of Tamraparna, the name which Vijaya, who, according to tradition, led the first Indian colony into Ceylon, gave to the place where he first landed, and which name was afterwards extended to the whole island. It is also the name of a river in Tâmravali, and it has, in consequence, been supposed that the colonists, already referred to, had been, for some time, settled on its banks before they removed to Ceylon. The word means ‘Copper-coloured leaf.’ Its Pâli form is Tambapanni (see Ind. Ant., vol. XIII, pp. 338) and is found, as has been before noticed, in the inscription of Aśoka on the Girnâr rock. Another name, applied to it by Brahmanical writers, is Dwipa-Râvâna, i.e., ‘the island of Râvâna, whence perhaps Taprobane.’ Salikê, Serendivâs, and other subsequent names, are all considered to be connected etymologically with Śûnâla (colloquially Silam), the Pâli form of Shala, a derivative from sikhâ, ‘a lion,’ i.e., ‘a hero’—the hero Vijaya. According to a different view these names are to be referred to the Javanese selâ, ‘a precious stone,’ but this explanation is rejected by Yule (Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 296, n. 6). For Salikê, Tennent suggests an Egyptian origin, Siela-keh, i.e., ‘the land of Siela.’

Little more was known in the west respecting the island beyond what Megasthenes had communicated until the reign of the Emperor Claudius, when an embassy was sent to Rome by the Sinhalese monarch, who had received such astonishing accounts of the power and justice of the Roman people that he became desirous of entering into alliance with them. He had derived his knowledge of them from a castaway upon his island, the freedman of a Roman called Annuus Placitus. The embassy consisted of 4 members, of whom the chief was called Râchia, an appellation from which we may infer that he held the rank of a Râjâ. They gave an interesting, if not a very accurate, account of their country, which has been preserved by Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. VI). Their friendly visit, operating conjointly with the discovery of the quick passage to and from the East by means of the monsoon, gave a great impetus to commercial enterprise, and the rich marts, to which access had thus been opened, soon began to be frequented by the galleys of the West. Ptolemy, living in Alexandria, the great entrepôt in those days of the Eastern traffic, very probably acquired from traders arriving from Ceylon, his knowledge concerning it, which is both wonderfully copious, and at the
same time, fairly accurate, if we except his views of its magnitude, which like all his predecessors he vastly over-estimated. On the other hand, he has the merit of having determined properly its general form and outline, as well as its actual position with reference to the adjoining continent, points on which the most vague and erroneous notions had prevailed up to his time, the author of the Periplus for instance describing the island as extending so far westward that it almost adjoined Azania in Africa. The actual position of Ceylon is between 5° 55' and 9° 51' N. lat., and 79° 42' and 81° 55' E. long., its extreme length from north to south is 271 1/2 miles, its greatest width 137 1/2 miles, and its area about one-sixth smaller than that of Ireland. Ptolemy however made it extend through no less than 15 degrees of latitude and 12 of longitude. He thus brought it down more than two degrees south of the equator, while he carried its northern extremity up to 12° 41' N., nearly 3° south of its true position. He has thus represented it as being 20 times larger than it really is. This extravagant over-estimate, which had its origin in the Mythological Geography of the Indian Brāhmaṇa, and which was adopted by the islanders themselves, as well as by the Greeks, was shared also by the Arab geographers Maṣʿūdī, Idrisi, and Abū'l-fadāl, and by such writers as Marco Polo. In consequence of these misrepresentations it came to be questioned at one time whether Ceylon or Sumatra was the Taprobāné of the Greeks, and Kant undertook to prove that it was Madagascar (Tennent's Ceylon, vol. I. p. 10 and n.). Ptolemy has so far departed from his usual practice that he gives some particulars respecting it, which lie out of the sphere of Geography, strictly so called. He is mistaken in stating that the tiger is found in Ceylon, but he has not fallen into error on any other point which he has noticed. It may be remarked that the natives still wear their hair in the effeminate manner which he has noticed. In describing the island geographically he begins at its northern extremity, proceeds southward down the western coast, and returns along the east coast to Point Pedro. "In his map he has laid down the position of eight promontories, the mouths of five rivers and four bays and harbours, and in the interior he had ascertained that there were thirteen provincial divisions, and nineteen towns, besides two emporia on the coast, five great estuaries, which he terms lakes, two bays and two chains of mountains, one of them surrounding Adam's Peak, which he designates as Malai, the name by which the hills that environ it are known in the Mahāvīra." Tennent, from whom the foregoing summary has been quoted, observes in a foot-note (vol. I. p. 535) that Ptolemy distinguishes those indentations in the coast which he describes as bays (αδυνόρεια) from the estuaries, to which he gives the epithet of lakes, (λίμνη);* of the former he particularises two, Pati and Pasaōdēs, the position of which would nearly correspond with the Bay of Trinkōnmalai and the harbour of Colombo—of the latter he enumerates five, and from their position they seem to represent the peculiar estuaries formed by the conjoint influence of the rivers and the current, and known to the Arabs by the name of "gobbs."

Ceylon is watered by numerous streams, some of which are of considerable size. The most important is the Mahāweli-gangā, which has its sources in the vicinity of Adam's Peak, and which, after separating into several branches, enters the ocean near Trinkōnmalai. Ptolemy calls it the Ganges. He mentions four other rivers, the Saōna, Azanos, Barakès and Phasis, which Tennent identifies with the Dedera-Oya, the Bentote, the Kambukgam and the Kangarayen respectively. Lassen, however (Ind. Alt., vol. III., p. 21), identifies the Azanos with the Kālagangā which enters the sea a little farther north than the river of Bentote, and is a larger stream.

The mountains named by Ptolemy are the Galiba in the north-west of the island, and the Malai, by which he designates the mountain groups which occupy the interior of the island towards the south. He has correctly located the plains or feeding grounds of the elephants to the south-east of these mountains; malai is the Tamil word for "mountain."

The places which he has named along the coast and in the interior have been identified, though in most cases doubtfully, by Tennent in his map of Taprobāné according to Ptolemy and Pliny, in vol. I. of his work, as follows:—

On the West Coast beginning from the north:—

Margana with Mantote.
Jōgana with Aripo.
Anarismoundon Cape with Kudramali Point, but Mannert with Kallpantyn (further south).
Sindo Kanda with Chilau (Chilau from Salābhana—the Diving, i.e. Pearl Fishery.)
Port of Priips with Negombo.35
Cape of Zeus at Colombo.
Prasōdēs Bay, with Colombo Bay.
Noubartha with Barbarin.
Odika with Hikkode.
Cape Oroneōn (of Birds) with Point de Galle.

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34 Tennent here seems to have confounded λιμιν, a haven or creek, with λιμνη, a lake. The words are, however, etymologically connected.
35 This was no doubt a name given by the Greeks.
On the South Coast:—
Dagana with Dondra Head.
Korkobara with Tangalle.

On the East Coast:
Cape of Dionysos, with Hambantot.
Cape Kétai on (Whale cape) with Elephant Rock,
(Bokana Yule identifies with Kambugam).
Haven of Mardos with Arugam Bay.
Abaratha with Karativoe (but Yule with Aparatote, which is better).
Haven of the Sun with Batticaloa.
Rizala Haven with Vendeloo Bay.
Ozeia Cape (Sharp point) with Foul Point.
Spatana Haven with an indentation in Trinkonamalai Bay.
Nagadiba or Nagadina with a site near the Bay.
Pati Bay with Trinkonamalai Bay.
Anubingara with Kuchiavelli.
Modoutton with Kokelay.

On the North Coast:
Mouth of the Phasis.
Talakory or Aaouet, with Tondi Manna. Yule places both Nagadiba and Modoutton on the northwest coast, identifying the latter with Mantoto.

With respect to places in the interior of the island Tennant says (vol. I. p. 386, n. 2): "His (Ptolemy's) Magaumnum would appear on a first glance to be Mahâgâm, but as he calls it the metropolis, and places it beside the great river, it is evidently Bintenne, whose ancient name was "Mahâyaangâna" or "Mahâwelligâm." His Anurogramnum, which he calls Barâkâen "the royal residence," is obviously Anuradhapura, the city founded by Anuradha 500 years before Ptolemy (Mahawânasa, pp. 50-65). The province of the Modutti in Ptolemy's list has a close resemblance in name, though not in position, to Mantoto; the people of Reyagamkorle still occupy the country assigned by him to the Ro-gonandanoi—his Nagadiba are identical with the Nagada of the Mahawânasa; and the islet to which he has given the name of Bassa, occupies nearly the position of the Basses, which it has been the custom to believe were so-called by the Portuguese, "Baxos" or "Baixos" "Sunken Rocks." The Rogonandanoi were located in the southwest of the island, the sea, which stretched thence towards Malaka, appears to have at one time borne their name, as it was called by the Arab navigators "the sea of Horkand." The group of islands lying before Ceylon is no doubt that of the Maldives.

Klaudios Ptolemy's Geography of Central Asia.

Having now examined in detail the whole of Ptolemy's Indian Geography, I annex as a suitable Appendix his description of the countries adjacent to India. The reader will thus be presented with his Geography in its entirety of Central and Eastern Asia. In the notes I have adverted only to the more salient points.

Book VI, Cap. 9.

Position of Hyrkania.

1. Hyrkania is bounded on the north by that part of the Hyrkanian sea which extends from the extreme point of the boundary line with Medâia as far as the mouth of the river Oxus which lies in ... 100° 43° 5'.

2. In which division occur these towns:—
Saramannâ, a town ... 94° 15' 40° 30'.
Mouth of the Maxêra ... 97° 20' 41° 30'.
The sources of this river ... 93° 35° 20'.
Mouth of the Sokanda ... 97° 20' 42°.
Mouth of the river Oxus ... 100° 43° 5'.

3. On the west by the part of Medâia already mentioned as far as Mount Korônos [in which part of Medâia is Saramannâ] ... 94° 15' 40° 30'.

4. On the south by Parthia, along the side of it described as passing through the range of Korônos, and on the east by Margianê through the mountainous region which connects the extremities referred to.

5. The maritime ports of Hyrkania are inhabited by the Maxêrai, and the Astabènoi and below the Maxêrai by the Khrèn-doi, after whom comes the country adjacent to the Korônos range, Arsîtis, and below the Astabènoi is the country called Sirakênà.

6. The cities in the interior are said to be these:
Barangê ... 99° 42°.
Adrapa ... 98° 30' 41° 30'.
Kasapê ... 99° 30' 40° 30'.
Abarbana ... 97° 40° 10'.
Sorba ... 98° 40° 30'.

7. Sinaka ... 100° 39° 40'.
Amaronsâ ... 96° 39° 55'.
Hyrkania, the metropolis ... 98° 50' 40°.
Sâki (or Salâd) ... 94° 15' 39° 30'.
Asmouma ... 97° 30' 39° 30'.
Maisoka (or Mausoka) ... 99° 39° 30'.

8. And an island in the sea near it called Talka ... 95° 42°.

The name of Hyrkania is preserved to this day in that of Gurkan or Jorjan, a town lying to the east of Astarbâd. Its boundaries have varied at different periods of history. Speaking...
generally, it corresponds with the modern Mazanderan and Asterábd. Its northern frontier was formed by the Kaspian, which was sometimes called after it—the Hyrkanian Sea. The river Oxus, which is called by the natives on its banks the Anu-darya, and by Persian writers the Jihun, falls now into the Sea of Aral, but as we learn from our author as well as from other ancient writers it was in former times an affluent of the Kaspian, a fact confirmed by modern explorations. Mount Koronos was the eastern portion of the lofty mountain chain called the Elburz, which runs along the southern shores of the Kaspian. The River Maxera is mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. VI, c. xiv, sec. 18) who calls it the Maxera. It has been variously identified, as with the Tejin, the Gurgan, the Atrek and others. The metropolis of Hyrkania is called by Ammianus Marcellinus (c. xxiii, sec. 6) Hyrkana, which is probably the Gurkan already mentioned.

CAP. 10.

POSITION OF MARGIANE.

Margiana is bounded on the west by Hyrkania, along the side which has been already traced, and on the north by a part of Skythia extending from the mouths of the river Oxus as far as the division towards Baktrian, which lies in 103°—43°, and on the south by part of Areia along the parallel of latitude running from the boundary towards Hyrkania and Parthia through the Sarphi range, as far as the extreme point lying 109°—39°, and on the east by Baktrian along the mountainous region which connect the said extremities. A considerable stream, the Margos, flows through the country, and its sources lie in 105°—39° while it falls into the Oxus in 102°—43° 30'.

2. The parts of it towards the river Oxus are possessed by the Derbikkaí, called also the Derkeboi, and below them the Massagetai, after whom the Parnoi and the Dáí, below whom occurs the desert of Margiana, and more to the east than are the Taouroi.

3. The cities of it are—

Ariana .................. 103° 43°
Sina (or Sôna) .......... 102° 30' 42° 20'
Aratha ................. 103° 30' 42° 30'
Argadina .............. 101° 20' 41° 49'
Iasonion .............. 103° 30' 41° 30'

4. There unites with the river Margos, another stream flowing from the Sarphi range of which the sources lie...... 103°—39°
Rhêa.................................. 102° 40° 50'
Antiocheia Margiana........ 106° 40° 20'
Gourian .................. 104° 40°
Nisaia or Nigaia .......... 105° 39° 10'

"In early periods," says Wilson (Ariana Antiquit., p. 148), "Margiana seems to have been unknown as a distinct province, and was, no doubt, in part at least, comprised within the limits of Parthia. In the days of the later geographers, it had undergone the very reverse relation, and had, to all appearance, extended its boundaries so as to include great part of the original Parthia. It is evident from Strabo's notice of the latter (lib. XI, c. ix) that there was left little of it except the name; and in Ptolemey no part of Parthia appears above the mountains." Strabo says of it (lib. XI, c. x.), "Antiochos Sôédr admired its fertility, he enclosed a circle of 1,500 stadia with a wall, and founded a city, Antiochien, The soil is well adapted to vines. They say that a vine stem has been frequently seen there which would require two men to girth it, and bunches of grapes two cubits in size." Pliny writes somewhat to the same effect. He says (lib. VI, c. xvi) : "Next comes Margiana, noted for its sunny skies; it is the only vine-bearing district in all these parts, and it is shut in on all sides by pleasant hills. It has a circuit of 1,500 stadia, and is difficult of approach on account of sandy deserts, which extend for 120 miles. It lies confronting a tract of country in Parthia, in which Alexander had built Alexandria, a city, which after its destruction by the barbarians, Antiochos, the son of Seleucus rebuilt on the same site. The river Margus which amalgamates with the Zothale, flows through its midst. It was named Syriana, but Antiochos preferred to have it called Antiocheia. It is 80 stadia in circumference. To this place Orodus conducted the Romans who were taken prisoners when Crassus was defeated." This ancient city is represented now by Merv. The river Margus is that now called the Murgh-Ab or Meru-rid. It rises in the mountains of the Hazâras (which are a spur of the Paropanisos and the Sariphi montes of our author), and loses itself in the sands about 50 miles north-west of the city, though in ancient times it appears to have poured its waters into the Oxus.

The tribes that peopled Hyrkania and Margiana and the other regions that lay to the eastward of the Kaspiian were for the most part of Skythian origin, and some of them were nomadic. They are described by the ancient writers as brave and hardy warriors, but of repulsive aspect and manners, and addicted to inhuman practices. Ptolemy
names five as belonging to Margiana—the Derbikkai, Massagetai, Parnoi, Dai and Tapanoi.

The Derbikes are mentioned by Strabo (lib. XI, sec. 3), who gives this account of them. "The Derbikes worship the earth. They neither sacrifice nor eat the female of any animal. Persons who attain the age of above 70 years are put to death by them, and their nearest relations eat their flesh. Old women are strangled and then buried. Those who die under 70 years of age are not eaten, but are only buried."

The Massagetai are referred to afterwards (c. xiii, sec. 3) as a tribe of nomadic Sakai, belonging to the neighbourhood of the river Asiatangkis. They are mentioned by Herodotos (lib. I, c. cciv.) who says that they inhabited a great portion of the vast plain that extended eastward from the Kaspian. He then relates how Cyrus lost his life in a bloody fight against them and their queen Tomyris. Alexander came into collision with their wandering hordes during the campaign of Sogdiana as Arrian relates (Anab. lib. IV, cc. xxvi, xxvii).

As regards the origin of their name it is referred by Beal (J. R. A. S. N.S., vol. XVI, pp. 257, 279) to maia—'greater' (in Moscovian Gothic) and Yua-ti (or chi). He thus refers to the old theory of Rémusat and Klaproth, that the Yua-ti were Getae, and thus notwithstanding the objection of Saint-Martin stated in Les Huns Blanas, p. 37, n. 1).

The Parnoi, according to Strabo, were a branch of the Dahai (lib. XI, c. vii, sec. 1) called by Herodotos (lib. I, c. iii) the Dâoi, and by our author and Stephanos of Byzantium the Dâai. Strabo (lib. XI, c. viii, 2) says of them: "Most of the Skythians beginning from the Kaspian Sea, are called Dahai Skythai, and those situated more towards the east, Massagetai and Sakai, the rest have the common appellation of Skythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name. All, or the greater part of them, are nomadic." Virgil (Aen. lib. VIII, 1, 728) applies to the Dahae the epithet indomiti. It is all but certain that they have left traces of their name in the province of Dahестan, adjoining to Asterâbd, as this position was within the limits of their migratory range. In the name Dâai, Dahai or Ta-hia (the Chinese form) it is commonly inferred that we have the term Tajik, that is Persian, for there is good reason to place Persians even in Transoxiana long before the barbarous tribes of the Kaspian plains were heard of (See Wilson's Arian. Antiq., p. 141).

The Tapouroi appear to be the same as the Tapyrroi mentioned by Strabo as occupying the country between the Hyrkanoi and the

Arcioi. Their position, however, varied at various times.

Nisaea or Nigaia (the Nisaea of Strabo) has been identified by Wilson (Arian. Antiq., pp. 142, 143) with the modern Nissa, a small town or village on the north of the Elburz mountains, between Asterâbd and Meshid.

CAP. II.

POSITION OF BAKTRIÁNE.

1. Baktrianâ is bounded on the west by Margiánâ along the side already described, on the north and east by Sogdianâ, along the rest of the course of the River Oáxus, and on the south by the rest of Areia, extending from the extreme point towards Margiánâ—the position of which is..... 109° 39' 39'.

2. The following rivers which fall into the Oáxus flow through Baktrianâ:

   The river Oáhos, whose
   sources lie .......................... 110° 39'
   and the Dargamena, whose
   sources lie .......................... 116° 30' 36° 20'
   and the Zariásas, whose
   sources lie .......................... 113° 39'
   and the Artamis, whose
   sources lie .......................... 114° 39'
   and the Dargoidos, whose
   sources lie .......................... 116° 39'

   and the point where this
   joins the Oáxus lies in..... 117° 30' 44'.

3. Of the other tributaries the Artamis and the Zariásas unite in..... 118° 40° 40'
   before falling into the Oáxus
   in .................................. 112° 30' 44'.

4. The Dargamena and the Oáhos also
   unite in ................................ 109° 40° 30'
   before falling into the Oáxus
   in .................................. 109° 44'.

5. Of the Parapanisodis range, the western
   part is situated in 111° 30' 39'
   and [the Eastern] in 118° 30' 39'.

6. The parts of Baktrianâ in the north
   and towards the River Oáxus are inhabited by the
   Salaterai and the Zariaispai, and to the south of these up towards the Salaterai the
   Khomaroii, and below these the Kâmi, then the Akinaikai, then the Tambyzoi, and below the Zariaispai the Tokhâroi, a
great people, and below them the Marykaioi, and the Skordai, and the Ouar noi (Var no ), and still below those the Sabadioi, and the Oreisitoi, and the Amareis.

7. The towns of Baktriané towards the river Óxos are the following:—

Kharakharta .................................. 111° 44°
Zari(a)spa or Kharispa .................. 115° 44°
Khoana ......................................... 117° 42°
Sourograna .................................. 117° 30′ 40′ 30′
Phratou ....................................... 119° 39′ 20′

8. And near the other rivers these:—

Alikhorda ..................................... 107° 43′ 30′
Khomara ....................................... 106° 30′ 43′ 30′
Kouriandra ................................... 109° 30′ 42′ 10′
Kauris ......................................... 111° 20′ 43°
Astakana ....................................... 112° 42′ 20′
Ebonosmosanassa or Tosmo-

The boundaries of Baktra or Baktriané

Baktra, the king’s residence
(Balkh) ......................................... 116° 41°
Estobara ........................................ 109° 30′ 45′ 20′
Marakanda (Samarkand) ................ 112° 39′ 15′
Marakodra ..................................... 115° 20′ 39′ 20′

The nature of the Baktrian territory is varied, and presents striking contrasts. In one place it is well-wooded, and bears vines which yield grapes of great size and sweetness. The soil is rich and well-watered—and where such a genial soil is found corn is grown, while lands with an inferior soil are used for the pastureage of cattle. To this fertile tract succeeds another much more extensive, which is nothing but a wild waste of sand parched with drought, alike without inhabitant and without herbage. The winds, moreover, which blow hither from the Pontic Sea, sweep before them the sand that covers the plain, and this, when it gathers into heaps, looks, when seen from a distance, like a collection of great hills; whereby all traces of the road that for-
These Sakas yielded in their turn to barbarians of their own kindred or at least of their own type, the Skythians, who gave their name to the Indus valley and the regions adjoining the Gulf of Kambhāt. Among the most notable Indo-Skythian kings were Kadphises and Kanerkes who reigned at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era and, therefore, not very long before the time of Ptolemy. Between the Indo-Skythian and Muhammadan periods was interposed the predominacy of Persia in the regions of which we have been speaking.

Ptolemy mentions five rivers which fall into the Ožos: the Ožos, Dargamencès, Zariaspis, Artamis, and Dargoidos, of which the Zariaspe and Artamis unite before reaching the Ožos. Ptolemy's account cannot be reconciled with the existing hydrography of the country. The Dargamencès is called by Ammianus (lib. XXIII, c. vi) the Oramenes. The Artamis, Wilson thinks, may be the river now called the Dakaah (Ariana Antiqua, p. 162) and the Dargamencès, the present river of Ghor or Kunduz which is a tributary of the Ožos and not of the Ožos as in Ptolemy. The Ožos itself has not been identified with certainty. According to Kimnir it is the Tezen or Tejend which, rising in Sarakhs, and receiving many confluent, falls into the Kaspi in N. L. 38° 41'. According to Elphinston it is the river of Herat, either now lost in the sand or going to the Ožos (Ariana Antiqua, p. 146). Bunbury (vol. II, p. 234) points out that in Strabo the Ožos is an independent river, emptying into the Kaspi. The Ožos of Artemidoros, he says, may be certainly identified with the Atrek, whose course, till lately, was very imperfectly known.

Ptolemy gives a list of thirteen tribes which inhabited Baktria. Their names are obscure, and are scarcely mentioned elsewhere.

In the list of towns few known names occur. The most notable are Baktra, Marakanda, Bukratidès and Zariaspe. Baktra, as has been already stated, is the modern Bakh. Heren (Asiatic Nations, 2nd edit., vol. I, p. 424), writes of it in these terms: "The city of Baktra must be regarded as the commercial entrepôt of Eastern Asia; its name belongs to a people who never cease to afford matter for historical details, from the time they are first mentioned. Not only does Baktra constantly appear as a city of wealth and importance in every age of the Persian empire, but it is continually interwoven in the traditions of the East with the accounts of Semiramis and other conquerors. It stood on the borders of the gold country, 'in the road of the confines of nations,' according to an expression of the Zend-avesta; and the conjecture that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilisation, seems highly probable." The name of Bakh is from the Sanskrit name of the people of Bakhtra, the Bahlakes. Marakanda is Samarkand. It was the capital of Sogdiana, but Ptolemy places it in Baktria, and considerably to the south of Bakhtra, although its actual latitude is almost 3 degrees to the north. It was one of the cities of Sogdiana which Alexander destroyed. Its circumference was estimated at 64 stadia, or about 7 miles. The name has been interpreted to mean "warlike province." Eukratidès received its name from the Greco-Baktrian king, Eukratidès, by whom it was founded. Its site cannot be identified. Pliny makes Zariaspe the same as Bakhtra, but this must be a mistake.

No satisfactory site has been as yet assigned to it.

Cap. 12.

Position of the Sogdiana.

The Sogdiana are bounded on the west by that part of Skythia which extends from the section of the Ožos which is towards Baktria and Margián through the Oxian mountains as far as the section of the river Iaxartes, which lies in 110° E. 49° N.; on the north likewise by a part of Skythia along the section of the Iaxartes extended thence as far as the limit where its course bends, which lies in 120° E. 48° 30' N.

On the east by the Sakai along the (bending) of the Iaxartes as far as the sources of the bending which lie in 125° E. 43° N., and by the line prolonged from the Sakai to an extreme point which lies in 125° E. 38° 30' N., and on the east and the south and again on the west by Baktria along the section of the Ožos already mentioned and by the Kaukaskan mountains especially so-called, and the adjoining line and the limits as stated, and the sources of the Ožos.

2. The mountains called the Sogdian extend between the two rivers, and have their

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34 The Wu-ex (of Chinese history) are apparently to be identified with the Asii or Assan, who, according to Strabo occupied the upper waters of the Iaxartes, and who are classed as nomades with the Tochiris and Sacarsali (¼ Sara-Kalii, i.e., Sarikulla).—Kingsmill, J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. XIV, p. 78.
extremities lying in .......... 111° 47°
and .......................... 122° 46° 30'

3. From these mountains a good many nameless rivers flow in contrary directions to meet these two rivers, and of these nameless rivers one forms the Oxéian Lake, the middle of which lies in 111° E. 45° N., and other two streams descend from the same hilly regions as the Iaxartes—the regions in question are called the Highlands of the Kómédaí. Each of these streams falls into the Iaxartes; one of them is called Démòs and its sources lie in .......... 124° 43°
Its junction with the river Iaxartes occurs in .......... 123° 47°
The other is the Baskatis whose sources lie in .......... 123° 43°
Its junction with the river Iaxartes occurs in .......... 121° 47° 30°

4. The country towards the Oxéian mountains is possessed by the Paskai, and the parts towards the most northern section of the Iaxartes by the Iaïtoi, and the Tokharoi, below whom are the Augaloi; then along the Sogdian mountains the Oxýdrângkai and the Drybaktaí, and the Kandaroi, and below the mountains the Mârdyênoi, and along the Óxos the Oxéianoi and the Khôrâsmoi, and farther east than these the Drepsianoi, and adjoining both the rivers, and still farther east than the above the Aïnesais along the Iaxartes, and the Kirrhâdai (or Kirrhodeses) along the Óxos, and between the Kaukasos Range and Imaos the country called Quandâbanda.

5. Towns of the Sogdianoi in the highlands along the Iaxartes are these:—

Kyresekhata .................. 124° 43° 40'
Along the Óxos:—

Oxeiana ..................... 117° 30° 44° 20'
Marouka ..................... 117° 15° 43° 40'
Kholbêsina ................... 121° 43°

6. Between the rivers and higher up—

Trybaktra .................... 112° 15°
Alexandrea Oxeianê .......... 113° 44° 20'
Indikomordana ............... 115° 44° 20'
Drespa (or Rhepsa) the Metropolis .................... 120° 45°
Alexandria Eakhâtes (i.e. Ultima) .................. 122° 41°

Sogdiana was divided from Baktrianas by the river Óxos and extended northward from thence to the river Iaxartes. The Sakai lay along the southern frontier and Scythian tribes along the western. The name exists to this day, being preserved in Sogdian which designates the country lying along the river Kehik from Bokhara eastward to Samarkand. The records of Alesander's expedition give much information regarding this country, for the Makedonian troops were engaged for the better part of three years in effecting its subjugation.

In connexion with Sogdiana, Ptolemy mentions four mountain ranges—the Kaûkazian, the Sogdian, the mountain district of the Kómédaí, and Imaos. Kaukasos was the general name applied by the Makedonians to the great chain which extended along the northern frontiers of Afghanistan, and which was regarded as a prolongation of the real Kaukasos. Ptolemy uses it here in a specific sense to designate that part of the chain which formed the eastern continuation of the Paropanisos towards Imaos. Imaos is the meridian chain which intersects the Kaukasos, and is now called Boior Tâgh. Ptolemy places it about 8 degrees to the eastward. The Sogdian Mountains, placed by Ptolemy between the Iaxartes and Óxos, towards their sources, are the Fâmir. The Kómédaí, who gave their name to the third range, were, according to Ptolemy, the inhabitants of the hill-country which lay to the east of Baktrianas and up whose valley lay the route of the caravans from Baktra, bound for Sôrika across Imaos or the Thung-lung. Cunningham has identified them with the Kiu-mi-tho (Kumidha) of Huen Tsang. Their mountain district is that called Kuz-tãgh.

The rivers mentioned in connexion with Sogdiana are the Óxos and the Iaxartes, with its two tributaries, the Baskatis and the Dêmòs. The Iaxartes is now called the Syr-darya or Yellow River. The ancients sometimes called it the Araxes, but, according to D'Anville, this is but an apppellative common to it with the Amu or Óxos, the Armenian Aras and the Rha or Volga. The Iaxartes was not properly a Greek word but was borrowed from the barbarians by whom, as Arrian states (Anab. lib. III. c. xxx.), it was called the Oraxtes. It rises in the high plateau south of Lake Issyk-kul in the Thian Shan. Its course is first to westward through the valley of Khokan, where it receives numerous tributaries. It then bifurcates, the more northern branch retaining the name of Syr-darya. This flows towards the north-west, and after a course of 1150 miles from its source enters the Sea of Aral. Ptolemy however, like all the other classical writers, makes it enter the Kaspian sea. Humboldt accounts for this apparent error by adducing facts which
go to show that the tract between the Aral and the Kaspian was once the bed of an united and continuous sea, and that the Kaspian of the present day is the small residue of a once mighty Aralo-Kaspian Sea. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. XXIII, c. vi), describing Central Asia in the upper course of the Iaxartes which falls into the Kaspian, speaks of two rivers, the Araxates and Dymas (probably the Dūmūs of Ptolemy) which, rushing impetuously down from the mountains and passing into a level plain, form therein what is called the Oxian lake, which is spread over a vast area. This is the earliest intimation of the Sea of Aral. (See Smith's Dict. of Anc. Geog. s. v.) Bunbury, however, says (vol. II, pp. 641-2): "Nothing but the unwillingness of modern writers to admit that the ancients were unacquainted with so important a feature in the geography of Central Asia as the Sea of Aral could have led them to suppose it represented by the Oxiana Palus of Ptolemy. While that author distinctly describes both the Jaxartes and the Oxus as flowing into the Caspian Sea, he speaks of a range of mountains called the Sogdian Mountains, which extend between the two rivers, from which flow several nameless streams into those two, one of which forms the Oxian lake. This statement exactly tallies with the fact that the Polytimotex or river of Soghd, which rises in the mountains in question, does not flow into the Oxus, but forms a small stagnant lake called Kār-kul or Dunghis; and there seems no doubt this was the lake meant by Ptolemy. It is true that Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of these regions, which is very vague and inaccurate, but is based for the most part upon Ptolemy, terms it a large and widespread lake, but this is probably nothing more than a rhetorical flourish." The Iaxartes was regarded as the boundary towards the east of the Persian Empire, which is separated from the nomadic Skythians. The soldiers of Alexander believed it to be the same as the Tanaides or Don.

In the list of the tribes of Sogdiana the name of the Khorsamioi has been preserved to the present day in that of Khwāram, one of the designations of the Kianate of Khīra. The position of the Khorsamioi may be therefore assigned to the regions south of the Sea of Aral, which is sometimes called after them the Sea of Khwāram. The Drespianoi had their seats on the borders of Baktria, as Dresae, one of their cities and the capital of the country, may be identified with Andarabh, which was a Baktrian town. It is called by Strabo Adrapse and Darapas—(lib. XI, c. xi, 2, and lib. XV, c. ii, 10)—and Drapsaka by Arrian—(Anab. lib. III, c. 89). Bunbury (vol. I, p. 427, n. 3) remarks: "The Drespa of Ptolemy, though doubtless the same name, cannot be the same place (as the Drapsaka of Arrian, Anab. lib. III, c. xxix) as that author places it in Sogdiana, considerably to the north of Marakanda." Ptolemy, however, as I have already pointed out, places Marakanda to the south of Baktria. Kingsmill (J. R. A. S., N. S., vol. XIV, p. 82) identifies Darapsa with the Pam-ši-ch'eng of the Chinese historians. It was the capital of their Thia (Tokhāra-Baktria) which was situated about 2000 li south-west of Ta-wan (Yarkand), to the south of the Kwai-shui (Öxus). The original form of the name was probably, he says, Darampaa. In Ta-wan he finds the Phrynioi of Strabo. The region between Kaukasos and Imao, Ptolemy calls Vandalanda, a name of which, as Wilson conjectures, traces are to be found in the name of Badakshān.

With regard to the towns Mr. Vaux remarks, (Smith's Dict. s. v. Sogdiana): "The historians of Alexander's march leave us to suppose that Sogdiana abounded with large towns, but many of these, as Prof. Wilson has remarked, were probably little more than forts erected along the lines of the great rivers to defend the country from the incursions of the barbarous tribes to its N. and E. Yet these writers must have had good opportunity of estimating the force of these places, as Alexander appears to have been the best part of three years in this and the adjoining province of Baktria. The principal towns, of which the names have been handed down to us, were Kyroschata or Kyropolis on the Iaxartes (Steph. Byz. s. v.; Curt. lib. VI, c. vi) Gaza (Ghaz or Ghaxi, Ibn Haukal, p. 270); Alexandrea Ultima (Arrian, lib. III, c. xxx; Curt. I. c.; Am. Marc., lib. XXIII, c. vi) doubtless in the neighbourhood, if not on the site of the present Khisand; Alexandrea Oxiana (Steph. Byz. s. v.; Nautaka (Arrian, Anab. lib. III, c. xxvii; lib. IV, c. xviii) in the neighbourhood of Karsh or Nakshib. Breakhidae, a place traditionally said to have been colonized by a Greek population; and Marginia (Curt., lib. VII, c. x, 15) probably the present Marghinan."

CAP. 13.

POSITION OF THE SAKAI.

1. The Sakai are bounded on the west by the Sogdaniol along their eastern side already described, on the north by Skythia along the line parallel to the river Iaxartes as far as the limit of the country which lies in 130° E. 49° N. on the east in like manner by Skythia along the meridian lines prolonged from thence and through the adjacent range of mountains called
Askatanga as far as the station at Mount Imaos, whence traders start on their journey to Sera which lies in 140° E. 43° N., and through Mount Imaos as it ascends to the north as far as the limit of the country which lies in 143° E. 35° N., and on the south by Imaos itself along the line adjoining the limits that have been stated.

2. The country of the Sakai is inhabited by nomads. They have no towns, but dwell in woods and caves. Among the Sakai is the mountain district, already mentioned, of the Komedaï, of which the ascent from the Sogdianoï lies in 125° 43°.

And the parts towards the valley of the Komédai lie in 130° 39°.

And the so-called Stone Tower lies in 135° 43°.

3. The tribes of the Sakai, along the Iaxartes, are the Karataï and the Komaroï, and the people who have all the mountain region are the Komédai, and the people along the range of Askatanga the Massagetaï; and the people between are the Grynaioi Skythai and the Törnaï, below whom, along Mount Imaos, are the Byltau.

In the name of the mountain range on the east of the Sakai, Askatangka, the middle syllable represents the Turkish word 'tagh—mountain.' The tribe of the Karataï, which was seated along the banks of the Iaxartes, bears a name of common application, chiefly to members of the Mongol family—that of Karait. The name of the Massagetai, Latham has suggested, may have arisen out of the common name Mustagh, but Beal, as already stated, refers it to the Moeso-gothic "maiga" and "Yue-chi—Geta." The Byltau are the people of what is now called Little Tibet and also Baltistan.

**Cap. 14.**

**Position of Skythia within Imaos.**

1. Skythia within Imaos is bounded on the west by Sarmatia in Asia along the side already traced, on the north by an unknown land, on the east by Mount Imaos ascending to the north pretty nearly along the meridian of the starting-place already mentioned as far as the unknown land 140° 63°, on the south and also on the east by the Sakai and the Sogdianoï and by Margians along their meridians already mentioned as far as the Hyrcanian Sea at the mouth of the Óxos, and also by the part of the Hyrcanian Sea lying between the north of the Óxos and the river Rhá according to such an outline.

2. The bend of the River Rhá which marks the boundary of Sarmatia and Skythia lies in 85° 54° with the mouth of the river Rhá which lies in 87° 30′ 48° 30′.

Mouth of the river Rhymnos lies in 91° 45°.

Mouth of the river Daix lies in 94° 45°.

Mouth of the river Iaxartes lies in 97° 48°.

Mouth of the river Aistos lies in 100° 47° 20′.

Mouth of the river Polytimétos lies in 103° 45° 30′.

Asabóta, a town lies in 102° 44°.

After which comes the mouth of the Óxos.

3. The mountains of Skythia within Imaos are the more eastern parts of the Hyperborean hills and the mountains called Alaéa, whose extremities lie 105° 59° and 118° 59° 30′.

4. And the Rhymnos mountains whose extremities lie 90° 54° and 99° 47° 30′ from which flow the Rhymnos and some other streams that discharge into the River Rhá, uniting with the Daix river.

5. And the Noréssos range, of which the extremities lie 97° 53° 30′ and 106° 52° 30′ and from this range flow the Daix and some other tributaries of the Iaxartes.

6. And the range of mountains called Aspisia whose extremities lie 111° 55° 30′ and 117° 52° 30′ and from these some streams flow into the River Iaxartes.

7. And the mountains called Tapoura whose extremities lie 120° 56° and 125° 49° from which also some streams flow into the Iaxartes.

8. In addition to these, in the depth of the region of the streams are the Sybha mountains whose extremities lie 121° 58° and 138° 62° and the mountains called the Areana whose extremities lie 130° 56° and 187° 50° after which is the bend in the direction of Imaos continuing it towards the north.
9. All the territory of this Skythia in the north, adjoining the unknown regions, is inhabited by the people commonly called the Alanoi Skythai and the Souobénoi and the Alanorsoi, and the country below these by the Saitianoi and the Massaioi and the Syéboi, and along Imaós on the outer side the Tektosakes, and near the most eastern sources of the river Rhâ the Rhoboskoi below whom the Asmanoi.

10. Then the Paniardoi, below whom, more towards the river, the country of Kanoi-dipsa, and below it the Koraxoi, then the Orgasoi, after whom as far as the sea the Erymmoi, to east of whom are the Asiétai, then the Aorsoi, after whom are the Iaxartai, a great race seated along their homonymous river as far as to where it bends towards the Tapoura Mountains, and again below the Saitianoi are the Mologénoi, below whom, as far as the Rymnik range, are the Samnitai.

11. And below the Massaioi and the Alana Mountains are the Zaratai and the Sasones, and further east than the Rymnik Mountains are the Tybiakai, after whom, below the Zaratai, are the Tabionoi and the Iastai and the Makhatógoi along the range of Norossoi, after whom are the Norosbai and the Norossoi, and below these the Kakha gai Skythai along the country of the Iaxartai.

12. Further west than the Aspasia range are the Aspisioi Skythai, and further east the Galaktophagoi Skythai, and in like manner the parts farther east than the Tapoura and Syéba ranges are inhabited by the Tapoureoi.

13. The slopes and summits of the Aneroi Mountains and Mount Askatangkas are inhabited by the homonymous Anareoi Skythai below the Alanorsoi, and the Askatangkai Skythai further east than the Tapoureoi, and as far as Mount Imaós.

14. But the parts between the Tapoura Mountains and the slope towards the mouth of the Iaxartes and the seacoast between the two rivers are possessed by the Ariakai, along the Iaxartes and below these the Na mostai, then the Sagarsukai, and along the river Oxicos the Ribíoi, who have a town Dauaba .......... 104° 45°.

The country of the Skythians is spread over a vast area in the east of Europe and in Western and Central Asia. The knowledge of the Skythians by the Greeks dates from the earliest period of their literature, for in Homer (Iliad, lib. XIII, l. 4) we find mention made of the Galaktophagoi (milk-eaters) and the Hippemologoi (mare-milkers) which must have been Skythic tribes, since the milking of mares is a practice distinctive of the Skythians. Ptolemy's division of Skythia into within and beyond Imaós is peculiar to himself, and may have been suggested by his division of India into within and beyond the Ganges. Imaós, as has already been pointed out is the Bolor chain, which has been for ages the boundary between Turkistan and China. Ptolemy, however, placed Imaós too far to the east, 8° further than the meridian of the principal source of the Ganges. The cause of this mistake, as a writer in Smith's Dictionary points out, arose from the circumstance that the data upon which Ptolemy came to his conclusion were selected from two different sources. The Greeks first became acquainted with the Kösudorum Montes when they passed the Indian Kankaos between Khâbul and Balkh, and advanced over the plateau of Bûmiyân along the west slopes of Bolor, where Alexander found in the tribe of the Sibæ the descendants of Herakles, just as Marco Polo and Burnes met with people who boasted that they had sprung from the Macedonian conquerors. The north of Bolor was known from the route of the traffic of the Sêrez. The combination of notations obtained from such different sources was imperfectly made, and hence the error in longitude. This section of Skythia comprised Khiva, the country of the Kosaks, Ferghana, Tashkend, and the parts about the Balkash.

The rivers mentioned in connexion with Skythia within Imaós are the Òxos, Iaxartes, Rhâ, Rhymmos, Daix, Íastos and Polytimétos. The Rhâ is the Volga, which is sometimes called the Rhô by the Russians who live in its neighbourhood. Ptolemy appears to be the first Greek writer who mentions it. The Rhymmos is a small stream between the Rhâ and the Ural river called the Narynchara. The Daix is the Isik or Ural river. The Íastos was identified by Humboldt with the Kizil-darya, which disappeared in the course of last century, but the dry bed of which can be traced in the barren wastes of Kizil-koom in W. Turkestan.

With regard to the Polytimétos, Wilson says (Arian. Antig. p. 168); "There can be no hesitation in recognizing the identity of the Polytimétos and the Zarafshân, or river of Samarkand, called also the Kohik, or more correctly the river of the Kohak; being so termed from its passing by
a rising ground, a Koh-ak, a 'little hill' or 'hillock,' which lies to the east of the city. According to Strabo, this river traversed Sogdiana and was lost in the sands. Curtius describes it as entering a cavern and continuing its course underground. The river actually terminates in a small lake to the south of Bokhara, the Dangiz, but in the dry weather the supply of water is too scanty to force its way to the lake, and it is dispersed and evaporated in the sands. What the original appellation may have been does not appear, but the denominations given by the Greeks and Persians 'the much-honoured' or 'the gold-shedding' stream convey the same idea, and intimate the benefits it confers upon the region which it waters.' Ptolemy is wide astray in making it enter the Caspian.

The mountains enumerated are the Alana, Rhymnik, Norosson, Aspasia, Tapoura, Syéba, and Anarea. By the Alana Mountains, which lay to the east of the Hyperboreans, it has been supposed that Ptolemy designated the northern part of the Ural Chain. If so, he has erroneously given their direction as from west to east. The Rhymnik mountains were probably another branch of that great meridian chain which consists of several ranges which run nearly parallel. The Norosson may be taken as Ptolemy's designation for the southern portion of this chain. The Aspasia and Tapoura mountains lay to the north of the Iaxartes. The latter, which are placed three degrees farther east than the Aspasia, may be the western part of the Altai. The Syéba stretched still farther eastward with an inclination northward. To the southward of them were the Anarea, which may be placed near the sources of the Obi and the Irtish, forming one of the western branches of the Altai. Ptolemy erroneously prolongs the chain of Imaos to these high latitudes.

Ptolemy has named no fewer than 38 tribes belonging to this division of Skythia. Of these the best known are the Alani, who belonged also to Europe, where they occupied a great portion of Southern Russia. At the time when Arrian the historian was Governor of Kappadokia under Hadrian, the Asiatic Alani attacked his province, but were repelled. He subsequently wrote a work on the tactics to be observed against the Alani (ἐφαγωγή τοῦ Αλανοῦ) of which some fragments remain. (The seats of the Alani were in the north of Skythia and adjacent to the unknown land, which may be taken to mean the regions stretching northward beyond Lake Balkash. The position of the different tribes is fixed with sufficient clearness in the text. These tribes were essentially nomadic, pastoral and migratory—hence in

Ptolemy's description of their country towns are singularly conspicuous by their absence.

CAP. 15.

THE POSITION OF SKYTHIA BEYOND IMAOS.

1. Skythia beyond Mount Imaos is bounded on the west by Skythia within Imaos, and the Sakai along the whole curvature of the mountains towards the north, and on the north by the unknown land, and on the east by Serikè in a straight line whereof the extremities lie in .......................... 150° 63°
and .................................. 160° 35°
and on the south by a part of India beyond the Ganges along the parallel of latitude which cuts the southern extremity of the line just mentioned.

2. In this division is situated the western part of the Auxakián Mountains, of which the extremities lie ......................... 149° 48°
and .................................. 165° 54°
and the western part of the mountains called Kasia, whose extremities lie in 152° 41°
and.................................. 162° 44°
and also the western portion of Emódos, whose extremities lie in ...................... 153° 36°
and .................................. 165° 36°
and towards the Auxakians, the source of the River Oikhardès lying in.................. 153° 51°

3. The northern parts of this Skythia are possessed by the Abioi Skythai, and the parts below them by the Hippophagoi Skythai, after whom the territory of Auxaktis extends onward, and below this again, at the starting place already mentioned, the Kasian land, below which are the Khatai Skythai, and then succeeds the Akhasal land, and below it along the Emóda the Kharaunaioi Skythai.

4. The towns in this division are these:—
Auxakia .................................. 145° 49° 40'
Issédon Skythikè ....................... 150° 49° 30'
Khaurana .................................. 150° 37° 18'
Soita .................................. 145° 35° 20'

Skythia beyond Imaos embraced Ladakh, Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Mongolia. Its mountains were the Auxakián and Kasian chains, both of which extended into Serikè, and Emódos. The Auxakians may have formed a part of the Altai, and the Kasián which Ptolemy places five degrees further south are certainly the mountains of Kashgar. The Emódos are the Himalayas.

The only river named in this division is the
Oikhardēs, which has its sources in three different ranges, the Aurakan, the Asmiraan and the Kasian. According to a writer in Smith’s Dictionary the Oikhardēs “may be considered to represent the river formed by the union of the streams of Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar and Uhsi, and which flows close to the hills at the base of the Thian-shan. Saint-Martin again inclines to think that Ocharis may be a designation of the Indus, while still flowing northward from its sources among the Himalayas. “Skardo,” he says, (Études, p. 420) “the capital of the Balti, bears to the name of the Oikhardēs (Chardhi in Amm. Marc. 2) a resemblance with which one is struck. If the identification is well founded, the river Ocharis will be the portion of the Indus which traverses Balti and washes the walls of Skardo.”

In the north of the division Ptolemy places the Aboi Skythai. Homer, along with the Galaktophagnoi and Hippophagnoi, mentions the Aboi. Some think that the term in the passage designates a distinct tribe of Skythians, but others take it to be a common adjective, characterizing the Skythians in general as very scantily supplied with the means of subsistence. On the latter supposition the general term must in course of time have become a specific appellation. Of the four towns which Ptolemy assigns to the division, one bears a well-known name, Issédon, which he calls Skythiké, to distinguish it from Issédon in Seriké. The name of the Issédones occurs very early in Greek literature, as they are referred to by the Spartan poet Alkman, who flourished between 671 and 681 B.C. He calls them Assédones Frug. 94, ed. Weicker). They are mentioned also by Hekataios of Miletos. In very remote times they were driven from the steppes over which they wandered by the Arimaspians. They then drove out the Skythians, who in turn drove out the Kimerians. Traces of these migrations are found in the poem of Aristarchus of Prokonnesos, who is said to have made a pilgrimage to the land of the Issédones. Their position has been assigned to the east of Tochin, in the steppe of the central horde of the Kirghiz, and that of the Arimaspee on the northern declivity of the Altai. (Smith’s Dict. s. v.) This position is not in accordance with Ptolemy’s indications. Herodotos, while rejecting the story of the Arimaspians and the griffins that guarded their gold, admits at the same time that by far the greatest quantity of gold came from the north of Europe, in which he included the tracts along the Ural, and Altai ranges. The abundance of gold among the Skythians on the Euxine is attested by the contents of their tombs, which have been opened in modern times. (See Bunbury, vol. 1, p. 200.)

Regarding Ptolemy’s Skythian geography, Bunbury says (vol. II, p. 597): “It must be admitted that Ptolemy’s knowledge of the regions on either side of the Imaos was of the vaguest possible character. Eastward of the Rhâ (Volga), which he regarded as the limit between Asiatic Sarmatia and Skythia, and north of the Iazartes, which he describes like all previous writers as falling into the Kasian—he had, properly speaking, no geographical knowledge whatever. Nothing had reached him beyond the names of tribes reported at second-hand, and frequently derived from different authorities, who would apply different appellations to the same tribe, or extend the same name to one or more of the wandering hordes, who were thinly dispersed over this vast extent of territory. Among the names thus accumulated, a compilation that is probably as worthless as that of Pliny, notwithstanding its greater pretensions to geographical accuracy, we find some that undoubtedly represent populations really existing in Ptolemy’s time, such as the Alan, the Aoroi, &c., associated with others that were merely poetical or traditional, such as the Abii, Galaktophagi and Hippophagi, while the Issédones, who were placed by Herodotos immediately east of the Tanais, are strangely transferred by Ptolemy to the far East, on the very borders of Serika; and he has even the name of a town which he calls Issedon Serika, and to which he assigns a position in longitude 23° east of Mount Imaos, and not less than 46° east of Baktra. In one essential point, as has been already pointed out, Ptolemy’s conception of Skythia differed from that of all preceding geographers, that instead of regarding it as bounded on the north and east by the sea, and consequently of comparatively limited extent, he considered it as extending without limit in both directions, and bounded only by ‘the unknown land,’ or in other words limited only by his own knowledge.”

Cap. 16.

Position of Seriké.

Seriké is bounded on the west by Skythia, beyond Mount Imaos, along the line already mentioned, on the north by the unknown land along the same parallel as that through Thulé, and on the east, likewise by the unknown land along the meridian of which the extremities lie………………………………………..180° 63º and………………………………………..180° 55º and on the south by the rest of India beyond the Ganges through the same parallel as far as the extremity lying ……………………..173º 55º and also by the Sinai, through the line prolonged
till it reaches the already mentioned extremity towards the unknown land.

2. Seriké is girdled by the mountains called Anniba, whose extremities lie ...153° 60' and ...171° 56' and by the eastern part of the Auxakians, of which the extremity lies ...165° 54' and by the mountains called the Asmiraia whose extremities lie ...167° 47' 30' and ...174° 47' 30' and by the eastern part of the Kasia range, whose extremities lie ...169° 44' and ...171° 40' and by Mount Thagouron whose centre lies ...170° 43' and also by the eastern portion of the mountains called Emôda and Sérika, whose extremity lies ...165° 36' and by the range called Ottorokorrhias, whose extremities lie ...169° 36' and ...176° 35'.

3. There flow through the far greatest portion of Sériké two rivers, the Oikhardes, one of whose sources is placed with the Auxakoi, and the other which is placed in the Asmiraian mountains lies in ...174° 47' 30' and where it bends towards the Kasia range ...160° 48' 30' but the source in them lies ...161° 44' 15' and the other river is called the Bantios, and this has one of its sources in the Kasia range in ...160° 49' another in Ottorokorrhias ...176° 39' and it bends towards the Emôda in 168° 39' and its source in these lies ...160° 37'.

4. The most northern parts of Sérike are inhabited by tribes of cannibals, below whom is the nation of the Annibo, who occupy the slopes and summits of the homonymous mountains. Between these and the Auxakioi is the nation of the Syzyges, below whom are the Dâmnai, then as far as the river Oikhardes the Pialai (or Piaddai), and below the river the homonymous Oikhardai.

5. And again farther east than the Annibo are the Garinaioi and the Rabbanai or Rabbaanai, and below the country of Asmiraia, above the homonymous mountains. Beyond these mountains as far as the Kasia range the Issêdones, a great race, and further east than these the Throanoi, and below these the Ithagouroi, to the east of the homonymous mountains, below the Issêdones, the Aspakârai, and still below those the Bâtaï, and farthest south along the Emôda and Sérika ranges the Ottorokorrhais.

6. The cities in Sériké are thus named:—Damma ...156° 51' 20' Piola (or Piadda) ...160° 49° 40' Asmiraia ...170° 48' Throana ...174° 40' 47° 40' Throana.

7. Issédon Sériké ...162° 45'. Aspaka (or Aspakaia) ...162° 30' 41° 40' Drésaka (or Rhosakla) ...167° 40' 42° 30' Pali ana ...166° 30' 41° Abraganâ ...163° 30' 39° 30' 8. Thogara ...171° 20' 39° 40' Daxata ...174° 39° 30' Orosana ...162° 37° 30' Ottorokorrhâ ...165° 37° 15' Solana ...169° 37° 30' Sêra, metropolis ...177° 38° 35'.

The chapter which Ptolemy has devoted to Sériké has given rise to more abortive theories and unprofitable controversies than any other part of his work on Geography. The position of Sériké itself has been very variously determined, having been found by different writers in one or other of the many countries that intervene between Eastern Turkistan in the north and the province of Pegu in the south. It is now however generally admitted that by Sériké was meant the more northern parts of China, or those which travellers and traders reached by land. At the same time it is not to be supposed that the names which Ptolemy in his map has spread over that vast region were in reality names of places whose real positions were to be found so very far eastward. On the contrary, most of the names are traceable to Sanskrit sources and applicable to places either in Kasmar or in the regions immediately adjoining. This view was first advanced by Saint-Martin, in his dissertation on the Sériké of Ptolemy (Étude, pp. 411 ff.) where he has discussed the subject with all his wonted acuteness and fulness of learning. I may translate here his remarks on the points that are most prominent:—"All the nomenclature," he says (p. 414), "except some names at the extreme points north and east, is certainly of Sanskrit origin. To the south of the mountains, in the Panjâb, Ptolemy indicates under the general name of Kaspirae an extension genuinely historical of the Kasmirian empire, with a detailed nomenclature
which ought to rest upon informations of the 1st century of our era; whilst to the north of the great chain we have nothing more than names thrown at hazard in an immense space where our means of actual comparison show us prodigious displacements. This difference is explained by the very nature of the case. The Brähmans, who had alone been able to furnish the greater part of the information carried from India by the Greeks regarding this remotest of all countries, had not themselves, as one can see from their books, anything but the most imperfect notions. Some names of tribes, of rivers, and of mountains, without details or relative positions—this is all the Sanskrit poems contain respecting these high valleys of the North. It is also all that the tables of Ptolemy give, with the exception of the purely arbitrary addition of gradations. It is but recently that we ourselves have become a little better acquainted with these countries which are so difficult of access. We must not require from the ancients information which they could not have had, and it is of importance also that we should guard against a natural propensity which disposes us to attribute to all that antiquity has transmitted to us an authority that we do not accord without check to our best explorers. If the measure nomenclature inscribed by Ptolemy on his map, of the countries situated beyond (that is to the east) of Imaos, cannot lead to a regular correspondence with our existing notions, that which one can recognize, suffices nevertheless to determine and circumscribe its general position. Without wishing to carry into this more precision than is consistent with the nature of the indications, we may say, that the indications, taken collectively, place us in the midst of the Alpine region, whence radiate in different directions the Himalaya, the Hindu-Koh and the Bolor chain—enormous elevations enveloped in an immense girdle of eternal snows, and whose cold valleys belong to different families of pastoral tribes. Kaśmir, a privileged oasis amidst these rugged mountains,-appertains itself to this region which traverses more to the north the Tibetan portion of the Indus (above the point where the ancients placed the sources of the Indus) and whence run to the west the Öxos and Iaxartes. With Ptolemy the name of Imaos (the Greek transcription of the usual form of the name of Himalaya) is applied to the central chain from the region of the sources of the Ganges (where rise also the Indus and its greatest affluent, the Satadr or Satlaj) to beyond the sources of the Iaxartes. The general direction of this great axis is from south to north, saving a bend to the south-east from Kaśmir to the sources of the Ganges; it is only on parts from this last point that the Himālaya runs directly to the east, and it is there also that with Ptolemy the name of Emōdōs begins, which designates the Eastern Himālaya. Now it is on Imaos itself or in the vicinity of this grand system of mountains to the north of our Panjāb and to the east of the valleys of the Hindū-Koh and of the upper Öxos that there come to be placed, in a space from 6 to 7 degrees at most from south to north, and less perhaps than that in the matter of the longitudes, all the names which can be identified on the map where Ptolemy has wished to represent, in giving them an extension of nearly 40 degrees from west to east, the region which he calls Skythia beyond Imaos and Serika. One designation is there immediately recognizable among all the others—that of Kaśa. Ptolemy indicates the situation of the country of Kaśa towards the bending of Imaos to the east above the sources of the Öxos, although he carries his Montes Kasii very far away from that towards the east; but we are sufficiently aware beforehand that here, more than in any other part of the Tables, we have only to attend to the nomenclature, and to leave the notations altogether out of account. The name of the Khāṣa has been from time immemorial one of the appellations the most spread through all the Himālayan range. To keep to the western parts of the chain, where the indication of Ptolemy places us, we there find Khāṣa mentioned from the heroic ages of India, not only in the Itihāsas or legendary stories of the Mahābhārata, but also in the law book of Manu, where their name is read by the side of that of the Drādās, another people well known, which borders in fact on the Khāṣa of the north. The Khāṣa figure also in the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon, among the people subdued by Aśoka in the upper Panjāb, and we find them mentioned in more than 40 places of the Khāṣa Chronicle among the chief mountain tribes that border on Khāṣa. Baber knows also that a people of the name of Khāṣ is indigenous to the high valleys in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Hindū-Koh; and, with every reason, we attach to this indigenous people the origin of the name of Khāṣgar, which is twice reproduced in the geography of these high regions. Khāṣāgiri in Sanskrit, where, according to a form more approaching the Zend Khāṣaghāri, signifies properly the mountains of the Khāṣa. The Akhāsa Khāra, near the Khāsa regio, is surely connected with the same nationality. The Aṣṭakārā, with a place of the same name (Aṣṭakara) near the Kasii Montes, have no correspondence actually known in these high valleys, but the form of the name connects
it with the Sanskrit or Iranian nomenclature. Beside the Ashpakarai, the Batai are found in the Bautta of the Edjatarangi. In the 10th century of our era, the Chief of Ghilghit took the title of Phatshah or Shah of the Phat. The Batti, that we next name, recall a people, mentioned by Ptolemy in this high region, the Byltai. The accounts possessed by Ptolemy had made him well acquainted with the general situation of the Byltai in the neighbourhood of the Imao, but he is either ill informed or has ill applied his information as to their exact position, which he indicates as being to the west of the great chain of Bolor and not to the east of it, where they were really to be found. The Ramana and the Dasamana, two people of the north, which the Mahabharata and the Faurian lists mention along with the Chita, appear to us not to differ from the Rhabarna and the Daumai of Ptolemy’s table.” Saint-Martin gives in the sequel a few other identifications—that of the Thranoii (whose name should be read Phronoi, or rather Phaunoi as in Strabo) with the Phoma of the Laliatistara (p. 122)—of the Kharanaoi with the Kajana, whose language proves them to be Daradas, and of the Itagouroi with the Dangors, Dhagaars or Dakhars, who must at one time have been the predominant tribe of the Daradas. The country called Asmiraia he takes, without hesitation, to be Kasmir itself. As regards the name Ottorokorrha, applied by Ptolemy to a town and a people and a range of mountains, it is traced without difficulty to the Sanskrit-Uttarakuru, i.e., the Kurru of the north which figures in Indian mythology as an earthly paradise sheltered on every side by an encircling rampart of lofty mountains, and remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants, who lived to be 1000 and 10,000 years old. Ptolemy was not aware that this was but an imaginary region, and so gave it a place within the domain of real geography. The land of the Hyperboreans is a western repetition of the Uttarakuru of Kasmir.

CAP. 17.

POSITION OF AREIA.

Areia is bounded on the north by Margianée and by a part of Baktarian along its southern side, as already exhibited. On the west by Parthia and by the Karmanian desert along their eastern meridians that have been defined, on the south by Drangianee along the line which, beginning from the said extremity towards Karmania, and curving towards the north, turns through Mount Bagdoa towards the east on to the extreme point which lies........111° 34° the position where the mountain curves is..........................105° 32°

The boundary on the east is formed by the Paropanisadai along the line adjoining the extremities already mentioned through the western parts of Paropanisos; the position may be indicated at three different points, the southern ........111° 36° the northern ........111° 30° 39° and the most eastern ........119° 30° 39°

2. A notable river flows through this country called the Areia, of which the sources that are in Paropanisos, lie........111° 36° 15° and those that are in the Sariphoi........118° 33° 20° The part along the lake called Areia, which is below these mountains, lies in...108° 40° 36°

3. The northern parts of Areia are possessed by the Nisaii and the Astaneni or Astabnoi, but those along the frontier of Parthia and the Karmanian desert by the Masdonai or Mazrani, and those along the frontier of Drangianee by the Kaseiroi, and those along the Paropanisadai by the Paraotai, below whom are the Obareis and immediately the Drakhanai, below whom the Aitmandroi, then the Borgoi, below whom is the country called Skorpiophoros.

4. The towns and villages in Areia are these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Eastern Longitude</th>
<th>Northern Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dista</td>
<td>102° 30°</td>
<td>38° 15°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabaria</td>
<td>105° 46°</td>
<td>38° 20°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana</td>
<td>109°</td>
<td>38° 45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augara</td>
<td>108°</td>
<td>38°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitaxa</td>
<td>109° 40°</td>
<td>38°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarmagan</td>
<td>105° 20°</td>
<td>38° 10°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siphare</td>
<td>107° 15°</td>
<td>38° 15°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhaungara</td>
<td>109° 30°</td>
<td>38° 10°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Zamoukhana</td>
<td>109°</td>
<td>37°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrodax</td>
<td>105° 30°</td>
<td>37° 30°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogadia</td>
<td>104° 15°</td>
<td>37° 40°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ouarpna (Varpan)</td>
<td>105° 30°</td>
<td>37°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godana</td>
<td>110° 30°</td>
<td>37° 30°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phorana</td>
<td>110°</td>
<td>37°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatriakhé</td>
<td>103°</td>
<td>36° 20°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaurina</td>
<td>104°</td>
<td>36° 20°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Orthiana</td>
<td>105° 15°</td>
<td>36° 20°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taukiana</td>
<td>105° 10°</td>
<td>36°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astanda</td>
<td>107° 40°</td>
<td>36°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artikaudna</td>
<td>109° 20°</td>
<td>36° 10°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria of Areians</td>
<td>110° 36°</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Babarsana or Kabarsana 103° 20' 35° 20'
Kapotana 104° 30' 35° 30'
7. Areia, a city 105° 35'
Kaskê 107° 20' 35° 20'
Sôteira 108° 40' 35° 30'
Ortikanê 109° 20' 34° 20'
Nisibis 111° 35°
Parakanakê 106° 30' 34° 20'
Sariga 109° 40' 34° 40'
8. Darkama 111° 34° 20'
Kotakê 107° 30' 33° 40'
Tribazina 106° 33°
Astasana 105° 33°
Zimyra 102° 30' 33° 15'

Areia was a small province included in Ariana, a district of wide extent, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. The smaller district has sometimes been confounded with the larger, of which it formed a part. The names of both are connected with the well-known Indian word dregi, 'noble' or 'excellent.' According to Strabo, Arasia was 2,000 stadia in length and only 300 stadia in breadth. "If," says Wilson (Ariana Antiga, p. 150) "these measurements be correct, we must contract the limits of Aria much more than has been usually done; and Aria will be restricted to the tract from about Mezhd to the neighbourhood of Herat, a position well enough reconcilable with much that Strabo relates of Aria, its similarity to Margiana in character and productions, its mountains and well-watered valleys in which the vine flourished, its position as much to the north as to the south of the chain of Taurus or Alburz, and its being bounded by Hyrcania, Margiana, and Baktriâna on the north, and Drangiana on the south."

Mount Bagdous, on its south-east border, has been identified with the Ghur mountains. The Montes Sariphi are the Hazâra. The river Aréas, by which Aria is traversed, is the Hari Râd or river of Herat which, rising at Oba in the Paropamisian mountains, and having run westerly past Herat, is at no great distance lost in the sands. That it was so lost is stated both by Strabo and Arrian. Ptolemy makes it terminate in a lake; and hence, Rennell carried it south into the Lake of Seistan, called by Ptolemy the Areian lake. It receives the Ferrah-Râd, a stream which passes Ferrah or Farah, a town which has been identified with much probability with the Phra mentioned by Isidôros in his Mens. Parth, sec. 16. It receives also the Erymander (now the Helmanâ) which gave its name to one of the Areian tribes named by Ptolemy.

He has enumerated no fewer than 35 towns belonging to this small province, a long list which it is not possible to verify, but a number of small towns, as Wilson points out, occur on the road from Mezhd to Herat and thence towards Qandahar or Kâbul, and some of these may be represented in the Table under forms more or less altered. The capital of Areia, according to Strabo and Arrian, was Artakoana (v. ill. Artakakna, Artakana) and this is no doubt the Arâkâna of Ptolemy, which he places on the banks of the Areian lake about two-thirds of a degree north-west of his Alexandria of the Areians. The identification of this Alexandria is uncertain; most probably it was Herat, or some place in its neighbourhood. Herat is called by oriental writers Hera, a form under which the Areia of the ancients is readily to be recognized. Ptolemy has a city of this name, and Wilson (Ariana Antiga, p. 152), is of opinion that "Artakoana, Alexandria and Aria are aggregated in Herat." With reference to Alexandria he quotes a memorial verse current among the inhabitants of Herat: "It is said that Hari was founded by Lohnaep, extended by Guishtasp, improved by Bahman and completed by Alexander." The name of Sôteira indicates that its founder was Antiokhos Sôter.

CAP. 18.

POSITION OF THE PAROPAMISADAI.

1. The Paropamisadai are bounded on the west by Areia along the aforesaid side, on the north by the part of Baktrianê as described, on the east by a part of India along the meridian line prolonged from the sources of the river Òxos, through the Kaukasian mountains as far as a terminating point which lies in ............... 119° 30' 39°
and on the south by Arakhâsia along the line connecting the extreme points already determined.

2. The following rivers enter the country—the Dargamene, which belongs to Baktrianê, the position of the sources of which has been already stated; and the river which falls into the Kôa, of which the sources lie ............... 115° 34° 30'.

3. The northern parts are possessed by the Bôlitai, and the western by the Aristophylai, and below them the Parsioi, and the southern parts by the Parsyôtaí, and the eastern by the Ambautai.

4. The towns and villages of the Paropamisadai are these:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parsiana</td>
<td>113° 30' 38° 45'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barzaura</td>
<td>114° 37° 30'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artoata</td>
<td>116° 30' 37° 30'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babarana</td>
<td>118° 37° 10'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Katisa ........................................ 118° 40' 37° 30'
Niphanda .................................... 119° 37°
Drastoka .................................... 116° 36° 30'
Gazaka or Gaudzaka ........... 118° 30' 36° 15'
5. Naulinis .................................. 117° 35° 30'
Paria ........................................ 113° 30' 35°
Lokharna .................................... 118° 34°
Darokana, called also Artospana, 118° 34° 20'
Karoura, called also Artospana, 118° 35°
Tarbakana .................................. 114° 20' 33° 40'
Bagarda ...................................... 116° 40' 33° 40'
Argouda ...................................... 118° 45' 33° 30'

The tribes for which Paropanisadai was a collective name were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindu-Kush, which Ptolemy calls the Kaukasos, and of which his Paropanisos formed a part. In the tribe which he calls the Bōlītai we may perhaps have the Kabōlītai, or people of Kabul, and in the Ambauntai the Ambauntai of Sanskrit. The Paroysatai have also a Sanskrit name—mountaineers—from Pārsatā, 'a mountain,' so also the Pārsautai of Aria. The principal cities of the Paropanisadai were Naulinis and Karoura or Ortospana. Karoura is also written as Kaboura and in this form makes a near approach to Kabul, with which it has been identified. With regard to the other name of this place, Ortospana, Cunningham (Anc. Geog. Ind., p. 35) says: "I would identify it with Kābūl itself, with its Bala Hisār, or 'high fort,' which I take to be a Persian translation of Ortospana or Urddhashāna, that is, high place or lofty city." Ptolemy mentions two rivers that crossed the country of the Paropanisadai—the Dargamēns from Baktīria that flowed northward to join the OXos, which Wilson (Ariana Antiqua, p. 160) takes to be the Dehas or the Gori river. If it was the Dehas, then the other river which Ptolemy does not name, but which he makes to be a tributary of the Kōa, may be theARKH is or Gori river, which, however, does not join the Kōa but flows northward to join the OXos. Pānini mentions Pānsthāna, the country of the Pārās, a warlike tribe in this region, which may correspond to Ptolemy's Pariostai or Parsyaetai.39 The following places have been identified:

Paria with Pañjishir; Barzaur with Basrārak; Baboura with Panwā; Draštaka with Istargar; Paria (capital of the Parith) with Farzah; and Lokharna with Loqār south of Kābul.

Cap. 19.

Position of Drangianē.

Drangianē is bounded on the west and north by Areia along the line already described as passing through Mount Bagos, and on the east by Arakhōsia along the meridian line drawn from an extreme point lying in the country of the Areiai and that of the Paropanisadai to another extreme point, of which the position is in 111° 30' 28', and on the south by part of Gedrōsia along the line joining the extreme points already determined, passing through the Baitian mountains.

2. There flows through the country a river which branches off from the Arabis of which the sources lie 109° 32° 30'.

3. The parts towards Areia are possessed by the Darandais, and those towards Arakhōsia by the Baktrois; the country intermediate is called Tākātnē.

4. The towns and villages of Drangianē are said to be these:

- Prophēthasa ................................ 110° 32° 20'
- Rhoua ...................................... 106° 30' 31° 30'
- Inna ........................................ 109° 31° 30'
- Arrāka ...................................... 110° 31° 30'

5. Asta ....................................... 117° 30' 30° 40'
- Xarthā ..................................... 106° 20' 29° 15'
- Nostana ................................... 108° 29° 40'
- Pharazana .................................. 110° 30°
- Bigis ........................................ 111° 29° 40'
- Araspē ...................................... 108° 40' 28° 40'
- Arana ........................................ 111° 28° 15'

Drangianē corresponds in general position and extent with the province now called Seisitān. The inhabitants were called Drangai, Zaragoi, Zarangoi, Zarangaioi and Sarangai. The name, according to Burnouf, was derived from the Zend word, Zarag, 'a lake,' a word which is retained in the name by which Ptolemy's Areiai lake is now known—Lake Zarakh. The district was mountainous towards Arakhōsia, which formed its eastern frontier, but in the west, towards Karmania, it consisted chiefly of sandy wastes. On the south it was separated from Gedrōsia by the Baitian mountains, those now called the Washasti. Ptolemy says it was watered by a river derived from the Arabis, but this is a gross error, for the Arabis, which is now called the Fariali, flows from the Baitian mountains in an opposite direction from Drangianē. Ptolemy has probably confounded the Arabis with the Etymanader or Holmand river which, as has already been noticed, falls into Lake Zarakh.

Ptolemy has portioned out the province among three tribes, the Darandai (Drangai) on the north, the Baktrois to the south-east, and the people of Tatahēnē between them.

The capital was Prophthasía which was distant, according to Eratosthenes, 1500 or 1600 stadia from Alexandria Arsión (Herat). Wilson therefore fixes its site at a place called Peshvarum, which is distant from Herat 183 miles, and where there were relics found of a very large city. This place lies between Dushak and Phra, i.e., Farah, a little to the north of the lake. These ruins are not, however, of ancient date, and it is better therefore to identify Prophthasía with Farah which represents Phra or Phrada, and Phrada, according to Stephanos of Byzantium, was the name of the city which was called by Alexander Prophthasía (Bunbury, vol. i. p. 488). Dashak, the actual capital of Seistan, is probably the Zarang of the early Muhammadan writers, which was evidently by its name connected with Drangiana. In the Persian cuneiform inscription at Behistun the country is called Zasaka, as Rawlinson has pointed out (see Smith's Dictionary, s. v. Drangiana). The place of next importance to the capital was Ariașpë, which Arrian places on the Eymander (Anab., lib. IV, c. vii). The people were called Ariaspai at first, or Arriaspi, but afterwards Euergetai—a title which they had earned by assisting Cyrus at a time when he had been reduced to great straits.

Cap. 20.

Position of Arakhòsia.

Arakhòsia is bounded on the west by Drangianë, on the north by the Paropamisadai, along the sides already determined, on the east by the part of India lying along the meridian line extended from the boundary towards the Paropamisadai as far as an extreme point lying..............119° 28' and on the south by the rest of Gedritsia along the line joining the extreme points already determined through the Baitian range.

2. A river enters this country which branches off from the Indus of which the sources lie in..............114° 32' 30' and the divarication (aceror) in..............121° 30' 27' 30' and the part at the lake formed by it which is called Arakhòtos Krëné (fountain)—lies in..............115° 28' 40'.

3. The people possessing the north parts of the country are the Parštëta, and those below them the Sydrat, after whom are the Rhâ płoutai and the Èrîltai.

4. The towns and villages of Arakhòsia are said to be these:

Oxola (or Axola) ................114° 15' 32° 15'

Phôklis ......................118° 15' 32° 10'
Arikaka ........................113° 31° 20'
Alexandreia ...................114° 31° 20'
Rhizana .............115° 31° 30'
ArbaÌka ........................118° 31° 20'
Sigara ..................113° 15' 30'
Koaspa ...................115° 15' 30° 10'
5. Arakhòtos ..................118° 30° 20'
Asikâ ..................112° 20' 29° 20'
Gammaké ..............116° 20° 29° 20'
Malianë ...................118° 29° 20'
Daumana ..................113° 28° 20'

Arakhòsia comprised a considerable portion of Eastern Afghanistan. It extended westward beyond the meridian of Qandahar and its eastern frontier was skirted by the Indus. On the north it stretched to the mountains of Ghûr, the western section of the Hindu-Kush, and on the south to Gedritsia from which it was separated by the Baitian mountains, a branch of the Brahui range. The name has been derived from haraqaiti, the Persian form of the Sanskrit Saraswati, a name frequently given to rivers (being a compound of sava, 'flowing water,' and the affix satt) and applied among others to the river of Arakhòsia. The province was rich and populous, and what added greatly to its importance, it was traversed by one of the main routes by which Persia communicated with India. The principal river was that now called the Helmand which, rising near the Koh-i-bâbâ range west of Kâbul, pursues a course with a general direction to the south-west, and which, after receiving from the neighbourhood of Qandahar the Argandâb with its affluents, the Tarinak and the Arghasân, flows into the lake of Zarâh. Ptolemy mentions only one river of Arakhòsia and this, in his map, is represented as rising in the Pârjâta mountains (the Hazâna) and flowing into a lake from which it issues to fall into the Indus about 49 degrees below its junction with the combined rivers of the Panjâb. This lake, which, he says, is called Arakhòtos Krëné, he places at a distance not less than 7 degrees from his Aresian lake. In the text he says that the river is an arm of the Indus, a statement for which it is difficult to find a reason.

The capital of Arakhòsia was Arakhòtos, said by Stephanos of Byzantium to have been founded by Semiramis. Regarding its identification Mr. Vaux (Smith's Dictionary, s.v.) says: "Some difference of opinion has existed as to the exact position of this town, and what modern city or ruins can be identified with the ancient capital. M. Court has identified some ruins on the Argasân river, 4 parasangs from Qandahar on the road to Shikarpur, with those of Arakhòtos, but those Prof.
Wilson considers to be too much to the S.E. Rawlinson (Jour. Geog. Soc., vol. XII, p. 113) thinks that he has found them at a place now called Ulán Robót. He states that the most ancient name of the city, Kopurc, mentioned by Stephanos and Pliny, has given rise to the territorial designation of Kipin, applied by the Chinese to the surrounding country. The ruins are of a very remarkable character, and the measurements of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemys are, he considers, decisive as to the identity of the site. Stephanos has apparently contradicted two cities—Arkhosia, which he says is not far from the Massagetae, and Arakhótas, which he calls a town of India. Sir H. Rawlinson believes the contiguity of the Massagetae and Arakhosia, may be explained by the supposition that by Massagetae, Stephanos meant the Sakal, who colonized the Hazara mountains on their way from the Hindu-Kush to Sakastán or Seisitan. Another account of the origin of the name Seisitan is that it is a corruption of the word Saghistán, i.e., the country of the soghi, a kind of wood which abounds in the province and is used as fuel. Arakhosia, according to Isidoros of Khara, was called by the Parthians "White India."

Cap. 21.
Position of Gedrosia.

Gedrosia is bounded on the west by Karmania along the meridian line, already determined as far as the sea, and on the north by Drangiané and Arakhosia along the separate meridian lines passing through these countries, and on the east by part of India along the river Indus following the line prolonged from the boundary towards Arakhosia to its termination at the sea in \[109^\circ 20'\] and on the south by a part of the Indian Ocean.

It is thus described through its circuits.

2. After the extremity towards Karmania the mouth of the River Arábis \[105^\circ 20' 15'\], the sources of the river \[110^\circ 27' 30'\], the divarication of the river entering Drangiané \[107^\circ 30' 25'\], Rhagirnua, a city \[106^\circ 20'\], Women's Haven (Gynaikon) \[107^\circ 20' 15'\], Koimambo \[108^\circ 20'\], Rhizana \[108^\circ 20' 20' 15'\], After which the extreme point at the sea already mentioned \[109^\circ 20'\],

3. Through Gedrosia run the mountains called the Arbites, whose extreme points lie in \[160^\circ (107?) 22'\] and \[113^\circ 26' 30'\] from these mountains some rivers join the Indus and the source of one of these lies \[111^\circ 25' 30'\] and also there are some streams flowing through Gedrosia, that descend from the Baitian range.

4. The maritime parts are possessed by the villages of the Arbataiti, and the parts along Karmania by the Parsidaii (or Parsirai), and the parts along Arakhosia by the Maussarnai, all the interior of the country is called Parsdéné, and below it Parisiènê, after which the parts towards the Indus river are possessed by the Rhamnait.

5. The towns and villages of Gedrosia are accounted to be these:—

Kouni \[110^\circ 27'\]
Badara \[113^\circ 27'\]
Monsarno \[115^\circ 27' 30'\]
Kottobara \[118^\circ 27' 30'\]
Soxestra or Sokstra \[118^\circ 30' 25' 45'\]
Oskana \[115^\circ 28'\]
Paris, the Metropolis \[106^\circ 30' 23' 30'\]
Omiza \[110^\circ 23' 30'\]
Arbis, a city \[105^\circ 22' 30'\]

6. The islands adjacent to Gedrosia are—

Asthia \[105^\circ 18'\]
Kodânê \[107 (?) 160^\circ 30' 17'\]

Gedrosia corresponds to the modern Baluchistán. Its coast line extended from the mouth of the Indus to Cape Jask near the Straits, which open into the Persian Gulf. Ptolemy however assigned the greater portion of this coast to Karmania which according to his view must have begun somewhere near Cape Passence. Arrian restricted the name of Gedrosia to the interior of the country, and assigned the maritime districts beginning from the Indus to the Arabies, the Ortei, and the Ikhtiyophagi in succession. The ancient and the modern names of the province, Major Mocleker tries to identify in his paper in the Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S., vol. XI, pp. 129-154.

The people that possessed the maritime region immediately adjoining the Indus were called the Arbait or Arabies. In one of their harbours the fleet of Nearkhos at the outset of his memorable voyage was detained for 24 days waiting till the monsoon should subside. This harbour was found to be both safe and commodious, and was called by Nearkhos the Port of Alexander. It is now Karachi, the great emporium for the commerce of the Indus. The name of the people was applied
also to a chain of mountains and to a river, the Arabis, now called the Puruli, which falls into the Bay of Somiyini. Ptolemy's Arabis, however, lay nearer Karmania, and may be taken to be the Bhasal, which demarcated the western frontier of the Oretai, and to the east of which the district is still known by the name of Anbu. Ptolemy does not mention the Oretai, but seems to have included their territory in that of the Arbital.

The Rhamnai are placed in Ptolemy's map in the northern part of the province and towards the river Indus. This race appears to have been one that was widely diffused, and one of its branches, as has been stated, was located among the Vindhyas.

The Parsidai, who bordered on Karmania, are mentioned in the Periplous (c. xxxii) and also in Arrian's Indika (c. xxvi) where they are called Pasirees. They gave their names to a range of mountains which Ptolemy makes the boundary between Gedrosia and Karmania, and also to a town, Parsis, which formed the capital of the whole province.

Of the other towns enumerated only one is mentioned in Arrian's Indika, Gyanaik on Limên, or women's haven, the port of Morontobara, near Cape Monze, the last point of the Pab range of mountains. The haven was so named because the district around had, like Carthage, a woman for its first sovereign.

The names of the two towns Badara and Monarna occur twice in Ptolemy, here as inland towns of Gedrosia, and elsewhere as seaport towns of Karmania. Major Mockler, who personally examined the Makhra coast from Gwadar to Cape Jask, and has thereby been enabled to correct some of the current identifications, tries to show that Gwadar and Badara are identical. Badara appears in the Indika of Arrian as Barna.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF NEPAL.

BY PANDIT BHAGWA N LAL INDRAJI, PH. D., HON. M.B.A.S., EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

The history of Nepal, such as it was known before the publication of my 'Inscriptions from Nepal,' Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 163ff, was derived solely from the modern Vaniśāvali or 'Lists of the Dynasties,' of which several exist in the libraries of the country. The list and kings given by Kirkpatrick in his Nepal, and thence transferred to J. Prinsep's Useful Tables, is probably based on a short work in the Pārvatīya language, which was shown to me by the Kailasaparvata-Svāmī. It gives little more than a bare enumeration of the names of the rulers of the valley. Dr. Wright's fuller account in his History of Nepal is derived from a Pārvatīya Vaniśāvali, composed less than a hundred years ago by a Baudhāya ascetic, who resided in the Mahābuddha-Vihāra of Lalitapattana. A copy of this work was given to me by a Vajrajāra of Lalita pattana. Of other and more ancient Vaniśāvalis in the Newār language I have heard more than once. But I was unable to procure copies, though the statement of my informants that these works were written on long rolls of paper, seemed to indicate that they had actually seen them. Their recovery is highly desirable. For, as is customary in Indian historical books, each succeeding chronicle is fuller and more complete than the earlier ones. The later authors try to fill up the gaps which they find in the narrative. They neglect, however, to indicate the sources from which they draw, and these additions invariably make the already existing confusion worse, and the errors more difficult to detect.

A careful comparison of my MS. of the Pārvatīya Vaniśāvali with Dr. Wright's extracts has shown that his data are, on the whole, trustworthy. But a brief résumé of its contents will not be out of place here. For I have to suggest a certain number of corrections, some of which are of considerable importance.

LIST OF THE KINGS OF NEPAL, ACCORDING TO THE BAUDHA PÅRVÅTIYA VANİŚĀVALI.

I. GÖPÅLA DYNASTY OF MÅLÅMÅLI, so called after the cowherd (pålå) whom Nênumi installed as the first ruler of Nepal, lasted 521 years.

1. Bhuktmânagata, 88 years.
2. Jayagupta, son of 1, 72
3. Paramagupta, son of 2, 80
4. Harshagupta, son of 3, 83
5. Bhimagupta, son of 4, 83
6. Manigupta, son of 5, 37

owing to a mistake in the work, which the author of the Vaniśāvali used. For it seems to be a corruption of bhuktmâna-pålåmåli, 'the year of the reign.' The real name of the first prince is lost.

1 See also C. Bendall, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library.

2 Bhuktmânaga, according to Wright, History, p. 106, Bhuktmânagata, ibid. p. 312. This name is probably
II. AHIR DYNASTY, from India.
1. Varaśainiha.
2. Jayamatiśainiha.
3. Bhuvamatiśainiha, conquered by the eastern—

III. KIRĀTI DYNASTY, which resided at Gokarpāṇa, and lasted 1118 years.
1. Yalambāra, came in Dvāparāśēha 12 (i.e. when twelve years were left of the Dvāparayuga).
2. Pavi, son of 1.
6. Humāti, son of 5, went into the forest with the Pāṇḍavas.
7. Jītedāśi, son of 6, assisted the Pāṇḍavas in the great war and was killed. In his time Śaṅkyaśinīhā Buddha came to Nepal.
14. Thunko, son of 13; in his time king Asoka of Pātaliputra came to Nepal. Asoka's daughter Chārunāti was married to a Kāhatrīya, called Dēvapāla, settled in Nepal and founded Dēva-pāṭana (near Pasupati).

IV. SŪMAVĀNŚI DYNASTY.
1. Nīmisha.
4. Pasūprakśahadēva, son of 3, restored Pasupati's temple, brought settlers from Hindustān in Kaliyuga 1324 or 1867 B. C.
5. Bhāskaravāman, conquered the whole of India, enlarged Dēvapāṭana, caused the rules for the worship of Pasupati to be engraved on a copperplate, which he deposited in the Chārunāti vihāra. Being childless he adopted the first ruler of the—

V. SŪRAVĀNŚI DYNASTY.
1. Bhūmivārman, crowned in Kaliyuga 1389, or 1712 B.C., transferred the capital to Bānēśvara.
2. Chandravārman, son of 1 61 years.
3. Jayaśvarman, son of 2 82
4. Varśhavārman, son of 3 61
5. Sarvavārman, son of 4 78
6. Prithivivārman, son of 5 76
7. Jyāśhavārman, son of 6 75
8. Harivārman, son of 7 76
9. Krivēavārman, son of 8 88
10. Siddhivārman, son of 9 61
11. Haridattavārman, son of 10, built temples for the four Nārāyana-Chānga, Chaṇīja, Ilaṅgala, and a temple of Jalaśayana at Budhā-Nilakaṇṭha 81
12. Vasudattavārman, son of 11 63
13. Pativārman, son of 12 53
14. Śivavīddhavārman, son of 13 54
15. Vasanatavārman, son of 14 61
16. Śīvavārman, son of 15 62
17. Ruvadēvavārman, son of 16 66
18. Vīraśahavārman, son of 17, built viharas and erected images of Lokeśvara and other Baudhā divinities. His brother was Bārhachāna, who was also a Baudhā. Śaṅkarachārya came from the south and destroyed the Baudhā faith 61 years.
19. Śaṅkaradeśa, son of 18, erected a trident at Pasupati 65 years.
20. Dharmadeśa, son of 19 59
21. Mānadeśa, son of 20, built the Chakravāra near Matirājya and, according to some, the Khās-haṭiya 49 years.
22. Mahādevā, son of 21 51
23. Vasanatadēva, son of 22, crowned in Kali 2500 or 301 B.C. 36 years.

* Banks, according to Wright. See the lists of these dynasties, from Wright and Prinsep, with the Varānasi dates, Ind. Ant. vol. VII, pp. 89-92.
* The name may also be read Gidhri.
* Possibly the name may be Pushka.
* Suga, according to Wright.
* Sansa, according to Wright; Jusha in Kirkpatrick.
24. Udayadèvavarman, son of 23 ... 35 years.
25. Mánadèvavarman, son of 24 .... 35
26. Guṇadèvavarman, son of 25, 30
27. Śivadèvavarman, son of 26, made Dēvapāṭa a large town, and transferred the seat of government thither. He restored the Śākta rites and became a bhīkṣu. His son, Fungadèvavarman followed his example ... 51 years.
28. Naréndradèvavarman, eldest son of 27 ... 42 years.
29. Bhīmndevavarman, son of 28 .... 36
30. Vijnudèvavarman, son of 29 ... 47
31. Viśvadèvavarman, son of 30, gave his daughter to Amśuvarman of the Thākurī race. In his time Vikramādiya came to Nepal and established his era there ... 51 years.

VI. THĀKURI DYNASTY.

1. Amśuvarman, son-in-law to the last Śrīyāsā, king, crowned in Kaliyuga 3000 or 101 B.C., transferred the seat of government to Madhyalakha. Vibuvarman built an aqueduct with seven spouts and placed on it an inscription (Ind. Ant. vol. IX, p. 171, No. 8) ... 68 years.
2. Kritavarman, son of 1 ... 87
3. Bhumljuna, son of 2 ... 93
4. Nandadèva, son of 3, in his reign the era of Śālihāna was introduced in Nepal ... 55 years.
5. Vitāḍēva, son of 4, was crowned in Kaliyuga 3400 or 299 A.D., founded Lalitapāṭa, naming it after a grass-seller Lalita; built a tank and watercourses, as well as temples, Līṅgās, etc., which were called Manīyogini, and so forth, after the king’s iṣṭadhēvata, Manīyogini ... 35 years.
6. Chandrāketudēva, son of 5, was sorely oppressed by his enemies and plundered.
7. Narēndradēva, son of 6, built the Tīrtha-vihāra near Lōmri-dēvi and gave it to Bandhudatta Āchārya, his father’s spiritual guide. The first two of this three sons, Padmadēva, Ratnadēva and Varadēva became ascetics, while the third succeeded his father, who before his death retired into the Alag or Ak-bahal (vihāra).
8. Varadēva, son of 7, removed the seat of government to Lalitapāṭa. Saṅkarachārya came to Nepal. In Kaliyuga 3623 Avalokiteśvara came to Nepal.¹³
9. Saṅkaradēva, son of 8 ... 12 years.

¹³ My MS. reads Udayakadēva, but Dr. Wright’s reading, which agrees with Kirkpatrick’s, is preferable.
¹⁴ My MS. gives 7 and 8 respectively. Chandrāketudēva’s name is not given in Kirkpatrick’s lists. See Ind. Ant. vol. VII, p. 90.

10. Varadhamānadēva, son of 9, built the town of Saṁkha and dedicated it to Ugratārādevī ... 13 years.
11. Badadēva, son of 10 ... 13
12. Jayadēva, son of 11 ... 15
13. Bālājumadēva, son of 12 ... 17
14. Vibramadēva, son of 13 ... 12
15. Guṇakadēva, son of 14, built Kāntipura, the modern Kātmāndū, at the junction of the rivers Vagmati and Vishnumati in Kaliyuga 3824 or 723 A.D., and the village of Thāmbhêl, where Vikrama’s old vihāra stood, as well as many temples ... 51 years.
16. Bhūjadēva, son of 15 ... 8
17. Lakshmikadēva, son of 16 ... 22
18. Jayakadēva, son of 17 ... 20
As he was childless, he was succeeded by a member of the—

VII. NAVĀKOT THĀKURI DYNASTY.

1. Bhāskara-dēva.
2. Baladēva, son of 1.
5. Saṅkaradēva, son of 4; in his reign a widowed Drāmaṇ of Kāpil in Gauda, who lived in the village of Jhal in Nepal, caused a MS. of the Pṛṇa-pāramādī to be written with golden letters in Saṅvat 245.²⁰
After his death, Vāmadēva, a collateral descendant of Amśuvarman’s family, assisted by the chiefs in Lalitapāṭa and Kāntipura, expelled the Navākot Thākurīs and drove them back to their original seat. With him begins—

VIII. THE SECOND THĀKURI DYNASTY OF AMŚUVARMAN.

1. Vāmadēva.
2. Harshadēva, son of 1.
3. Sādāsvadēva, son of 2; built Kirtipura on a hill south-west of Kātmāndū and a new golden roof for Pasupati’s temple in Kaliyuga 3851 or 750 A.D. He introduced coins of copper alloyed with iron, marked with the figure of a lion.
4. Mānadēva, son of 3, became an ascetic in the Chakravīhāra ... 10 years.
5. Narasimhadēva, son of 4 ... 22
6. Nandadēva, son of 5 ... 21
7. Rudradēva, son of 6, became a Buddhist monk ... 19 years²¹

²⁰ The passage of the Varadhamānadēva runs as follows—

Attityatāravattisu bhīsama-paṇaṁ samayatānusāraṁ

²¹ Seven years, according to Dr. Wright.
8. Mitradéva, son of 7................. 21 years.
9. Aridéva, son of 8, as a son was born to him while he was engaged in wrestling, he gave to the child the biruda of Mallau or the wrestler. 22 years.
10. Abhayamalla, son of 9.
11. Jayadévamalla, son of 10, established, with the help of Śakkwāl, the Névar era beginning 850 A.D. ................. 10 years.

He ruled over Kántipura and Lālitapatāṇa, while his younger brother,—

12. Ánandamalla, founded Bhaktapura or Bhtgām and the seven towns, Vānikura, Panautti, Nalā, Dhomkhāl, Khadpū or Shadspū, Chaunkaṭ, and Sāngā, and resided in Bhtgām: 28 years.

During the reign of the two brothers came from the south the founder of the—

IX. KARṇĀKA DYNASTY.

1. Nāyadéva, conquered the whole country on Śṛṣṭapāṇi 7 of Nepālasavāt 9, or Śṛṣṭapāṇi 811, i.e. 690 A.D., and drove the two Mallas to Tirhut. He ruled at Bhtgām during 54 years.
2. Gaṅgadéva, son of 1 ............... 41 years.
3. Narasinsinhadeva, son of 2 ........... 31 "
[In his reign Prativipaṇa śūdi 6 of Nepālasavāt 111, or 991 A.D., king Malladaṇḍa and Kathyaṇamalla of Lālitapatāṇa founded Chāpāgām or Champāpur.]
4. Śaktidéva, son of 3 ................ 39 years.
5. Rāmasinsinhadeva, son of 4 ....... 58 "
6. Haridéva, son of 5, transferred the capital to Kāṭmaṇḍū. The army of Pāṭana (Lālitapatāṇa) rose in rebellion and drove Haridéva to Thāmbhālā.

A Magar (low caste servant) was dismissed from king Haridéva's service, and in revenge drew king Mukundaśena into the country, which was conquered by him. His soldiers destroyed the sacred images and took the Bhaiρavā from the temple of Matsyaśrīnāmaṇāśī away to Pālpā. In consequence of Paśupati's anger Mukundaśena's whole army died of cholera. Mukundaśena alone escaped in the guise of an ascetic, and died on the Dēvīghat.

As Nepāl had been completely devastated, an interregnum of seven or eight years followed. The Bais Thākuri of Navākōṭ came back to occupy the country. In Lālitapatāṇa every tōl or ward had its own king, and in Kántipura twelve kings ruled at once. Bhtgām, too, was held by a Thākuri king. The Thākuri ruled the country during 225 years and built many Baudha temples and vīhāra. Then king Hariśimhadeva of the solar dynasty was driven by the Musalmans from Ayodhiya, and established himself at Simrongaṇḍ in the Terā. At the command of his guardian deity, Tūjī Bhavānti, he entered Nepāl and founded—

X. THE ŚŪRAYĀVĀSI DYNASTY OF BHĀTĀM.

1. Hariśimhadeva, 28 years, conquered the valley in Śṛṣṭapāṇi 7 of Nepālasavāt 444, i.e. in 1324 A.D.
2. Mathavadeva, son of 1 .............. 15 years.
3. Saktisinhadeva, son of 2 ........... 33 "

received a letter from the emperor of China with a seal bearing the inscription Saktisinhaharaṇa in the Chinese year (chandra) 635 and abdicated the throne.
4. Śyāmasinhadeva, son of 3 ........... 15 years.

In his reign a fearful earthquake happened on Bhadrapada śūdi 12 of Nepālasavāt 528, or 1408 A.D.

His daughter was married to a descendant of the Mallas who held Tirhut before Nāyaṇaḍēva. Thus after the king's death arose—

XI. THE THIRD THĀKURI DYNASTY.

1. Jayabhādramalla.................... 15 years.
2. Nāgamalla, son of 1 ............ 15 "
3. Jayajagatmalla, son of 2 ........ 11 "
4. Nāgendramalla, son of 3 .......... 10 "
5. Ugramalla, son of 4 .............. 15 "
6. Asokamalla, son of 5 ............. 19 "

drove the Bais Thākuri out of Pāṭana, and founded near Svaṁbhubhāta the town of Kaśīpura, between the rivers Manmati, Vāgmati and Budamati.

7. Jayasthītimalla, son of 6, made laws for castes and families, dedicated many images and built temples. An inscription of his, dated Nepālasavāt 512, is found on a stone near Lālitapatāṇa. He died on Kārtika badi 5 of Nepālasavāt 549, or 1429 A.D. ........... 43 years.

8. Yakshamalla, son of 7, built the walls of Bhtgām where to the right of the principal gate an inscription is put up, dated Śṛṣṭapāṇi śūdi of Nepāla-savāt 573, or 1453 A.D. He and his successor built a temple of Dattārāṇya in the Tachapā tōl of Bhtgām. He died in Nepāla-savāt 592, or 1472 A.D., and left three sons, the eldest and the youngest of whom founded two separate dynasties at Bhtgām and Kāṭmaṇḍū, while the second, Ramamalla, held the town of Banepā.

* This statement is not found in my copy of the Feniśadūla. It has been taken from Dr. Wright's History. Prinsep also gives it; sacio, vol. VII, p. 91.

* According to Dr. Wright, 22 years; Kirkpatrick's list has 23 years.

* N. S. 542, according to Dr. Wright, History, pp. 183, 187. Prinsep gives N. S. 731 for this ruler.—J.B.
December, 1884.]

HISTORY OF NEPAL.

(a) BHÔTÎGâm LINE.

9. Jayarāyamalla, eldest son of 8, 15 years.\(^3\)

10. Suvarṇamalla, son of 9, 15 years.\(^3\)

11. Pratâpamalla, son of 10, 15 years.\(^3\)

12. Viśramalla, son of 11, 15 years (?).

13. Trailôkya-malla, son of 12, 15 years (?).

14. Jagajyôtirmalla [or, according to my MS, Jayajyôtirmalla,] son of 13, 15 years (?).

(b) KÂSTMANDU LINE.

1. Ratnamalla, youngest son of 8, 71(? years; slow twelve Thâkuri râjas of Kântipur, defeated in N.S. 611, or 1491 A.D., the Thâkuris of Navakoṭ and later the Bhotiyas (Tibetans) with the help of Sina, king of Pâlê. In his reign the Musalams first attacked the country; Somaśêkarântâ, a southern Brâhmaṇa, became high priest of Pasûpaṭi; a temple of Tûlîjâdîvi was dedicated in N.S. 621, or 1501 A.D., and a new copper currency with a lion was introduced.

2. Amaramalla, son of 1, 47(? years, ruled over 23 towns and villages; in his reign a great temple on the model of that at Gayâ was built at Lalitapâṭhana.

3. Sûryamalla, son of 2, took Śāṅkhapura and Chângu-Nârâyana from the Bhôtîgâm line.


5. Mahândramalla, son of 4, received from the emperor of Dehâl permission to issue silver coins, became a friend of Traîlokyamalla of Bhôtîgâm, dedicated a temple to Tûlîjâdîvi in KâSTMANDU on Mâgha sudî 5 of N.S. 669. In his reign Purandara Râjâvâsil built a temple of Nârâyana, close to the palace in Lalitapâṭhana, N.S. 886, or 1566 A.D.

6. Sadâvârama, son of 5, was compelled by his subjects to fly to Bhôtîgâm where he was imprisoned.

7. Śivasisîhâmalla, younger brother of 6, according to an inscription repaired the temple of Śvayambhû in N.S. 714, or 1594 A.D., while his queen Čângu restored the temple of Chângu-Nârâyana in N.S. 705, or 1585 A.D. He had two sons, the elder of whom ruled over Kântipur, while the younger obtained Lalitapâṭhana already during the lifetime of his father.

8. Lâkhâminarâshîmalla, eldest son of 7. During his reign in N.S. 715, or 1595 A.D., the wooden temple of Gûrâkhnâth, called KâSTMANDU, was built, after which the town of Kântipur was called KâSTMANDU. He became insane, was dethroned by his son and kept in confinement during 16 years.

9. Pratâpamalla, son of 8, ruled from N.S. 759, or 1639, A.D. He was a poet. The inscriptions of his reign are (a) the record of the restoration of the temple of Śvayambhû by a Lama, N.S. 760, or 1640 A.D.; (b) a Śvayambhûsûtras at Sr., dated N.S. 770, or 1650 A.D.; (c) a Čhûyâvarastûtras, dated N.S. 774, or 1654 A.D. (d) a Kâlikâsûtras in 15 alphabets (Wright's plate xili.), dated N.S. 774, or 1654 A.D.; (e) the record of the dedication of an image of Viśvarûpâ at Lâyâkubhâl, N.S.

10. Viśramalla, son of 11, 15 years (?).

11. Mahândramalla, son of 4, received from the emperor of Dehâl permission to issue silver coins, became a friend of Traîlokyamalla of Bhôtîgâm, dedicated a temple to Tûlîjâdîvi in KâSTMANDU on Mâgha sudî 5 of N.S. 669. In his reign Purandara Râjâvâsil built a temple of Nârâyana, close to the palace in Lalitapâṭhana, N.S. 886, or 1566 A.D.

12. Viśramalla, son of 11, 15 years (?).

13. Trailôkya-malla, son of 12, 15 years (?).

14. Jagajyôtirmalla [or, according to my MS, Jayajyôtirmalla,] son of 13, 15 years (?).

15. Narândramalla, son of 14, 21 years (?).

16. Jagatprakâśamalla, son of 15, 21 years (?). In his time Harasînâha Bhâro and Vâshînâha Bhâro, built a temple of Bhîmâsûna, inscribing the date, N.S. 775, or 1655 A.D., on a stone lion. On Mârgâsîrsha sudî 6 of N.S. 782, or 1662 A.D., the king incised five hymns in honour of Bhavânî

\(^3\) All these periods are doubtful, and as the synchronisms below show, some of them must be wrong.
a. Bhāgāmī Line.
on a stone in the Vimalasachchāmanālapa. On Jyēṣṭha badi 3
of N. S. 783, or 1665 A. D., he incised a hymn in honour of
Garuḍa on a Garuḍa-pillar in Nārāyana-chok. In N. S. 757,
or 1667 A. D., he dedicated a temple of Bhavānīśanaka.

17. Jūmātīramallā, son of 16, 21 years; dedicated an
image of Hariśanaka near the Darbār in S. 802, or 1682 A.D.,
built various other temples and incised an inscription in a dhār-
marātāla. Jyēṣṭha śūdi 15 of N. S. 803, or 1683 A.D.

18. Bhāgāpātīramallā, son of 17, 34 years. The dated
inscriptions of his reign are, (a) N. S. 817, Kali 4799, Śaṅk-
vat 1820, Phālguna śūdi 9 in the Mālatkchok; (b) N. S. 823, Jyēṣ-
ṭha śūdi 10, or 1703 A.D., in the temple of the Tāntrika
Gupādēvātā; (c) N. S. 827, Vaiśākha śūdi 3, or 1707 A.D.; (d)
N. S. 829, Bhādārapadi śūdi 10, or 1707 A.D. in the Darbār; (e)
N. S. 888, or 1718 A.D. in the temple of Bhairava; (f) N. S.
841, Phālguna badi 3, or 1721 A.D.

19. Rānapātīramallā, son of 18; dedicated a bull to Anma-
pārak-dēvi in N. S. 857 Phālguna badi 1, or 1737 A.D. In his
reign the Gorkhā rājā, Narasāhāpāลī, invaded Nepal. With him the dynasty of Bhāt-
gām became extinct.

b. Kāṁcī Line.
777, or 1657 A. D. He had four
sons, Pārthivendrā, Nripendrā, Mahāpacitā and Chakrapātīramallā,
whom he allowed to rule by turns each for a year during his lifetime.
Nripendrā made during his turn a coat for the Nandi at Pasupati
and put up an inscription dated 163 Kārtika Śuklanavamī.77
Chakrapātīramallā reigned for one
day and then died. His coins show a bow and arrow, a noose, an
elephant hook, a yak's tail and the date N. S. 789, or 1669 A.D.
Pratāpallā died in N. S. 809, or 1689 A.D.

10. Mahīndramallā, third son of 9, died in N. S. 814, 1694 A.D.

11. Bhāskarallā, son of 10, ruled until N. S. 822, when he
died childless of the plague, aged 22 years.

12. Jāgajyamallā, a distant
relative, was placed on the throne by the wives of 11. He had five
sons, Rājendraprakāsā and Jaya-
prakāsā (born before his accession to the throne) and Rājyaprakāsā,
Narēndraprakāsā and Chandraprakāsā (born afterwards.) He
died in N. S. 852, or 1732 A.D.

13. Jaya-prakāsā, second son of
12, expelled his brother Rājyaprakāsā, who went to Lalitapaṭāna
to Vishyamallā. He was deposed in N. S. 888, or 1768 A.D., by the
Gorkhā king Prithvirājyaṇa.

c. Lalitapaṭānallā Line.
His latest inscription is dated N. S. 821, or 1701 A.D.

4. Yōgānāndramallā, son of 3, lost his son, and became
an ascetic.

5. Mahāpacitā, or Ma-
hīndramallā of Kāṁcī became king, died in N. S. 842,
or 1722 A.D.48

6. Jayyogaprkāsā; an inscri-
bution of his reign is dated N. S. 843, or 1723 A.D.

7. Vishyamallā, son of Yō-
gānāndramallā's (4) daughter, de-
dicated a bell in Mālachok in N.
S. 857, or 1737 A.D., and died shortly afterwards without
issue.

8. Rājaprakāsā, third son of
12 of Kāntipur, appointed king by 7, made blind by the Pra-
dhāns & expelled after one year.

9. Jayaprapkāsā, king of Kāntipur, ruled two years over
Lalitapaṭāna, when the Pra-
dhāns expelled him.

11. Viśvajit-mallā, son of Viśhūmalla's (7) daughter,
murdered by the Pra-
dhāns.

12. Dalamardan-shāh of Na-
vakoth made king by the Pra-
dhāns, and expelled after 4 years.

13. Tējanarasiṇha, a de-
scendant of Viśvajit-mallā (11).
3 years. Then the country was
conquered by Prithvirājyaṇa.

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48 N. S. 787 according to Dr. Wright. But the text has
danākāvāmita (vraja).
47 The author of the Vāṭakāvalī has mistaken Jay-
dāra's inscription (No. 15) of Śrīharsha-Saṅkrti 133 for
an inscription of Nripendrā. Dr. Wright has Chakra-
varēndrā for Chakrapātīramallā.
48 It is evident that either this statement or the whole
of the dates of the Kāṁcī and Lalitapaṭāna dynasties
must be wrong. See ante, vol. VII. p. 52n. Kirkpatrick's
dates differ considerably from Dr. Wright's.
It is evident that, though this Vamšavidālī contains many elements of historical truth, it possesses no value whatever as a whole. As is always the case with Indian chroniclers, who attempt to give a complete view of the history of their country, the author has tried to connect the beginning of his narrative with the legends regarding the four ages of the world, and with the epic traditions of the Great War between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas. Through their anxiety to prove that the early kings of each province of the Bharata-khaṭa took part in the contest described in the Mahābhārata, the Hindus furnish a complete analogy to the ancient Greeks, who believed that a town or republic was dishonoured if its mythical heroes did not appear in Homer’s catalogue of the Greek leaders engaged in the conquest of Troy, and whose earlier historians, like Herodotus, were inclined to seek the ultimate causes of the events of their days in the legendary occurrences narrated by Homer. But, while in the case of the Greeks this tendency has not produced any serious results, it has almost entirely destroyed the usefulness of the Indian historical works. The Hindu chroniclers known to us, all wrote after the astronomers had fixed the lengths of the four Yugas, and had assigned to the Great War its place at the beginning of the Kaliyuga. As the authentic lists of kings which the chroniclers possessed in no case sufficed to fill the enormously long periods supposed to have elapsed between their starting-point and their own times, they were induced not only to lengthen unduly the duration of the reigns of many historical kings, but to place contemporary dynasties one after the other, and to press into service the mythical kings enumerated in the Purāṇas or Māhātmyas.

In addition to the distortion of the truth resulting from these causes, no less serious consequences have arisen from the errors which the chroniclers made regarding the various native eras used in their native country. Modern Hindu writers, who are accustomed to the exclusive use of the two eras—that of Vikramādiṭiya, 57 B.C. and that of Śāliyavāna, or the Śaka era, 78 A.D.—invariably refer the Saṁvata occurring in their sources to one of these two. Mostly they ignore altogether the existence of the numerous other eras that were used in ancient India, and the fact that several homonymous kings, e.g. two or three Vikramādiṭyas are, as the Indian expression is, “founders of Saṁvata.”

The existence of mistakes thus caused is only too clearly seen in the Nepālese Vamśavidālī. The first dynasty named by the author is said to have descended from the pious cowherds whom Krīṣṇa brought into the country. The kings all follow one another in the direct line of descent, and their reigns are of truly patriarchal length.

It is most probable that not only the details narrated regarding them are totally erroneous, but that the dynasty had no real existence. The names seem to have been taken from some Purāṇa or Māhātmya, and to have been prefixed to the authentic list of the kings of Nepal. The same remarks apply to the second short line, that of the Ahīra, who, being likewise cowherds, are also named in the Purāṇas as companions and worshippers of Krīṣṇa. The case is different with the following dynasty, the Kirātās, whose native country is the Himālayas and who, therefore, may have held Nepal in ancient times. The number of 1118 years allotted to the twenty-nine kings of this race is, however, too great. For in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life-insurance companies show, at the outside, to only twenty-six years. If all the twenty-nine kings followed each other in the direct line of descent, they could not possibly have ruled longer than 600 or 700 years. Moreover, if the statements that Śākyamuni was a contemporary of Jitēdāsti, the seventh king, and that Aśoka came to Nepal, i.e., extended his rule to Nepal, in the reign of the fourteenth ruler, St h u n k o, are worth anything, they furnish a clear proof of the arbitrary lengthening of the reigns. For the author of the Vamśavidālī is a Northern Buddhist, he probably knew one Aśoka only, and placed him one hundred years after Śākyamuni’s Nirvāṇa. If the distance between Jitēdāsti the seventh king, and St h u n k o, the fourteenth, amounted to one hundred years only, the absurdity of the assertion that the twenty-nine

* See the native confessions of Kalhaṇa in the Rājasthānīyec.
kings reigned 1118 years, becomes still more evident. Finally, if these two synchronisms are historical, it also follows that the beginning of the Kirāta dynasty has been antedated by several thousand years. For Śākyamuni’s Nīruśa really falls in the fifth century B.C. The same remarks apply to the Somavāmśa and Suryavāmśa dynasties. In their case, too, it is evident that most reigns are much too long, and that they have been placed much too early. The latter point comes out most clearly through the inscriptions. According to the latter the twenty-first king of the Suryavāmśa dynasty, Mānadēva, reigned from between the years 386-413 of an unnamed era and the characters show that this period falls in the fourth or fifth century of our era. Yet the Vaisādevali asserts that Mānadēva’s grandson, Vasantaḥdēvavarman was crowned in Kali 2800 or 301 B.C. The case of the next, the Thākuri dynasty, is, if possible, worse. Its founder, Amuvarman, is placed in Kali 3000 or 101 B.C., though Vikramaśītya of Ujjain, whose coronation the Hindus usually put in 57 B.C., is stated to have gone to Nepal during the reign of his predecessor. Against this date we have the statement of Huen Thang that a learned king, called Amuvarman ruled either shortly before or during his visit to Northern India in 637 A.D. Further, the inscriptions of Amuvarman, as well as that of Vibhuvarman, which the Vaisādevali particularly mentions, show letters which can only belong to the sixth or seventh centuries of our era. If more instances of the confusion prevailing in the account given by the Vaisādevali regarding this dynasty, are wanted, it will suffice to point out that Amuvarman’s seventh successor, Varadēva, is said to have ruled in Kaliyuga 3623 or A.D. 522. Thus we get seven generations for six hundred years. Immediately after Varadēva’s time the reigns suddenly become of reasonable length, and the fifteenth prince of the Thākuri race—Guna-kāmadēva, the founder of Kāmāndu, is placed in Kaliyuga 3824 or 723 A.D., two hundred years being allowed for eight generations. This portion of the Vaisādevali might, therefore, inspire some confidence, and it might be assumed that the author possessed some authentic materials for the history of Varadēva’s successor. But, unfortunately, his names agree in no way with those contained in our inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Besides the immediate successors of Guna-kāmadēva, Bhōjadēva and Lakṣamikāmadēva, who, according to the Vaisādevali, ought to belong to the eighth century, ruled according to the colophons of the MSS. two hundred years later, between 1015-1039 A.D. Nay, what’s more, the dates of the MSS. prove that the princes of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, that of the Vais Thākuri and the restored line of Amuvarman, reigned from the middle of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and that the interval between Ananta or Ānandamalla, the last ruler of the VIIth dynasty and Jayasthitimala, the seventh king of the VIIIth dynasty is only seventy years. Hence it follows that the list given by the Vaisādevali for the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is incomplete, and contains large gaps which have been concealed by antedating the reigns of the kings beginning with Bhōja-dēva and Lakṣamikāmadēva by several centuries. With respect to the Karnaṭaka dynasty of Nānyadēva which according to the Vaisādevali conquered Nepal in 811, or 889 A.D., it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion. The genealogical list in the MS. No. 6 of the German Oriental Society places Nānyadēva’s accession to the throne in 1019, or 1097 A.D. Our inscription No. 18 makes him the ancestor of Pratapamalla, though the Vaisādevali asserts that he drove the Mallas out of Nepal. The names of his successors differ in all the documents which enumerate them. As regards the VIIIth or Ayodhyā dynasty the date of the first king Harisinghadeva is confirmed by the MS. of the German Oriental Society, where it is given as 1245, or 1323-4 A.D., just as in the Vaisādevali. But it is evident from the statements of the latter work itself, that some of its kings were contemporaneous with the Mallas of the tenth dynasty. Thus the last date of Śyāmasimha’s reign—Nepalā

Wright’s Nepal, p. 134.
Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist MSS. in the British Museum, p. xii.
Fischel, Catalog, p. 8; Bendall, loc. cit., p. xv.
Saṅvat 528, or 1408 A.D., falls in the times of Jayasthiti-malla, whose earliest date in the MSS. is 1385, while the Vaṃśāvalī mentions an inscription of his dated Nepāl Saṅvat 512 or 1392 A.D. Even in the portion referring to the successors of Jayasthiti-malla, where the author of the Vaṃśāvalī constantly quotes inscriptions, his work is not free from serious errors. More than once, e.g., in the case of Jyotimala, the son of Jayasthiti-malla (Inscr. No. 16), a reign has been omitted. In other cases, kings have been displaced, and sometimes there are palpable mistakes in the dates given.

These remarks will suffice to substantiate the correctness of the assertion made above, that the Vaṃśāvalī is not fit to be used as a whole, and that no single one of its several portions is free from the most serious errors. It is, therefore, impossible to adopt for the reconstruction of the earlier history of Nepāl the favourite expedient of historians who have to deal with untrustworthy chronicles and, while cutting down the duration of the several reigns to apparently reasonable lengths, to count backwards from the beginning of the Nepālese era in 880, which has usually been considered as most safely established. For, however safe that date itself may be, it has been shown above that the author of the Vaṃśāvalī knew nothing regarding the events which occurred at the time when the era was established. A much firmer basis must be looked for, and this may be found in the reign of Āṃśuvarman, whose name occurs in the Vaṃśāvalī, the inscriptions, and Hiuen Thsang's Mēmōres, while his date is fixed, though in different ways, by the two latter sources. In his account of Nepāl, Hiuen Thsang states that the reigning king belongs to the Līchhāvī family, and adds according to M. Stanislas Julien's translation, the following description of Āṃśuvarman, "Dans ces derniers temps, il y avait un roi appelé Yang-chou-fu-mo qui se distinguait par la solidité de son savoir et la sagacité de son esprit. Il avait composé lui-même un traité sur la connaissance des sons (Sādavīdāyāststra);"

Il restait la science et respectaient la vertu. Sa réputation s'était répandue en tous lieux." Now it cannot be doubted that the king referred to by Hiuen Thsang is the prince of this name whom the Vaṃśāvalī places in Kalīyuga 3000, or 101 B.C., and whose inscriptions are dated Saṅvat 34, 39 and 45 (?). For the Vaṃśāvalī and the inscriptions know of one Āṃśuvarman only. Moreover the account which he gives of himself in his inscription of Saṅvat 39 agrees fully with Hiuen Thsang's description. He asserts there* "that he destroyed his (former) false opinions by pondering day and night over the meaning of various Śāstras" and that "he considers the proper establishment of courts of justice his greatest pleasure." Again, while the Vaṃśāvalī describes Āṃśuvarman as "very clever, dreadful, passionate, and always untired in pursuing the objects of humanity," the undated inscription of Sīrādēva (No. 5) praises "the great feudal baron Āṃśuvarman, as having destroyed the power of all (the king's) enemies through his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous hand-to-hand fights" and as "possessing brilliant fame gained by the trouble of properly protecting (the king's) subjects." Finally the Vaṃśāvalī (Wright's Nepāl, p. 134) correctly places the inscription of Vībhūvarman (No. 4) in the reign of Āṃśuvarman. As the date of Hiuen Thsang's travels in India is fixed beyond doubt, and as his visit to Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A.D., it follows that Āṃśuvarman must have reigned in the first half of the seventh century of our era, and it must be noted that the characters of his inscriptions can belong to this period only. The author of the Vaṃśāvalī has, therefore, antedated his reign by more than seven hundred years. The causes of this error probably lie partly in the fact that Āṃśuvarman's inscriptions are dated 'Saṅvat' which term the compiler of the Vaṃśāvalī erroneously referred to the so-called Vikrama era of 57 B.C., and partly in the circumstance that the chronological system of the Vaṃśāvalī, which makes the earliest kings of Nepāl contem-
poraneous with the heroes of the Mahābhārata, made a displacement of all dynasties, excepting the very latest, a matter of necessity.

But however this may be, the main point for us is to ascertain according to what era Aṁśuvarman really dated his edicts. Three different solutions of this question may be attempted. It may either be assumed that Aṁśuvarman established an era of his own, or that he used the era of Śrīharsha, which, according to Alimirn, began in 606 or 607 A.D. and was used in Northern India as late as the eleventh century,27 or that he employed the so-called Lokaśāla in which the hundreds are left out. The last supposition may, however, be at once discarded, because we have in our series inscriptions of his successors, which, to judge from the characters, must be dated in the same era as his own, and go down as far as the year 153. If Aṁśuvarman had used the Lokaśāla, none of his successors would have used a higher figure than 99. It is not equally easy to choose between the two remaining possibilities. In favour of the first it might be urged that according to the account, given by Hienen Thang and in the Vamsatāca, Aṁśuvarman was a powerful ruler who possessed extraordinary ability and achieved great fame by his conquests as well as by his literary attainments. It is well known that to establish a new era is a wish dear to the heart of ambitious Indian princes and that, to the great detriment of Indian chronology, only too many have succeeded in effecting it. On the other, there are important objections against this supposition. For it appears from the inscriptions that, however great and powerful a king Aṁśuvarman may have become eventually, he was originally nothing but a Sāmanta or feudatory of the king of Nepāl, who in all probability really governed the country, but in the name of his over-lord.

This is the position which he held according to the undated inscription of Śīvādeva (No. 5). In his own inscription of Saṁvat 34 (No. 6) he, too, assumes no higher title than mahāsāmanta, 'the great feudal baron.' Vībhūvarman (No. 8) calls him the illustrious (Śrī) Aṁśuvarman, and the same ambiguous epithet is used in the inscription of Saṁvat 39 (No. 7). It is only in Jishnugupta's inscription of Saṁvat 48 (No. 9) that he receives the title mahārājādhirāja, 'great king of kings.' These facts alone are fatal to the supposition that the dates of the inscriptions Nos. 6-15 refer to an era established by Aṁśuvarman. For it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a Saṁvat of his own. As Aṁśuvarman was only a Sāmanta in the year 34 of the era in which he dates, the latter cannot begin with his abhishēka or accession to the throne. Of late some other facts have come to light which also clearly disprove the supposition that the dates of our last ten inscriptions belong to a special Nepālese era, but show that it is one used generally in Northern India during the seventh and eighth centuries. In our inscription No. 15, Jayadeva, who dates in Saṁvat 153, states that his mother Vatsadēvi was the daughter of a Mahārāj prince or chief, Bhogavaran,28 and the granddaughter of 'the great Ādityasēna, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' Ādityasēna of Magadhā has been long known from the Ashipā inscription, which contains the names of the later Guptaś. Quite recently General Cunningham has published two more documents mentioning him—the Śhapūr inscription, which records the dedication of a statue of Sūrya,29 and the Deobārakā inscription which contains a grant of land, made to the Vāruṇa-bhātārakā.30

37 Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 129. Albrūni states that he found in a Kasmīrīan almanac the era of Śrīharsha placed 664 years after that of Vikramāditya. This expression may mean either that it began in 606 or in 607 A.D. If the almanac stated that the Saṁvat of Śrīharsha began 664 years after the abhishēka of Vikramā, the beginning of the era would fall in 606, because the year 1 of the Śrīharsha era would have to be deducted from 664 as well as 561. If, on the other hand, the almanac stated that the abhishēka of Śrīharsha took place in Vikramā 664, the completion of the first year of the Vikramā era would fall in 606, and its beginning in 607. What Albrūni really means, can be settled only by astronomical calculations, in case a number of dates with the days of the week, or a statement regarding an eclipse are found. The circumstance that the Kasmīrīan almanac contained the initial point of the Śrīharsha era indicates that it was used in Kasmīr. For even in our days the Paśchitānaya usually contain something regarding the various eras used in the districts where they are written, as well as sometimes historical information regarding their ancient dynasties.


The former is clearly dated during the reign of Ādityasena Deva, in Saivat 88. The distance between this date and that of his great-grandson, Jayadeva, is 65 years, or not much less than the duration of three Indian generations, which, as already stated, amounts to 78 years. Under these circumstances it is not in the least doubtful that the great-grandfather and great-grandson used the same era, and it follows further that this era was not confined to Nepal, but generally current in North-Eastern India. If that is the case, neither is it doubtful that the era used by Anuvrman and the other later Nepal inscriptions, Nos. 9-15, is that of Śrīharsha which begins in 606-7 A.D. No other known Indian era can possibly meet the requirements of the case; and it is not difficult to show how this particular era found its way into Nepal. Though Albrāni, when speaking of the Śrīharsha era, merely says that it is used in Northern India, and adds no information regarding its founder, it is certain that this personage can be nobody else but the hero of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Śrīharshacharita, whom his protégé, Huen Thsan, calls Harsavardhana or Śilāditya. From Bāṇa's and Huen Thsan's accounts, as well as from the admissions made in the inscriptions of his valiant and unconquered foe, the Chalukya Satyāraya-Pulikēši, it appears that this prince united the whole of Northern and Western and Eastern India under his sceptre during the greater part of the first half of the seventh century. In the North-East he was acknowledged as lord paramount as far as Kāmarūpa or Asām, the king of which province conducted Huen Thsan to Śrīharsha's court, and attended his great religious gathering. As Śrīharsha's empire included all the districts south of Nepal, he must merely for that reason have exercised a great influence on the political circumstances of the valley, and it would not be astonishing if its princes had adopted his era, merely because he was a powerful neighbour. But it would seem that they had still more pressing reasons for adopting this course, as Śrīharsha, in all probability, invaded and conquered their country. General Cunningham (Arch. Reports, vol. I, p. 280), states distinctly that this was the case. In the published historical documents a direct confirmation of this assertion is not traceable. But there are some indications contained in statements of the Vaiśeṣika which make it very probable. First, the Vaiśeṣika informs us that just before Anuvrman's accession to the throne Vikramāditya came to Nepal and established his era there. The name of the king and the particular era intended by the author are certainly quite wrong; but it is very probable that real facts, the conquest of the country by an Indian king about Anuvrman's time, and the adoption of his era by the humbled princes of Nepal, form the historical substratum of the erroneous account in the Vaiśeṣika, and that the latter has thus kept a reminiscence of Śrīharsha's invasion and of its result, the adoption of his era. A much stronger argument is furnished by another piece of information, preserved in the Vaiśeṣika, the existence of Vaiś Rājputs in Nepal. According to the Vaiśeṣika the kings of the VIIIth dynasty belonged to this class, which had long been settled on the hill of Nāvakoṭ. Now Huen Thsan tells us that the race or caste to which Śrīharsha himself belonged was called Fei-she and General Cunningham has shown that this caste must have been that of the Vaiś or Bais Rājputs who, even at the present day, are found in nearly the whole of Southern Oudh, and claim to have ruled over the districts between Dehli and Allahābād. As it is an almost universal rule with Indian princes that on the occasion of conquests they grant a portion of the land to their clansmen, it happens very frequently that centuries later, when the government has passed into other hands, descendants of the grant-holders still remain in possession, and that their

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44 General Cunningham, Arch. Rep., vol. XV, p. 12, and vol. XVI, pp. 79-90, reads it Saivat 55. But according to all analogies in other ancient inscriptions the figure used can only be equivalent to 8. If the reading 55 were right, it would not affect the deductions as to the era.

45 This conclusion would be further confirmed, if General Cunningham's statement that the Deo-Bārak grant, which was issued by a great-grandson of Adityasena, is dated Saivat 129, could be substantiated.

46 Wright, p. 131.
48 Geography, pp. 377-8. The arguments given there will fully convince anybody acquainted with India, that Śrīharsha cannot have been a merchant or Vaiśya. The marriage of his sister Rājāyati with Graharvarman, the Maukhari, which occurred before Śrīharsha became powerful, would have been impossible if he had been a low-born Vaiśya.
existence is the sole remaining vestige of the former conquest. Thus the fact that in later times Vaiśāk Rājputs were found on the Nāvākoṭ hill, in all probability indicates that Nepal once was in the power of a Vaiśa king, who can have been nobody else but Śrīharsha. If thus the subjection of Nepal to this prince may be considered certain, the use of his era by Āṃśuvarman and his successors, is almost a matter of course.

Strong as these arguments in favour of the Śrīharsha era are, there is yet a point in Huien Thsang's account of Nepal which requires to be cleared up, before the above conclusion can be accepted without reserve. Huien Thsang tells us, as stated above, that the reigning king of Nepal belongs to the Licchāhāvi race, and that 'in these latter times there was a king called Āṃśuvarman,' &c. This can only mean that in Huien Thsang's times Āṃśuvarman was dead. As Huien Thsang's visit to North-Eastern India fell about the year 637 A.D., or Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 30-31, his assertion clashes with the date of our inscriptions which, if referred to the Śrīharsha era, show that Āṃśuvarman was certainly alive after Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 40, or 646-7 A.D. This disagreement would be very serious, if Huien Thsang really did visit Nepal, as M. Stanislas Julien's translation represents him to have done. The latter point is, however, doubtful, because the Chinese expressions, referring to the march, may be understood either as describing Huien Thsang's route or the way in general, and because the life of Huien Thsang says nothing about his having visited Vṛiṣi (Fo-li-shi) and Nepal. Hence M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, Mémoires, tome II, p. 305, thinks it 'plus quē probable' that the pilgrim passed at once from Śvetapura in Vaiśāli across the Ganges into Magadha. Mr. Beal in his new translation so far agrees with this view that he declares Huien Thsang's visit to Nepal to be incredible. He says in the note cited, 'But the pilgrim does not appear to have gone into Nepal. He went to the capital of the Vṛiṣis and there speaks from report.' If this supposition, as seems most probable, is correct, the contradiction between Huien Thsang's words and the dates of the inscriptions admits of an explanation. It becomes probable that either account, rendered to him, of the peculiar political condition of Nepal, was inaccurate, or that he himself misunderstood it. During the times of Āṃśuvarman and of his successor Jishnu Gupta (it may be even somewhat later) a double government existed in the valley, Licchāhāvi kings reigned side by side with Āṃśuvarman himself and his successors. Such a complex government might well puzzle a stranger, and he might easily fall into the error of supposing that one of the kings named to him ruled before the other. This may be safely accepted as the true solution of the difficulty raised by the wording of Huien Thsang's note regarding Āṃśuvarman, and it may be considered certain that our inscriptions Nos. 6-15 range between 640-1 and 759-60 A.D.

Before we proceed to utilise further the result of the preceding discussion, it will be advisable to subject the parts which reveal the existence of a double government during a part of the seventh century to a little closer examination. In our inscription No. 5 the Licchāhāvi king Śivādeva says of his 'great feudal baron' Āṃśuvarman that he has destroyed the power of all (his master's) enemies 'by the majesty of his valour' and 'that his brilliant fame, gained by the trouble of properly protecting the people, pervades the universe.' These hyperbolical expressions indicate not only that Āṃśuvarman held a high position as commander-in-chief and prime minister, but that his power and influence at last nearly equalled that of his master. In Saṅvat 34 (No. 6) Āṃśuvarman's title remains the same. But he dates from a residence of his own, Kailāsakūta and couches his edict in a language which is usually employed by kings only. In fact, except by his title, he gives no sign that he lives under a lord paramount. The same state of things is indicated by

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**As the second figure of the date of No. 8 is uncertain, it will be advisable to take the certain sign 40 alone into consideration. If the date of No. 8 is really Saṅvat 45, A.D. 637-4 A.D. Āṃśuvarman must have died between that year and the first date of Jishnu Gupta, Saṅvat 45, or 645-6 A.D.**

**See Vie de Huien Thsang, p. 136.**
his inscription of Saṁvat 39 (No. 7), by which he assigns land without reference to a superior power. The ambiguous epithet Śrī ‘the illustrious’ leaves it doubtful, if he had then assumed the title mahārāja. But it is plain that he did so at some period or other of his career from the inscription No. 9, where he is described by Jīshu gupta as mahāra ḍaḥārāja, as well as from the statements of Huen Thsung and of the Vanāvali. Jīshu gupta certainly was Amūvaraman’s immediate successor, and belonged to his family, being either his son or some other near relative. This follows from the closeness of his first date, Saṁvat 48 (No. 9) to that of Vībhavaraman’s inscription (No. 8) which, if it is not Saṁvat 45, at least is more than 40. There is no room for another reign between them and, if the yuvakāra or heir-apparent—Udayadeva (18) who is mentioned as Dāraka or deputy in No. 7, did not belong to the Lichchhāvī dynasty, it is probable that he never came to the throne. That Jīshu gupta really belonged to Amūvaraman’s line is shown by the fact that he dates his edicts from the Kāḷaśakūṭa, the residence of Amūvaraman, and by his mentioning in two inscriptions a Lichchhāvī king Dhruvaveda as his suzerain, who resided at Mānagriha, the ancient palace or fort (Note 21) of the Lichchhāvis. These points, as well as the circumstance that Inscr. No. 11 is dated in the victorious and prosperous reign of Jīshugupta, show further that during his time Nepal possessed a double government. The same fact is further attested by Jayadeva’s inscription No. 15, which enumerates an uninterrupted line of thirty-five generations of Lichchhāvī kings. But the first inscription of Jayadeva’s father Śivadeva II, dated Saṁvat 119, contains a significant fact which bears on the question, how long Amūvaraman’s descendants continued to hold their position, for he dates his grant from the palace Kāḷaśakūṭa where Amūvaraman and Jīshu gupta held their court. The explanation of these points appears to be as follows:—Amūvaraman at first was a servant of Śivadeva I, and gradually managed to get into the hands the whole of the royal power. He also assumed or received from the

king the title mahārāja. But, like Jang Bahādur in modern times, he allowed his old master, and perhaps the successor of the latter, to retain nominally the position of an independent ruler. After his death which, as already stated, must have occurred some time after Śrīharsha, Saṁvat 40 and before 48, or about the end of the fifth decade of the seventh century, Jīshu gupta, possibly his son or, at all events, a near relative, inherited his position. The country continued to possess a double government. But perhaps the Lichchhāvis possessed a little more power than during Amūvaraman’s lifetime. Such an inference is warranted by the double heading of Jīshu gupta’s two inscriptions. Afterwards, some time between Śrīharsha-Saṁvat 48 and 119, or 654 and 725 A.D., the old royal race regained possession of the whole country, and even made the former palace of Amūvaraman’s family their residence. How this change came about is not clear from the inscriptions. But there is no doubt that Amūvaraman was not, as the Vanāvali asserts, the father of a long line of kings, but merely the founder of an ephemeral dynasty of co-regents. It is even doubtful if among the kings of the Thākuri line, given in the Vanāvali, any real descendants of Amūvaraman occur. The two names Narendra-deva (No. 7) and Jayadeva (No. 12) which do occur in the inscriptions, belong, according to the evidence of the latter, to the Lichchhāvi or Śrīyavanśī family, not to the Thākuri or Rājput family of Amūvaraman. It would be useless to enter on any speculations regarding the number and names of the latter. But through our inscription No. 15 we are placed in a somewhat better position with respect to the Lichchhāvi family. It enables us to give with a careful utilisation of all the hints furnished by the other inscriptions, and in the Vanāvali, a general outline of this dynasty, to determine the era in which the first five inscriptions are dated, and to assign approximate dates to all the undoubtedly historical kings.

The first part of the genealogical portion of the inscription No. 15 is clearly mythical, as most of the names mentioned have been taken from the Purānic Vaikūśa; but it nevertheless renders occurs more than once among the Lichchhāvis.

(18) It seems more likely that Udayadeva was a Lichchhāvi, a descendant of Śivadeva, because the name

(21) See Inscr., 1-3, which are dated from Mānagriha.
a valuable service by the statement that Lichchhāvi was a descendant of Sūrya. Hence it is perfectly certain that the Lichchhāvi dynasty of the inscriptions is identical with the Sūryavamsī dynasty of the Vanaśīvalī. Lichchhāvi, however, the founder of the family, his descendants down to Supushpa of Pushapura (i.e. Pātaliputra) and his twenty-three unnamed successors have most likely no claim to be regarded as historical personages, or, even if some of them were real kings, they at least do not belong to the Lichchhāvi of Nepāl. The prominent manner in which the next king ‘conquering Jayadēva’ is mentioned, makes it probable that he is the conqueror of Nepāl, and the head of this branch of the race. To this conclusion points also the fact that the Vanaśīvalī names as the third prince of the Sūryavamsī—Jayavarman, who, since the epithets dēva and varman are often used synonymously, may be identified with Jayadēva. It seems not unlikely that the author of the Vanaśīvalī, in order to lengthen the line of kings, may have placed two names before the real founder of the dynasty. After Jayadēva the inscription skips eleven kings and then comes to Vrīshadēva. The Vanaśīvalī, on the other hand, gives fourteen names between Jayavarman and Vrīshadēvavarman and shows by this close agreement that, if the length of the reigns is left out of account, it must be based on documents very similar to inscription No. 15. The names of the next six kings—Sāṅkaradēva, Dharmadēva, Mānādēva, Mahīdēva, Vasandēva and Udayadēva are identical in the inscription and in the Vanaśīvalī. Moreover, our inscription No. 1 (vs. 1-7) confirms the sequence of the group, beginning with Vrīshadēva and ending with Mānādēva, and adds the name of Mānādēva’s mother, Rājyavati. The same document and inscription No. 2 gives us the dates 386 and 413 of an unnamed era for Mānādēva. Finally, inscription No. 4, which is dated in Saṅvat 485, belongs to a king called Vasandēva. The close resemblance of this name to that of Vasandēva, the grandson of Mānādēva, and the small interval of twenty-two years between the last date of Mānādēva and that of Vasandēva which is just sufficient for one short reign (Mahīdēva’s), permit us to assume with some confidence that Vasandēva and Vasandēva are the same person. If we proceed further, the genealogical portion of inscription No. 15 omits the names of 13 kings and winds up with Narèndradēva, Sivadēva and Jayadēva. Inscriptions No. 5, and Nos. 9-10 furnish us, however, with two names, those of Sivadēva, the contemporary of Aṃśuvarman, and of Dhruidēva, the contemporary of Jīṣhṇugupta, while the Vanaśīvalī gives seven more names and then passes to the Thākuri line of Aṃśuvarman, in which the names of Narèndradēva and Jayadēva have been erroneously incorporated as those of the seventh and twelfth princes.

In order to settle the chronology of the Lichchhāvi dynasty more accurately, and especially in order to determine the era in which Mānādēva and Vasandēva-Vasandēva date, the first step to be taken is to fix the position of Sivadēva I, and Dhruidēva in the group of the thirteen kings, left unnamed in the inscription No. 15. This may be done in the following manner:—Our inscription No. 12, the first which belongs to Sivadēva II, the father of Jayadēva II, is dated Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 119 or 725-6 A.D. The second, No. 13, in which his name occurs, was inscribed in Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 143 or 749-50, and No. 14, which has lost the king’s name, but most probably belongs to Śrīdēva II, as the heir apparent is Vijayadēva, a vicarious name for Jayadēva, bears the date Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 145 or 751-2 A.D. As the interval between the first and the third inscription amounts to twenty-six years, it is only reasonable to assume that the date 725-6 A.D. falls in the beginning of his reign. His accession to the throne may therefore be placed about 720 A.D. or Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 114. If we allow for the reign of his father Narèndradēva the average duration of a generation, the beginning of the latter falls in 695-6 or Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 89. Our inscriptions Nos. 9, 10 name the Lichchhāvi Dhruidēva as king of Nepāl, and the former is dated in Śrīharsha-Saṅvat 48 or 654-5 A.D. Hence it follows that Dhruidēva is one of the
thirteen unnamed princes of No. 15 and, as the interval between the inscription and the probable date of the accession of Narendradeva is about 44 years, it is evident that at the utmost two of the unnamed princes can be allocated to this period. Dhruvadeva thus obtains the eleventh place among the thirteen. Going further back, we have the inscription No. 5, in which Sivadeva I declares that Amsuvarmman is the administrator of his kingdom, and has rendered important services in war. Though it is not dated, it is yet indisputable, that Sivadeva I preceded Dhruvadeva, because Amsuvarmman's inscriptions range from Sriharsha-Samvat 34-45 (?) or from 640-1 A.D. to at least 650. It remains, however, somewhat doubtful if the two kings followed each other immediately, or if one reign lies between them. Though the possibility of the former supposition cannot be denied, the latter is yet more probable. As Hiten Thong's remarks, which are based on information collected in 637-646 A.D., undoubtedly indicate, Amsuvarmman's career must have been a long one, and his great deeds, through which he rose to a royal or quasi-royal position, must have been performed a considerable time before the time when Hiten Thong first visited Northern India, and before the time when he issued his edicts. Moreover, Sivadeva's inscription (No. 5) evidently falls in the period before Amsuvarmman's power was fully developed. It will, therefore, be advisable not only to place this document before Sriharsha-Samvat 34, but to assume that it was incised a good many, say ten to fifteen, years earlier. Under these circumstances there is room for one short reign between Sivadeva I and Dhruvadeva, and we may allot to the former the ninth place among the thirteen unnamed princes of the genealogical list in inscription No. 13. If we now turn to the question, to which era the dates of Mankadeva and Vasantasena-Vasantadeva belong, it might be contended that this must be the Samkasa-Samvat of 78-9 A.D., because the use of this era is known to have prevailed very generally, particularly in the south and west of India, already during the earlier centuries of our era. On this supposition Mankadeva's two dates, Samvat 386 and 413, would be equivalent to 464-5 and 491-2 A.D. and Vasantasena-Vasantadeva's date Samvat 435 to 513-4. We have seen above that the reign of Sivadeva II probably began about 720 A.D. The interval between him and Vasantasena would therefore be 207 years, or if we put (what perhaps is preferable), instead of 720, the date of his first inscription, 725 A.D., 212 years. According to our inscription No. 15, fifteen kings ruled between Vasantadeva and Sivadeva, the father of Jayadeva, and we have seen above that the date Samvat 435 falls into the beginning of Vasantasena's reign. Thus we obtain the result that 16 kings reigned together only 207-213 years, or that a reign lasted on an average 13 years and a quarter. This proportion is not much altered if we take instead of the interval between Vasantasena and Sivadeva the most distant dates known, that of Mankadeva's first inscription and that of Jayadeva's. In that case we have to deduct from Sriharsha-Samvat 153 or 759-60 A.D. the value of Samvat 386 according to the Saka era or 464-5 plus the number of the five or six years of Jayadeva's reign which may be supposed to have elapsed in 759-60. As Mankadeva's first date no doubt fell in the beginning of his reign, the remainder, 290, has to be distributed among 19 kings (Mankadeva, Mahadeva, Vasantadeva, Udayadadeva, 13 unnamed princes, Narendradeva, and Sivadeva). The result is a little more than fifteen years and a quarter for each reign. Neither the former figure nor the second are sufficiently large. For the lists both of the Varnavals and of inscription No. 15 refer to generations of kings, not to the reigns of collaterals. The Varnavals state throughout that each of the enumerated Suryavarmadeva's kings was the son of his predecessor. In the inscription No. 15, the same statements is appended to the kings of the group beginning with Vrishadeva, except in the case of the last, Udayadeva, whose relationship to Vasantadeva is left doubtful. The thirteen unnamed princes are again stated to be his lineal descendants. With respect to the last
group, Narêndradêva's descent is not clearly described, but the last two kings are said to be his lineal descendants. Thus it appears that, even if we allow two breaks in the lineal descent to have occurred, by far the greater number of reigns represent generations. Assuming now that the account of the inscription No. 15 is more trustworthy than that of the Vaisãkha, we have yet to cram seventeen generations and the reigns of two kings who may have been collaterals into 290 years. It will be evident to everybody who has paid attention to the calculation of the average lengths of generations in the Indian dynasties that this is impossible. The lowest figures required for seventeen generations is 350 years, as the average in no known case sinks below 21 years; mostly it varies between 24 and 27 for a generation. Under these circumstances, it is not doubtful that the attempt to refer Mânadêva's and Vasanta-sena's dates to the Saka era must be abandoned, and that we have to look for them to an era which begins earlier. If that is the case, there is only one known era, the so-called Vikrama-saivism of 57 B.C. which will suit. Referred to the Vikrama era, Mânadêva's dates are equivalent to 329 and 356 A.D. and the interval between his first inscription and Jayadêva's No. 15 amounts to 430 years, which sum being distributed among nineteen kings gives twenty-two years and about three-quarters for each. Similarly the interval between Vasanta-sena's date, which now represents 378 A.D., and the first inscription of Siva-dêva II, 725 A.D., amounts to 347, and the average for each of the sixteen intervening reigns is a little more than 21 years. These figures are perfectly acceptable, especially if it is borne in mind that Udayadêva and Narêndradêva probably were not lineal descendants of their predecessors. The palaeographical evidence likewise confirms this arrangement. The characters of Mânadêva's inscriptions fully resemble those of the Gupta inscriptions, especially of Skanda-gupta's pillar-edicts. As it is now pretty certain that the Gupta era begins about the end of the second century A.D., probably as Sir E. Bayley maintained, in 190 A.D., this prince lived in the fourth century; exactly during the time when Mânadêva ruled. This result will perhaps appear suspicious to those who consider the Vikrama era with distrust, and take it to be an invention of the sixth century A.D. But, though it is perfectly true that hitherto no early inscriptions, which are clearly dated in the Vikrama era, have been found, the proof that it is not a genuine era, has, by no means, been furnished. It seems, therefore, safer to assume that we have in the Nepalese inscriptions to deal with a known era, than to take our refuge in the only other possible supposition that the Lichchhavis kings reckoned according to a peculiar hitherto unknown era. If that were the case, it would, of course, be impossible to fix Mânadêva's and Vasanta-sena's dates with any accuracy.

The only reign which now remains to be determined is that of Jaya-dêva I, whom we identified above with Jaya-varman, the third Suryavarman of the Vaisãkliti. According to inscription No. 15, eleven unnamed kings reigned between him and Vrisha-dêva. If we add the reigns of the latter and of his son and grandson, Sañkaradêva and Dharmadêva, his accession to the throne is separated from Mânadêva, 329 A.D. by fifteen reigns. Supposing that these kings, as the Vaisãkliiti (which, however, has three more) asserts of all the Lichchhavis, followed each other in the direct line of descent, we might allot to them about 330 years (15 × 22). The beginning of Jaya-dêva's reign, and with it probably the conquest of Nepal by the Lichchhavis, would thus fall about the commencement of the Christian era.

The results of this discussion are shown in the accompanying table, which exhibits also once more the lists of the Suryavamsis according to the Vaisãkliiti. A comparison of its contents with the results gained from the inscriptions will show how very closely the two resemble each other, especially in the earlier portion. It is, therefore, evident that the author of the Vaisãkliiti must have had historical documents to go on. Hence it becomes not improbable that the greater part of the names which he gives may be correct. This is all the information deducible from our inscriptions for the earlier history of Nepal. The results which Nos. 17-23 furnish

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His dates fall between Guptasaivrat 137-149.
have been worked out so carefully by Mr. C. Bendall, in the Historical Introduction to his Catalogue of the Buddhist MSS. from Nepal,

preserved at Cambridge (p. viii—xvii) that it is unnecessary to go once more over the same ground.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Jayadëva</th>
<th>Vaiséódëva.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1. Bhûmivarman, 81 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>2. Chandravarman, 82 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>3. Jayavarman, 82 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>4. Harshavarman, 61 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>5. Sarvavarman, 78 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>6. Prithivivarman, 76 years</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>7. Jyâräjhaivarman, 75 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>8. Harivarman, 76 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>9. Kubévarman, 88 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>10. Siddhivarman, 61 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>11. Haridattavarman, 81 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Vasantadëva or Vasanta-deva, son of 17, Saññvat 435, or 378 A.D. (Ins. 4 &amp; 15).</td>
<td>17. Rudradëvarvarman, 66 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>19. Sânkara-râjëva, 65 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>20. Dharmadëva, 59 years</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>21. Mândëva, 49 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Lineal descendents of 19; names omitted in Ins. 15.</td>
<td>22. Mahidëva, 51 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>23. Vasantadëva, crowned in Kali 2280,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>or 301 B.C. 36 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>24. Udayadëvarvarman, 33 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>25. Mândëvarvarman, 33 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Name omitted in In. 15.</td>
<td>27. Sivadëvarvarman, 51 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Dhruvadëva (Srîharsha)-saññvat 34 or 654-55</td>
<td>28. Narâjdradëvarvarman, 42 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. (In. 9; omitted in Ins. 15).</td>
<td>29. Bhîmâdëvarvarman, 36 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-regent, Jishnugupta (Srîharsha)-saññvat 48, or 654-5 A.D. [Ins. 9-10].</td>
<td>30. Vishnudëvarvarman, 47 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Names omitted in In. 15, Co-regents, Jishnugupta and perhaps Vishnugupta,</td>
<td>31. Viśvadëvarvarman, 51 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. probably Pativarman, whose name is suspicious, another</td>
<td>mentioned as heir-apparent in Ins. 9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As the Vaiséódëva has three princes more between Jayadëva-Jayavarman and Vrishadëva than In. 15, three names have probably to be eliminated. One of these is probably Pativarman, whose name is suspicious, another either Sivavarman or Rudradëva, whose names are synonymous; the third is doubtful.*
34. Sivadèva II, son of 33, married to Vatsadèvi, daughter of the Maukharī² Bhogavarman, and daughter's daughter of Adityasena of Magadhā; (Śrīharāha)-sañvat 119-145 or 725-6—751-2 A.D. (Ins. 12-14; 15).
35. Jayadèva II, Parachakrakāma son of No. 34, married to Rājyamati, daughter of Śrīharadēva, king of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala, descendant of Bhagadatta"; (Śrīharāha)-sañvat 153, or 759-60 A.D. (In. 15).

Mentioned as the 7th Thākuri prince.
Mentioned as the 12th prince of the Thākuri line.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE ALEXANDRIA LIBRARY.

With reference to the papers by the Rev. J. D. Bate (ante, pp. 103ff.), and Mr. E. Rehatsck (pp. 208ff.), on the destruction of the Alexandrine Library, attention may be called to a paper on the subject by Mr. L. A. Wheatley in The Bibliographer, vol. V, pp. 3-5 (Dec. 1883), in which he points out that Gibbon had good authority for his statement that the library was destroyed in A.D. 391. Orosius, who lived soon after (early in the 5th century), mentions it. The Patriarch Theophilus, "annoyed at the Pagan element then dominant at the Serapeum, determined to destroy it, and being unable of himself to do so, he complained to the

Emperor Theodosios the Great, who ordered it to be destroyed. If any books were still left, it is probable that they were removed to Byzantium by Theodosios II, who is related to have enlarged his libraries by bringing books from all quarters, Egypt being specially mentioned." Mr. Wheatley adds that Fournier in his Essai dans l'Histoire, Delepine in his Historical Fallacies, Renan in his lecture L' Islamisme et la Science, and Hill Burton in his Bookhùnter, have all come to the same conclusion as Gibbon and Krehl on this question. The subject has also been discussed by Petit-Radet, Recherches sur les Bibliotheques anciennes et modernes (Paris, 1819); Ritschel, die Alexandrin-

the Askargh seal (Jour. Roy. As. Soc., vol. III, p. 337; where, however, amongst other mistakes, the word Maukharī is misread Honvari). They are:

1. Harivarman, married to Jayasavamini; their son
2. Adityavarman, married to Harshagupta; their son
3. Īśavarman, married to Upagupta; their son
4. Īśavarman, married to Lakshahitvat (†); their son
5. Śravavarman, Maukharī.

Among these kings, Īśavarman (misread Sāntivarman) is mentioned as the foe of Dâmodara-gupta in the Aphaa inscription, whereas also Sushila-varman occurs as the enemy of Mahέśvaragupta. Sāvaravarman's name is found in the Deo-Burnak inscription (Cunningham, Reports, vol. XVI, p. 78). The same inscription names after Sāvaravarman, the illustrious Avantivarman, who may be identified with Avantivarman, the Maukharī, whose son Grahavarman, according to the Śrīharascharita, married Rājyesā, the sister of Śrīharascharita, Harshavardhana. Possibly our Bhogavarman was a relative of the last prince. A king of this race, who is probably much older than all those enumerated above, Kaśṭavarman, the Maukharī, is also mentioned in the Śrīharascharita (Jour. newly. Business., vol. X, p. 94). Compare also General Cunningham's Memorials on the Maukharī Dynasty, Arch. Reports, vol. XV, p. 164, and vol. XVI, pp. 78-81.

²² See above, p. 429.
²³ Bhagadatta and Śrīharadēva probably belong to the dynasty of Pāñjikītās, to which Harshavardhana's contemporary Kunsārarāja also belonged.
The accompanying woodcuts represent two bronze masks that were dug up, at no great depth below the surface, early last year, close to an old village temple at Kanajan, in the Mudigiri taluq in Maisur (lat. 43° 6' N., long. 75° 40' E.), 3 miles SW. from the town of Mudigiri, and 17 or 18 miles above Saklaspur on the Hemavati.

They are cast in a lightish brass-coloured bronze, and are here represented on a scale of half the original dimensions. The backs are open, so as allow them to be attached to wooden, metal, or stone figures representing the bodies of the personages intended. Both faces are characterized by the tusk-like structures assigned to images of Bhairava and Kāli, protruding from the wicks of the mouths, and both have on the foreheads the third eye, placed vertically, which gives to Śiva the name of Trilēchana, and which is generally borne by all the forms of that Īdeva, and by his gasā or demon troop of followers. The seven Nāga or cobra hoods on the garland over the brow of each—their intertwined bodies forming the band which unites them into a sort of fillet, and their tails coiled up in little flat curls—are also characteristic marks of the Saiva class of images. In the first these cobra hoods have a resemblance to leaves, but this is not unfrequently the case, even in separate images of snakes. The first mask has also a hole in the left cartilage of the nose as if for a ring. The other has been supposed to represent a male head, but the distinction is not marked.

Such masks for images of gods, made of bronze, silver or gold, are quite common in the south.
of India, and are also in use in the Marâthâ country and in the north; but these are usually lighter and more imposing than the present pair.

They have probably been buried for a century, and may be considerably older,—the large ear-rings and the forms of the necklets, however, are such as are still to be met with among certain castes in Southern India to the present time. It has been suggested by Sir Walter Elliot that they may be connected with or allied to images employed in the ancestor-worship which he believes has not quite disappeared from among the Dravidian races. The worship of the durdâvatâ Kâli and Bhairava is closely connected with that of bhûts or the ghosts of dead persons of notoriety.

In the present case the masks appear to represent Kâli or Piḍârî, as she is called in Tamil, who, being a durdâvatâ or evil goddess, is represented with tusks. The large rings in the eyes and the necklaces mark the figures as those of females. And Mr. S. M. Nâtâna Šâstri informs me that masks of this goddess are made of clay and burnt red to sell to people of the lower castes who worship her at certain seasons; but these are, of course, of a much coarser type than the bronze ones here represented.

Information respecting the use of such masks as those here figured, as well as notes on traces of ancestor-worship would be of interest.

J. Burgess.

BOOK NOTICES.

"'I will depart,' he spake; 'the hour is come!'

Unto this

Come I, and unto this all nights and days
Have led me;"—Compare this with John xii, 23, 27.—So again—

"... These that are mine, and those
Which shall be mine, a thousand million more

Saved by this sacrifice I offer now."

is taken from John xvii, 20, and the idea of a sacrifice for others is entirely unknown to Buddhist modes of thought.

And again the words—

"... Alas! for all my sheep which have

No shepherd; wandering in the night"

give the same idea expressed in the same words as in John x, 14-16, and Matt, ix, 38.

The expression of the tempter Mâra—"If thou beest Buddha" is just that in Luke, iv, 3, 9;

Matt, iv 3 and 6. And in the retrospect of his life, Buddha is represented as seeing where his path had often led—

"... On dizzy ridges where his feet

Had well-nigh slipped;"

just as in Psalm lxviii, 2.

If the author could establish any number of his many verbal agreements with the Bible from Buddhist works, he ought, in honesty, to have embodied the references to his authorities in this or some earlier edition of his poem. But his suggestions of verbal coincidences and even of identical ideas are wholly unjustifiable, and lead to a false and too favourable representation of Buddhism, which must seriously mislead those who have not derived their ideas from more authoritative works, such as Oldenberg's most instructive Life of Buddha, Spence Hardy's Manual, Köpken's Die Religion des Buddhahs, &c., in any of which the reader will find a very different presentation of the teaching of the founder of Buddhism.
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## ERRATA IN VOL. XIII.

- p. 59b, ll. 28, 29, for गुप्तस्वरूपस्त्र प्रेमतज्ज्वल, read गुप्तस्वरूपस्त्र प्रेमतज्ज्वल
- p. 65a, l. 22, for horizontal read vertical
- p. 66b, [1] for तुम्हारे read तुम्हारे
- p. 67b, [1] for नामा read नामात
- p. 68a, [1] for तुरुणांविष्ठ read तुरुणांविष्ठ
d典范
- p. 68a, [1] after कायस: insert तथा
- p. 69a, [1] 11, read दसकर्मण
- p. 69b, note 32, for pāṭṭaṇam read pāṭṭaṇam
- p. 126a, l. 7 from bottom, for Ātreya read Ātreya
- p. 127a, l. 11, after arms, insert a —
- p. 129, plate II A, [1] for आसां read आसां
- p. 130, plate III A, [1] for भाषा read भाषा
- p. 132, plate V, [1] for भाषा read भाषा [sic]
- p. 153a, note 1, l. 1, read Tiruvadi and Kovaluru.
- p. 155, l. 2 from bottom, read vol. XIII, p. 125.
- p. 156, plate I, [1] read गुप्तस्वरूपस्त्र प्रेमतज्ज्वल.
- p. 156a, last line of note, read भीमाक्रस.
- p. 158, plate III B, [1] read विशेषतः
- p. 210b, ll. 4 & 5 from bottom, for Häji, Khulfa read Häji Khalfia.
- p. 211b, ll. 19, 23, and 33, for Evergetes, read Energetes
- p. 211b, ll. 19, 23, and 33, for Evergetes, read Energetes
- p. 233a, l. 26, for India, lib. read India (lib.
- p. 233a, l. 11, for Jëåna, read Dhyâni
- p. 233a, l. 13, for Vairóciya, read Vairóciya
- p. 306a, l. [1] read व्यक्तिनां आदि, and for रूपी read रूपी
- p. 311a, l. 20, from bottom and throughout the notice, for Hūrinci, read Hūrinci, or Hūrinci
- p. 311b, l. 2, for Kâvérdam, read Kâvérdam
- p. 311b, l. 2, for Kâvérdam, read Kâvérdam
- p. 312a, l. 19, for Prâśâtaraga read Prâśâtaraga
- p. 312a, l. 40, 43, for Sā, and Sā read Sā.
- p. 50, 52 & 54, for Sā, read Sā.
- p. 312b, l. 29, before Ind. insert ( 
- p. 313a, l. 8, insert a comma after fragment 
- p. 313b, l. 29, insert " after existence. 
- p. 316a, note 1, l. for Noble, read Nobbe. 
- p. 317b, l. 17, for Agiṣyaṃba. § 5. Where read Agiṣyaṃba, § 5. where
ERRATA.

p. 318a, note 14, read 13 in Lat. 40° 10; Lat. of Tash-Kurgan is 37° 40' (long. 75° 4').
p. 319a, note 1, 8 from bottom, for towards India read from India.
p. 319b, notes, 1, 5, from bottom, for [XXXXIX] read XXXIX

... note, 1, 12, after Zaratho insert.

p. 321b, l. 21, for censure read employ.
p. 324b, l. 21, for Sindhi Khyrsoun. This read Sindhi. Khyrsoun—this law of Tash-Kurgan.
p. 329a, l. 11, for towns Kandionoi, read towns of the Pandionoi.
p. 332b, l. 10, for outlet read outset.
p. 334b, l. 29, for Jagannatha Katikardama. read Jagannatha. Katikardama:

... ll. 53, 54, delete the commas after Désaron and Adamas.
p. 336a, l. 41, for (—) read only —, bis.
p. 337a, l. 36, for Wain—Gangâ, read Wain-Gangâ.
p. 338a, l. 5, for Rouadis, read Rhonadis.

... l. 6, for Bidasias, read Bibasias.
p. 340a, l. 12, for Rhonadis, read Rhonadis.
p. 342b, l. 30, add a comma after Kondokhatas.
p. 345a, l. 22, delete the comma after Alexandria.
p. 349b, l. 43, for Hidaspes read Bidaspes.
p. 350b, §§ 47 to 50 should have been inserted in p. 351a, before the paragraph beginning—"List of cities."
p. 351a, l. 6, for Alexandrê, read Alexandri.
p. 356a, l. 8 from bottom, for river conf. read river. Conf.
p. 360a, l. 23, for Kashastrapa, read Kabatrapa.
p. 363b, l. 27, for Batai read Batoi.
p. 364a, l. 44, for Prasii read Prasoi.
p. 365b, l. 49, for Dhakkâ read Dhakka.
p. 377a, l. 18, for Marunda read Murunda.
p. 379b, l. 47, for Bépyrhrhus read Bépyrrhhus.

p. 381, head line, add 2, after CH.
p. 384a, l. 45, for Agathou read Agathou.
p. 385a, l. 43, for Iabo read Yava.
p. 387a, l. 20, for Battrkhinn read Battrakhian.
p. 388a, l. 59, for Jaxartes read Jaxartes.
p. 389a, l. 1, add " before The.

... l. 20, add " before Immediately.

l. 38, for Arachosia read Arachósia.

l. 44, for Arachotoserén read Arachotoserén.
p. 393a, l. 27, for Maagrummon read Maagrummon.

... l. 36, for Modutti read Moudoutoi.

... l. 40, for Gondandanoi read Gandanoi.

... " for Nagadibii read Nagadiboi.
p. 394a, l. 4, for Óxos read Óxos.

... ll. 27 and 33, for Oxus read Óxos.

... l. 43, for Dâi read Dâi.
p. 397a, ll. 15, 19, 23, for Dargamanês read Dargamanês.

... l. 3, note, for Jaxartes read Jaxartes.

... l. 4, note, for Tochari read Tochari.

... l. 5, note, for Sakarâni read Sakarâni.
p. 397b, last line of note, for Tocharoi read Tocharoi.
p. 399b, l. 33, for chata read khatà.
p. 405b, l. 4 from bottom, for Aspakarai read Aspakárai.
p. 406a, l. 19, for Rhabannâe read Rhabannâe.

... for Dâmâni read Dâmâni.
p. 407b, l. 39, for Dargamânês read Dargamanês.

... l. 46, for phyliai read phyloï.
p. 408a, l. 34, for Dargamânês read Dargamanês.
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